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Translation and Polemics in the Anti-Jewish Literature of the Muslims of Christian Iberia: The “Conversion of Ka‘b al-Aḥbār” or the “Lines of the Torah”

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Abstract

Muslim anti-Christian and anti-Jewish polemics from Christian Iberia often include references and quotations from the Qur‘ān, the Torah, and the Gospels. Even when they are composed in Romance, the script used in their writing is often Arabic. This article discusses the conversion narrative of “the lines of the Torah,” in which translation is halfway between the faithful rendering of the original and its interpretation by its Muslim scribe. I show in this paper that the ability to convey, or so to speak, to “unveil,” new meanings makes translation a powerful means to convert the opponent and to strengthen the faith in Islam. The analysis aims to shed light on the intellectual and social milieus of “the lines of the Torah,” and deals with translation in other anti-Jewish Muslim writings from the Christian territories: the “Jewish Confession,” or Ashamnu; the chronology in Seder Olam; and the lengthy Muslim anti-Jewish polemic of *Ta‘yid al-milla* (*The Fortification of the Faith or Community*).

Keywords

Mudejar and Morisco Polemics against Judaism – Jewish Conversion to Islam in Christian Iberia – Translating the Qur‘ān – Translating Jewish Sources – Ka‘b al-Aḥbār – Allographic Practices

1 Introduction

This essay discusses the concept of translation in the narrative of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār's conversion from Judaism to Islam,¹ as presented in a number of written sources. One of them was written in a Romance language using Arabic characters, a form known as Aljamiado. It is preserved in the *separata* booklet of a miscellaneous manuscript copied in Calanda (Aragon) by a Mudejar Muslim from Christian Iberia, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Qalahurrī al-Sinhājī, in 866 H (=1481 CE).² As I argue below, the content and use of language in this Aljamiado copy strongly suggests that Kaʿb's narrative of conversion was read by individuals with an intimate knowledge of Judaism and Jewish sources—possibly converts from Judaism—and that translation was likely a main avenue for the circulation and shaping of such knowledge.

It is fundamental to bear in mind that translation not only brings about change in language but it also requires interpretation of the source text (and therefore, its adaptation and shift in meaning) tailored to audiences with different expectations and needs than those of the original text that is translated. Given that the process of translation entails a selection of elements that acquire prominence over others, we could say that inquiry into this practice is especially revealing as far as Muslim modes of self-understanding are concerned.

- 1 Kaʿb al-Aḥbār probably converted in 17 H/638 CE, during the first decades of Islam's emergence. References to Kaʿb's life are found in the standard bibliographical sources, including M. Schmitz, "Kaʿb al-Aḥbār," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, 12 vols., ed. P. J. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W. P. Heinrichs *et al.* (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2005), 4:316–317; Michael Lecker, "Kaʿb al-Aḥbār," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica, Second Edition*, 22 vols., ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA in association with the Keter Pub. House, 2007), 11: 584–585. For Kaʿb's biography, see also Israel Wolfensohn, "Kaʿb al-Aḥbār und seine Stellung im Ḥadīth und in der islamischen Legendenliteratur," (Ph.D. diss., Goethe-Universität zu Frankfurt am Main, 1933) at 13–35 and Israel Ben Zeev (Abū Zuaib), *Kaʿb al-Aḥbār: Jews and Judaism in the Islamic Tradition* (al-Quds: Maṭbaʿa al-Sharq al-Taʾawuniyya, 1976), in Arabic.
- 2 The shelf-mark of the undated *separata* in this miscellaneous is Zaragoza, Fondo Documental Histórico de las Cortes de Aragón, FDHCA, MS FDHCA L536-3, fols. 14r–17r. I provide a transcription of these folia in the Appendix. "Romance" is used here to refer to the various languages spoken in the Christian territories such as Castilian, Aragonese, Valencian, Catalan, and so on. The name of the copyist and the date of copy are found on fol. 159r, MS FDHCA L536: See the description of the manuscript provided by M^a José Cervera Fras, "Descripción de los manuscritos mudéjares de Calanda (Teruel)," in *Aragon en la Edad Media X–XI: homenaje a la profesora emérita María Luisa Ledesma Rubio* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, Departamento de Historia Medieval, Ciencias y Técnicas Historiográficas y Estudios Árabes e Islámicos, 1993), 165–187 at 182–187.

This general observation is also valid for the Muslims living in Christian Iberia whose views on Judaism and Jews, I argue, must be seen through the lens of Walid Saleh's notion of "constructing ambivalence" concerning the Qur'anic views on the Jewish and Christian scriptures. From this perspective, I will address translation in this narrative by inquiring into three issues: (1) the Aljamiado account of Ka'b's conversion as detailed in the *separata* booklet MS FDHCA L536-3; (2) the place of this account in the said miscellaneous, in relation to other sources on Judaism and Jews; and (3) the broader circulation of Ka'b's narrative of conversion among Mudejars and Moriscos.

This translation authored by Muslims from Christian Iberia becomes particularly significant when studied against the backdrop of the specific historical, social, and cultural conditions in the territories. The edicts of forced conversion of 1526 deprived Aragonese Mudejars of the right to officially practice Islam. They were forced to convert to Christianity, and become Moriscos, or else to emigrate. The same type of regulations had previously been enforced on Mudejars from other territories. Over time, the Morisco population, most of which maintained its adherence to Islam in secret, was increasingly persecuted and finally expelled from Spain between 1609–1614.³ Mudejars (free Muslims) and Moriscos (Muslims forced to convert to Christianity) endured the restrictions and intense Christian proselytizing campaigns that, eventually, were championed by former Muslims.

A meaningful, coetaneous example of this hostile environment is the work of Juan Andrés. He was born in Xàtiva (Valencia) as a Muslim and, after his conversion to Christianity at the turn of the fifteenth century, became active in Granada and Aragon. Juan Andrés wrote a refutation of Islam and translated the Qur'an and other Islamic sources into Aragonese.⁴ Christians made use of Muslim and Jewish scriptures—both originals and translations—in their polemics against these two groups, which, in turn, competed with each

3 In 1499 in Granada, in 1502 in the Crown of Castile, and in 1516 in the Crown of Navarre.

4 Juan Andrés claims that the bishop of Barcelona, Martín García, asked him to carry out such translations. Ryan Szpiech, "A Witness of Their Own Nation: On the Influence of Juan Andrés," in *After Conversion: Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016), 174–198 at 178 note 11 (quoting Juan Andrés, *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán*, ed. Elisa Ruiz García (preliminary study) and María Isabel García-Monge (critical edition), (Mérida: Editorial Regional de Extremadura, 2003), 91. See also, Mercedes García-Arenal, Katarzyna Starczewska, and Ryan Szpiech, "The Perennial Importance of Mary's Virginity and Jesus' Divinity: Qur'anic Quotations in Iberian Polemics After the Conquest of Granada (1492)," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 20.3 (2018): 51–80; and Ryan Szpiech, Mercedes García-Arenal, and Katarzyna Starczewska, "'Deleytaste del dulce sono y no pensaste en las palabras': Rendering Arabic in the Antialcoranes," *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 5.1 (2018): 99–132.

other to climb up the social ladder. Anti-Jewish discourses left their mark in Christian thought and, as David Nirenberg has compellingly shown, became essential in the construction of Christian modes of self-understanding long after the expulsions of the Jews in 1492.⁵ Muslims from the Christian territories eventually sided with Christian anti-Jewish polemical stances; they also brought forward their own discourses about Judaism and Jews with the aim of preserving and strengthening the faith in Islam. To this end, educated Muslims took upon themselves the task of translating Islamic and non-Islamic sources. Against this background, it is easy to grasp why the Mudejars and the Moriscos, as well as converts to Islam, could have found miscellaneous sources in the vein of MS FDHCA L536 useful for teaching and learning Islamic views on Jews and Judaism, and for getting a sense of the broader implications of translation.

Ka'b's narrative of conversion could have sparked Muslim interest because of his extraordinary reputation. Ka'b was considered to possess great wisdom and "was referred to as 'the Owner of the Two Books' (*dū-l-kitābayni*, i.e. the Qur'ān and the Bible)." He was perceived as the transmitter of a great number of narratives about Islam and the Jewish people as may be found in the *Isrā'īlyyāt*.⁶ Moshe Perlmann observes that early Muslim sources, such as the compendium of biographies compiled by Ibn Sa'd (c. 168 H/784 CE–230 H/845 CE), already mention Ka'b's conversion to Islam. In Ibn Sa'd's short account, Ka'b receives a number of sealed writings from his father, which includes a copy of the Torah. After an initial positive experience with the new expanding religion, that is, Islam, Ka'b begins to suspect that his father has hidden information from him: he opens the seals and finds proof of the coming of Muḥammad.⁷ In other versions of the narrative, Ka'b searches for the meaning

5 David Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth-Century Spain," *Past and Present* 174 (2002): 3–41.

6 Michael Lecker, "Ka'b al-Aḥbār." Ka'b is mentioned in Muslim, Jewish, and Christian sources. On the Muslim *Isrā'īlyyāt*, including some that are attributed to Ka'b, see Meir Jacob Kister, "*Haddithū 'an banī isrā'īla wa lā ḥaraja*: A Study of an Early Tradition," *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 215–239. Among the Christian examples we find the Christian anti-Muslim polemical text edited and translated by Barbara Roggema that credits Ka'b with the Muslims' worship of "Awkbar and the stone and the well, named Zamzam and the graves of Jannes and Jambres, the magicians of Egypt." See Barbara Roggema, *The Legend of Sergius Bahīrā: Eastern Christian Apologetics and Apocalyptic in Response to Islam* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), at 301 and the edition and translation of the text at 298–301. For Ka'b's role as a transmitter of biblical narratives, see Bernard Chapira, "Légendes bibliques attribuées à Ka'b el-Ahbar," *Revue des études juives* 69 (1919): 86–107 and *Revue des études juives* 70 (1920): 37–43.

7 Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, (*Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*) *Biographien der Basrier von der dritten Klasse bis zum Ende und der Traditionarier in anderen Teilen des Islams*, ed. Eduard Sachau (Leiden: Brill, 1338/1918), 7, part 2 at 156; Moshe Perlmann, "A Legendary Story of Ka'b al-Aḥbār's Conversion to Islam," in *Joshua Starr Memorial Volume: Studies in History and Philology* (New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, 1953), 85–99 at 86.

of a number of lines or *siṭras* that the Jews purportedly altered and erased from the Torah (henceforth “the lines of the Torah”). Spurred by curiosity, Kaʿb brings his questions to the most learned Jewish sages of his time. When he discovers that the *siṭras* should be interpreted according to various verses of the Qurʾān, he takes the decision to convert to Islam.⁸ The plot of this narrative focuses on the explanation and interpretation of the sacred sources, with the aim of conveying or “unveiling” the new meanings of the verses according to an Islamic perspective.

Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula were well acquainted with the literature on Kaʿb. In one particular verse, Ibn Quzmān (*d.* 555 H/1160 CE), the great poet from Cordoba, boasts that his own name is as famous as that of the Jewish convert.⁹ Arabic originals circulating in the Christian territories among Mudejars and Moriscos were translated and adapted by members of their communities into the various Romance languages, sometimes using the Arabic alphabet.¹⁰ Kaʿb is mentioned in such writings as the narrator of stories about the prophets: “Kaʿb the Storyteller,” *el historiador*, or *alakhbar*. Among such works, we find Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī’s (*fl.* thirteenth century) most famous *Kitāb al-Anwār* or *El libro de las Luces* (*The Book of Lights*), the *Recontamiento*

- 8 Moshe Perlmann has published the Arabic versions of this narrative kept in the British Museum, MS Or. 9737, fols. 132v–138r (*Qisṣaṣ Islām Kaʿb al-Aḥbar*), and in Cairo (*Risāla fī sabab Islām Kaʿb al-Aḥbar*, copied by Hassan Jalbī ibn al-Hāj Makkī in 1132 H/1719 CE, fols. 62–82; shelf mark *Tārīkh Arabī* 390, see *Fihrist al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya al-mahfūza bi-l-kutubkhāna al-khidaywīyya al-miṣriyya* (Cairo, 1308–09/1890–91), 7: 442; Nr. 2). Moshe Perlmann, “A Legendary Story” and Perlmann, “Another Kaʿb al-Aḥbār Story,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 45 (1954): 48–58. As this essay focuses specifically upon Kaʿb’s conversion in relation to Judaism, I do not deal with other accounts, such as those in which Kaʿb embraces Islam after listening to some verses of the Qurʾān. For these, see Abū-l-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-ʿAẓīm*, 2nd ed., ed. Sāmī ibn Muḥammad al-Salāmah (Riyāḍ: Dār Ṭibah li-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 1420/1999), 2: 325 and al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr al-Ṭabarī: Jāmiʿ al-Bayān ʿan Taʾwīl āy al-Qurʾān*, 24 vols., ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākīr and Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākīr (al-Qāhira: Maktaba Ibn Taymiyya), 8:446. For Kaʿb’s conversion, see also, Kābis-Laith, “Kaʿb ibn Mātī,” in ʿAlī Ibn ʿAsākīr, *Tārīkh madīnat Dimashq wa-dīkr faḍlihā wa-tasmiyat man ḥallahā min al-amāthil aw ijāza bi-nawāḥihā min wāridihā wa-ahlihā*, 80 vols., ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn Saʿīd ʿUmar al-ʿAmrawī (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1417/1997), 1: 151, 159–163, 167; and Ben Zeev, *Kaʿb al-Aḥbār*, 27–29.
- 9 James T. Monroe, “Salmā, el toro abigarrado, la doncella medrosa, Kaʿb al-Aḥbār y el conocimiento del árabe de don Juan Manuel: prolegómenos al Zéjel Núm. 148 de Ibn Quzmán,” *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 36 (1988): 853–78 at 856.
- 10 On this subject see Leonard Patrick Harvey’s unpublished doctoral dissertation: “The literary culture of the Moriscos 1492–1609: A study based on the extant manuscripts in Arabic and Aljamía,” (Ph.D. Diss., University of Oxford, 1958). See also Louis Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens: un affrontement polémique (1492–1640)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1977), and Gerard Albert Wieggers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450). His Antecedents & Successors* (Leiden, N.Y.: Brill, 1994).

de Yuçuf (*The Narration of Joseph*) and the *El Recontamiento de la Donzella Carcayona* (*The Narration of the Maiden Carcayona*).¹¹

Besides, narratives of Ka'b's conversion that circulated among specific communities were translated into Romance languages, using both Latin and Arabic characters. One of these translations is the Aljamiado copy here at hand that has been kept inside the miscellaneous manuscript MS F_{DHCA} L536. As is the case with the Arabic MS BNE 5390,¹² to which I will refer again below, this document has so far escaped the attention of scholars. To the Arabic corpus consisting of Ibn Sa'd's above mentioned account and those preserved in Cairo

11 Francisco Guillén Robles, *Leyendas de José hijo de Jacob y de Alejandro Magno sacadas de dos manuscritos moriscos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (Zaragoza: Imprenta del Hospicio Provincial, 1888), 4. Al-Bakrī claims to rely upon the authority of Ka'b. In a recent publication, Maribel Fierro explains that al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-Anwār* has only been preserved in Mudejar and Morisco copies and that it is not mentioned in Andalusī biographical and bibliographical sources. Maribel Fierro, "How Do We Know about the Circulation of Books in al-Andalus? The Case of al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-Anwār*," *Intellectual History of the Islamic World* 4 (2016): 152–169 at 153 and *passim*. In one manuscript from Christian Iberia containing the *Kitāb al-Anwār* (Real Academia de la Historia 11/9413, Olim. T-17), Ka'b is mentioned as a source of the *Estoria del día del juicio* (*Story of the Doomsday*), see Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes, *Los manuscritos aljamiado-moriscos de la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia (Legado Pascual de Gayangos)* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1998) at 105–112. Ka'b is also mentioned in Mohamad Rabadán's versification of the *Kitāb al-Anwār*, the *Discurso the la Luz*; see Max Günbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur Semitischen Sagenkund* (Leiden: Brill, 1893), 271 and 282, quoting Joseph Morgan's translation of Rabadán's work, *Mahometism Fully Explained: Containing many surprizing passages, not to be found in any other author* (London: Printed by E. Curll, W. Mears, and T. Payne, 1723), 1: 281–311 and 325–371. For the *Recontamiento de Yuçuf* and the *El recontamiento de la donzella Carcayona*, see *Memoria de los Moriscos: escritos y relatos de una diáspora cultural*, ed. Alfredo Mateos Paramio and Carlos Villaverde Amieva (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2010), Num. 41: Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, MS BNE 5292 at 214–215, 336, and Num 51: MS BNE 5313 at 200–201, 331, and the transcription of fragments of these manuscripts at 280–285 and 305–309 therein. MS n° 1944 of the Bibliothèque Nationale d'Algérie contains various sayings attributed to Ka'b, see Edmond Fagnan, *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits de France: première tranche, du n. 1 au n. 1987* (Alger: Bibliothèque Nationale d'Algérie, 1995, 2nd ed. [= repr. of the ed. Paris, 1893], 555–556. Moreover, a broad range of knowledge is attributed to Ka'b, such as the "*a'mār bahā'im*" ("life span of animals"), Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS Escorial 1668, fol. 152v. See Mònica Colominas Aparicio, "An Arabic Missing Link to Aljamiado Literature: Muslim Gatherings (Majālis) and the Circulation of Andalusī and Mashriqī Writings among the Mudejars and the Moriscos (MS Árabe 1668, Royal Library of El Escorial, Madrid)/Un eslabón árabe Perdido De La Literatura Aljamiada: Reuniones Musulmanas (majālis) Y La circulación De Escritos andalusies Y mašriqies entre los mudéjares y los moriscos (MS Árabe 1668, Biblioteca Real de El Escorial, Madrid)," *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 41.1 (2020): 95–147. Unless indicated otherwise, all translations are mine.

12 Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS BNE 5390.

and in the British Museum that Perlmann has studied (henceforth C and L, respectively), we should also add another Romance translation preserved in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid.¹³

There are various reasons why this Aljamiado account is an appropriate starting point for discussing translations. Firstly, its text (MS FDHCA L536-3) combines a Romance language with Arabic script and provides the verses from the Torah/Qurʾān in Arabic with their translations into Romance (Aljamiado). Secondly, this *separata* contains a number of texts dealing with “Jewish subjects.” Kaʿb’s conversion (fols. 14r–17r) is preceded by two texts (*ḥadīth*, or traditions about Muhammad): *Ḥadīth de-l baño de Zaryāb* (*Hadith of the Bath of Zaryāb*) (1v–8r) and *Ḥadīth de diez çaçerdotes judiyos que demandaron çiertas demandas al-annabī Muḥammad* (“Hadith of the ten Jewish Priests who asked certain Questions to the Prophet Muḥammad” also known as “Questions asked by the Jews”) (fols. 8v–14r), which tell how a group of Jews converted to Islam after posing a series of questions to Muḥammad.¹⁴ Moreover, MS FDHCA L536-3 is included in MS FDHCA L536, the manuscript in which we encounter *Taʿyīd al-Milla* (*Fortification of the Faith or Community*) (fols. 123v–159r), the well-known, anti-Jewish polemics.¹⁵ An outstanding element in this polemics is the

- 13 Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, RAH 11/9393; Olim. S1 (fols. 93r–99r), which belongs to a miscellaneous dated to the end of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the seventeenth century. See, Galmés de Fuentes, *Los manuscritos aljamiado-moriscos*, 11–16. Jorge Pascual Asensi plans to edit this work. See Jorge Pascual Asensi, “Tras los ‘signos de la profecía’: a propósito de las fuentes ideológicas y literarias del Fecho de Buluqiya y su pervivencia en la literatura piadosa de los moriscos,” *Sharq al-Andalus* 18 (2003–2007): 173–201 at 186, n. 73. For the first two manuscripts, I follow the abbreviations provided by Perlmann, “Another Kaʿb al-Aḥbār Story,” 48.
- 14 The narrative is therefore closely related to another that tells of the conversion of a well-known Jew Abd Allāh ibn Salām. The “demandas de los judíos” are discussed in more detail in Pascual Asensi, “Tras los ‘signos de la profecía,” especially at 190–95, and Mònica Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics of the Muslims of Late Medieval Iberia: Identity and Religious Authority in Mudejar Islam* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018), 79–82 and 186–196.
- 15 An early twentieth-century author like Asín Palacios renders the Spanish translation of the title of this treatise as “Confirmación de la religión” (Confirmation of the Religion). See, Miguel Asín Palacios, “Un tratado morisco contra los judíos: (El código arábigo n. xxxi de la colección Gayangos: *تأييد الملة*),” in *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg* (Paris: Ernest Lérout Éditeur, 1909), 343–366, at 343–344. It is also referred to as “Fortification of the Faith” in some recent publications in English. See for example, Esperanza Alfonso, *Islamic Culture Through Jewish Eyes: Al-Andalus from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century* (London, New York: Routledge, 2008), 30; Linda G. Jones, “Narrative and Counter-Narrative: Dominican and Muslim Preaching in Medieval Iberia,” in *The Friars and Their Influence in Medieval Spain*, ed. Francisco García-Serrano (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), 107–142 at 132; Kathryn Miller, *Guardians of Islam: Religious Authority and Muslim Communities of Late Medieval Spain* (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2008), 137. *Milla* can certainly mean “religion” but it is also commonly translated as “community.” In

abundant use of passages of the Torah, thus providing evidence of the knowledge and circulation of the Jewish Scriptures among peninsular Muslims.¹⁶ Of at least equal importance is the fact that the colophon of the *Ta'yīd* (fols. 159v–161r) is followed by a number of texts written in Aljamiado and in Hebrew with Arabic characters.¹⁷

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- the case of the title, I prefer to maintain both options, “faith and “community” because it better reflects the main intention of its author expressed in the introduction of his work, that is, to strengthen a community that is defined by its faith and weakened by the difficulties of living outside Muslim territory. Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, 87.
- 16 See for this polemic, Leon Jacob Kassin, “A Study of a Fourteenth-century Polemical Treatise *Adversus Judaeos*,” (PhD Diss., Columbia University, 1969); and Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, 82–93 and 152–181, where this work and the knowledge of the Torah among Iberian Muslims are discussed in detail. For the characteristics of the contents of the *Ta'yīd* in the manuscript discussed here, please see Mònica Colominas Aparicio, “The Mudejar Polemic *Ta'yīd al-Milla* and Conversion between Islam and Judaism in the Christian Territories of the Iberian Peninsula” in *Polemical Encounters: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in Iberia and Beyond*, eds. Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 53–70 here at 65–66.
- 17 On fol. 162v we encounter various texts from another source that reference the year 1488 CE according to the Christian calendar, and on fol. 161v a number of dates according to the Islamic and the Christian calendars, the latest being the year 942 H/1536 CE. See further details in Cervera Fras, “Descripción,” 184. The writing of Hebrew in Arabic script is sporadically used by the Mudejars and the Moriscos in some adaptations of the *Ta'yīd*. This is the case in verses from the Torah dealing with purity on fol. 34r of the Aljamiado adaptation of the *Ta'yīd al-Milla* in MS BNE 4944, fols. 1r–36r. One example of its use by Iberian Muslims are the Hebrew and Aramean biblical fragments written with Arabic characters in the anti-Christian polemic by Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī (1182–1258 CE), *al-I' lām bi-mā fi Dīn an-Naṣarā min al-Fasād wa-l-Awhām wa-l-ḥār Maḥāsin Dīn al-Islām wa-l-ḥbāt Nubuwwat Nabīnā Muḥammad 'alayhi aṣ-ṣalāt wa-s-salām* (*Demonstration of the Corruptions and Delusions of the Religion of the Christians and an Exposition of the Merits of the Religion of Islam and an Affirmation of the Prophethood of our Prophet Muḥammad, Peace Be upon Him*). See Juan Pedro Monferrer Sala, “Siete citas hebreas más una aramea transcritas al árabe en el I' lām del Imām al-Qurṭubī,” *Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebraicos* 48 (1999): 393–403. Joshua Blau notes the use of transliterations of Hebrew in Arabic characters among the Karaites. See Joshua Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judeo-Arabic: A Study of the Origins of Middle Arabic*, second edition (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute for the Study of Jewish Communities in the East, 1981), 43. Blau *pace* Edelman argues here and on p. 40 n. 4 that the Vatican Borgian Arabian manuscript 129, which contains an Arabic version of the Pentateuch with the section titles and some scattered words in Hebrew, has a Karaite provenance. Ronny Volandt questions this. Scholars, such as Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, have also shown that this manuscript circulated among the Muslims in the Christian territories and belonged to the Pastrana findings. According to Van Koningsveld, three of the known manuscript copies of the *Ta'yīd* are related to this version of the Pentateuch. See for these points and the respective references, Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, 166–167.

My purpose in the following sections is to discuss, first, the Aljamiado account of Ka'b's conversion as preserved in MS FDHCA L536-3, paying special attention to the interlinear translation of the Qur'an and the various ways in which the narrative accommodates Muslim claims contradicting the Jewish position and Jewish sources. In particular, I consider how the translation merges recognition of the validity of God's revelation to the Jews with the Muslim accusation that Jews have tampered with their Scriptures to hide the signs of the advent of Muḥammad and Islam.

In the second part, I will review the texts that come after the colophon of the *Ta'yīd* in this miscellaneous collection with respect to their contents. María José Cervera Fras's description of MS FDHCA L536 deals with two of them and mentions the fact that some Hebrew words have been adapted using Arabic characters. However, this description does not consider the contents of the texts.¹⁸

In the final section, I provide an overview of the manuscripts concerning Ka'b's conversion that were in circulation among Muslims from the Christian territories, and a brief discussion of how these manuscripts may relate to one another. While each question undoubtedly warrants further inquiry, by considering them in relation to one other, we are able to develop a broader comprehension of the narrative of Ka'b's conversion, as well as the use of translation of the sacred texts of Islam and Judaism in Muslim anti-Jewish literature from Christian Iberia.

2 Translating the Sacred Text: The Qur'ānic Reading of the "Lines of the Torah"

In MS FDHCA L536-3, the *ḥadīth* explaining Ka'b al-Aḥbār's conversion to Islam is given through a chain of transmitters (*isnād*), which here has as its first link, or authority, the second Rightly Guided Caliph, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb c. 583 H (644 CE). 'Umar sends for Ka'b to ask why he converted to Islam. Addressing the "King of the Believers" (*Rey de los creyentes*), Ka'b explains that he was born the son of one of the most learned Jews of his time. When his father was dying, he gave him a sealed book with the request that the book be handed over to the most learned Jew. Ka'b disobeyed the command and read the book himself. Within it, he found the Torah and noticed that nine lines had been erased (*çitraç amahadas*—alternatively written as *amahadas*) and were impossible to

18 Cf. Cervera Fras, "Descripción," 183 and 186.

decipher.¹⁹ Having resolved to uncover their meaning, Ka'b went to a "Jewish center for learning" (*estudio de-los de-banī Içrā'īl*), serving its master over the course of eight years. When the master was about to die, Ka'b posed the question of why those nine lines of the Torah had been hidden and what meaning they held. The master refused to answer, insisting there was no need for him to know this. Ka'b went to another master and served him for five years. On his deathbed, this second master gave Ka'b the same answer as the first. Over the four years that followed, Ka'b served a third master. This master conceded that he would reveal the meaning of the verses if Ka'b promised that he would not abandon Judaism. Ka'b agreed, took an oath, and came to know the meanings of the nine verses. The story ends in an unexpected way, where no explicit reference is made to Ka'b's conversion: rather, it is 'Umar who converts. This ending is somewhat puzzling since, as previously noted, 'Umar is saluted by Ka'b as the "King of the Believers."²⁰

The conversion of Ka'b is one of several narratives on Jews and Judaism found in MS FDHCA L536 and in the appended booklets that touch on a matter of major disquietude for members of the Mudejar and the Morisco communities. This matter concerns engagement with and inquiry into the sacred texts of their religious counterparts, with whom they lived side-by-side. Walid Saleh has recently referred to the well-known Qur'anic perspective on this phenomenon as "the 'constructive ambivalence' [...] towards the Scripture of Judaism and Christianity."²¹ This means that the Qur'an acknowledges the revelations God has previously made to mankind, in particular, those related in the *Taurah* (Torah) and in the *Injil* (Gospel), but claims that they have been abrogated by Islam, and, moreover, that the Jews and the Christians have misread and

19 This is likely a Romance word derived from the Arabic root *mḥw* (to erase) which is employed, for example, in the Arabic account in MS RAH 11/9393, fol. 136v. However, the alternation of kh/h in the Aljamiado text raises questions about the influence here of the Aragonese term "amagar" ("to conceal"), which perhaps needs to be understood as "to obscure (i.e. the meaning)."

20 'Umar is traditionally addressed in the Arabic narratives as *amīr al- mu'minīn* ("Lord of the Believers"). See, Perlmann, "Another Ka'b al-Aḥbār Story," 52, and by the same author *A Legendary Story*, 93–94. This is very likely to be the term translated here. If this is indeed the case, then in a conversion narrative like the one at hand, the term "believers" can possibly be understood in the inclusive sense pointed out by Fred Donner for the formative period of Islam, that is to say, as a community of monotheists who follow the guidance of Muḥammad and not only Muslims. See Fred M. Donner, *Muhammad and the Believers: At the Origins of Islam* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2010). I thank Sinem Eryilmaz for this suggestion.

21 Walid Saleh, "The Hebrew Bible in Islam," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*, ed. Stephen B. Chapman and Marvin A. Sweeney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 407–425 at 411–412.

distorted the respective original messages of these revelations. The religious leaders of these two communities are to be blamed for tampering with the texts and for making their utmost effort to conceal signs of the coming of Muḥammad in God's earlier revelations. This narrative warns of the perils of trusting the Jews and their teachings, while also providing a striking example of the rewards that await Muslims who gain insight into their religious counterparts' sacred texts. Therefore, I would like to suggest that "constructive ambivalence" be read as a constituent element in the translations of the sacred sources of the Jews (the lines of the verses from the Torah/Qur'ān) found in the narrative of the conversion of Ka'b.

Two elements call for specific attention in this regard. The first is the dual role of the Jewish sages in hiding or disclosing knowledge about Islam and its sacred sources. After all, it is a Jewish individual who, as Perlmann rightly notes, "had done some Qur'ān reading too," and not a Muslim, or the person endowed with the responsibility of disclosing the meaning of the lines of the Torah and of translating the revelations from God.²² The second is the more or less direct correspondence between the lines of the Torah and the Qur'ān. Early Muslim sources refer to this correspondence, suggesting that the beginning and the end of the Torah are identical to Sūrat al-An'am and Sūrat Hūd respectively.²³ In the Arabic manuscript from Cairo, discussed by Perlmann, the disclosure of each verse is preceded by the sentence: "I read it in the Torah, interpreted in Hebrew, and found its elucidation *bayān* in the book of God."²⁴ The same is true for the Arabic MS BNE 5390, where we read "as for the first *siṭra*, I found it written in Hebrew but I exposed it in Arabic, and I found its elucidation in the book of Allāh."²⁵ This is also the case for the literal translation into Romance in Latin characters in MS RAH 11/9393 (Olim. S1, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid).²⁶ In contrast, the Aljamiado narrative under discus-

22 Perlmann, "Another Ka'b al-Aḥbār Story," 50.

23 Kister, "Haddithū," 226 n. 65 quoting Abū Nu'aym.

24 Perlmann, "Another Ka'b al-Aḥbār Story," 49. With emphasis in the original.

25 MS BNE 5390, fol. 137r:

اما السطر الاول فوجدته مكتوب بالعبرانية فشرحت كلامه بالعربية فوجدت بيان ذلك في كتاب الله

26 MS RAH 11/9393, fol. 95v: "aquanto el verso primero pues leyó en el ataura y declarelo en arabigo. Y halle sudeclaración en el alcoran" ("as regards to the first verse, I read it in the Torah and I exposed it in Arabic. And I found its elucidation (or declaration) in the Qur'ān"). When not mentioned otherwise, translations are mine. *Bayān* has several meanings, including "elucidation" and "declaration." The Castilian term "declaración" includes both and therefore both meanings are mentioned here. See the entry at the Real Academia de la Lengua, <https://dle.rae.es/declaración?m=form>. More will be said below about this early seventeenth-century manuscript copy.

sion here, although at first it refers to the lines as part of a book whose content corresponds entirely to that of the Torah, does not reiterate any connection of these lines to the Torah. We read: “*A cuanto la-siṭra primera pues es el dicho del-al-Qurʾān honrado donde dize*” (“with regard to the first verse this is the saying of the noble Qurʾān, where it says”).²⁷ This comes close to the wording in the British Museum manuscript L where there is no mention of the direct connection of these lines to the Torah at this point in the text. Instead, we read that the Jewish sage claims that the first verse is His (meaning Allāh’s) Word (*fa-hiyya qauluhu taʿalā*). As Perlmann observes, at the very end of the manuscript L, the “Shahāda is mined out of the Torah.”²⁸ In a similar vein, the Aljamiado rendering of the narrative also relocates the meanings of the sacred Muslim and Jewish sources and, as it will become clear, the use of different scripts appears here to come in handy.

As far as the renderings of the Qurʾānic verses are concerned, we are able to observe adherence to the canon. Likewise, the Romance translation in Aljamiado closely follows the Arabic. An exception can be found in the third line of the Torah/Qurʾān verse, Sūrat al-Baqara 2.132, where Ibrāhīm (Abraham) admonishes his male sons, and Yaʿqūb did the same. The Romance (probably Navarro-Aragonese) translation of the Arabic verb “admonish” is *castigo*, so we read Ibrāhīm admonishing his son Yaʿqūb (sic) “telling them”: “Children! Allāh Almighty has chosen and has granted exclusively to you the religion [(*dīn*); do not die if you are not Muslims!” [...].²⁹ The copyist omits part of this verse (mentioning only Yaʿqūb and not his other sons), yet the pronoun for the direct object still agrees in plural, using the word *desiyendoles*, meaning “telling them.” The emendations in the first verse, which reads *sino que vosotros (seays) se-ayays musulimes* (“if you are not Muslims”), and in the fifth verse, *el dīn de hoy ha complido vosotros (pues aldīn mas gracias) mi gracia* (“the religion has fulfilled my favor upon you”) could be *lapsus calami*.

Finally, references to the Qurʾān and to some ritual practices that are of central import to Islam such as the ablutions and the worship of Allāh are added to the Romance translation. This occurs in the seventh verse, “those who will

27 MS FDHCA L-536-3, f. 15r.

28 Perlmann, “Another Kaʿb al-Aḥbār Story,” 51; here, referring to L.

29 The Aljamiado translates “banihi” as “son”, and not “sons”, and the Arabic “wa” (Eng. and) is not translated. It is unclear whether the scribe thinks that Yaʿqūb is Ibrāhīm’s son instead of his grandson. MS FDHCA L536-3, fol. 15v, “castigo Ibrāhīm a su fiyo Yaʿqūb (*yā fhs*) desiyendoles ansi: ‘Yā fijos Allāh taʿalā escojido y ha especialado a vosotros al-dīn pues no morais sino que vosotros morais musulimes.” See footnote 76 (infra) for some indications about the language being Navarro-Aragonese.

believe in our verses (*ayas*) and in the Qurʾān will be Muslims,”³⁰ and in the ninth verse, “they will have marks in their faces from the traces of the ablutions and the prostration” and “this is their sign in the Torah and their resemblance in the Gospel (*Avanjelio*) and the Gospel (*Injil*) and the Qurʾān.”³¹ *Avanjelio* could be a rendering of the Arabic *Injil* or perhaps a specification grounded on the well-known distinction made by Muslims between the original message of Jesus to the Christians (specifically, the *Injil*) and the corruption of words given by the Apostles (i.e. the Gospels).³² In any case, the last verse clearly emphasizes that the coming of Muḥammad as a prophet is foretold in all the revelations God has given to humankind, Muslims, Christians, and Jews alike. The working of “constructive ambivalence” concerning Muslim discourses of identity is easy to perceive in this narrative. We can observe it in the statements on truth where the sacred texts of the religions coexisting with Islam are referenced, albeit only in those parts that foretell the imminent arrival of Islam. It is especially noteworthy that the act of foretelling is connected to the translation of verses of the Torah, which, as may here be reiterated, are “the [sayings] of the noble Qurʾān.” In this way, translation becomes a valuable instrument in the articulation of the Muslims’ self-understandings when treating Jewish sources.

3 Jewish Conversion to Islam and the Narratives about Jews and Judaism

Let us now discuss the four texts that follow the anti-Jewish polemic of the *Taʾyīd* in MS FDHCA L536.³³

30 Additions are underlined. “Aquellos que creyeran con nuestas aleyas y con la-l-Qurʾān seran musulmes,” translating *Sūrat al-Zukhruf*, 43:69, fol. 16r.

31 “Seran senalados en sus caras del rastro *de la-l-waḍū* i-ḍ-el-al-sajdar,” translating *Sūrat al-Fath*, 48.29 and “aquel es su seña en la Taurah i su semblansa *en l-Avanjelio* i en la-l-Injil i en la-l-Qurʾān,” fol. 16v. My emphasis.

32 Reference to the Gospel is made in L, as well, and Kaʿb claims: “I consulted the Gospel, and found that what was erased from the Torah was erased from the Gospel, too.” Perlmann, “A Legendary Story,” 87 and 94. The Arabic reads here *Injil*. The small changes to the Arabic text introduced in the Romance translation provide evidence for scholarly views such as those offered by Thomas Burman who claims that the Qurʾān in Christian Spain blurred the boundaries between text and commentary. See Thomas E. Burman, *Reading the Qurʾān in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007).

33 MS FDHCA L536, fols. 159v–161r. After these fragments, that might have been penned by al-Qalahūrrī, too, one folio contains texts copied by another hand with annotations to

3.1 *The Viddui*

The **bidduy**, the one that is said to a Jewish person when they are about to pass away. We certainly sinned, we, our fathers, we blamed, we falsified, **abal ḥaṭanu anaḥnu, ba-abushshenu, ašamnu, baḡhadnu**, we stole and we spoke ugliness, we deviated and we ‘azzalnu, **dibbaru ddoḡi, he‘ebinu, behir**, spoiled, we became proud, we stole, we thought falsehood, **ša‘nu, zadnu, ḡamaznu, tafalnu-sheker**, we lied evil things and we corrupted ourselves and we failed, we erred, **kizawnu, rra‘utherra, shša‘nu, shiḡadnu, ṭa‘inu**, we cursed, we deviated, and we casted away Your commandments, **te‘awnu, ti‘ta‘nu, beserenu mimmishsheḡ**, and Your judgments, the good, and it did not profit us, **amimishsheḡ ḡaṭabim bello shabalanu**, and You, [are] just about everything and what comes upon us, **beata ṣadiq ‘al kol habba ‘alenu**, that you are doing the truth, and we spoiled, **kiemeth ‘asītha, be‘anaḡnu hirša‘nu**.³⁴

The first word, *el-bidduy*, is written in bold. The expression *abal anahnu hatanu* (“we have sinned”) indicates that this corresponds to the *Viddui*, or the Jewish “confession of sins.” The text is structured with the Aljamiado translation placed above the Hebrew text in Arabic characters. In this account, the Hebrew word *behirša‘anu* is cut off and split between two lines.³⁵

The *Viddui* is, indeed, an expression of repentance. Prayers starting with the word *ašamnu*, as is the case here, are used in various Jewish services, in particular those carried out on the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), and also at a

the year 1488 CE on fol. 162v, and a number of dates according to the Islamic and the Christian calendars on fol. 161v, the latest being the year 942 H /1536 CE. See further details in Cervera Fras, “Descripción,” 184.

34 MS FDHCA L536, fols. 159v–160r: “el-vidduy la que dizen a la persona cuando se quiere morir de los judíos [abal ḥaṭan]. De cierto pecamos nosotros, nuestros padres, culpamos, falsemos, **abal ḥaṭanu anaḡnu, ba-abushshenu, ašamnu, baḡhadnu**; robemos y fablemos malvestades, fazimos atorçer y fezimos, ‘azzalnu, **dibbaru ddoḡi, he‘ebinu, behir**; enmaleçer, soberbemos, furtemos, pensemos falsa, **ša‘nu, zadnu, ḡamaznu, tafalnu-sheker**; mos, malezasas y enmaleçimos y fallemos erremos, **kizawnu, rra‘utherra, shša‘nu, shiḡadnu, ṭa‘inu**; maldezimos, atorçimos, y tiremos nos de tus mandamientos, **te‘awnu, ti‘ta‘nu, beserenu mimmishsheḡa**; y de tus juçios los buenos y no aprovecha a nosotros, **amimishsheḡa ḡaṭabim bello shabalanu**; y tu justo sobre todo e lo que viene sobre nosotros, **beata ṣadiq ‘al kol habba ‘alenu**; que verdad fezis y nosotros enmaleçimos, **kiemeth ‘asītha, be‘anaḡnu hirša‘nu**.” The Hebrew is rendered following the Arabic transcription, including the word divisions, yet “ā” becomes “e” and “u” sometimes “o.”

35 The same disposition is found in the interlineal translation of the Qur‘ān included in this miscellaneous (e.g. MS FDHCA L536, fol. 1r).

person's deathbed.³⁶ The latter use corresponds to the confession considered here. Inquisitorial records published by Miguel Ángel Motis Dolader *et al.* from the courts of Zaragoza and Teruel-Albarracín, both in Aragon, provide evidence of the ritual practices of Jews and converts to Christianity (also known as Marranos) in these towns, and of the great importance that they attached to their prayers, among which the confession of sins on the Yom Kippur.³⁷ That the *Vidui* was an important practice among the Jews in the Christian territories is attested to by the composition of new texts of this kind. One example is the long confession (*Ha-vidui ha-gadol*) attributed to the fourteenth-century Rabbi Shem Tov Ibn Arduziel ben Isaac, or Santob de Carrión,³⁸ well known for his Castilian poem dedicated to King Alfonso XI, the *Proverbios Morales* (*Moral Proverbs*).³⁹ Additionally, Inquisitorial reports from places such as Teruel reveal

36 See the entries "Ashamnu" and "Vidui Shekhiv Mera" in Macy Nulman, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Prayer: The Ashkenazic and Sephardic Rites* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996), at 38–39 and 360, respectively.

37 Miguel Ángel Motis Dolader, María Gloria Díaz Barón, Francisco Javier Pascual Pérez, and Luisa María Sánchez Aragonés, "Ritos y festividades de los judeoconversos aragoneses en la Edad Media: la celebración del Yom Kippur o día del perdón," *Revista de Historia Jerónimo Zurita* 61–62 (1990): 59–92 at 69–70. See also on the fifteenth-century judeoconversos from Lleida, Miguel Ángel Motis Dolader, "Claves e identidades de los judeoconversos de Lleida según los procesos inquisitoriales a finales del siglo XV," *Tamid: Revista Catalana Anual d'Estudis Hebraics* 10 (2014): 81–124 at 91–99. Not only Christians but also Mudejars were aware of the ritual practices of their neighbors and became involved in the trials. For example, the Mudejar Yoçe Pachel from Molina de Aragón acted as accuser in the trial against his neighbor Juan Fernández Gresón accused of celebrating Yom Kippur. Miguel Ángel Motis Dolader, María Gloria Díaz Barón, Francisco Javier Pascual Pérez y Luisa María Sánchez Aragonés, "Ritos y festividades de los judeoconversos aragoneses," quoting Enrique Cantera Montenegro, "Solemnidades, ritos y costumbres de los judaizantes de Molina de Aragón a fines de la Edad Media," in *Actas del II Congreso Internacional Encuentro de las tres Culturas 3–6 octubre, 1983* (Toledo: Ayuntamiento de Toledo, 1985), 59–88 at 66–67 and 71 n. 82 and 83.

38 See Sanford Shephard, *Shem Tov, His World and His Words* (Miami: Ediciones Universal, 1978) and Theodore Anthony Perry, *The Moral Proverbs of Santob de Carrion: Jewish Wisdom in Christian Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987). Also, Ilia Galán, *Orígenes de la filosofía en español: actualidad del pensamiento hebreo de Santob* (Madrid: Dykinson, 2013), a re-edition of his publication with a similar title in 2003. Two recent editions of the *Proverbios morales* are those from Paloma Díaz Mas and Carlos Mota (Madrid: Cátedra, 1998) and Marcella Ciceri (Modena: Mucchi, 1998). See also, Fellous, "Fifteenth-Century Castilian Translations," 215–219.

39 See Joel H. Klausner, "Reflections on Santob de Carrión," *Hispania* 46.2 (1963): 304–306 at 304. Klausner refers to Aarom Hezekiah Querido's *Orden de Ros Asanah y Kipur, por estilo corriente y seguido sin bover de una a otra parte, como se uza en este Kahal Kados de Amsterdam. 5486* (1726), and by the same author "The Historic and Social Milieu of Santob's 'Proverbios morales,'" *Hispania* 48.4 (1965): 783–789 at 788. Amparo Alba Cecilia notes that this long *Vidui* (*Ha-Vidui ha-gadol*) is attributed to Santob in two eighteenth-century editions. Yet, it is also found without attribution in Aarom Hezekiah Querido's

a strong sense of community among Jews and conversos in the practices and acts of repentance held in the indoor gatherings on Yom Kippur. One account of these gatherings from 1518 CE informs us that when on trial, the converso Tolosana Muncada said that on Yom Kippur, Jews forgave one another their sins, and that she and her sister “kissed the hands of their mother and asked her for forgiveness.”⁴⁰

Scholars date the translations of prayers and liturgical texts into Romance by Iberian Jews from the period before the expulsions in 1492 CE.⁴¹ Eleazar Gutwirth notes that although small in number, the prayers (or *siddurim*) that have been preserved within Romance, Inquisitorial, or historical accounts, from places such as Guadalupe (Cáceres), Cuenca, and Zaragoza, reveal a slight yet discernible increase in the use of such texts during the fifteenth century, especially among women.⁴² Gutwirth stresses the importance of the Iberian Jews’ oral traditions, demonstrated in their readiness to translate material from

Orden de Ros Asanah y Kipur, por estilo corriente y seguido sin bolver de una a otra parte, como se uza en este Kahal Kados de Amsterdam. 5486 (1726), a work that Adri K. Offenbergh locates in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana at the Amsterdam University Library, B. R. RON A-421 (Olim. 1859 E 6). See Adri K. Offenbergh, “The Riddle of the Baskets of 1726,” in *Studies in Hebrew Language and Jewish Culture*, ed. Martin F. J. Baasten and Reinier Munk (Doordrecht: Springer, 2007), 57–80 at 71 and 79.

40 “Quant era vesper, ella ditta confess y la dita sa germana besaben les mans a la dita sa mare, e demandaben li perdó,” AHN Inquisition Valencia Legajo 545, *pr.* 11 quoted in Manuel Sánchez Moya, “El ayuno del Yom Kippur entre los judaizantes Turulenses del siglo XV,” *Sefarad* 26.2 (1966): 273–304 at 297 and n. 67. See in the same article, 288–291 for the gatherings indoors.

41 Cecil Roth, “The Marrano Press in Ferrara 1552–1555,” *The Modern Language Review* 38.4 (1943): 307–317 at 308, and Eleazar Gutwirth, “Fragmentos de siddurim españoles en la Genizá,” *Sefarad: Revista de Estudios Hebraicos, Sefardíes y de Oriente Próximo* 40 (1980): 389–401. A recent publication on Late Medieval Castilian translations comes from Sonia Fellous, “Fifteenth-Century Castilian Translations from Hebrew Literature,” in *The Medieval Iberian Book in the Western Mediterranean*, ed. Javier del Barco (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015), 203–248.

42 Gutwirth refers to the reading by women of the Book of Esther in Romance in Zaragoza. Eleazar Gutwirth, “Religión, historia y las Biblias romanceadas,” *Revista Catalana de teología* 13.1 (1988): 115–133 at 120–122. This also occurred elsewhere, such as in Segovia in 1488 CE, that is, only seven years after MS FDHCA L536 was copied by al-Qalahūrrī in 866 H (=1481 CE). Gutwirth’s reference is based on the evidence of a sentence published by Margherita Morreale from the *Censura et confutation libri Talmud* (“Vocaboli giudeo-spagnuoli nella Censura et confutatio libri Talmud,” *Quaderni Ibero-Americani* 3.24 (1959): 577–580. See Gutwirth, “Fragmentos de siddurim,” 391 n. 9. Gutwirth’s publication of material from the Genizah updates and supplements the earlier notices of *siddurim* mentioned by Roth, “The Marrano Press,” 308 n. 2–5, see Gutwirth, “Fragmentos de siddurim,” notes on 389–391. See by the same author, “A Medieval Spanish Translation of the Avot: Genizah Fragments,” *Annali del Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 49 (1989): 289–300.

Hebrew into Romance during the Inquisitorial trials.⁴³ *Vidduim* are typically found in the printed prayer books in Spanish, compiled in Venetia and Ferrara by the Jews who had been expelled from the Iberian Peninsula.⁴⁴ Some evidence of their use by their descendants is provided in cases such as that of the seventeenth-century Miguel de Barrios (*d.* 1701 CE) who lived for a long time in Amsterdam and composed a sonnet and a version of the *Ashamnu*.⁴⁵ The *Viddui* under consideration resembles the first edition of Abraham of Usque's *Maḥzor* of the days of Rosh Hashana and Kippur,⁴⁶ strongly suggesting that the

43 Gutwirth, "Religión, historia," 130–132. Gutwirth argues against Roth about the existence of a canonical version of *siddur* among Iberian Jews. Cf. Roth "The Marrano Press in Ferrara," 308, with Gutwirth, "Fragmentos de siddurim," 400. Moreover, in his publications about Bibles in Romance, he problematizes qualifications such as "literal" when applied to the translation of these sources, and stresses the contextual specificity and the variety of translations paying special attention to the way the learning of the translations took place within the Jewish *aljamas*, see Eleazar Gutwirth, "Religión, historia," 126–130 and *passim*.

44 The bilingual prayer books from Isaac Cavallero in Venice in 1552 are contemporaneous with the translations of prayers books in Ferrara by Yomtob Atias and Abraham Usque, who joined efforts to print the Bible of Ferrara. See Aron di Leone Leoni, "The Pronunciation of Hebrew in the Western Sephardic Settlements (XVI–XX Centuries). First Part: Early Modern Venice and Ferrara (1)," *Sefarad: Revista de Estudios Hebraicos, Sefardíes y de Oriente Próximo* 66.1 (2006): 89–142 at 89. On page 92, this scholar notes, however, that the Spanish *Siddurim* "were anteceded by several editions of Hebrew *siddurim* printed in Venice according to the Sephardic rite." Also Aron di Leone Leoni, "The Pronunciation of Hebrew in the Western Sephardic Settlements (The Pronunciation of the Consonant 'Ayin)," *Sefarad: Revista de Estudios Hebraicos, Sefardíes y de Oriente Próximo* 68.1 (2008): 163–208, and in Atias's *Sedur de Oraciones de mes*, lost during the Second World War and found in Amsterdam, also by di Leone Leoni, "Il *Sedur de Oraciones de mes* di Yom Tob Atlas (Ferrara 1552)," *Sefarad: Revista de Estudios Hebraicos, Sefardíes y de Oriente Próximo*, 63 (2003): 89–117. For medieval vernacular translations of the Bible, see Gutwirth, "Religión, historia."

45 *Marrano Poets of the Seventeenth Century: An Anthology of the Poetry of João Pinto Delgado, Antonio Enríquez Gómez, and Miguel de Barrios*, ed. and trans. Timothy Oelman (London, Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1982), 219–291, particularly, "Acto sexto de contrición" at 254–257. On page 287, Oelman notes that this "Acto," which is based on the *Viddui* for the Yom Kippur, belonged to Barrio's collection of poems *Días penitenciales* and that it had as a source the vernacular prayer book.

46 The *Viddui* from *מהוור* (= *Maḥzor*) *Orden de Ros Asanah y Kipur, trasladado en Español, y de nuevo emendado. Ferrara: por yndustria y diligencia de Abraha Usque Ben Selomon Usque Portugues y estampado en su casa y a su costa*, 15 de Elul 5313 [1553], 86 <http://bvpb.mcu.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=469505> (referred to as A) and MS FDHCA I.536 (referred to as B):

A. pecamos nos y nuestros padres, culpamos, falsamos, robamos, fablamos fealdad, fezimos atocer, y fezimos enmalecer

author or copyist of MS FDHCA L536 was from a local Jewish milieu or was in close contact with it to have a broad knowledge of Jewish sources.

3.2 *The Foretelling of Islam in the Jewish Sources*

[The] Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them; he shined forth from Mount Paran.

The text that immediately follows the *Viddui* is the Hebrew verse of Deuteronomy 33.2, written with Arabic characters: *bayomar adonay misinay babezarah mīthe'ir lamaw hūfyah mehar paran beatha me-ribebo'od kodesh miminū esdad lamū.*⁴⁷ “Paran” is understood by Muslim exegetes as a reference to Mecca and, thus, to the prophecy of Muḥammad.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the verse features in polemics against the Jews by Muslims of Christian Iberia: a significant example is the Mudejar treatise from the *Ta'yīd* as noted also included in MS FDHCA L536.⁴⁹ The act of reading Deuteronomy 33.2 in Hebrew as a kind of conclusion of the *Viddui* moves the focus from the expiation of the Jews' sins, to the revelation of these sins to a Muslim audience. This audience

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- B. pecamos nosotros, nuestros padres, culpamos, falsemos, robemos y fablemos malvestades, fazimos atorçer y fezimos enmaleçer
 - A. soberviamos, violamos, ayuntamos falsedad
 - B. soberbiemos, furtemos, pensemos falsa
 - A. aconsejamos consejos malos, mentimos, escarnecimos, prevaricamos, atorçimos, rebellamos, aborrecimos, atorçimos, rebellamos, angustiamos, endurecimos cerviz
 - B. mentimos, malezasas
 - A. enmalecimos, dañamos, erramos, abominamos, y fezimos errar, y apartamonos de tus mandamientos
 - B. y enmaleçimos y fallemos erremos, maldezimos, atorçimos, y tiremos nos de tus mandamientos
 - A. y de tus juizios los buenos, y no provecho a nos,
 - B. y de tus juçiçios los buenos y no aprovecha a nosotros,
 - A. y tu justo sobre todo el veniente sobre nos que verdad feziste, y nos enmalecimos
 - B. y tu justo sobre todo e lo que viene sobre nosotros, que verdad fezis y nosotros enmaleçimos

47 MS FDHCA L536, fol. 160^r. Cf. Kittel, Rudolf (ed.) *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia=Tōrā, nēvī'im ūkētīvīm*, ed. quinta emendata/opera A. Schenker. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997, www.bibelwissenschaft.de/bibelstelle/Deut33,2/BHS/

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה מִסִּינַי בָּא וַיִּזְרַח מִשְׁעֵיר לְמוֹ הוֹפִיעַ מֵהַר פָּאֲרָן וְאַתָּה מֵרִבְבוֹת קָדֵשׁ מִיְמֵינוֹ אֲשַׁדָּת
לְמוֹ

48 Leon Jacob Kassin, “A Study of a Fourteenth-century Polemical Treatise Adversus Judaeos” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1969), i and 141 n.1.

49 See the Arabic manuscript of the *Ta'yīd al-Milla* RAH Gy. XXXI, fol. 18r and the *Ta'yīd* in MS Borg. Ar. 163, fol. 22 (with modern numbering).

is assumed to be acquainted with the Muslim claim that Islam was foretold in the Jewish sources. The *Viddui* thus provides a detailed enumeration of Jewish transgressions against the divine commands. Furthermore, such an arrangement of texts also conveys the collective repentance intrinsically linked to the act of contrition in the Jewish confession (*we* have committed robbery, *we* have been arrogant, and so on). It proposes a compelling polemical figure: that of the “wicked Jews,” so aware of their faults that they freely acknowledge them before dying.

3.3 *The Jews, a People Devoid of God's Favor*

On the Jews, on their Law and the confessions they have in it. The book of Hosea⁵⁰ says that the sons of Israel will be many days without prince, nor priest, and without sacrifices. *Elohīm emeth* that means, “counted without true God and prophet.” The Jews—in the captivity [in which they find themselves], without God nor prophet—do not have truth but falsehood. *Elohīm* means Allāh, *emeth* means “true.”⁵¹

The candid polemic against the Jews is clear in this text: one could find in the Jewish sacred sources clear reference to their captivity and lack of a political leader (a prince), a religious leader (a priest); and moreover, to their lives without God and without a prophet. Some of these conditions affected the Jewish people in the Iberian territories under Christian rule, and hence, the passage could have been of particular significance to Jews who converted to Islam. This gives certain context to the author or copyist's claim that one of the names of God in the Hebrew Bible, *Elohīm* means Allāh, and that *emeth* means “true.”⁵² Rendering Jewish sources with Arabic characters, accompanied by translations into Romance, enables Muslim audiences to comprehend the material. At the same time, the use of Islamic equivalents for notions central to Judaism is a

50 MS FDHCA L536, fol. 16ov:

yet, as I will argue below, it is my understanding that the most likely reading of the word is ^{أر}أريه

51 MS FDHCA L536, fol. 16ov: “de los judios de su ley e de las confesiones que tienen en ella. Dize el libro de Uria min (sic) que estaran muchos dias los hijos de Irrael sinse príncepe ni çaçardotes e sin se sacrefiçios Elohīm emeth que tanto quiere dir conto sinse ñios verdadero y profeta. Pareçe que los judios en esta cativedad sinse ñios y profeta non tienen la verdad mas la mentira, quiere dirla, Elohīm, Allāh, emeth, quiere decir, verdadero.”

52 אלהים is found in Jer. 10:10. The word אמת (*emeth*) as well as “*kiemeth*” are rendered with the Arabic character *thā*.

powerful tool in educating converts. Just as powerful is the polemical device of putting the denunciation of the transgressions of God's commandments in the mouths of the Jews themselves, in particular, of one of their prophets.

There are reasons to think that the copyist committed a mistake in the prophet's name, and that where we read *Uria* (with *rā'*), we should probably read *Uzia* instead (with *zayn*, and, hence, "Ozea," *Oseas* in Spanish, "Hosea" in English). The lines quoted admittedly correspond to the verses in Hosea 3: 4, "For the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an *ephod*, and without *teraphim*." Moreover, *Uria* is mentioned as a prophet in Jeremiah 26: 20–23 but, to my knowledge, no "Book of *Uria*" is known, but a "Book (*Sefer*) of Hosea" is. The context of Hosea's prophecy is one in which the people of Israel are decried for having sinned, and in which Hosea is commended by God to love an adulterous woman; that is to say, to love a woman who has taken another man, just like the sons of Israel have worshipped multiple gods. These brief lines convey the straightforward and powerful idea, namely that Jews live in error and do not recognize the only true faith, that is, Islam.

3.4 *Seder Olam* or "The Order of the World"

Seder Olam. The world will last six thousand years, two thousand years "in emptiness" (*en vanedat*), without law, two thousand years "in Torah" (*en tūra*), in law, and two thousand "in Messiah" (*en mesiya*). From this authority a doctrine was given, the study of Eliah [i.e. *Tanna devei Eliyahu*] prophet (*fue dāda de doctrina estudio de Eliya profeta*).⁵³

This text bears the title of *çeder 'ulam*, which may correspond to the *Seder Olam* (*The Order of the World*), the name given to two chronologies in the Talmud.⁵⁴ It is very clear that this text aims to challenge views occasionally expressed in

53 MS FDHCA L536, fols. 160v–161r: "seder 'ulam dize que-l-mundo debe durar seis mil años dos mil en-vanedat sinse ley dos mil en-tūra en ley [en] y dos mil en-mesiya e d-esta actoridat fue dāda de doctrina estudio de Eliya profeta."

54 The *Seder Olam Rabbah* (*The Great Seder Olam*) and the *Seder Olam Zuta* (*The Small Seder Olam*), which partly relies on the former. Judah M. Rosenthal, "Seder Olam," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA in association with the Keter Pub. House, 2007), xviii and 235–236. The relation between the *Seder Olam* and the *Tanna devei Eliyahu* is unclear to me.

Jewish chronologies that estimate the arrival of the Messiah.⁵⁵ Accordingly, we read that the law began with Ibrāhīm and the tradition of circumcision that he established, two thousand years after the creation of the world. When ʿĪsā (Jesus) came, two thousand years had passed since “Abran.” According to one authoritative source (it is unclear whether it is from *Seder Olam* or *Tana devei Elyahu*, or from another source, as no explicit mention is made): *pareçe que-l-mesias de los judíos sia venido, en que ʿĪsā es aquel como dize en el Avanjelyo y la-l-Qurʿān* (“it seems that the Messiah of the Jews has come, and that this was ʿĪsā, as it is said in the Gospel and the Qurʿān”).⁵⁶ ʿĪsā is the Messiah, whose coming is anticipated by the Jews. Yet, this does not imply that they should become Christians. Rather, Jews must convert to Islam, accepting God’s last revelation—the Qurʿān—and acknowledging Muḥammad as the seal of the prophets.

Talmudic and midrashic chronologies about the creation of the world, such as those found in *Seder Olam*,⁵⁷ were the subject of internal debate among

55 The coming of the Messiah was a recurring argument in polemics between Muslims and Jews in the Iberian Peninsula. Muslim polemic quoted verses from the Hebrew Bible as in the case of *Ifhām al-Yahūd* (*Silencing the Jews*) by the Jewish convert Samawʿal al-Maghribī. Moshe Perlmann, “Samawʿal al-Maghribī Ifhām al-Yahūd: Silencing the Jews,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 32 (1964): 5–104 (English) at 45 and 1–136 (Arabic) at 29. Not surprisingly it is also advanced as the first argument in the Disputation of Barcelona (1263 CE) between Naḥmanides and Paul Christiani. Carlos del Valle Rodríguez, “La Disputa de Barcelona de 1263,” in *La controversia judeocristiana en España (Desde los orígenes hasta el siglo XIII)*. Homenaje a Domingo Muñoz León, ed. Carlos del Valle Rodríguez (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998), 279–291.

56 MS FDHCA L536, fol. 161r: “de Ibrāhīm començo la çerconçiyon de la-ley i habia pasado de-l mundo dos mil años de que-ra creado el mundo fasta Ibrāhīm e cuando vino ʿĪsā habia dos mil años que-ra venido Abran e pues por esta actoridad parece que-l mesias de los judios sia venido e que ʿĪsā es aquel como dize en-el Avanjelio y la-l-Qurʿan.” With another ink, although we cannot rule out that it is the same hand, we read at the bottom, in Arabic, “wulida waladī Muḥammad Sālasa.” This last word is unclear to me.

57 Both the *Small* and the *Great Seder Olam* were in circulation among Jews from the Christian territories. The *Small Seder Olam* was used by the Jewish astronomer and historian Abraham Zacuto (Salamanca 1452 CE–Damascus? 1515? CE), see Rosenthal, “Seder Olam.” Zacuto worked in the service of Castilian bishops and nobles, and, after the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 CE, at the service of King John II of Portugal. “Zacuto, Abraham ben Samuel,” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA in association with the Keter Pub. House, 2007), xxi and 433–435. One manuscript from Parma preserves Jose ben Halafta’s (second century CE) translation into Romance of *Seder Olam Rabbah* (The Great Seder Olam). Luis Fernando Girón Blanc (trans.) *Seder ʿOlam Rabbah: el gran orden del universo. Una cronología judía* (Estella: Verbo Divino, 1996).

Jews⁵⁸ and were often revisited in contemporaneous religious polemics between Jews and Christians, as well as between Jews and *conversos* in the Christian territories. The Dominican Raymond Martí, *fl.* mid-thirteenth century, refers to *Seder Olam* on a number of occasions in a treatise containing polemics against Muslims and Jews, titled *Pugio Fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos* (*Dagger of the Faith against Muslims and Jews*).⁵⁹ This text had a significant impact among early fifteenth-century *conversos*, such as Joshua Lorki.⁶⁰

It is worth considering briefly the long-lasting disputation with the Jews at Tortosa (Catalonia) between 1413 CE and 1414 CE in which Gerónimo de Santa Fe—as Lorki was known after his conversion—referred to Jewish sources in an effort to convince his former coreligionists of their errors. The coming of the Messiah was a question central to the litigants and was addressed in the second session of the disputation. In the Latin account of the session held on

58 One example is the sixteenth-century Italian Jew Azariah de Rossi (1511–1578 CE) who denied the validity of Talmudic and similar midrashic chronologies of the creation of the world. Joanna Weinberg, *Azariah de' Rossi: The Light in the Eyes. Translated from the Hebrew with an introduction and annotations* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001). De Rossi's work was read by his Christian contemporaries such as the humanist Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598 CE). The latter commissioned the Jewish convert to Christianity, Juan Pablo Eustaquio, to copy the work. Sergio Fernández López, "Exégesis, erudición y fuentes en el Apparatus de la Biblia Regia," in Benito Arias Montano, *Antigüedades Hebraicas: tratados exegéticos de la Biblia Regia. Antiquitatum Iudaicarum Libri IX: Apparatus Sacer*, ed. Luis Gómez Canseco and Sergio Fernández López (Huelva: Servicio de publicaciones Universidad de Huelva, 2013), 43–86 at 55. Arias Montano was interested more generally in Jewish sources, and, as Adam Beaver notes, was the first to bring the myth of the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula by the Jewish legions of Nebuchadnezzar into Romance historiographical accounts. Adam Beaver, "Nebuchadnezzar's Jewish Legions: 'Sephardic Legends' Journey from Biblical Polemic to Humanist History," in *After Conversion: Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016), 21–65 at 23 n. 7.

59 Martí used the two Jewish historiographies, *Sefer Yosippon* and *Seder Olam*, mentioning the latter fifteen times in his treatise; see Philippe Bobichon, "Quotations, Translations, and Uses of Jewish Texts in Ramon Martí's *Pugio Fidei*," in *The Medieval Iberian Book in the Western Mediterranean*, ed. Javier del Barco (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015), 266–293 at 271 and 284. An exhaustive overview of the manuscripts of the *Pugio fidei* can be found in Ryan Szpiech, "Citas Árabes en caracteres hebreos en el *Pugio Fidei* del Dominico Ramón Martí: entre la autenticidad y la autoridad," *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 32.1 (2011): 71–107. For a complete overview of the sources of the first part of the *Pugio*, see Laureano Robles Carcedo, "El *Studium Arabicum* del capítulo dominicano de Toledo de 1250: antecedentes del *Miramar* de Ramon Llull," *Estudios Lulianos* 24 (1980): 23–47 at 40–42.

60 As Antonio Pacios López notes, Gerónimo takes almost all Talmudic and Midrashic materials from the *Pugio*. See the edition of the Latin account of the disputation in Antonio Pacios López, *La Disputa de Tortosa*, 2 vols. (Madrid, Barcelona: Instituto Arias Montano, 1957), 1:28.

8 February 1413 CE,⁶¹ Gerónimo quotes the same division of the order of the world as that found in MS FDHCA L536. He claims to have taken it from the last chapter of the tractate of the Sanhedrin, the so-called *Tanna devei Elyahu*. Gerónimo's translation of the original Hebrew, "et in Sanhedrin, capitulo ultimo scriptam, allegiavit, cuius tenor tali, est: 'Legitur in studio Helie, sex mille anni est mundus: duo mille de vanitate; duo mille de lege; duo mille, dies Messie,'"⁶² was questioned by his former coreligionists. Rabbi Ferrer and Rabbi Mathatias questioned the newly Christian converso's linguistic competence and the very ability to properly interpret the Talmud. They note that Gerónimo had mistakenly translated *deve*—in the expression *Tanna deve Heliau*—as "studio Helie,"⁶³ when the term should have been translated into "Romance" as *in domo*.⁶⁴ Rabbi Astruch further notes that *vanitate* in *duo mille*

- 61 A Hebrew account has been edited by Solomon Joachim Halberstam, "Vikkuah Tortosa," in *Jeschurun.A, Hebräische Abteilung Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, ed. Joseph Kobak (Lemberg: Poremba, 1868), 6:45–55 (Consulted Online: <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/Z4B6K65QHClVO2GBCZXHFAL6BH6HFCNF>), and a version by Abraham ibn Verga, see Jeremy Cohen, "Polemic and Pluralism: The Jewish-Christian Debate in Solomon ibn Verga's *Shevet Yehudah*," in *Conflict and Religious Conversation in Latin Christendom: Studies in Honour of Ora Limor*, ed. Israel Jacob Yuval and Ram Ben-Shalom (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 167–190. A recent study of Verga's account in Spanish with Hebrew characters is found in Natalia Muñoz Molina, "Edición filológica de los diálogos renacentistas de la edición judeoespañola aljamiada del 'Séfer Sebet Yehudá' de Belgrado, 1859," Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid, 2014.
- 62 "Ante conspectum domini nostri Pape constitutus, ad Messiam venisse probandum, prenominaus magister Ieronimus quandam auctoritatem de Talmud in libro vocato Havodazara [i.e. Avodah Zarah], capitulo primo, et in Sanhedrin, capitulo ultimo scriptam, allegiavit, cuius tenor tali, est (1, Sanhedrin 97a cf. *Pugio* 394): 'Legitur in studio Helie, sex mille anni est mundus: duo mille de vanitate; duo mille de lege; duo mille, dies Messie.'" See Pacios López, *La Disputa de Tortosa*, 2:31 n. 1 where Pacios López notes that the reference corresponds to Sanhedrin 97a and gives the cross-reference for comparison with the *Pugio* by Ramon Martí, *Raymundi Martini ordinis praedicatorum Pugio fidei adversus mauros et judaeos* (Lipsiae [Leipzig]: sumptibus haeredum Friderici Lanckis: typis viduae Johannis Wittigav, 1687), 394. See also 395, where a similar verse is quoted.
- 63 The same arguments are repeated in various sessions of the Disputation of Tortosa. The report of 29 November 1413 CE reads: "Vos, iudei, non ignorantis qualiter prima conclusio, quam publice vobis posui, fuit, scilicet, Messiam venisse: quam per quamplures auctoritates probavi. Quarum una fuit in Talmud, in libro vocato Havodazara, capitulo quod incipit lifue edehen, et in Sanhedrin, capitulo quod incipit col Israel, [E. + cuius] tenor est: "Tana deve Heliau, etc. Legitur in studio Helie: sex mille anni est mundus, duo mille vanitate, duo mille de lege, duo mille de Messia." Pacios López, *La Disputa de Tortosa*, 2:391.
- 64 "Verbi gracia, in auctoritate namque de Thana deve 'Elyau' [E. Elyahu], romancivit prefatus magister Ieroimus: 'legitur in studi: Dicunt rabi Ferrer et rabi Mathatias, loquendo cum debita reverencia, quod romancium huius vocabuli 'in domo,' nec 'in studio,'" on Januari 1414 CE, Pacios López, *La Disputa de Tortosa*, 2:409. In the *Pugio*, Martí also uses *domo* upon quoting this passage, specifying that it means "the disciples of Elia": "Traditum est à domo Eliae; id. est à discipulis Eliae." In the same place, Martí translates the Hebrew

anni de vanitate (“two thousand years in emptiness”) is a reference to whether the world was created or whether it was eternal.⁶⁵ It is thus remarkable that the passage from the *Seder Olam* in MS FDHCA L536 (which contains the words “from which a doctrine was given, namely, the ‘*estudio de Eliya profeta*’”) not only matches the content of the chronology quoted by Gerónimo; but we also observe similar translation choices in words, such as *estudio* and *vanedat*.

These four texts undoubtedly address matters that are crucial for a Muslim believer: sin and redemption, the proofs of Islam in God’s revelation to humankind, and the order of sacred history. Furthermore, various elements suggest direct knowledge of Judaism on the part of the author or copyist: the use of Jewish sources, the linguistic mode (Hebrew written with Arabic characters), the incorporation of Romance translations, and the Jewish-Christian polemical use of the text in Christian territories. The author or copyist could have been a Jewish convert to Islam. If the texts were read together with other anti-Jewish polemics including the *Ta’yīd*, and perhaps the narrative of Ka’b’s conversion, they may have served to teach Islam to the Mudejars and Moriscos, and to further acquaint the converts with the Qur’ān, encouraging their engagement in its interpretation. Finally, we can say that the hermeneutics of the “Muslim self” were shaped by both a referential and dialectical relationship with concepts and ideas from the Jewish sources and tradition (and prior to the expulsions, also with Jews of flesh and blood) that posed an external and sometimes internal challenges to the cohesion of Muslim communities as well as to some areas of their religious and cosmological knowledge.

4 The Circulation of Ka’b’s Conversion among Muslims from the Christian Territories

The final issue addressed here is the narrative of Ka’b’s conversion, as circulated among Muslims from the Christian territories. The Iberian Muslims may have been aware of a number of manuscripts concerning Ka’b’s conversion. Pascual Asensi suggests that the account in the Cairo manuscript discussed by Perlmann (manuscript C) could have been the Arabic model, or *Vorlage*,

word *tohu* as “ininitas, vel vanitas” and quotes Rashi’s translation as “inanis,” too. See Ramon Martí, *Raymundi Martini ordinis praedicatorum Pugio fidei*, 395.

65 “Rabi Astruch, locutus sub hiis verbis, dicens pefatam auctoritatem fore veram, et eius verba nimis auctentica, sed aliter intelligenda. Nam ubi dicitur ‘duo mille anni de vanitate,’ debet glosari: id est: disputabitur de vanitate, scilicet: an mundus fuerit creatus vel increatus; aut si est ab aeterno vel non. Et ubi dicitur ‘duo mille de lege, et duo mille de Messia’ id est, si Messias venerit, an non, disputaretur,” Pacios López, *La Disputa de Tortosa*, 2:32.

for the narrative of Ka'b's conversion that is preserved in MS RAH 11/9393.⁶⁶ Consuelo López-Morillas observes that this Romance translation belongs to a seventeenth-century manuscript copied by the same hand as the only known complete translation of the Qur'an into Romance (MS T-235, Biblioteca de Castilla La-Mancha). It is noted that the text "[s]acóse de letra de muçlimes" ("was taken from Muslim script"), that is to say, from an Aljamiado text.⁶⁷ Hence, we could surmise that two translations, one in Arabic and the other in Latin characters, were in circulation among the Mudejars and the Moriscos.

To this, we should add the Aljamiado narrative in MS FDHCA L536-3 and the Arabic narrative in the miscellaneous manuscript written in *maghribī* script in MS BNE 5390. MS BNE 5390 has a double dating on fol. 134r, 27 September 1012 H/1603 CE. Various dates are recorded at the beginning and at the end of the manuscript (for example on fol. 2r, the year 1602 CE). We also encounter entries on accounting matters that contain references to "Castilian oranges" (*taranj Qastīlānī*). Such elements indicate that the owners of MS BNE 5390

66 Cf. Pascual Asensi, "Tras los 'signos de la profecía,'" 186 n. 73. An important difference between C and L is that in the plot of L reference is made to the relationships of Ka'b with a Christian monk Bulukhyā and whose namesake is the Jewish sage from sources such as the *Thousand Nights and One Night* and the *Stories of the Prophets* (or *Qiṣṣas al-Anbiyā'*) of Tha'labī (Perlmann, *A Legendary Story*, 88 and 89 n. 9), also known by Muslims from the Christian territories. Like Ka'b, the Jew Buluqiya receives from his father a sealed chest with fragments of the Torah, which, here, predict the coming of Muḥammad). Ka'b and, at the end of the story, also the Christian Buluqiya, convert to Islam in L (Perlmann, *A Legendary Story*, 88–89) but all these are elements not included in the Mudejar and Morisco copies known to date. For this reason they have been considered of secondary importance for the present discussion. See also, Pascual Asensi, "Tras los 'signos,'" 186, and for the Aljamiado narrative on the Jew Buluqiya, Luce López-Baralt, *El viaje maravilloso de Buluqiya a los confines del universo* (Madrid: Trotta, 2004). The parallels between the core of Buluqiya's narrative plot and that of Ka'b's conversion to Islam in the above-mentioned compendium of biographies of Ibn Sa'd is clear.

67 Consuelo López-Morillas, *El Corán de Toledo: edición y estudio del manuscrito 235 de la Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha* (Gijón: Ediciones Trea, 2011), 11–12. By the same author, *The Qur'an in Sixteenth-Century Spain, Six Morisco Versions of Sura 79* (London: Tamesis Books Limited, 1982), p. 13, "Trilingual marginal notes (Arabic, Aljamiado and Spanish) in a Morisco Manuscript from Toledo," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 103.3 (1983), pp. 495–503 (pp. 499–500). See also, Wieggers, *Islamic Literature*, pp. 111–112. López-Morillas suggests in "El Corán romanceado: La traducción contenida en el manuscrito T 235," *Sharq al-Andalus* 16–17 (1999–2002): 263–284 (p. 264), a name of a possible copyist of these two manuscripts (T-235 and RAH 11/9393), who would also have copied T-232—the latter containing an Arabic note with his sons' name (Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Banī l-'Azīz)—namely, Muḥammad Rubio de Villafeliche (Zaragoza); see also "La autoría del manuscrito coránico T 235," in *Morada de la palabra: Homenaje a Luce y Mercedes López-Baralt*, Vol. 1, ed. William Mejías López (San Juan: Universidad de Puerto Rico 2002), pp. 980–988 (particularly at 986).

might have had contacts in the Iberian Peninsula.⁶⁸ Ka'b's conversion in MS BNE 5390 (incipit: "The ten lines that have been altered by the Jews—may God curse them—and have been obliterated from the Torah") has been erroneously identified as the "*demandas de los judíos*" ("questions asked by the Jews").⁶⁹

As MS FDHCA L536-3 is either a complete or partial translation from an original Arabic source, it seems pertinent to consider what this original source might have been. The latter can be assessed by looking at the relation of MS FDHCA L536-3 with the other manuscripts that express the same narrative. We should focus firstly on the key elements of the plot and secondly on the lines of the Torah/Qur'ān verses anticipating Ka'b's conversion both in the Aljamiado and in the remaining manuscripts. As far as the plot is concerned, in the Aljamiado rendering of the narrative of Ka'b's conversion, it revolves around three narrative elements. The first concerns 'Umar, who is introduced as the source of authority in the narrative; the second is the issue of the *doze sellos* ("twelve seals") that seal the writings of Ka'b's father. The third element is the conversion of 'Umar after listening to Ka'b's account. 'Umar is a main character in C and L, but he is absent in MS BNE 5390, where the narrative begins in a straightforward fashion by introducing Ka'b and his desire to know the meaning of the ten verses of the Torah that had been obscured by the Jews who altered their meanings.⁷⁰ Ibn Sa'd's account mentions only passingly that Ka'b's conversion took place under 'Umar's rule. Yet, it is only in his account that the sealed writings are mentioned. On the other hand, no manuscript, except the Aljamiado, includes 'Umar's final, and unnecessary conversion, since he had already been a Muslim. In other words, no single manuscript contains all three elements of the Aljamiado narrative.

The table below offers a comparative overview of corresponding lines of the Torah/Qur'ān verses found in the various known manuscripts:

68 On fol. 139r there is another colophon dated 1015 H (=1606 CE).

69 See Mònica Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, 81, where reference is made to the erroneous identification of MS BNE 5390 with the widespread narrative of the "*demandas de los judíos*" that has another Jewish convert, 'Abd Allāh ibn Salām, as its main character (cf. Francisco Guillén Robles, *Catálogo de los manuscritos árabes existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (Madrid: Imprenta y fundición de Manuel Tello, 1889), 233, DLXIX).

70 See for a more detailed comparison between C and L, Perlmann, "Another Ka'b al-Aḥbār Story," 50–51; yet it should be noted that the attempt of concealment on the part of Ka'b's father that is mentioned on 50 corresponds in fact to Ibn Sa'd's account, cf. Perlmann, "A Legendary Story," 86 and 87–88.

	Arabic MS British Museum	Arabic MS Cairo	Romance in Latin MS RAH 11/9393	Arabic MS BNE 5390	Aljamiado MS FDHCA L536-3
1st siṭra	al-Baqara, 2:124	al-Baqara, 2:126	al-Baqara, 2:132	al-Baqara, 2:132	al-ʿImrān, 3:102
2nd siṭra	al-Baqara, 2:127	al-Baqara, 2:127	al-Baqara, 2:133	al-Baqara, 2:133	al-ʿImrān, 3:67
3rd siṭra	al-Baqara, 2:130	al-ʿImrān, 3:60	al-ʿImrān, 3:67	al-ʿImrān, 3:67	al-Baqara, 2:132
4th siṭra	al-ʿImrān, 3:16–17	al-ʿImrān, 3:77	al-ʿImrān, 3:83	al-ʿImrān, 3:83	al-ʿImrān, 3:85
5th siṭra	al-Anʿām, 6:163	al-ʿImrān, 3:79	al-ʿImrān, 3:85	al-ʿImrān, 3:85	al-Māʿida, 5:3
6th siṭra	al-Ḥujurāt 49:14	al-ʿImrān, 3:97	al-ʿImrān, 3:102	al-ʿImrān, 3:102	al-Ḥijr, 15:2
7th siṭra	al-Māʿida, 5:5	al-Anʿām, 6:161	al-Anʿām, 6:161–163	al-Māʿida, 5:3	al-Zukhruf, 43:69
8th siṭra	al-Ḥijr, 15:2	al-Māʿida, 5:5	al-Māʿida, 5:3	al-Anʿām, 6:161	al-ʿImrān, 3:144
9th siṭra	al-ʿImrān, 3:79	al-Ḥajj, 22:77	al-Ḥajj, 22:78	al-Ḥajj, 22:78	al-Fath, 48:29
10th siṭra	al-ʿImrān, 3:97	Shahāda followed by Sūrat al-ʿImrān, 3:19	Shahāda	Shahāda	

The verses between the manuscripts vary significantly, and some verses are quoted more often than others. It is also important to note that verses are not always quoted in their entirety. The Aljamiado and the Arabic BNE 5390 quote nine verses from the Qurʾān, and not ten: the *shahāda* (profession of faith) is not strictly one single verse but a combination of Qurʾānic verses. The accounts in manuscripts C and L quote ten verses. The narrative composed by Ibn Saʿd is the exception here, with no verses mentioned.

While the filiation of the Aljamiado MS FDHCA L536-3 cannot be determined, comparison of the plot of its story of Kaʿb's conversion with lines of the Torah/Qurʾān can offer some insight into possible relations between the remaining manuscripts. In this regard, as Pascual Asensi rightly notes, the Romance translation in MS RAH 11/9393 is very similar to that found in C, which also has a narrative framework that includes the Caliph ʿUmar, but the plot is less elaborated than it is in L. In L, the story features not only Jewish sages but also Christian monks, who are in charge of explaining the verses of the Torah that are also missing in the Gospels.⁷¹ Yet, the verses quoted in the two accounts of MS RAH 11/9393 and C differ. By contrast, MS RAH 11/9393 and the Arabic MS BNE 5390, which excludes any element other than Kaʿb's conversion, including any mention of ʿUmar, both quote exactly the same lines from the Torah/Qurʾān (albeit with one instance in reversed order) even though they follow different plots.

The textual differences between the Arabic and the Romance sources do not offer us further information and make the task of comparison between the various narratives more difficult. Indeed, the evidence allows us to draw only cautious conclusions in the light of the challenges that are well illustrated, for example, by the way Kaʿb introduces the verses of the Torah: while L uses the word *kalimāt* ("words"), the other manuscripts refer to the verses as *siṭras*;⁷² or by the translation of the word *encubiertos* in MS RAH 11/9393, which seems to follow the Arabic in C.⁷³ In addition, the Arabic text of MS BNE 5390 does not correspond to the Romance translation in MS FDHCA L536-3.⁷⁴ Nonetheless, taking into account the previous discussion of a number of aspects in the

71 Perlmann, "A Legendary Story," 87–88.

72 Perlmann, "A Legendary Story," 94.

73 قرأت في التوراة فوجدت قد حى منها عشر كلمات قد مسحت من مكان وبدلت
In "diez versos que no los podía entender ni comprender porque estaban encubiertos y desfechos y así no sabía yo su fecho dellos." MS 11/9393, ff. 94r–v. Cf. Perlmann, "Another Kaʿb Story," 52–53:

74 عشرة اسطر طلسمتها اليهود وأحجها لكي لا يشتهر امرها
العشرة اسطر الذي محتها اليهود وغيرها من التوراة ولم نجد لها تاويلا ولا تفسير
Cf. MS BNE 5390, fol.136v:

known manuscripts, I would like to suggest that the Romance translation in MS RAH 11/9393 does not follow C, at least not directly. Rather, it is likely that it stems from an unknown Arabic adaptation of C that might be related to the Arabic narrative in manuscript MS BNE 5390. Furthermore, the presence of the reference to the *nueve al-çitraç amaḥaḍas* (“nine hidden verses”) in the Aljamiado MS FDHCA L536-3, in the Romance version, and in the Arabic accounts might indicate a particular literary tradition among Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghreb that the narrative might also be following.

5 Concluding Remarks

The narrative of the renowned Ka'b al-Aḥbār's conversion to Islam is an exemplary case for understanding how processes of knowledge-transfer functioned in the Christian territories, on the fringes of religious communities. Translation can be linked here to the self-understanding of the Mudejars and the Moriscos with respect to the Jews and Judaism. In this way, the narrative further engages Muslims with non-Muslim and Jewish sources, and calls for a subsequent return to a “Muslim self” through the translation of the Qur'ān. The inquiry into one Aljamiado adaptation (specifically, Fondo Documental Histórico de las Cortes de Aragón MS FDHCA L536-3) reveals an almost direct, literal exchange via translation between the two communities' sacred texts: that is, between the lines of the Torah and the verses of the Qur'ān. It is a substitution that simultaneously entails the acknowledgment and integration of the “Jewish element” as constitutive of the hermeneutics of Muslim identities. This supports Saleh's observation of a “constructive ambivalence” that Muslims show towards the Jewish and Christian sources in relation to the Qur'ān. Furthermore, the discussion of language and of the interlineal Aljamiado renderings of the Qur'ān verses reveals various ways in which the boundaries of translation can be pushed forward in the articulation of Islam.

Analysis of a series of texts found in MS FDHCA L536 and written in Hebrew with Arabic characters and in Aljamiado shows that these texts were most likely drawn from Jewish sources. The texts were widely referenced in the inter-religious polemics in Christian territories, not only in the polemics between Muslims and Jews, but also in those between Jews and Jewish converts to

with MS FDHCA L536-3: “i-vi que habia en-el todo lo-que habia en la-Taurayyah escribto i-vi mas nueve al-çitraç amaḥaḍas i-no-podia saber lo-que-n-ellas había.” (“And I saw that there was in it all that was written in the Torah, and I saw more, nine hidden verses, and I could not know what was in them.”)

Christianity (*conversos*). Evidence supports the claim that narratives about the Jews could have been used for educating the newly converted, and for strengthening the faith in Islam among the Muslims from Christian Iberia. Some of these texts were short stories, tales, and narratives; others were larger works, such as the polemics against the Jews of the *Ta'yīd al-Milla*. They may have served as a kind of “manual of Judaism” aimed at instructing the Mudejars and the Moriscos in Judaism by providing them with useful knowledge when facing the challenges posed by living next to the Jews. It also suggests that Jewish converts were involved in the transmission of some of the texts found in this miscellaneous collection. Rendering the Hebrew language into Arabic characters and translating it into Romance could have been useful to converts because it facilitated the learning of Arabic from sources with which they were already familiar. This linguistic and scriptural agility and adaptability was perfectly useful for cultivating knowledge about Islamic views on Judaism and equipping new converts with tools to address their former coreligionists.

The narrative of Ka'b's conversion to Islam seems to have enjoyed popularity among Castilian and Aragonese Mudejars and Moriscos and translation appears to have been an effective vehicle for its dissemination. The circulation of the text in Arabic, Aljamiado, and Romance shows how the Muslims from Christian Iberia actively engaged in the transmission of anti-Jewish texts right up until the seventeenth-century edicts of expulsion of the Moriscos. A comparison between the content and Qur'ānic verses found in two manuscripts—MS RAH 11/9393 (Romance) and MS BNE 5390 (Arabic)—suggests the possibility of a common Arabic *Vorlage*, which differs from that found in other Arabic manuscripts preserved to date.

Appendix

MS FDHCA L536-3, Fondo Documental Histórico de las Cortes de Aragón, fols. 14r–17r (fol. 14r) Este-s el ḥadīth porque se fizo muslim Ka'bu el-Aḥbār
Recontase que 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb raḍiyy-Allāhu 'anhu la-ḍemando a-Ka'bu el-Aḥbār i-ḍiso: “Yā a[bā] Iṣḥāq como fue el
preñçipio ḍe-tu al-iṣlām.” Diso: “Yā rey ḍe los creyentes,

(fol. 14v) tenia yo un padre ḍe-los mas sabios ḍe-banī Iḍrā'īl.
I cuando se açerco ḍe-l la muerte diome un al-kitāb que-n-el
habia ḍoze sellos i-ḍisome: “Yā fijo aquesta es una en-
comienda que-la-encomiendo a-tu, pues sella en-el con-tu
sello. Pues cuando yo sere muerto darlas al-mas

sabio de los *de-banī Içrā'īl*." Pues cuando fue muerto vinme deseo de saber lo-que habia dentro en la-l-kitāb i-mire en-el i-vi que habia en-el *tođo* lo-que habia en la-Taurayyah escribto i-vi mas nueve al-*siṭras*⁷⁵ amaḥaḍas i-no-podia saber lo-que-n-ellas habia i-fueme a-un estudio *de*-los *de-banī Içrā'īl* i-servi al-maestro ocho años por *cobđi* çia de saber lo-que habia en las nueve al-*siṭras* amaḥaḍas del-al-kitāb. Pues cuando se *açerco de*-l la-muerte dise a-el: "A*piade*te Allāh a-mi hay sobre-tu un-dreitaje⁷⁶ i-yo-tengo gran neçesiḍat de-saberlo." Disome: "I-que es?" *Điso* a-el: "Fesme a-saber porque las nueve al-*çitras* que-stan amaḥaḍas en la-Taurayyah i-que-s su-declaracion de-llas." Disome: "No-hay neçesiḍat a-tu *de*-saber aquello." Pues cuando fue muerto fueme a buscar otro maestro i-servilo çinco años pues cuando se *açerco de*-l la-muerte *diso* a el: "A*piade*te Allāh a-mi hay

(fol. 15r) un dreitaje. I-*disome* que-s? *Disele*: "Yo-tengo gran neçesiḍat *de*-saber con lo-que hay en-las nueve al-*çitras* amaḥaḍas *de* la-Taurayyah." Disome: "No hay neçesiḍat a-tu de-saberlo." Des-que fue muerto fueme a-otro maestro i-servile cuatro años *tođo* por *cobđi*çia *de*-saber lo-que habia en-las nueve al-*çitras* amaḥaḍas *de* la-Taurayyah. Pues cuando se-*açerco de*-l la-muerte *dise* a-el: "A*piade*te Allāh a-mi hay sobre a-tu un dreitaje i-tengo gran neçesiḍat *de*-llo." I-*disome*: Que cosa es, i-yo-te fare a-saber con-ello."

75 *Siṭra* is alternatively written with emphatic and non-emphatic "t." The transcription follows the convention of Arabic words.

76 Dreitaje: mandamiento. See footnote 7 of the *fatwā* by the *mufti* of the town of Almagro, Aḥmad ibn Abi al-Jum'ah in "La taqiyya y la fatua del Mufti de Orán," ed. M^a Jesús Rubiera Mata (*Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*, Alicante, s.e., 2001), http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/universidad_iberoamericana/obra-visor-din/la-taqiyya-y-la-fatua-del-mufti-de-oran--o/html/ff58d1ca-82b1-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_7.html.

See also Ramón Zúñiga López, "Las Coplas del Alhichante de Puey Monçón (Peregrinación a la Meca de un morisco aragonés a finales del siglo XVI)," *Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebraicos* 37–38.2 (1988–1989): 449–479 at 454 and 467. In his dissertation on the Occitan languages spoken south of the Pyrenees in the thirteenth century, Luis Santomá Juncadella places the form "dreitage" among those ending with "–age," a derivative suffix peculiar to the region of Navarre. See Luis Santomá Juncadella, "El entorno lingüístico del occitano cispirenaico aragonés del siglo XIII," (Ph.D. diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2012), 67, 116, and 190.

I-disele: “Que me declares lo-que hay escribto en las nueve al-çitras amaħađas de-la-Taurayyah.” I-đisome: “No-tienes neçesidat de-saberlo.” Disome: “Wa-Allāh en-ellas hay propiadades i-promesas i-seguriđades. Enpero dame fe i-homenaje que-tu no-te salras de-nueso al-đin que yo-te declare a tu las nueve al-çitras amaħađas de la-Taurayyah.” I-dile la-fe i-homenaje i-đisome: “A cuanto la-siřta primera pues es el dicho del-al-Qur’ān honrado donde dize

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا ءَاتَّقُوا اللَّهَ حَقَّ تَقَاتِهِ وَلَا تَمُونَنَّ إِلَّا وَآئِمُّ مُسْلِمُونَ⁷⁷

Que quiere

dezir “Yā aquellos que soys creyentes temed de Allāh verdadera temoriđat i-no-morais sino que vosotros saya[mos] (fol. 15v) seayais musulimes.” I-cuanto la-segunda al-satr-es es (sic) el-dicho en la-l-Qur’ān honrado donde dize

مَا كَانَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ يَهُودِيًّا وَلَا نَصْرَانِيًّا وَلَا كَانُ حَنِيفًا مُسْلِمًا وَمَا كَانَ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ⁷⁸

Que quiere dezir no-fue

Ibrāhīm juđio ni-cristiano enpero fue por muçlim que-no fue descreyente.” La terçera al-sitra es el-dicho del-al-Qur’ān honrado donde dize

وَأَوْصَىٰ بِهَا إِبْرَاهِيمَ بَنِيهِ وَيَعْقُوبَ يَا بَنِيَّ إِنَّ اللَّهَ اصْطَفَىٰ لَكُمُ الدِّينَ فَلَا تَمُونَنَّ إِلَّا وَآئِمُّ مُسْلِمُونَ⁷⁹

que quiere dezir que-testigo Ibrāhīm a-su-fijo Ya’qūb yā=ñs desiyendoles ansi: “Yā fijos Allāh ta’alā escojido i-ha-espeçilado a vosotros al-đin. Pues no-morais sino que vosotros morais muçlimes.” I-cuanto la-siřta cuarta es el-dicho de Allāh ta’alā en-su honrado al-Qur’ān donde dize

وَمَنْ يَبْتَغِ غَيْرَ الْإِسْلَامِ دِينًا فَلَنْ يُقْبَلَ مِنْهُ وَهُوَ فِي الْآخِرَةِ مِنَ الْخَاسِرِينَ⁸⁰

Que quiere dezir quien cobđi

çia ra otro al-đin sino la-đin del-Içlām no-le sera recibido de-l i-sera en-el-otro mundo de-los perđidos.” I-cuanto la-siřta çinquena pues es aquella aleya

77 Qur. 3.102

78 Qur. 3.67.

79 Qur. 2.132.

80 Qur. 3.85.

(fol. 16r) que dize en-su honrado al-Qurʾān donde dize

الْيَوْمَ أَكَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتَمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضَيْتُ لَكُمْ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا⁸¹

Que quiere dezir el dia

de-hoy he-cunbliço vuestros bues al-dīn mas grandes

mi-graçia i-me-acontentado con-vosotros con al-içlām

i-cuanto la-siṭra seisena pues es el-dicho

de Allāh tabaraka wa-taʿalā donde dize

رُبَّمَا يَوَدُّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لَوْ كَانُوا مُسْلِمِينَ⁸²

[por]que quiere quiere dezir por-ventura

amaran aquellos que-descreyen que-fuesen

muçlimes. I-cuanto la-siṭra setena es

el-dicho de Allāh taʿalā en-su honrado al-Qurʾān donde dize

الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا بِآيَاتِنَا وَكَانُوا مُسْلِمِينَ⁸³

Que quiere dezir aquellos que creyeran con nuevas

aleyas y con la-l-Qurʾān seran muçlimes. I-parose

el-maestro i-disele yo: “Dime la-siṭra ochena i-la-novena.”

I-diso: “Bastete lo-que te-dicho.” Disele yo: “No-ha-dobda

de saberlo.” I-disome: “Pues fesme aqueste juramenta

i-di como ya-dize porque-l-ra[zonami]ento que fue entre

Mūsā bn. ʿImrān i-su-señor sobre el monte de Ṭaur

Sīnā i-por lo-que habia en-el la-lloḥ aquel que-deçendio

(fol. 16v) Allāh taʿalā sobre su-annabi i-su-palabra Mūsā bn. ʿImrān

que-tu no-te volveras de-otro al-dīn.” I-dise yo como

el. I-cuanto la-siṭra ochena es el-dicho de Allāh

taʿalā en-su honrado al-Qurʾān donde dize

وَمَا مُحَمَّدٌ إِلَّا رَسُولٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ مِنْ قَبْلِهِ الرُّسُلُ⁸⁴

Que quiere dezir no-es Muḥammad sino mensajero.

I-cuanto la-siṭra novena es el-dicho de Allāh taʿalā en-su

al-Qurʾān honrado donde dize

مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ وَالَّذِينَ مَعَهُ أَشِدَّاءُ عَلَى الْكُفَّارِ رُحَمَاءُ بَيْنَهُمْ تَرَاهُمْ رُكَّعًا سُجَّدًا يَبْتَغُونَ فَضْلًا مِنَ

اللَّهِ وَرِضْوَانًا سِيَّاهُمْ فِي وُجُوهِهِمْ مِنْ أثرِ السُّجُودِ ذَلِكَ مَثَلُهُمْ فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَمَثَلُهُمْ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ⁸⁵

81 Qur. 5.3.

82 Qur. 15.2.

83 Qur. 43.69.

84 Qur. 3.144.

85 Qur. 48.29.

Que quiere dezir Muḥammad es mensajero
 de Allāh i-aquellos que-stan con-el son mas
 fuertes contra los descreyentes piadosos
 entre-llos gh⁸⁶ que los veran arraka'ados i-basajda-
 dos⁸⁷ cobdiçiyarando li-l-bantalla de Allah i-su-acon-
 tentamiento seran señalados en-sus caras
 de-l rastro de la-l-waḍū i-d-el-al-sajdar.⁸⁸ Aquel es su-seña
 en la-Taurayyah i-su-senblança en l-Avangelio i-en
 la-l-Injil i-en la-l-Qur'ān." Pues cuando oyo aquello

(fol. 17r) 'Umar diiso: "Yā abā-shāq ya-me-has fecho saber maravillas
 muy grandes y traiciones que hazian los juḍios
 malvados la-maldiçion de Allāh sea sobre-llos
 i-de-los al-malakes i-de las gentes sea sobre-llos
 amen." I-fizose I-luego se fizo muçlim 'Umar. Cun-
 plese el-al-ḥadīth con t̄r la-loor de Allāh i-la-buena
 de su ayuḍa i-la-ṣallā de Allāh sobre nues cabḍillo
 Muḥammad su-an-nabī i-mensajero ṣallā Allahu 'alayhi wa-sallama
 wa-al-ḥamdu li-llāhi rabbi-l-'ālamīn.

86 This letter is unclear and it is written unconnected.

87 Read "dā" instead, and accordingly "sjd," to bow in worship.

88 See the previous note.