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Riccoldo the Florentine's *Reprobacion del Alcoran*: A Manual for Preaching to the 'Moors'

Abstract: The *Contra legem Sarracenorum* by Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (1300) was the object of attention, since the end of the 14th century, although it was in the environment of the conciliarists who participated in the Council of Basel (15th century) that interest in his reading among European intellectuals, handwritten copies reaching the Iberian Peninsula, crystallizing that interest in *the editio princeps* of the work (*Improbatio Alcorani*, Seville 1500), sponsored by the Dominican Antonio de la Peña and in its later translation into Spanish (*Reprobacion del Alcoran*, Sevilla 1501 and Toledo 1502), in the context of the Christianization of the recently conquered territory of Granada.¹

The *Reprobacion del Alcoran* (Seville 1501 and Toledo 1502) is an anonymous Castilian translation of the Latin work *Improbatio Alcorani (Contra legem Sarracenorum)* by Riccoldo the Florentine (Riccoldo da Monte di Croce) (Seville 1500). These three editions mark a turning point in the use of Riccoldo's work in the Iberian Peninsula and demonstrate its importance as effective anti-Muslim propaganda after the fall of Granada in 1492, when the Catholic Monarchs undertook the task of Christianizing the population of the Crown's newly annexed territory.²

1 This study is part of the projects: PGC2018-093472-B-C31 (Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation, and Universities), 2017 SGR 1787 and H2020-810141-EuQu.

2 "España, a raíz de la conquista de Granada, tenía en su propio territorio un fragmento del Islam aún por convertir, puesto que los tiempos no eran ya propicios para aquella pacífica coexistencia de las tres religiones cuyo espectáculo había dado Toledo durante los siglos XII y XIII." (Having conquered Granada, Spain had a part of the Muslim world within its own borders that it was still trying to convert, because the times were no longer favorable to the peaceful coexistence of the three religions [Christianity, Islam, and Judaism] that Toledo had embodied in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.) Marcel Bataillon, *Erasmus y España* (México DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1950), 58–59.

1 Dissemination of the *Contra legem Sarracenorum* (CLS)

As the 34 known Latin manuscripts of the work make clear, the *Contra legem Sarracenorum* was a widely disseminated model for the refutation of Islam, so much so that it is fitting to apply to it the Latin saying “*Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli*”.³ In addition to the 28 manuscripts catalogued by Mérigoux,⁴ there are six others that have been identified by Panella,⁵ Waggoner Karchner,⁶ and González Muñoz.⁷

The printed editions of this work were also key to its dissemination, including its published translations, the first of which was the *Reprobacion del Alcoran* published in Seville.⁸ All these witnesses, manuscripts, editions, and translations

3 Terentianus Maurus, *De litteris syllabis et metris*, ed. Karl Lachmann (Berolinum: Reimer, 1836), 44, v. 1286.

4 Jean-Marie Mérigoux, “L’ouvrage d’un frère precheur florentin en Orient à la fin du XIIIe siècle. ‘Le Contra legem Sarracenorum’ de Riccoldo da Monte di Croce,” *Fede e Controversia nel ‘300 e ‘500*, Memorie Domenicane, Nuova Serie 17 (1986):1–144 (35–43).

5 Pistoia, Biblioteca Comunale Forteguerriana, MS A.1, in Emilio Panella, “Ricerche: Un altro manoscritto del *Contra legem Sarracenorum*,” <http://www.e-theca.net/emiliopanella/riccoldo/ricerc.htm> (accessed March 10, 2021).

6 Katharine Waggoner Karchner, *Europe, Islam, and the Role of the Church in the Afterlife of a Medieval Polemic, 1301–1543*, (PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2018), chap. “Islam, and the Role of the Church”, 331, describes the discovery of a privately owned manuscript in Salamanca, as well as one at the Biblioteca del Cabildo, in Toledo, MS BCT 35: https://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/handle/2027.42/149964/kgwag_1.pdf?sequence=1 (accessed March 10, 2021).

7 Fernando González Muñoz also mentions MS Pistoia, Biblioteca Comunale Forteguerriana, MS A.1, but he identified three other manuscripts, as well: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek – Cod. theol. et phil. 2°83, 87v–89v; Pistoia, Biblioteca Leoniana, 31; and Yale, Beinecke Library, MS 979 8r–46r. See Fernando González Muñoz, “Latin Texts on Islam in a Manuscript at Yale University,” in *Propaganda and (Un)covered Identities in Treatises and Sermons: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Premodern Mediterranean*, eds. C. Ferrero Hernández and Linda G. Jones, (Bellaterra: Publicacions Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2020), 23–40.

8 Later translations include Paolo Angelo’s Italian version, in Paolus Angelus, *Epistola Pauli Angeli ad Saracenos cum libello contra Alcoranum*, (Venice: Alessandro Bindoni, c.1520) and Luther’s German version, in Martin Luther, *Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Richardi Prediger Ordens, anno 1300*, (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1542). The first translation of the CLS was into Greek by Demetrios Cydones in the 1360s. There are fourteen extant manuscripts of this translation, which was later used by Bartholemaeus Picensus de Monte Arduo as the source of his back-translation into Latin, the first edition of which was published under the title *Confutatio legis late Sarracenis a maledicto Mahometo* (Rome: Ioannes Besicken Alemanus, 1506). The subsequent editions, were: Basel (ca. 1507), Paris (1509, 1511, 1514) and Venice (1607). The Venice edition used the title *Propugnaculum fidei Christianae* and the same cover as the 1500 Seville edition. We will return to

attracted the attention of theologians, preachers, and polemicists throughout Europe. From the Iberian Peninsula⁹ to Russia,¹⁰ the *Contra legem Sarracenorum* was studied and commented on in the context of different historical confrontations with Islam from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century.

2 Riccoldo's Sources and Method

The sources used by Riccoldo have already been studied in depth by Mérigoux,¹¹ Burman,¹² Martínez Gázquez¹³ and Petrus Pons,¹⁴ but it is worthwhile to point out the model that he followed in articulating his polemic against Islam. I am referring to the work of Peter the Venerable, whose desire to refute Islam prompted him to sponsor a translation of the Qur'an that would allow him to read it and then to write his refutation, which is preserved in the works *Summa totius haeresis Sarracenorum* and *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum*. These works barely

this edition below. Monte Arduo's text had the good fortune to be included alongside Demetrios Cydones's in Theodorus Bibliander's *Confutatio Alcorani, in Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, doctrina ac ipse Alcoran*. . . (Basel: Johannes Opporinus, 1543), 3 vols (vol. II, 82–165).

9 See Mérigoux, "L'ouvrage d'un frère precheur", chapter "Jalons pour une histoire du *Contra legem Sarracenorum*", 35–56. Also Waggoner Karchner, *Europe, Islam, and the Role of the Church*, especially concerning the context of the work's circulation, 35–61, and the composition of the manuscripts, 62–90.

10 Mérigoux, 51–53, and Paul Bushkovitch, "Orthodoxy and Islam in Russia, 988–1725," in *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte: Religion und Integration im Moskauer Russland: Konzepte und Praktiken und Grenzen* 76, ed. Ludwig Steindorff (Verlag: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 117–144 (130–133).

11 For an overview, see Mérigoux, 27–34.

12 Thomas E. Burman, "How an Italian Friar Read His Arabic Qur'an," *Dante Studies, with the Annual Report of the Dante Society*, 125, *Dante and Islam* (2007), 93–109. Id. "Riccoldo da Monte di Croce y las traducciones latinas del árabe realizadas en España," in *Estudios de Latin Medieval Hispánico*, eds. José Martínez Gázquez, Oscar de la Cruz Palma and Cándida Ferrero Hernández (Firenze: SISMEL), 601–608. Id. "Two Dominicans, a Lost Manuscript, and Medieval Christian Thought on Islam," in *Medieval Exegesis and Religious Difference. Commentary, Conflict, and Community in the Premodern Mediterranean*, ed. R. Szpiech (New York: Fordham Univ Pr., 2015), 79–87.

13 José Martínez Gázquez, "Nuevas perspectivas en el ámbito de Islamolatina: 'Coranus Graecus' (ss. VIII-IX); 'Alcorán de Bellús' (1618); 'Alchoranus Latinus' (1632) de Johann Zechendorff; los manuscritos de Ludovico Maracci († 1700); 'Corpus glossarum ad Alchoranum Latinum'," *Medievalia*, Vol. 19.2 (2016): 97–113 (106–107).

14 Nàdia Petrus Pons, "Riccoldo da Monte di Croce lector de Marcos de Toledo," *Medievalia*, Vol. 19, Núm. 2 (2016): 115–132.

circulated before being published in Bibliander's compilation, in contrast to the rest of the works in the *Corpus Islamolatinum*,¹⁵ which were frequently copied and widely read in manuscript form. For this reason, it is important to highlight the fact that Riccodo was an attentive reader of Peter the Venerable's works (which he used as an unacknowledged source¹⁶) and a disseminator of the Abbot of Cluny's perception of Islam, not only in his brief though significant quotes from Peter the Venerable but also in the way the prologue to the *CLS* is organized.¹⁷ However, Riccodo – who had lived among Muslims, visited their schools, and debated with their scholars¹⁸ – does not adopt the Irenicist tone used by Peter the Venerable in the letter-preface to his *Liber contra sectam*, which deploys an elegant rhetorical exercise to address faraway Muslims.¹⁹ Instead, Riccodo addresses his work to any preachers who are going to the East,²⁰ and he provides them with a thoughtful educational plan for coping with their mission, including a detailed

15 The group of Islamic texts translated into Latin at the behest of Peter the Venerable are referred to as the *Corpus Islamolatinum*. For more information, see Islamolatina: <https://grupsderecerca.uab.cat/islamolatina/> (accessed March 10, 2021).

16 Mérigoux counted seven references to Peter the Venerable's *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum* (*CLS*, Pr. 12,20,21; chap. 1,7,14; chap. 3,10; chap. 6,6) and three to his *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum* (*CLS*, Pr. 14; chap. 3,8; chap. 6,8). See Mérigoux, 31 (n. 143–144).

17 This influence is particularly obvious in the summary of the listing of heresies, as is shown in Mérigoux, prol. 20–23: “draco truculentissimus de cauerna, frendens et fremens et insibilans diuersos errores Arrii, Sabellii, Macedonii et aliorum hereticorum,” and chap. 1, 3–5: “Primo igitur oportet scire qui sunt principales errores quos lex Saracenorum ponit, in quibus maxime legi Dei contrariatur. Et sciendum quod omnium antiquorum hereticorum feces, quas diabolus in aliis sparsim seminauerat, simul in Machometum reuomuit,” which extends into chap. 1, 7–9: “Ipse namque Machometus cum Sabellio negat Trinitatem ponit tamen in diuinis quendam binarium, qui est numerus infamis et alteritatis principium,” a formulation that is similar to Peter the Venerable's in *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum* (Ed. James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (New Jersey: Princetun U. Press, 1964), 24: “Omnes pene antiquarum heresum feces, quas diabolo imbuente sorbuerat, reuomens, cum Sabellio trinitatem abnegat,” at <https://grupsderecerca.uab.cat/islamolatina/content/summula-quaedam-breuis-contra-haereses-et-sectam-saracenorum-siue-ismaelitarum> (accessed March 10, 2021). See Bibliander's gloss on “cum Sabellio negat <omnino> Trinitatem,” *Glos. “Haec ratio utitur etiam Cluniaciensis Abbas,”* (Bibliander, vol. II, 86. col. 1).

18 *Reprobacion del Alcoran*, see Appendix, Text 3, § 8.

19 “Aggredior inquam vos, non, ut nostri saepe faciunt, armis sed verbis, non vi sed ratione, non odio sed amore. Amore tamen tali, qualis inter Christicolos et a Christo aversos esse debet,” *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum*, (Ed. Reinhold Gleib, *Petrus Venerabilis. Schriften zum Islam*, Altenberge : Corpus Islamo-Christianum, 1985), lib. 1, 24. See: <https://grupsderecerca.uab.cat/islamolatina/content/liber-contra-sectam-sive-haeresim-saracenorum-liber-i> (accessed March 10, 2021).

20 *Reprobacion del Alcoran*, see Appendix 3, § 9.

description of his personal experiences. He had described these violent episodes in his *Epistulae* and he alludes to this at the beginning of the *CLS* by quoting of Psalm 118 (119), as if continuing the conversation with God he began in the *Epistulae*.²¹ Thus, Riccoldo explains the two objectives that he is pursuing in his work: to disprove the “obscene teachings” of Islam and to provide future preachers with a treatise to help them convert people who have been “deceived” by that sect. However, he focuses his attention above all on the mastermind behind the sect, “dirty, lecherous man given to all manner of evil works” who followed “the devil’s council” and wrote the Qur’an and pretended that it was dictated to him by God.²²

According to Burman,²³ Riccoldo’s methodology in this work is essentially to portray Islam as almost entirely reducible to the Qur’an, whose authorship he attributes to Muhammad, as he does for other Islamic books, such as the *Doctrina Mahumet* or accounts of Muhammad’s life. In this way, Riccoldo characterizes him as an enemy and false prophet.²⁴ These arguments caught the attention of Spanish theologians when they were introduced to Riccoldo’s work, since they could be used as a new approach to the confrontation with Islam that had been waged in the Iberian Peninsula – the borderland between Latin Christendom and the Muslim world – for eight centuries.

21 “Pro responsione denique theorica gratias ago, practicam vero nichilominus affectuose atque indesinenter expecto,” is how Riccoldo ends his last epistle (*Epistola V, Divina responsio*, in *Epistole ad ecclesiam triumphantem, Epistole ad ecclesiam triumphantem sive Epistole de prosperitate sarracenorum in temporalibus et deiectione christianorum. Secundum ms.* Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 7317, fols. 249r^o-267r^o), ed. Emilio Panella, accessible at <http://www.e-theca.net/emiliopanella/riccoldo/epi510.htm> (accessed March 10, 2021). I suggest that Riccoldo perhaps was impatient to receive a practical response and began the *CLS*: “*Quot sunt dies servi tui?*”, reminding God that he is waiting. For more on this topic, see Cándida Ferrero Hernández, “*Lectio et disputatio* in el prólogo del *Contra legem Sarracenorum* de Riccoldo da Monte di Croce,” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 49.1 (2019): 141–155.

22 *Reprobacion del Alcoran*, see Appendix, Text 3, § 6.

23 Thomas.E. Burman, “Two Dominicans, a Lost Manuscript,” 86–87.

24 Cfr. “Ipsi tamen Sarraceni uolunt dicere quod sicut ista est per se uera: ‘Non est deus nisi Deus’, ita ista ‘Maccometus est nuntius Dei’. Sed quantam iniuriam faciant ueritati philosophye qui iuxta propositionem uerissimam ponunt propositionem falsissimam, et quantam iniuriam faciant Deo qui iuxta ueritatem Dei ponunt falsitatem et malitiam Maccometti, quidlibet sapiens per semetipsum potest auertere,” Riccoldo, *Itinerarium*, in René Kappler, *Riccoldo de Monte Croce. Pèrègrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient*, (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997), 172–173. For a more extensive treatment of this topic, see Óscar de la Cruz Palma, *Machometus. La invención del Profeta Mahoma en las fuentes latinas medievales*, *Medievalia* vol. 20.2 (2017): 27–36. Rita George-Tvrtković’s study *A Christian Pilgrim in Medieval Iraq. Riccoldo da Montecroce’s Encounter with Islam* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 1–42, is required reading for a deeper understanding of the interest in the *Itinerarium* and how Muslims were judged.

3 Riccoldo's Reception in the Iberian Peninsula

3.1 Manuscripts

A large Castilian delegation was sent to the 1431 Council of Basel, including most notably Juan de Segovia, Juan de Torquemada, Alfonso de Cartagena, and Juan de Corral,²⁵ who participated in the debates alongside other important churchmen such as Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and Nicholas of Cusa. These debates revolved around broad issues affecting the church: the heresy of the Greeks, papal infallibility, and the Ottoman threat, which would become palpable with the fall of Constantinople in 1453. While in Basel, the Dominican Juan de Corral commissioned a copy of the *Contra legem Sarracenorum* and brought it back with him to Iberia. This copy is MS Oviedo, Bibl. del Cabildo 24,²⁶ whose date, 1437, is provided in the *explicit*.²⁷

According to Mérigoux's catalogue,²⁸ there were three manuscripts of this work in Spanish libraries: Oviedo (*O*, Bibl. del Cabildo 24, fols. 91^r-113^v); Seville (*S*, Bibl. Capitular y Colombina, 82-1-7, fols. 147^r-173^v); Toledo (*T1*,²⁹ Bibl. del Cabildo 21-10, fols. 62^r-96^v). More recently, however, Waggoner Karchner³⁰ has discovered two more manuscripts: Salamanca (*Sa*, privately held, fols. 1^r-53^r) and Toledo (*T2*, Biblioteca del Cabildo, 5-35 fols. 141^r-171^r).

Following this discovery, similarities have been detected between the *O* and *T2* manuscripts. Both contain the *Libellus ad Nationes Orientales* (*ANO*); but Waggoner Karchner points out an additional piece of information: *T2* "include[s] images of a bunch of grapes – which match the watermark in Oviedo 24 – and a steer".³¹ Moreover, both manuscripts contain the entire text, with the additions from chapter 8, which is very similar to the SNV manuscript.

25 For an overview of this delegation, see Denise Kawasaki, "The Castilian Fathers at the Council of Basel," (PhD Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 2008). See also the "Carta a Juan II sobre la embajada castellana al Concilio de Basilea" (Carta de 4 de septiembre de 1434), ed. Juan Miguel Valero Moreno, in *Biblioteca Cartagena*: <http://bibliotecacartagena.net/documentum/4-de-septiembre-de-1434-carta-a-juan-ii-sobre-la-embajada-castellana-al-concilio-de-basilea> (accessed March 10, 2021).

26 Fol. 66^v, Mérigoux, 41.

27 Mérigoux, 40.

28 Mérigoux, 35-43.

29 *T1* in the new classification adopted after Waggoner Karchner's discoveries. See Waggoner Karchner, *Europe, Islam, and the Role of the Church*, 238.

30 Katharine Waggoner Karchner, "Two New Manuscript Copies of Riccoldo da Montecroce's *Contra legem Sarracenorum*," *Manuscripta* 63.2 (2020): 79-94.

31 Waggoner Karchner, *Europe, Islam, and the Role*, 238.

The Salamanca manuscript, *Sa*, includes the titles of the chapters, as does *T1*, and provides the following *explicit*: “*Explicit libellus contra legem Sarracenorum editus a frater ricoldo Florentino de ordine fratrem predicatorum. Deo grati<a>s. Amen.*”³² This might lead us to imagine a possible connection to the manuscript that was used as the source of the 1500 Seville edition, since this is the only manuscript from the Iberian Peninsula that uses the formula: “*Riccoldo Florentino,*” which in turn is reproduced in the Seville editions (1500, 1501) and the Toledo edition (1502).

As for the Iberian readers of these manuscripts, we know that the Castilian Franciscan Alfonso de Espina³³ drew heavily from the *CLS* (as an unacknowledged source)³⁴ in Book IV (*Contra Sarracenos*) of his *Fortalitium Fidei*,³⁵ possibly using one of the Iberian manuscripts. We might hazard a guess that Espina used either the *O* or the *T2* manuscript, since both contain the *ANO*, which mentions the errors of Cerinto,³⁶ whom Espina includes in his list of heretics³⁷ but who is

32 *Ibid.* 236.

33 “Nam sicut certum est omnibus Sarracenis, Machometus diligebat quandam que dicebat Maria Iacobina, quam presentaverat ei Machoques rex Iacobinorum. Due autem uxores Machometi, scilicet una dicta Anosse, filia Hebebor nobilissima inter eas, et Abassa filia Homar, movebantur delotipia. Que, cum quadam die intrarent ad eum, invnerunt dictam Iacobinam concubentem cum eo, et dixerunt: ‘Ei decetne sic facere prophetam?’. Qui erubuit et iuravit se de cetero non facturum et sic placate sunt ad iuramentum eius. Cumque modicum tempus pertransisset non se potuit sustinere ab ea et fecit de hoc legem quasi ex ore dei revelantis sibi. Et tunc dixit in Alchorano, in capitulo Helmeteartem, quod interpretatur vetatio vel anatema: ‘O propheta, quid petis quod dei concessit tibi? placari uxores tuas postules, iam legem posuit vobis deus ut solvatis iuramentas vestra.’ Et iterum cognovit illam, et dixit quod deus dispensavit cum illo in iuramento et super hoc testes sint Michael et Gabriel, et dixit illi una de uxoris: ‘O Machomete, deus festinavit in tuo desiderio’.” Alfonso de Espina, *Fortalitium Fidei*, lib. IV, 334, col.a (Strasbourg: Johannes Mentelin, *ante* 1471). Cfr. Mérigoux, chap. 8, 22–38.

34 Ana Echevarría has noted this coincidence previously. See Ana Echevarría, *The Fortress of Faith: The Attitudes towards Muslims in Fifteenth Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 164–165.

35 For more-detailed information about the work of Alfonso de Espina, see <https://biblioteques-bh.uab.cat/bicore/publicues/autor.php?autorid=203> (accessed March 10, 2021).

36 “Nestorini maxime videntur a nobis distare de incarnatione Christi et maxime convenire cum magnis hereticis, qui specialiter erraverunt circa divinitatem Christi, et precipue cum Arrio, Cerinto, Ebione, Paulo Senositano, Fotino, et Maccometto.” *Libellus ad Nationes Orientales*, “De christianis nestorinis” fol. 220^r, in Emilio Panella: <http://www.e-theca.net/emiliopanella/riccoldo2/adno.htm> (accessed March 10, 2021).

37 “Nono ponit quod ultima hominis beatitudo est in comedendo et luxuriando e tin vestibus preciosis et in ortis irriguis et in hoc convenit cum Cherinto herético.” Alfonso de Espina, *Fortalitium Fidei*, lib. IV, 337, col.b. In the list of heresies, Espina includes thirteen, and the tenth one mentions “*Vierne heretico*”, which should be read as “Ebione”, 337, col. b. This reading, which was reproduced in all the many editions of the work that followed, appears in Martín García’s

not mentioned in the *CLS*. However, it is also possible that Espina composed this list with information taken from Thomas Aquinas's *Summa contra gentiles*,³⁸ which was a source used by both authors, though unacknowledged.

The Dominican Juan de Torquemada was another important author who transmitted the *CLS*. Although there is nothing to indicate that the manuscript of the *CLS* that he used to compose his work *Contra principales errores Mahometi*³⁹ was among those found in the Iberian Peninsula, it may have been a manuscript like the model used for *T2*, which contains a compilation of seventeen works in addition to the *CLS* that are related to the Councils of Basel and Constanza,⁴⁰ which Torquemada participated in. In any case, we are sure that Torquemada used Riccoldo, sometimes quoting him verbatim and sometimes paraphrasing his text and adapting it to the structure of his own work.⁴¹

3.2 Print Editions

Between 1500 and 1506, the Catholic Monarchs sponsored four editions of the *CLS*: the ones published in Seville, the *Improbatio Alcorani* (1500) and the *Reprobacion del Alcoran* (1501); the reprinting of the Castilian translation in Toledo (1502); and

summary of heretics, whose source is Espina: “Fuit autem Machometus deceptus a demone, nam credens idolatria extirpare, et ad fidem et credulitatem unius Dei mundum reducere, amplexus fuit omnes hereses mundi, quia cum Sabellio trinitatem negavit; cum Arrio dicit Christum non esse occisum; [. . .] Item concordat cum Cherinto in felicitate et cum epicuriis; in circumcissione concordat cum Vierne (Ebione corr. Ferrero) heretico; in mulieribus concordat cum Nicholaitis.” Manuel Montoza Coca, *Los Sermones de Don Martín García* (PhD Dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2018), 2 vols., Sermo XXXVI, vol I, 298, 349–355.

38 “Fuerunt enim quidam, ut Ebion et Cerinthus, et postea Paulus Samosatenus et Photinus, qui in Christo solum naturam humanam confitentur; divinitatem vero non per naturam, sed per quandam excellentem divinae gloriae participationem, quam per opera meruerat, in eo fuisse confingunt, ut superius dictum est.” Thomas Aquinas, *Contra Gentiles*, lib. 4 chap. 28 n. 2, in <https://www.corpusthomicum.org/scg4027.html> (accessed March 10, 2021).

39 See the text in Iohannes Turrecremata, *Contra principales errores perfidi Mahometi* (Rome: Guilielmi Facciotti, 1606). For more information on manuscripts and editions of Juan de Torquemada, see <https://bibliotequesbh.uab.cat/bicore/publicues/autor.php?autorid=127> (accessed March 10, 2021).

40 Waggoner Karchner, *Europe, Islam, and the Role of the Church*, 238.

41 An example with part of the paraphrase of the prologue of the *CLS*: “Septima conditio legis quod a Deo esse dicitur, quod gravior, et solida contineat, non fabulas. Vnde Propheta Psalmo 118 inquit ‘Narraverunt mihi iniqui fabulationes,’ quia hereses et secta continent multa fabulosa, et conficta. Vnde sequitur, ‘sed non ut lex tua, omnia mandata tua veritas, non falsitas.’” Iohannes Turrecremata, *Contra principales errores*, 39.

the *Confutatio Alcorani*, which was published by Bartolomaeus Picensus de Monte Arduo in Rome (1506) and is included in this group because of its prologue, which we will take a look at below.

Each of these editions offers a perspective on and a rereading of the *CLS*, and these may reflect not only the context of its publication but also the opportunity it embodied for disseminating anti-Muslim propaganda. We can see this in their prologues, in the cases of the *Improbatio* and the *Confutatio*, though not in the *Reprobacion*, which lacks a prologue. It is also worthwhile to look at the titles of these editions, which have a lot to say about the intentions of the editors, insofar as they were attentive readers of the work. The title of the 1500 Seville Latin edition is *Improbatio Alcorani*, which the Castilian translation in the 1501 Seville and 1502 Toledo editions echoes by using the title *Reprobacion del Alcoran*. The terms *Reprobacion* and *Improbatio* share a Latin root, but they have different prefixes. In effect, *Improbatio Alcorani* gives the title a privative meaning due to the prefix (*in*) and thus should be understood to mean “Disproving the Qur’an” or even “Impossibility of proving the Qur’an.” *Reprobacion* (lat. *Reprobatio*) *del Alcoran*, on the other hand, is a more forceful title, with juridical resonance, one that expresses rejection and even condemnation; thus this title should be understood to mean “Condemnation of the Qur’an”; hence, the anonymous translator seeks to “contradezir e destruir”.⁴² The (abbreviated) title of Monte Arduo’s Roman edition is *Confutatio Alcorani*, where *confutatio* (taken from Riccoldo, “*confutare principales obscenitates tam perfide legis*”)⁴³ refers to the act of rebutting a contrary opinion with arguments. This title should thus be understood as “Refutation of the Qur’an.” In sum, the editions of the *CLS* from the early sixteenth century offer different readings of the text, and the intent of their editors can be gleaned from their different titles.

3.2.1 *Improbatio Alcorani*

The *editio princeps*⁴⁴ of the *CLS*, titled *Improbatio Alcorani*, was published in 1500 in Seville by the printing press of Estanislao Polono,⁴⁵ as the work’s *explicit* states: “*Explicit libellus intitulus contra legem sarracenorum editus a fratre Ricoldo flor-*

⁴² See Appendix, T 3, § 9.

⁴³ Mérigoux, Prol. 63, 66–67.

⁴⁴ A preliminary study of this subject was published in Cándida Ferrero Hernández, “De la *Improbatio Alcorani* a la *Reprobación del Alcorán*, o la fortuna hispana de un texto apologético,” in *Miscellanea latina*, eds. María T. Muñoz García de Iturrospe and Leticia Carrasco Reija (Madrid: SELAT, 2015), 537–543.

⁴⁵ Julián Martín Abad and Isabel Moyano Andrés, *Estanislao Polono* (Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá-Centro Internacional de Estudios Históricos Cisneros, 2002). Joaquín Hazañas y

entino de ordine predicatorum, sacre theologie professore. Impressus Hispali per Stanislauum polonum, anno a nativitate domini nostri iesu christi m.d. xx die marci”.⁴⁶ Following the *explicit* is Polono’s elegant seal. Polono was a prestigious German printer who went to Seville at the urging of Isabella of Castile. The edition has a woodcut that shows an imposing and threatening friar in a debate with a group of defiant-looking Saracens.⁴⁷ The same cover was reused in later editions of Riccoldo’s work, such as the 1609 Venice edition. Likewise, the woodcut was reused to illustrate Pedro de Feria’s *Catecismo de la doctrina cristiana*, written for evangelizing the native peoples of the Americas.⁴⁸ The text of the *Improbatio* has already been described and compared to the manuscript tradition by Mérigoux,⁴⁹ who notes that the additions from chapter 8 are absent and the passage from chapter 13 has been resolved.⁵⁰

Riccoldo’s objectives in writing the *CLS* – which he clearly explains are to disprove the “obscene teachings” of Islam and to provide a useful treatise for converting those who have been “misled” by the false prophet Muhammad – prompted⁵¹ the Castilian Dominican Antonio de la Peña⁵² to publish an edition of Riccoldo’s work in Seville in 1500. Resorting to the familiar literary device of the fortuitous discovery of a manuscript, Antonio de la Peña claims to have found the work “*sub modio*”, an expression that is nothing more than an interesting introduction to the ensuing explanation of a quote from the Book of Matthew,⁵³ and

La Rúa, *La imprenta de Sevilla. Noticias inéditas de sus impresores desde linroducción del arte tipográfico hasta el s. XIX*, (Seville: Diputación provincial de Sevilla, 1945).

46 *Improbatio Alcorani*, 1500, fol. 33^r.

47 Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons, “España y los moriscos de Granada,” in *Averroes dialogado y otros momentos literarios y sociales de la interacción cristiano-musulmana en España e Italia. Un seminario interdisciplinar*, ed. André Stoll, (Kasel: Ed. Reichenberger, 1998), 89–130 (127–130).

48 Luis Resines, *Catecismo del Sacromonte y Doctrina Christiana de Fray Pedro de Feria*, (Madrid: CSIC, 2002), 131–133.

49 Mérigoux, 43–46.

50 Mérigoux, 45: “quidam calipha de baldacho nomine. . . edificauit,” cfr. *Improbatio Alcorani*, chap. 13, fol. 34^r. “quidam calipha de baldacho nomine, edificauit.”

51 See Appendix, Text 1.

52 Antonio de la Peña, an inquisitor who belonged to Cisneros’s inner circle, introduces himself in the prologue to the *Improbatio* as “Ministro General de la Provincia de Hispania”, although the very same year that the work was published, his election was nullified due to feuding between reformed and unreformed Dominicans. He was finally confirmed in 1501. See Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, *Historia de la reforma de la Prouincia de España, (1450–1550)*, (Roma: S. Sabina, 1939), 47–49. An interesting study of Atonio de la Peña’s indomitable personality can be found in Guillermo Nieva Ocampo, “Frailes revoltosos: corrección y disciplinamiento social de los dominicos de Castilla en la primera mitad del s. XVI,” *Hispania* 237 (2011): 39–64.

53 Matt. 5:14–15. See Appendix, Text 1.

that in this context serves to legitimize and exalt Christian truth vis-à-vis Islam. Antonio de la Peña decides to publish the dusty, forgotten manuscript, and for this reason he leaves off writing a treatise against the law of Muhammad. He is convinced that the brilliance of the Florentine's work will help to lead back to the Christian fold sheep who are "grazing on deadly forage", in the pastures of Christianity's worst enemy, the author of a "contradictory" law. Antonio de la Peña, who was steeped in Riccoldo's style through his reading of the work, endeavors to bring the work out from under the *modio* and to have it shine from a candelabrum to illuminate the way forward during the turbulent times following Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon's entrance into Granada (1492).

The edition, which was possibly dedicated to Queen Isabella (*Charitas vestra*),⁵⁴ can be read, according to the editor, both for pleasure and to bolster the agenda that the Christian authorities were pursuing at that time – namely, the undermining of the capitulation agreement terms of surrender imposed on Granada's Muslims, the forced baptisms, and the attempts to assimilate the Mudéjar community.⁵⁵

It is instructive to compare Antonio de la Peña's prologue with the courtly proemium that Monte Arduo, who was also a Dominican,⁵⁶ provides in his re-translation into Latin of the Greek version of the *CLS* translated by Demetrios Cydones in the 1390s. Monte Arduo justified this re-translation by arguing that it rendered Riccoldo's work in a more elegant style, in Latin that adhered more closely to humanist standards, following Demetrios's example. He goes on to explain the dedication to King Ferdinand of Aragon, the Catholic King, by stating that he is the only leader of his time who won a significant victory over Islam; at great cost, he had subdued Baetica (Al-Andalus) and was preparing a campaign to retake Jerusalem.⁵⁷ Monte Arduo encourages the king to launch this campaign and

⁵⁴ The queen showed her appreciation for Antonio de la Peña, despite the revolts he was involved in. See Guillermo Nieva Ocampo, "Frailes revoltosos", 42.

⁵⁵ Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, "Los mudéjares de Castilla cuarenta años después," *En la España Medieval* 33 (2010): 383–426. Isabella Ianuzzi, "Evangelizar asimilando: la labor catequética de Fray Hernando de Talavera hacia los moriscos", *Áreas. Revista internacional de ciencias sociales* 30 (número especial, *Los moriscos y su expulsión: nuevas problemáticas*) (2011): 41–50.

⁵⁶ See Appendix, Text 2.

⁵⁷ The bibliography on this campaign of Fernando's is extensive. See in particular Andrew W. Deveraux, "Empire in the Old World: Ferdinand the Catholic and His aspiration to Universal Empire, 1479–1516," in *In and Of the Mediterranean: Medieval and Early Modern Iberian Studies*, eds. Michelle Hamilton and Nuria Silleras-Fernández, (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2015), 119–142, which brought to light Pedro Navarro's work *Memorial para la Magestad en orden a la conquista de Jerusalén*, 1506, ms. Madrid, BNE ms. 19.699, caja 60. Juan Diego García González has analyzed this work in "Mesianismo y profetismo político bajo el reinado Fernando el Católico: el

to proceed by way of Africa,⁵⁸ which, he says, is less dangerous now that Hannibal no longer poses a threat; this is a boastful attempt to claim the victories of Roman antiquity for European culture. Monte Arduo predicts certain victory, since the Christian troops will be spurred on by the prospect of booty. Thus the Holy Sites, which have been befouled by the sultan of Babylonia, will be liberated.⁵⁹ This is the sole mention of religious motives. By contrast, the proemium lingers over a description of how enervated the Saracens had become, how unaccustomed they were to battle, compared to the fierceness displayed by the Spanish Moors. Monte Arduo's prologue thus moves away from late medieval thinking and links itself in a significant way to the imperial and humanist concerns of the sixteenth century.⁶⁰

Memorial para la Magestad en orden a la conquista de Jerusalén del capitán Pedro Navarro," in *Nuevas perspectivas de investigación en Historia Moderna: Economía, Sociedad, Política y Cultura en el Mundo Hispánico*, eds. María Ángeles Pérez and José Luis Betrán, (Barcelona: FEHM, 2018), 933–941. It is likewise important to call attention to Manuel Montoza Coca's work on Martín García's sermon XL. Martín García was bishop of Barcelona and worked with the Monarchs during the Granada campaign. In this sermon, he praises the planned Jerusalem expedition, calling Ferdinand a providential king. The sermon takes its theme from a verse in the Book of Zechariah (Zech. 9: "Ecce rex tuus venit tibi,"), clearly alluding to Ferdinand II and his future entrance into Jerusalem, which Martín García goes on to develop thus: "Secundo, patet hoc ratione similitudinis ad regem primum et immediatum Hierosolimitanorum, qui est Christus, formetur autem ratio sic. Ille rex (qui est magis similis regi Christo) est rex Hierosolimorum, sed hic est rex hispanus, igitur, etcetera. [. . .] Patet igitur quod Christus fuit uerus rex Hierosolimitanus, quod autem rex hispanus sit Christo similior patet quia Christus fuit simul rex et sacerdos, sicut Melchisedech, qui Christum figurauit [. . .]. Vnde cum rex hispanus ungatur bis, primo ut rex Sicilie, ut subdiaconus, secundo ut rex Hierosolimitanorum, ut diaconus, patet quod magis proprie dicitur 'rex et sacerdos' quam aliquis alius et sic magis similis Christo." See Manuel Montoza Coca, *Los Sermones de Don Martín García*, vol. I, 325, 90–116 and a more-detailed study, Id. "La legitimación del poder de Fernando II de Aragón para la conquista del Reino de Jerusalén, *secundum* el Sermon XL del predicador real Don Martín García," *eHumanista* 32 (2016): 586–599 (588). On Ferdinand's providential mission, see Montoza Coca, *Los Sermones*, vol II; "Sermo XCI", 914, 219–222: "Et sic hec ecclesia habuit multas excellentias, sed inter alias fuit hec ut in illa nasceretur spiritualiter et baptizaretur illustrissimus Hispaniarum princeps Ferdinandus Secundus, rex et imperator Hispanie et reformator totius ecclesie et hereticorum destructor et infidelium dissipator." For an overview of the prophecies made by different authors in the Iberian Peninsula, see Mònica Colominas Aparicio, "Profecía, conversión y polémica islamocristiana en la Iberia alto-moderna (siglo XV): Alfonso de Jaén y el círculo del obispo don Martín García," in *Visiones imperiales y profecía*, eds. Stefania Pastore and Mercedes García-Arenal, (Madrid: Abada Editores, 2018), 53–80.

58 On the importance of the conquest of North Africa and the role played by Cisneros, see Beatriz Alonso Acero, *Cisneros y la conquista española del norte de África: cruzada, política y arte de la guerra* (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2006).

59 Pícnus de Monte Arduo always changes Baghdad to Babylonia (prologue and chap. 3, 9 and 13).

60 See Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*, (Cambridge Massachusetts–London: Harvard University Press, 2008).

What more can we say about the comparison between the two prologues to the two editions of Riccoldo, which are so close to each other in time and so far apart from one another in their respective outlooks? Monte Arduo's edition reached a wide audience throughout Europe,⁶¹ while Antonio de la Peña's remained circumscribed to an Iberian audience, where it had an influence on Martín García,⁶² the bishop of Barcelona, who was in Granada in the year 1500⁶³ at the request of the Catholic Monarchs.

However, despite the different arguments that are expressed in the prologues written by the two Dominicans, paradoxically both editions contributed to the political propaganda of the Catholic Monarchs, from two distinct angles: Antonio de la Peña dedicated his edition to Isabella of Castile at the time of the difficult task of establishing her power and the Catholic religion in Granada; Monte Arduo dedicated his to Ferdinand of Aragon, at a time after the death of Isabella (1504), when he was about to embark on the conquest of Jerusalem, a venture that never came to fruition.

3.2.2 *Reprobacion del Alcoran*

In 1501 the *Reprobacion del Alcoran* was also published in Seville, though it contained only the work itself, without any prologue. It did have an engraving at the beginning that showed a Dominican debating with a group of Saracens, just like in the *Improbatio*, but the image is much simpler and lacks the element of threat. The last annotation mentions the year when the work was completed: "Here ends

⁶¹ See note 8.

⁶² Manuel Montoza Coca, *Los Sermones*, vol. 1, Sermo X, 70, 260–261: "Item de agarenis, qui non habent sacerdotes, quia iam Calipha de Baldacho 'mortuus fuit christianus, cum cruce in pectore inuentus post mortem'." And Sermo XXXIII, vol. 1, 273, 479–483: "Item patet de calipha, qui sacratissimam uitam duxit in ciuitate Baldach. Quo mortuo inuenta fuit crux ad collum eius, ut testaretur factum quod ipse dominus sarracenorum moreretur uere christianus. Et ideo sarraceni noluerunt ei sepellire cum aliis alchaliphis, sed sequestratus et separatus fuit ab illis. Et sic magister Ricoldus dixit se uidisse sepulchrum separatum ab aliis in ciuitate Baldach." Cfr. *Improbatio Alcorani*, chap. 3, fol. 7^r: "ut etiam Calipha de Baldacco moreretur christianus et fuit inuenta crux ad collum eius ut testaretur factum quia ipse dominus Saracenorum mortuus est uere christianus. Et ideo iudicauerunt eum Saraceni quod sequestratus sepeliretur ab aliis Caliphis. Et hoc sepulchrum et locum uidi in Baldacco oculata fide."

⁶³ Manuel Montoza Coca, *Los Sermones*, Letter from Isabella and Ferdinand to Don Martín García (4 April 1500), XVII: "porque sabemos que vos sabeys arabigo y que con vuestras letras y predicación y buen exemplo podreys muchos aprovecharles poronde nos vos rogamos y encargamos que pues vedes quanto en ello será servido nuestro Señor querays disponer os a venir a estar algun tiempo a la dicha ciudad para aprovechar en lo susodicho que de mas de lo que con ello mereciereys de nuestro Señor a nos fareys muy agradable servey."

the rebuttal to the accursed sect of Muhammad, which is the Qur'an, translated into Romance by a religious from the Order of blessed Saint Jerome and undertaken in Seville by two German companions [Magno Herbst and Juan Pegnitzer]. Year of M.D and one. Seen and approved and given license to be printed. R. [Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella] Protonotarius. And archdeacon of the queen".⁶⁴ The edition closes with an engraving of the coat-of-arms of the Catholic Monarchs, with the motto "Tanto monta", which makes clear that this edition was a propaganda tool of the Crown.

In 1502,⁶⁵ another edition of the *Reprobacion del Alcoran* is published in Toledo that is identical in all respects to the Seville edition except for the letter type and the cover page, which shows a humanist scholar in his study, the publisher's logo. Its *explicit* reads "Here ends the rebuttal of the cursed sect of Muhammad, which is the Qur'an, translated into Romance by a religious of the Order of the blessed Saint Jerome. And undertaken in the noble city of Toledo by magister Pedro Hagenbach, a German. Year one thousand. and five hundred and two years. Seen and approved and given license to be printed R. [Rodrigo Fernández de Santaella] Protonotarius. And Archdeacon of the queen. Pr. in Toledo by the German Pedro Hagenbach, year of 1502".⁶⁶ The edition closes with the coat-of-arms of the Catholic Monarchs, this time without the motto "Tanto monta" that appears in the 1501 Seville edition.

Both editions contain the prologue and the seventeen chapters of the *CLS*, and, as has been mentioned, their texts are identical, even to the point of sharing the error of interrupting chapter 8 after "Ley de dios que dispone todas las cosas con razon et honestad, mas de aquel hombre suzio et bestial," which corresponds to the Latin text: "*O lex non tam hominibus quam bestiis ratione carentibus attribuenda et non Deo qui disponit omnia rationabiliter*".⁶⁷

The rest of chapter 8 appears under the title of chapter 9, "Capitulo IX que la ley de Mahoma no es razonable quanto al fin y gualardon que promete," which is given in the index as "Capitulo nono que en la ley de Mahoma ay muchas falsedades manifestas, y por consiguiente no es ley de Dios." Under this heading,

⁶⁴ *Reprobacion del Alcoran*, 1501, fol. 44^r

⁶⁵ Mérigoux, 46, was unaware of the 1501 Seville edition and only describes this one from Toledo from 1502.

⁶⁶ As is recorded in the Registro Colombino, entry number 3.274, Hernando Colón testified that a copy of the *Reprobacion del Alcoran* by brother Riccoldo, printed by Hagenbach in Toledo in 1502, was purchased in Valladolid for 17 *maravedies*. This copy has not been found, but a different one of this same edition is preserved in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena. See Inmaculada García-Cervigón del Rey, "Avances y noticias de la etapa incunable y postincunable de la imprenta toledana," *Pecia Complutense*, 12 (22), (2015), 19–33 (24–26).

⁶⁷ *Improbatio Alcorani*, fol. 14^v.

chapter 8 continues, “Es mayormente esta maldita ley no razonable . . .” which corresponds to: “*Maxime irrationabilis est lex ipsa . . .*”.⁶⁸ Following this chapter, chapter 10 begins, which is given in the index as “Capítulo X que la ley de Mahoma es ley que haze fuerça de los que la toman.” However, in another inconsistency, the chapter title given in the text is “Capitulo X que en la ley de Mahoma ay muchas falsedades manifiestas, y por consiguiente no es ley de Dios”, which actually corresponds to the title given in the index for chapter 9, beginning “Lo nono . . .” The following chapters have a few more errors, but these examples are sufficient to show that both the 1501 Seville and the 1502 Toledo editions were composed somewhat carelessly. The errors in both these editions are not found, however, in the 1500 Seville edition.

Regarding the difficult passage “*quidam calipha de baldacho nomine, edificauit . . .*”⁶⁹ the translator opts for the following translation: “E como viesse esto uno llamado Calipha de Baldaco, edifico . . .”, which appears to be an intelligent way to resolve what is a virtually incomprehensible passage.

I will point out only a few features of the style of the translation. First, the translation is extremely accurate, which means that the translator had an excellent knowledge of Latin, though the Castilian he uses has many archaisms and not just in terms of spelling, but that goes beyond the scope of this study. Secondly, the up-to-date terminology should be noted. For example, “*Sarraceni*” is translated as “moros,” and “*(Lingua) Arabica*” as “*algaravia*,” though not in every single case. Thirdly, the translation is often expansive: for example, “*confutare*” is rendered as “contradecir e destruir”, as was noted above. Lastly, the translation sometimes includes a clarification. For example, “*quia Machometus qui fuit homo idiota, nesciuisset adinuenire talem stilum et tales sententias. Sed contrarium manifeste apparet*,” is translated as “porque Mahoma que fue hombre necio no supiera componer el tal libro, ni supiera el tal estilo, ni menos supiera dezir las tales sentencias, si dios no se las oviera revelado, mas manifiestamente parece lo contrario.” The interpolated text “si dios no se las oviera revelado” clarifies and reinforces the meaning. To give just one more example: the translator is a member of the Order of Saint Jerome, as he says in the *explicit*, thus when chapter 8 refers to Saint Jerome, he reverently adds “our father”: “*sicut dicit Hieronymus*” becomes “como dize nuestro padre sant Geronimo”.⁷⁰

However, one of the most important contributions of the *Reprobacion* is that it provides a Castilian translation of the *Liber Denudationis siue Contrarietas*

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ *Improbatio Alcorani*, chap. 13, fol. 34^r.

⁷⁰ *Improbatio Alcorani*, chap. 8, fol. 13^v

Alpholica,⁷¹ which is in turn a Latin translation of a lost Arabic text. Riccoldo makes prolific use of this anti-Muslim polemic that was translated, possibly by a convert, in the thirteenth century. Another important aspect of the *Reprobacion* is its translation of passages from the *Liber de doctrina Mahumet*⁷² one of the most widely read works in the *Corpus Islamolatinum* which Riccoldo called “*Liber narrationum*.” *De doctrina Mahumet* is Hermann of Carinthia’s twelfth-century translation, which was completed somewhere in the Ebro River valley and is based on the *Masā’il ‘Abdillāh ibn Salām*, that is, the questions that the Jew Abdias put to Muhammad. There must have been an Arabic version of the *De doctrina* that circulated in the Iberian Peninsula, since there are traces of it in Castilian, as Corriente has pointed out.⁷³

In the passages from *De doctrina Mahumet*, the Hieronymite translator sought to imitate, or even to surpass, Riccoldo’s derisive tone toward the things described. In the Arabic original, these passages recount aspects of popular tradition and are intended to demonstrate the truths of Islam and make its doctrine more accessible. In chapter 10 of the translation, which is the ninth chapter of the original, as was noted above, we read:

Dize otrosi muchas otras cosas las quales seria luengo de contar, delo qual parece manifestamente que aquella ley no es de dios pues tiene en si tantas y tan grandes falsedades. Eso mesmo se hallan en ella algunas cosas contrarias las quales se sacan del alcoran por exposiciones que tienen, et tienen las los moros por ciertas, estan manifestas *enel libro delos recontamientos de Mahoma*, et como quiera que ellas sean muchas enpero aqui dire pocas dellas.⁷⁴

⁷¹ An edition and study of this work can be found in Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs c. 1050–1200*, (Leiden-New York-Köln: E.J. Brill, 1994).

⁷² Óscar De la Cruz Palma and Cándida Ferrero Hernández, “Hermann of Carinthia. Liber de generatione Mahumet. Liber de doctrina Mahumet,” in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, eds. David Thomas and Alex Mallett, Vol. 3 (1050–1200), (Boston-Leiden: Brill, 2011), 497–507.

⁷³ Federico Corriente, *Relatos píos y profanos del manuscrito aljamiado de Urrea de Jalón: edición, notas lingüísticas e índices de un manuscrito mudéjar-morisco aragonés*, (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1990), 232ff., 256ff., which includes an edition of two texts from the miscellany by Urrea de Jalón: “Alhadiz de los ángeles Arut y Marut” (Text XVII) and “Demandas d ‘Abdillā b. Salām al Profeta” (Text XVIII).

⁷⁴ *Improbatio Alcorani*, c. 9, f. 19^v: “[. . .] et multa alia que longum esset enumerare. Vnde et manifestum potest esse omnibus sapientibus quod lex illa non est a Deo, que tot et tam patentes continet falsitates. Inueniuntur preterea quedam absona que Saraceni pro certo asserunt et trahunt de Alchorano per expositionem; habentur autem expresse in libro Narrationum Mahometi et de multis hic pauca referam.”

4 The Translator of the *Reprobacion*

In the colophon of the Seville edition it says that the work was “romaçada” (translated into Romance) by a “religioso de la Orden del bienaventurado Sant Jeronimo”. Due to the translator’s desire for anonymity and the fact that the work – unlike the *Improbatio* – has no prologue, we can only speculate about his identity. The matter can be elucidated only after an exhaustive comparison with other texts originating in the circle of the most eminent Hieronymite of the day, Hernando de Talavera, the first archbishop of Granada. Might it be the work of Talavera himself? He did publish a translation of *Vita Christi*, by Francisc Eiximenis, in 1496.⁷⁵ So he very well could have undertaken a translation of Riccoldo’s text as well, though his duties as archbishop and his waning health might have prevented him from doing so. It is also possible that the translation is the work of another eminent Hieronymite, Pedro de Alcalá, who had exceptional knowledge of Latin (and of Arabic) and who also began his prologue to *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua arauiga*⁷⁶ in an address to the archbishop that clearly echoes the *Reprobacion del Alcoran*:

Venido es el tiempo del cumplimento, o el cumplimento del tiempo, en el qual plugo a la soberana piedad sacar a esta gente nuevamente convertida delas tinieblas y muchos herrores en que aquel malvado Mahoma y no digno de ser dicho hombre, suzio et maldito Mahoma, en el qual gomito el diablo su maestro todos los herrores y herejias que avia sembrado en todos los herejes ante pasados, el que los avia tenido por tan luengo espacio de tiempo engañados, por juzyio justo aun que a nos ascondido de nuestro señor, para que recibiesen la adopción y porhijamiento de los hijos [. .].

Here again we have another paraphrase of Riccoldo that uses the same arguments about Muhammad’s foulness and wickedness, “into whom the devil vomited all the errors of previous heretics.” We also find an expression of joy because this period in Granada’s history has come to an end, God has shown his mercy and has taken the recent converts out of darkness, which recalls Antonio de la Peña’s prologue, where he refers to bringing Riccoldo’s work “out of obscurity and into the light”. Was Pedro de Alcalá possibly the translator of the *Reprobación*?

⁷⁵ Francisc Eiximenis, *Libro de la vida de Ihesu Christo, editado y comentado por Fray Hernando de Talavera* (Meinardo Ungut y Juan Pegnitzer: Granada, 1496). Albert-Guillem Hauf i Valls, “Fray Hernando de Talavera, O.S.H., y las traducciones castellanas de la *Vita Christi* de Fr. Francisc Eiximenis, O.F.M.” (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2017), at <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcpn452> (accessed March 10, 2021).

⁷⁶ Pedro de Alcalá, *Arte para saber ligeramente la lengua arauiga* (Granada: Juan Varela de Salamanca, 1505).

In conclusion, we need to recall that efforts by the Crown and the churchmen in their inner circle were aimed at consolidating Christian civil and ecclesiastical power throughout the former Nasrid Kingdom after its conquest in 1492. And in this undertaking Riccoldo's work turned out to be a new model for refuting Islam. Thanks to the printing press, it could be easily disseminated as an effective tool of propaganda and as a sort of training manual for preachers charged with catechizing new converts, whether using the coercive methods espoused by Dominicans and Franciscans such as Cisneros and Antonio de la Peña, or the more gentle means espoused by Hernando de Talavera. However, we can see in Talavera the same contradiction that we find in Peter the Venerable and Riccoldo: Muslims are not Muhammad, who should be condemned and even vilified; Muslims need to be brought into the fold gently, so that they forget the errors "of their vile sect."

Appendix

Text 1

Improbatio Alcorani (Seville, 1500)

Proemium by Antonio de la Peña (fol. 1^o)

To all Christians who are followers of the faith and who zealously attend to the holy virtues; <I,> brother Antonio de la Peña, a useless and unworthy provincial prior of the very holy Order of Preachers in the province of Hispania, salute you.

No one who lives beyond the law of the Gospel and who is aloof to Christ our lord can possibly attain true goodness. Moreover, as Muhammad is the fiercest enemy of the Christian religion and her most cruel persecutor, no man should think that in his [religion] he will be able to attain salvation, unless he leaves the Mahomedan sect, converts to the other one and lives chastely and justly. And in that <Mahomedan> law, which is frequently contradictory, it is also written that no one will be granted salvation except in that law. We refute <that statement>. Indeed, we are quite sure that the way of life is open only to Christians, as long as they do good. And we who walk in the light do not hurt our feet on rocks, neither do the Saracens harm us, though they strongly wish to do so, nor do they deceive us, since we desire to reach the light, truly, [and] we have trained our thoughts on the lord so that he might show us the way that we can most easily lead the multitude of Saracens back into the flock of the lord, since they are creatures and sheep of the lord, but they wander beyond the sheepfold and in a stranger's

pastures, far from the lord's fold, grazing on deadly forage, eating noxious grass. I opened my mouth to the lord and the lord filled it.⁷⁷

At a time when I was writing about these things that presented themselves to my mind, as befits my writerly office, aided by divine mercy, I found a very old little book hidden beneath a bushel⁷⁸ that was dusty and long forgotten; it was written by the venerable father Riccoldo the Florentine, a monk of our holy religion and an esteemed professor of holy theology. When I saw this book, I did not hesitate to leave off the work that I had begun and decided instead to bring this work out of obscurity and into the light, to remove it from under the *modio* (bushel) and to place it on a candelabrum as a burning lamp in the house of the lord, so that any who entered [there] might see its radiance.⁷⁹ And I made every effort to see that it was entrusted to the technique of printing.

Notes: This English translation is based on the author's Spanish translation of the following Latin text: "Cunctis christiane fidei cultoribus, sanctarumque virtutum zelatoribus, Frater Antonius de la Pegna sacratissimi ordinis predicatorum in prouincia Hyspanie inutilis ac immeritissimus prior prouincialis. S<alutem> P<lurimam> D<icit>. Scio uera bona neminem assequi posse, qui extra euangelicam legem degit et a Christo domino nostro est alienus. Cum igitur Mahumettus Christiane religionis inimicissimus hostis ac seuissimus persecutor, in sua quemque religione saluari hominem censeat, si alioquin caste iusteque uiuat, nisi mahumetica traditione relicta, ad aliam transierit. Et in ea scriptum sit (est enim sibi ipsi sepe contraria) nulli salutem patere nisi in ea. Nos uero contra sentimus. Et certi sumus uiam uite soli christiano (si bene agat) apertam esse. Nosque in lucem ambulantes, neque offendimus ad lapidem pedes nostros, et ne Sarraceni offendant, magnopere cupientes, et ultra ne decipiantur, lumen offerre desiderantes, nostrum in domino iactauimus cogitatum, ut uiam ostenderet, per quam facilius sarracenorum multitudinem ad gregem dominicum reducere possemus; creature enim dei sunt et aues, sed erabunde extra caulas, in alienis pascuis procul ab ouili dominico letiferum carpentes cibum, pestifera aluntur herba, aperui os meum et dominus impleuit illud. Cumque stilli officio describere incepissem ea que meo ingeniolo se offerebant, diuina propinante clementia, libellum reperi sub modio positum, et sub puluere uetustissimo absconditum, obliuionique a magnis temporibus traditum, a uenerabili patre fratre Riccoldo florentino nostre sacratissime religionis professo, ac sacre theologie dignissimo professore editum. Quem ut uidi, quicquid lucubraueram quamcunq; ad nihilum redigere non dubitauimus, sed de tenebris in lucem, de sub modio super candelabrum tamquam lucernam ardentem in domo Domini (ut qui ingrederentur lumen uiderent) educere et ponere, ac arte impressoria communicare modis omnibus elaborauimus. Suscipiat igitur charitas uestra tam insigne, tamque delectabilissimum, et non minus utilissimum opus. Quod non modo recreationi uestrae, uerum et animarum cunctarum salutis summopere pro futurum credimus. Valere in Christo Iesu, qui est benedictus in secula. Amen."

77 Paraphrase of Ps. 81 (80):10–11: "Ego enim sum Dominus Deus tuus, qui eduxi te de terra Aegypti; dilata os tuum, et implebo illud".

78 Paraphrase of Matt. 5:14–15, "Vos estis lux mundi. Non potest ciuitas abscondi supra montem posita; neque accendunt lucernam et ponunt eam sub modio, sed super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus, qui in domo sunt."

79 *Ibid.*

May this work, which is not only distinguished and delightful but also useful, meet with your benevolence. And may it not only give you solace but above all may it bring health to all souls, in the future, the great task to which we are dedicated.

I wish you health in Christ Jesus, who is blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

Text 2

Confutatio Alcorani (Basel, 1507)

Proemium by Bartholemaeus Picenus de Monte Arduo (fols. 2^r-2^v)

Greetings from Bartholemaeus Picenus de Montearduo to Ferdinand, the King of Aragon and of the Two Sicilies.

Given that the work of Riccoldo, a friar of the Order of Preacher, has been translated from Latin into Greek by Demetrius Cydonius, an expert in both languages, I thought of nothing more, most serene and Catholic king, than to put this [text] back into Latin from Greek, not because it is unknown among Latin readers but because I perceived that Demetrios Cydones had translated from the Latin to the Greek in a more elegant style; hence, I have attempted to transfer that little book once again into our language using that rhetorical elegance, as well as to redo it with the utmost care and a cleaner style, making use of all my powers, moreover, I should dedicate it to you, Most Serena and Catholic Prince, since you alone among Christian kings inflicted a great defeat on the Mahomedan sect in this our time.

Notes: This English translation is based on the author's Spanish translation of the Latin text, with revisions to the spelling: "[2^r Bartholomeus Picenus de Montearduo Ferdinando Regi Aragoniae et utriusque Siciliae, S<alutem> P<lurimam> D<icit>. Cum Demetrius Cydonius uir utriusque linguae peritissimus e Latino Graecum opus Richardi fratris ordinis Predicatorum transtulisset, non ab re mihi uisum est, Serenissime atque Catholice Rex, illud rursus a Graeco in Latinum conuertere; non quod apud Latinis huiusmodi opus extare non existimem, sed cum uidissem Demetrium Cydonium opusculum illud e Latino in Graecum elegantiori stilo transtulisset, idcirco pro uiribus conatus sum libellum illum iterum ea dicendi elegantia quoquomodo in nostra lingua transferre et eum in nitidiorem cultum, candidioremque stilum pro uiribus redigere et tibi, Serenissime atque Catholice Rex, illum dedicare debere, qui solus inter Christianorum reges hac nostra tempestate Mahometanam sectam maximis cladibus affecisti. Nam non minimam laudem tibi comparasti, cum Baeticam prouinciam quae per octingentos annos Mahometanam fidem coluerat, in Christianorum potestatem redegisti, et nunc uniuersam Aphricam capere intendas, quam facile assequi poteris, cum gentes illae hoc tempore imbelles sint, quoniam cum Christianis diu pugnare non consueuere. Difficilius enim tibi fuit Baeticam prouinciam expugnare quam totam Aphricam in potestatem tuam assererent Erant enim in Baetica milites illi strenuissimi, cum hispano milite bellari semper assueti, at hi contra homines ignaui uentri et ocio dediti, cum Chris-

For you have attained no little glory in that you have returned the province of Baetica to the power of the Christians, [a province] that had practiced the sect of Muhammad for eight hundred years; and now you seek to conquer all of Africa, which you will easily be able to achieve, since the people that live there in our time are not skilled in the art of war, being unaccustomed to fight continuously with the Christians. For you, moreover, it was much more difficult <to conquer> Baetica than to bring all of Africa under your power.

Indeed, in Baetica there were zealous soldiers who were accustomed to fighting always with the Christians. But, these, by contrast, are given over to pleasure and leisure and are unaccustomed, for many years now, to fight against the name of Christianity. Neither are they practiced in the art of war like those who, in the past, under the command of Hannibal, occupied Hispania and Italia. Moreover, they do not possess as many weapons as it is said Spanish soldiers possess, who are very zealous and more practiced in war. In those regions there are also great riches, and the expectation of greater spoils will be an encouragement to [your] soldiers.

All these things will take place felicitously if you continue in the conquest that has already begun and take all your troops to Africa, where you will easily triumph, with God as your guide; and, once Africa has been subdued to the power of the Christians, you will then easily retake Jerusalem – that broad, fertile, holy land that has been defiled by the Sultan of Babylonia. Moreover, those who guard

tiano nomine iamdiu praeliari desueti. Nec sunt in bello exercitati, quales olim duce Hannibale Hispaniam et Italiam occuparunt. Nec eam copiam armorum habent quam hispanus miles est in bello strenuissimus et exercitatissimus habere dicitur. Nec ibi magnae desunt opes, quibus militum animi spe praedae maximae accenduntur. Omnia tibi prospere succedent, si reliquas incepti belli prosequeris. Nec est quod uereare bellum in Hispania tibi ab aliquibus moueri; praesertim hoc tempore nouo tibi ob affinitatem cum Christianissimo Francorum rege foedere inito. Prosequere igitur inchoatum bellum, et omnes uires tuas in Africam transfer, quam facile Deo duce subiugabis, et ea quidem subacta et in Christianorum potestatem redacta, facile deinde Hierosolymam recuperabis, quae tam ampla, tam fertilis, tam sancta terra Sultano Babylonis hoc tempore paret. Qui autem nunc eam patriam tutantur serui sunt [2^v uenales ex diuersis prouinciis empti, et hi quidem ad summam uiginti milium non ascendunt. Qui cum coacti essent a christiana religione discedere, mahometanam nunc sectam sequuntur. Reliqui uero Sarraceni, qui eis subiciuntur, quam molles sint et effoeminati, ex hoc coniectare possumus, quod his nunquam licet arma tractare, nec equum ascendere, nec uirile quicquam facere, sed uel agriculturam uel mercaturam uel alia huiusmodi uilia exercent. Quod cum ita sit. nemini dubium est quin facillime ex ea expeditione uictoriam cum maximo triumpho sis reportaturus, et ciuitatem sanctam Hierosolymam in qua Saluator noster Dominus Noster Iesus Christus Euangelium predicauit, et Nouum Testamentum nobis constituit ab immanissima Mahometanorum superstitione liberabis. Quae quam uana sit, quam friuola, quam nullius momenti, in presentiarum nihil attinet dicere, quam eam tunc primum intelliges, cum hanc Richardi fratris confutationem diligenter lectitaueris. Vale.”

this land are venal mercenaries who were bought in many different provinces and who are not, furthermore, above twenty thousand [in force]. These were coerced to abandon the Christian religion and are now followers of the Mahomedan sect. The rest, the Saracens who keep them subdued, are soft and effeminate, [and] for this reason we can defeat them, because they are not skilled with weaponry, they do not ride horses, nor do they perform manly deeds, but rather spend their lives in agriculture, or in trading, or in some other despicable activity.

Things being thus, no one has any doubt that you will easily achieve victory, [winning] the greatest glory in this expedition, and you will liberate from the terrible superstition of the Mahomedans, holy Jerusalem, where the Savior, our lord Christ Jesus, preached the Gospel and established for us the New Testament.

All of this, how vain, how frivolous, of how little importance it is, nothing needs to be said in the present circumstances, since you will understand it as soon as you diligently examine brother Riccoldo's refutation. Greetings.

Text 3

Refutación del Alcorán (Sevilla, 1501)

Prologue (fols. 1^v-3^r)

[1^v Prologo del autor que escriuio este tratado en latin

§ 1- *Quantos son los dias de tu siervo? Cuando haras juicio de los que me persiguen? Contaronme los malos fablillas, mas no segun tu ley. Todos los tus mandamientos son verdad. Ayudame, Señor, ca me persiguieron los malos.* Escrito esta esto en el salmo ciento y dieciocho.⁸⁰

§ 2- Estas son palabras de la yglesia que trabaja y pelea, sospira y gime agraviada con diversas aflicciones de las cuales confia y espera ser librada por la divinal ayuda. E maguera que la santa yglesia padesca muchas passiones e tribulaciones, todas, empero se reduzen generalmente a tres.

§ 3- Ca primeramente padesco la cruexa de la persecución de los tiranos e paganos, i mayormente dende la passion de Iesu Christo nuestro señor, hasta el tiempo de Constantino emperador, por espacio de trescientos y diez años, en el qual tiempo los Romanos, los quales tenian el imperio del mundo, e otros tiranos por el mundo mataron martyres sin cuento. Y por aquel tiempo, David compadeciéndose a la Yglesia dice: *Quantos son los días de tu siervo? Cuando haras*

*justicia de los que me persiguen?*⁸¹ Mas, llamando a Dios la sangre de los santos e resplandeciendo los milagros, adesora *fue hecho mudamiento de la mano del soberano*⁸²; e los que antes eran perseguidores de los christianos fueron fechos fundadores de las yglesias e vencedores de las batallas, e caudillos de los christianos.⁸³

§ 4- Mas, luego se levantó la segunda persecución de los erejes. Ca apareció luego e salio el dragon muy cruel de la cueva bramando e regañando e silvando⁸⁴ diversos errores,⁸⁵ conviene saber, de Arrio, Sabelio, Macedonio i de otros muchos erejes, e por aquel tiempo mayormente dezia David: *Contaronme los malos habilllas, mas no segun tu ley.*⁸⁶ Mas, el señor que guarda la su yglesia, diole gran lumbré de dotrina, e multiplico los |2^r doctores que declararon la sagrada escriptura, conviene saber, Sant Ylario, Sant Agustin, Sant Jeronimo, Sant Gregorio. E aun levantaronse muchos santos padres en el desierto, con simpleza de letras, e con perfección de vida, porque la garganta del dragon fuese atada e apretada con muy flaco hilo de cañamo y aun de estopa, e por la fuerça de la sagrada escriptura *fuese atapada la boca de los que hablan males.*⁸⁷

§ 5- Mas, luego se esforço e prevalecio la tercera pestilencia, conviene saber, el peligro de los falsos hermanos. Onde, luego despues del tiempo de Sant Gregorio, convalecio la tribulacion de los ypocritas corrompidos en el anima, que habian males y mentiras, y nascieron tantas ficiones e tantas falsedades de vida, de doctrina e justicia que apenas se halla alguno tirano e malechor que no halle excusador e lisonjeador, e apenas se halla alguno assy perfecto que no sean contra el murmuradores y ladradores. E esta pestilencia durara contra la sancta Yglesia *hasta la postrimera edad della*⁸⁸ porque no tenga esperança salvo en la divinal ayuda e perseverança de la verdad. E por este tiempo dice David: *Todos los tus mandamientos son verdad, ayudame señor, ca los malos me persiguieron,*⁸⁹ como

Notes: This prologue is published in its original version, which includes some characteristic features of Castilian during this period.

80 Ps. 118, 84–86 (119).

81 Ibid. 84.

82 Ps. 76, 11 (77).

83 Hymn for the canonical hour of Lauds in the Liturgy of the Hours. Cfr. Mérioux, 61.

84 Petrus Venerabilis, *Summa*, 206.

85 Thomas Aquinas, *Articuli Fidei*, Pars 1, in *Corpus Thomisticum*: <http://www.corpusthomicum.org/oss.html#70472> (accessed March 10, 2021).

86 Ps. 118:85 (119).

87 Ps. 62:12 (63).

88 Ps. 70:18 (71).

89 Ps. 118:86 (119).

si dixese: si por ventura la verdad por algun tiempo fuere en la tierra abatida, conviene, empero, que prestamente sea levantada, conocida e amada, mayormente ayudando la gracia divinal.

§ 6- Pues en aqueste tercero estado de la sancta yglesia, conviene saber despues del tiempo de Sant Gregorio, y en el tiempo del emperador Eraclio, levantose, contra la sancta yglesia y contra la su creencia verdadera un dragon endiablado, conviene saber, un hombre suzio e luxorioso dado a todas las obras viles y hediondas, llamado por nombre Mahoma, el qual por consejo del diablo, que es mentiroso, y padre dessa mesma mentira, compuso una ley abominable e mintirosa a la qual llamo e puso nombre Alcoran, que quiere dezir ayuntamiento de mandamientos⁹⁰ de dios, diziendo e afirmando muy mintirosamente, que el tal libro avia |2^v recibido de Dios. Este malvado de Mahoma persiguio mas la sancta yglesia que algunos de los tiranos, erejes e ypocritas ante el passados, en manera que sobrepuso a sus pessimos antecesores en todas tres maneras de persecuciones, agora atormentandola por gran tirania, agora engañandola con mucha falsia, agora pervertiendo y engañando los simples con mucha ypocresia, en manera que permitiendolo nuestro Señor, el qual es *terrible en sus consejos sobre los hijos de los hombres*,⁹¹ engaño muy gran parte del mundo.⁹²

§ 7- Pues viendo, yo, fray Ricoldo, frayle muy pequeño de la orden de los predicadores, las malicias y engaños deste malvado, e aviendo compasion de tanta danacion de las animas, *converti mis pensamientos en la ley de Dios y en sus mandamientos*.⁹³ E como passasse los mares e desiertos e viniese a una muy famosa cibdad de moros, que llaman Valdaco,⁹⁴ a donde esta un su estudio muy general e famoso, aprendi en el no solamente la lengua araviga, mas aun las sus letras para que en oportuno tiempo me pudiese aprovechar dellas.

§ 8- Y leyendo con mucha diligencia la su ley y scripturas, e disputanto y comunicando con los sus alfaquies e maestros, las cosas della conoci e halle por experiencia muy claramente la falsedad de su ley de maldad. E como començase a la trasladar e poner en la lengua latina, halle tales hablillas e falsedades, blasfemias e suziedades, no solamente una vez dichas, mas muchas veces repetidas, que con mucho enojo dexé de trasladar lo que avia propuesto e començado a

⁹⁰ Petrus Venerabilis, *Summa*, 204.

⁹¹ Ps. 65:5 (66).

⁹² Petrus Venerabilis, *Summa*, 210.

⁹³ Ps. 118:59 (119).

⁹⁴ Baghdad.

notar. E quebrantado e enojado de las sobredichas blasfemias, escrevi algunas epistolas a la yglesia triunfante con mucha amargura de mi coraçon.

§ 9- Mas, agora, principalmente es mi intencion, confiando en la soberana verdad, contradezir e destruir las principales suziedades e falsedades de aquella maldita e descomulgada ley, e dar materia e manera a mis hermanos e proximos fieles, como mas ligeramente puedan convertir e revocar a la verdadera creencia a los que estan engañados de aquella seta.⁹⁵ E, para que esto |3^r mas convenientemente sea fecho, acorde de poner el presente tractado dividido por los capitulos yuso assignados.

§ 10- Division de los capitulos:

Capitulo I, en el qual estan los principales errores de aquella ley de maldad.

Capitulo II, que manera se ha de tener en las disputaciones que con los moros avemos de aver.

Capitulo III, en el qual se muestra como la ley de Mahoma no es ley de Dios, porque no dan della testimonio la ley vieja ni el evangelio, y que los moros se ven obligados a recibir las autoridades del viejo testamento e del evangelio.

Capitulo IIII, que la ley de Mahoma no tiene alguna conformidad a la ley divinal.

Capitulo V, que la ley de Mahoma no conforma en su sentencia con alguna otra.

Capitulo VI, que la ley de Mahoma es contraria assi mesma en muchas cosas.

Capitulo VII, que la ley de Mahoma no esta probada por alguno miraglo.

Capitulo VIII, que la ley de Mahoma no es razonable nin conforme a razon.

Capitulo IX, que en la ley de Mahoma ay muchas falsedades manifiestas, y por consiguiente no es ley de Dios.

Capitulo X, que la ley de Mahoma es ley que haze fuerça de los que la toman.

Capitulo XI, que la ley maldita de Mahoma es ley desconcertada.

Capitulo XII, que la ley de Mahoma es ley mala.

Capitulo XIII, en que se muestra quando fue hecho el maldito Alcoran e quien fue el que lo hizo e hallo aquella ley de maldad.

Capitulo XIIIII, donde esta una muy fingida vision que non se puede provar por alguna razon.

Capitulo XV, en el qual se pone seys questiones comunes sobre el Alcoran.

Capitulo XVI, quanta excelencia tiene el santo evangelio sobre el Alcoran.

Capitulo XVII, en el que se pone la necia respuesta que dan los moros a las cosas sobredichas.

95 Petrus Venerabilis, *Summa*, 210–211.

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