



Cándida Ferrero Hernández,
 Linda G. Jones (eds.)

Propaganda and (un)covered identities in treatises and sermons: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the premodern Mediterranean

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Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona
Servei de Publicacions
Bellaterra, 2020

Primera edició: juny de 2020

©dels textos: els autors, 2020

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Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 407: Simon Symeonis OFM, *Itinerarium*, fol. 1r.
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Edició i impressió:

Servei de Publicacions de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Plaça de l'Acadèmia. Edifici A

08193 Bellaterra (Cerdanyola del Vallès)

T. 93 581 10 22

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www.uab.cat/publicacions

ISBN: 978-84-490-8891-9

Imprès a Espanya. Printed in Spain

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Introduction

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This book presents some of the findings of the 5th Islamolatina Seminar, which was held at the Pompeu Fabra University and the Autonomous University of Barcelona on 18 and 19 October 2018 and was titled “(Dis)covering identities-(Des)velando identidades.” The seminar was part of a project called “Medieval and modern sources for the study of transcultural relations in the Mediterranean: Writing and transmission,” which in turn was made up of two subprojects: “Medieval and modern sources for the study of transcultural relations in the Mediterranean: Writing and transmission” and “Interdisciplinary and comparative studies on (trans)cultural, religious identities and gender in the Iberian Peninsula and the medieval and modern Mediterranean.” This book is one in a series that also includes the published proceedings of the 1st Islamolatina Seminar, *Musulmanes y cristianos en Hispania durante las conquistas de los siglos XII y XIII* (J. Martínez Gázquez and M. Barceló, eds.; Bellaterra: UAB, 2005), the 2nd Seminar, *Ritus Infidelium* (J. Martínez Gázquez and J. V. Tolan, eds.; Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2013), the 3rd Seminar, *Vitae Mahometi* (C. Ferrero Hernández and Ó. de la Cruz Palma, eds.; Madrid: Col. Nueva Roma CSIC, 2014), and the 4th Seminar, *Representación y controversia en el mundo ortodoxo y latino* (*Medievalia* 29, no. 2, 2016).

The present volume offers a selection of the revised papers on premodern authors and their works—written in Latin, Castilian, Catalan, Arabic, and Turkish—that reflect some aspects of our team’s research on Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Mediterranean, such as self-representation and the perception of the (political, cultural, and religious) other, as well as the interaction between these religious groups. They offer critical re-readings of many works that are obscure or have not yet been studied. The volume addresses not only the issue of the construction of identities—that is, the construction of the identity of the other and the religious self—but also the propaganda strategies rooted in the intellectual background of each source. This supposition is the basis for the overall argument of this book, which gives it cohesion in spite of the different research interests of the multidisciplinary team. Thus we are able to provide a broad-based inquiry that looks at anti-Islamic polemics (Martínez Gázquez, González Muñoz, Justicia Lara, Biosca i Bas, Coronel Ramos, Di Cesare), the Christian perception of Jews and converts (Catalán, Gómez Llauger, Biosca i Bas, Arsić), the use of the sermon and the disputation as tools of conversion (Biosca i Bas, Catalán, Coronel Ramos, Jones, Felek), exegesis, in the broadest sense (Martínez Gázquez, Di Cesare, Gómez Llauger, Biosca i Bas, Jones, Felek), and Christian rhetoric as legitimizing polemic (Biosca i Bas, Catalán, Coronel Ramos, Gómez Llauger). We also provide editions of some manuscripts and critical analyses of sources (Martínez Gázquez, González Muñoz, Justicia Lara,

Biosca i Bas, Arsić, Di Cesare), and offer new perspectives on the study of gender (Jones, Felek, Arsić). Taken together, all the chapters aim to offer a view of the agents of propaganda involved in unifying religious, cultural, and political groups in the premodern era. They have been organized into four sections according to their methodology and their contents.

The first section, “Uncovering new readings of the *Corpus Islamolatinum*,” includes three chapters with a common focus on the study of the Latin manuscripts that transmitted the first translation of the Qurʾān and other texts from the Islamic tradition, which Peter the Venerable (1142) commissioned and constituted the first “encyclopedia” of Islam. The chapters by Martínez Gázquez, González Muñoz, and Justicia Lara each approach this corpus in a different way, but they all show the important role this “encyclopedia” played in spreading knowledge about Islam among European intellectual circles and in contributing to the creation of propaganda and polemics against Islam. In this section, Martínez Gázquez analyses Nicholas of Cusa’s readings of two different manuscripts of the *Alkoranus Latinus*, Kues 108 and BAV Vat. Lat. 4071, where he left his mark in the form of autograph glosses. These manuscripts are thus a magnificent example of the activity of writing and rewriting, since the glosses are witnesses to the process of composing the works in which Nicholas of Cusa expressed his perceptions of Islam. These works are the *De pace fidei* and the *Cribratio Alkorani*, which in turn left a deep impression on later Christian readers.

González Muñoz describes and analyzes the contents of MS Beinecke 979, at Yale University, which contains a large arsenal of works, whose reading (and transmission) reflects a need to understand religious “errors” that persisted over time. MS Beinecke 979, which contains a varied collection of texts by different authors, constitutes a “summa” that was possibly assembled during preparations for the Council of Basel. In particular, it contains excerpts from the Qurʾān, which González Muñoz compares to other manuscripts that contain the *Corpus Islamolatinum*, and of which he provides a transcription.

Whereas the two previous chapters focus on the reception of the *Corpus Islamolatinum* in the fifteenth century, Justicia Lara’s chapter takes a close look at the use of the *Corpus* in the fourteenth century, in the *Itinerarium*, which has come down to us in only one manuscript (MS Corpus Christi College 407). This work was written by the Irish Franciscan Symon Semeonis, and in it he describes his encounter with Islam in Egypt, using the tools offered him by fragments of the Qurʾān and the *Doctrina Mahumet* to articulate his anti-Islamic polemic. Of particular interest is the way he assimilates culture to religion.

The second section, “Uncovering polemical identities,” has two chapters that—though focusing on different topics, Muḥammad and Pedro de la Cavalleria—coincide in that they both make use of the philological and comparatist method for reading texts. In her study of the life (or lives) of Muḥammad, Di Cesare begins with the reading of the twelfth-century Christian authors Guibert of Nogent and Embrico

of Mainz, whom previous scholars have understood as providing misinformed interpretations of Islam by virtue of the literary techniques used to discredit Muḥammad by portraying him as a counterpoint to the figure of Jesus. However, Di Cesare ultimately shows that some of the motifs in these medieval Latin biographies of the Prophet regarding his death, his tomb, and his relics do not reflect a calculated polemical strategy but rather have their origin in Arab legends. This suggests that the life of Muḥammad is a hermeneutic space that allows Islam to be reinterpreted and understood on the basis of overlapping narratives that would be transmitted to Christendom through crusaders.

The second chapter in this section uncovers some of the features of the identity of the author of the *Zelus Christi*, Pedro de la Cavalleria, in whose work there is a suggestive return to exegesis on the Psalms and the epistles of Saint Paul as a discursive strategy. Gómez Llauger suggests that this recurring reference to Paul's letters allows us to read the *Zelus Christi* in the light of Pauline Humanism, which first appears in the Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth century, mainly among *converso* circles. Among the most eminent representatives of these circles were different members of the Santa María family, who were in turn related to the Cavallerias. This study therefore constitutes a step toward identifying Pedro de la Cavalleria as an important author for the analysis of works by *converso* writers and for the study of self-representation through hermeneutical exegesis.

The third section, “Uncovering Christian propaganda,” includes three chapters containing complementary perspectives, all of which provide insight into the polemical propaganda that was disseminated through sermons and disputations. These disputations and sermons have a long history, but starting in the twelfth century the hermeneutics of *Disputatio* and *Praedicatio* were broadly developed, with various ramifications, resulting in an effective propaganda weapon whose objective was conversion, either through persuasion or sometimes, through compulsion. In the Iberian Peninsula there are abundant examples of these kinds of texts, whose emphasis varies according to historical and political circumstances and according to the target of the propaganda—whether Christian, Muslim, or Jew—although the rhetorical argumentation displays important similarities and draws upon a common canon.

Biosca i Bas introduces us to the culture of the disputation—whether real or fictitious—in the Iberian Peninsula through *La Disputa del bisbe de Jaén contra los jueus* (according to the version found in MS University Library of Barcelona, 75, fifteenth century), a work attributed to the Mercedarian Pere Pasqual (thirteenth century). He provides a study and an edition of the fragments from the work that attack Muḥammad and Muslim beliefs, which are found in chapters 48 and 49. He argues that the author uses unoriginal rhetoric in his arguments, given that he is drawing from existing works against Islam in the Christian tradition. For example, his insertion of two chapters concerning Muslims into a dispute against the Jews recalls a strategy used by Pedro Alfonso. However, Biosca i Bas compellingly points to Ramon Martí's *De seta Machometi* as the closest source, though some direct influence from an Arabic source can also be seen in the interpretations of the Arabic.

Just as Biosca i Bas detects anti-Islamic arguments in Pere Pasqual's attack on Judaism, in his chapter Catalán detects the use of anti-Jewish and anti-Islamic arguments in a rebuke addressed to bad sinful Christians. This reinforces the common and widespread use of the prescriptive moral standard Christian identity, which Christian propaganda disseminates through treatises and sermons. Exploring texts from the patristic tradition, especially Augustine, Catalán traces the development of this propaganda through texts by Dominicans, especially Thomas of Aquinas, Vicente Ferrer, Savonarola, and Ramon Martí, among others, and Franciscans such as Bernardino da Siena, who—basing their arguments on earlier authors, such as Raoul Ardent, Bernard of Clairvaux, and Peter the Venerable—set about establishing moral guidelines to lead those who stray back toward Christian orthodoxy. Through the use of *exempla*, this work makes visible the qualification of *Vitia* and *Virtutes*, a rhetorical device that flourished in the thirteenth century in the works of the Dominicans and Franciscans and that offers a model consistent with suppositions about the unification of all Christians in one body, previous to conversion.

These same suppositions also characterize Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón's works *Antialcorano* and *Diálogos Christianos*, in which he attempts to offer a "solution" to the conversion of the Moriscos in Valencia in the sixteenth century. These works were written in the midst of the maelstrom over whether to attempt side-by-side coexistence with the Moriscos or to force this stubborn minority to convert and to assimilate once and for all. After the conquest of Granada (1492), the obsession with the complete eradication of Islam in Iberia led the Church to sponsor numerous works that would be used to train Christian preachers so that they could spread their teachings, in turn, among Mudejars and Moriscos. Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón's works were written in this context, but they also reflect the influence of Erasmianism as well as Pérez de Chinchón's interaction with the humanist Luis Vives (the intertextuality between the works of the two men is striking). According to Coronel Ramos, Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón introduces an interesting twist that distinguishes him from other, almost contemporary authors, which is his careful attempt to use rhetorical arguments inherited from the classical tradition. That said, it should be noted that, in the sermons he inserted into the *Antialcorano* in particular, he uses the same kind of polemical argumentation as do other authors. The *Diálogos Christianos*, on the other hand, present an interesting encounter between a Christian and a Morisco who is his former teacher in a space that recalls the literary topos of the *locus amoenus*, which is also characteristic of some of Ramon Llull's works, such as the *Diálogo del Gentil y los Tres Sabios*. This rhetorical space was thus divorced from the reality in which the Moriscos lived.

The fourth section, "Uncovering gender identities," includes three chapters that take the novel approach of looking at the construction of gender, which can be (un)covered through a reading of the chapters by Arsić, Jones, and Felek. First, Arsić takes a snapshot of passages from Inquisition records in MS ACA, Cancellaria, reg. 3684, written by the notary and humanist Pere Miquel Carbonell. These are records of trials of female Jewish converts, in which it is possible to uncover, through Ar-

sić's reading and interpretation, the role played by women converts in preserving Jewish traditions despite the surveillance of the Christian authorities. Arsić demonstrates this through the examples of three sisters who were tried in 1496 by the recently established Inquisitorial court in Barcelona. All three confessed that their mother had played a key role in the observance of holidays and in food preparation according to Jewish precepts. It is remarkable how detailed the inquisitorial records were regarding food; moreover, the purchase and preparation of food was handled by women. In this way, we are able to glimpse, in these and other examples, the role of mothers, who act as teachers and mediators of tradition, within the domestic sphere. However, their function also transcends the private sphere when cultural activities are scrutinized as religious manifestations. Thus, their culpability is clear, in that they instigate and disseminate the traditions of Judaism; they are accused of a double crime: being Judaizers themselves and educating their children in the tradition and inciting them to Judaize.

For their part, Jones and Felek both address the construction of the gender of Muslim women through the study of different documents in which it is possible to glimpse their role as subject(s) and as object(s) of preaching. Jones's broad, introductory study situates the issue of the role of women within the different currents of the Islamic religion. Thus, different roles can be perceived: holy women, women preachers, and women as the recipients of the preaching of religious men. Despite the fact that the biographical dictionaries (*ṭabaqāt* or *tarājim*) of the Muslim world contain only brief notes and stereotyped information about women, it is possible to glean interesting information about the perception of gender. Moreover, from her reading of historiographical sources, Jones demonstrates the existence of women preachers such as the Andalusian Rashīda "al-Wā'iza", who travelled throughout al-Andalus and achieved great fame, according to the Valencian historian Ibn al-'Abbār. This situation does not seem to be merely anecdotal but rather reflects a reality that was concealed through censorship by the Islamic authorities, since female preaching was generally proscribed by Islamic law and tradition, apart from the occasional case of preaching to other women. A broader study of the prosopographic and hagiographic literature could reveal additional information about women preachers. A greater amount of information can be gleaned from sermons, through which we perceive the function assigned to women, a clear example of the propaganda that sought to guide daily life along the right path in accordance with religious precepts.

Using a similar methodological approach, Felek analyzes the treatise *Tarīkatü'l-Muhammediyye*, written in Arabic by Birgivī (1573) and later translated into Turkish. This work enjoyed immense popularity, as is clear from the more than one thousand copies that exist in Middle Eastern and European libraries. This long treatise—a manual for preachers—includes a section on precepts for husbands and wives. One of the most striking things about this section is the list of the wife's obligations to her husband, compared to the relatively small number of the husband's obligations. The authority of the latter is based on appeals to proverbs and tales, despite the fact that contemporary scholars criticized this method, which was in-

consistent with Islamic jurisprudence. This shows that sermons were sometimes left up to the preacher's judgement. Felek also calls attention to the constant reference to women in this treatise as wives who needed protection, rather than as part of the social body. This contrasts with the message of the Sufi preacher 'Azīz Maḥmūd Hūdāyī, who was a contemporary of Birgivī but who made no gender distinctions in his sermons. What Felek shows is the multiplicity that existed with respect to the treatment of women and the gender distinctions made by different preachers, whether Sufi or non-Sufi. These different traditions and views of women influenced the construction of female Muslim identity.

Finally, we would like to thank not only all the scholars whose chapters make up this book for their valuable contributions but also all those who participated by attending the 5th Islamolatina Seminar, "(Dis)covering identities." The publication of this book was kindly supported by the AGAUR – Islamolatina research project 2017 SGR 0187 (GRC), led by Cándida Ferrero Hernandez at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

SECTION 1.
Uncovering new readings of the
Corpus Islamolatinum

Vna lex et fides, ritus uarius. A Gloss by Nicholas of Cusa to the *Doctrina Mahumeti*

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Abstract

Nicholas of Cusa gave a great deal of thought to the problem of reconciling the belief in a single religion for all mankind and the incontrovertible fact of the varied forms that the worship of God can take. His work *De pace fidei* in particular is devoted to this topic, and it appears as well in the *Cribratio Alkorani* and in his glosses to the two copies of the *Alkoranus Latinus* that he had at his disposal when he was writing these works: Kues 108 and Vat. lat. 4071, which he annotated in 1453 and 1462, respectively.

1. Introduction

When reading the work *De pace fidei* and other writings by Nicholas of Cusa, we become aware of the attention that the author gave to thinking about how varied mankind is in the practice of religion and to unraveling the relationship between Christianity and other religions. In his texts we find direct references to this preoccupation, especially in the *De pace fidei*, the *Cribratio Alkorani*,² and the glosses he made in the two copies of the *Alkoranus Latinus* that he had at his disposal while composing these works.

This is not intended to be an exhaustive study of this key idea in Nicholas of Cusa, about which much has already been written. My intention here is to bring a comment by Cusa himself to bear on this complex topic. The comment is his brief autograph gloss “*Vna lex et fides, ritus uarius*,” recently found in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 4071, on folio 17r, and dated 1462. It belongs to the corpus of glosses he wrote during his second reading and annotating of the *Alkoranus Latinus*, in preparation for writing the *Cribratio Alkorani*. These glosses are different from the ones he made in Bernkastel-Kues, St. Nikolaus-Hospital Bibliothek, MS 108 in preparation for writing his *De pace fidei* in September 1453, in response to the fall of Constantinople to the Turks on May 29, 1453. In

1. This study was undertaken as part of FFI2015-63659-C2-1-P, MINECO-FEDER, EU, and 2017 SGR 1787 at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, whose principal investigator is Cándida Ferrero Hernández, to whom I owe many thanks for her interest and her suggestions regarding this study.
2. For a new perspective on the purpose of both works, see Monfasani, John (2018), «Cusanus, the Greeks and Islam», in *Nicholas of Cusa and Times of Transition: Essays in Honor of Gerald Christianson*, edited by Thomas M. Izbicki, Jason Aleksander, and Donald Duclow. Leiden-Boston, pp. 96–112 (96-97).

this marginal note, Cardinal Cusanus underscores the applicability of this concept—which he had referred to directly in the contents of *De pace fidei*—to all religions, and especially to Islam.

In effect, in *De pace fidei*, Nicholas of Cusa repeatedly analyzes and develops the formula that presents this idea: the relationship between God, a single God, and a single religion, with the one God as its object, and the different ways for this single religion to manifest itself, ways that are shaped by different rites. Where does this short and simple formulation come from that Nicholas of Cusa applies so successfully this dilemma?

In the annotations that L. Hagemann makes to the text “*Quae concludunt, quod, si varietas legum vel rituum in identitate fidei in variis gentibus per dei nuntios precepta reperiatur, hoc quidem oboedienti nequaquam, quominus apud piissimum atque iustissimum iudicem condignum praemium assequatur, obesse poterit*” (I II 27 9-12), in his edition of the *Cribratio Alkorani*,³ he points to the *Doctrina Mahumeti* as the source of the clear and precise formulation used by Nicholas of Cusa, writing “*dubium non potest esse, quin Doctrina fons et origo illius sententiae sit*”⁴.

“*Doctrina*” is understood to mean the minor work *Doctrina Mahumeti*, a doctrinal exposition of Islam that takes the form of a catechism in which Muḥammad is questioned by the Jew Abdia iben Salon about himself and the teachings of the new Islamic religion.

This is how it presents the dialogue about Muḥammad’s preaching:

Dic ergo, legem tuam praedicas, an legem Dei? Respondit, legem Dei. Et ille: quid est lex Dei? Respondit, Fides. Quae fides? Ait, Non dii, sed Deus ipse unus, sine partecipe. Ego Machumet seruus et nuncius eius, praedicans finem, quo sine dubio mortui resurgent. Ait, Verum est quod dicis. Dic itaque si placet, quot sunt leges Dei? Respondit, una. Quid ergo dices de prophetis, qui te praecesserunt? Respondit: Lex quidem, siue fides, omnium una, sed ritus diuersorum nimirum diuersi. Ait: Ita est, ut dicis.⁵

Nicholas of Cusa read this passage in the *Doctrina Mahumeti*, one of the works in the *Corpus Islamolatinum*, which together with the Qur’ān were first translated into Latin by Robert of Ketton and Herman of Carinthia in Hispania in 1143, through the initiative of Peter the Venerable. In the margins of both manuscripts of

3. Nicolaus Cusanus (1970), *Opera Omnia* iussu et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Heidelbergensis ad codicum fidem edita VII. *De pace fidei. Cum epistula ad Iohannem de Segobia*. Ediderunt commentariisque illustraverunt Raymundus Klibansky et Hildebrandus Bascour, O.S.B. Hamburgi.
4. Nicolaus Cusanus (1986), *Opera omnia* iussu et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Heidelbergensis ad codicum fidem edita. VIII *Cribratio Alkorani*, edidit commentariisque illustravit L. Hagemann, Hamburgi, p. 223, annotatio 77, ad n. 27,9–12.
5. *Doctrina Machumetis*, in *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina ipseque Alcoran*, Haec omnia in unum uolumen redacta sunt, opera et studio Theodori Bibliandri (1550), Basileae, pp. 189-190.

the translation of this works, which he read on two different occasions for the writing of his works *De pace fidei* in 1453 and *Cribratio Alkorani* in 1461–62, he added his thoughts on the contents of this dialogue.

2. Nicholas of Cusa's Glosses⁶

We will focus, then, on the glosses “*Fides una, ritus diuersus*” (found in MS Kues 108, folio 25v, made in 1453 in preparation for writing *De pace fidei*) and “*Vna lex et fides, ritus uarius*” (found in MS Vat. lat. 4071, folio 17r, made between 1461 and 1462 in preparation for writing the *Cribratio Alkorani*).

These glosses are unequivocal proof of the source of this formula, which is accepted by scholars today who study his readings in MS Kues 108, and which we can now corroborate through the gloss written in the manuscript from the BAV.

It is true that Cusanus may have read the words in the eighth chapter of Riccoldo's *Contra legem Sarracenorum*,⁷ where the idea of the unity of all religion and the diversity of the rites that men establish among themselves is put in the mouth of Muḥammad: *Contra legem Sarracenorum* VIII 98: “*Preterea Mahometus in lege predicta dicit quod omnes homines erant unum et una secta et unus ritus, sed Deus diuersificauit eos mittendo diuersos prophetas.*”

It has also been remarked that Nicholas of Cusa was familiar with Ramon Llull's work in general and the *Liber de gentili et tribus sapientibus* in particular.⁸ Llull's observations in the prologue of this work underscore the desire to unify all men “in una lege et in una fide omnes qui uiuimus in hoc mundo.” Thus, all are united as a single people, walking together on the path to eternal salvation, giving God all glory and praise:

Remanserunt autem hi tres sapientes iuxta fontem sub illis quinque arboribus, quorum dixit unus: Quam magnum bonum foret istud, si per scientiam istarum Arborum possemus esse in una lege et in una fide omnes qui uiuimus in hoc mundo, ita quod ran-

6. Biechler, James E. (1983), «Three Manuscripts on Islam from the Library of Nicholas of Cusa», in *Manuscripta* 27, pp. 91–100, p. 91; Martínez Gázquez, José (2015), «A New Set of Glosses to the Latin Qur'an Made by Nicholas of Cusa (MS Vat. Lat. 4071)», in *Medieval Encounters* 21, pp. 295–309; *Idem*, (2016), «Las glosas de Nicolás de Cusa al Alchoranus Latinus en el ms. Vat. lat. 4071. Nuevos datos para la *Cribratio Alkorani*» in *Niccolò Cusano L'uomo, I Libri, L'opera*. Atti del LII Convegno storico internazionale Todi, 11-14 ottobre 2015. Centro Italiano di Studi sul Basso Medioevo - Accademia Tudertina, Spoleto, pp. 473–91.
7. Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, *Contra legem sarracenorum*, edited in Jean-Marie Mérioux (1986), «L'ouvrage d'un frère precheur florentin en Orient à la fin du XIII^e siècle. 'Le *Contra legem Sarracenorum*' de Riccoldo da Monte di Croce», in *Fede e Controversia nel '300 e '500 (Memorie Domenicane*, Nuova Serie 17). Pistoia, pp. 1-144 (pp. 60–142).
8. De la Cruz Palma, Óscar (2015), *Liber de gentili et tribus sapientibus, Prologus*, ll. 231–48, in *Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina. 10-11, Liber contra Antichristum*, ed. Pamela-M. Beattie and *Liber de gentili et tribus sapientibus*, ed. Óscar de la Cruz Palma. CCCM 264 - ROL XXXVI, Brepols, Turnhout.

cor et odium non essent inter homines, qui se ad inuicem odiunt propter diuersas fides et contrarias leges diuersorum populorum, et quod, sicut est tantum unus Deus Pater et Dominus et Creator omnium rerum, ita omnes populi qui sunt positi sub diuersitate conuenirent esse unus populus, et quod ille esset in uia saluationis perpetuae; et sic quod omnes haberemus unam fidem et legem per quam possemus reddere gloriam et debitas laudes nostro Domino Deo creatori omnium bonorum. Considerate, domini, dixit sapiens suis sociis, quot sunt damna quae sequuntur, eo quod omnes homines non habent tantum unam fidem, quot etiam bona, quae forent, si omnes eandem legem concordanter teneremus. Cum igitur hoc sit uerum, si uideretur nobis esse bonum, quod sederemus sub istis arboribus iuxta fontem istum et disputaremus hoc quod quilibet nostrum credit. (Prologus, ll. 231–48).

3. “*Fides una, ritus diuersus*” in the work *De pace fidei* (1453).

Pin Valkenberg recently analyzed Nicholas of Cusa’s thinking about the variety of religions—“*Vna religio in rituum uarietate*” (one religion in the diversity of rites)—in great detail and with great clarity. He focused his study directly “on the possible origins of just five words” and thus analyzed the historical sources of these words in the Qur’ān and their interpretation by Muslim scholars.⁹ Joshua Hollmann, in turn, has tried to identify their roots in the Greeks and the early Christian councils.¹⁰

Nicholas of Cusa broadly develops this key idea of the singularity of faith and equates the concept of faith to that of religion and the plurality of rites in which religion is manifested among men. And, thus, in *De pace fidei* he repeatedly highlights the grounds for his proposition that there is unity and concord among men. Throughout this treatise, he attempts to explain the idea that “all will know that there is only one religion in the diversity of rites.” Moreover, he seeks to establish that this knowledge should be a goal for which all must strive, not only Christians, among whom there was awareness of this idea going back to the Middle Ages, but also all other religions. This is how Nicholas of Cusa understands the fragment from the *Doctrina Mahumeti* that he glossed on two different occasions.

Walter Andreas Euler¹¹ points out that the phrase “*Vna religio in rituum uarietate*,” which has religious, philosophical, and theological implications, encapsulates

9. Valkenberg, Pim (2014), «*Una Religio in Rituum Varietate: Religious Pluralism, the Qur’an, and Nicholas of Cusa*», in *Nicholas of Cusa and Islam. Polemic and Dialogue in the Late Middle Ages*, edited by Ian Christopher Levy Rita George-Tvrtković Donald F. Duclow, Brill Leiden-Boston, pp. 30–48; George-Tvrtković, Rita (2018), *Christian, Muslims, and Mary. A History*, Paulist Press New York-Mahwah, Chapter 4: Nicholas of Cusa, pp. 64-70.
10. Hollmann, Joshua (2014), «Reading *De pace fidei* Christologically: Nicholas of Cusa’s Verbum Dialectic of Religious Concordance», in *Nicholas of Cusa and Islam: Polemic and Dialogue in the Late Middle Ages*, edited by Ian Christopher Levy, Rita George-Tvrtković, and Donald F. Duclow, Leiden, pp. 68–85 (pp. 83–84).
11. Euler, Walter Andreas (1995), «*Una religio in rituum uarietate*. Der Beitrag des Nilolaus von Kues zur Religionen», in *Jahrbuch für Religionswissenschaft un Theologie der Religionen*, pp. 62-82.

the contents of the work *De pace fidei*. With Cusa's proposal in that work, a lasting peace between the religions is assured, if their followers will recognize that all religions are based on a strong intuition of God, which can be expressed in different rituals and customs. This is what he means by the phrase "one religion in the diversity of rites," as the objective that knowledge must strive toward: "*et cognoscent omnes quomodo non est nisi religio una in rituum varietate*".

De pace fidei I 6: Si sic facere dignaberis, cessabit gladius et odii livor, et quaeque mala; et cognoscent omnes quomodo non est nisi religio una in rituum varietate. Quod si forte haec differentia rituum tolli non poterit aut non expedit, ut diversitas sit devotionis adauctio, quando quaelibet regio suis cerimoniis quasi tibi regi gratioribus vigilantio rem operam impendet: saltem ut sicut tu unus es, una sit religio et unus patriae cultus.

We admit that, in the last analysis, we do not know God, and that we only know how he is worshipped in a variety of rites. He also reiterates this thinking, which is very present in the Qur'ān, in the treatise *Cribratio Alkorani*, where he stresses that God would not put obstacles in the way of the manifestation of different rites among different peoples while maintaining the unity of a single god.

The fall of Constantinople in 1453 reaffirms Nicholas of Cusa's and John of Segovia's conviction—which they had written about to each other in their correspondence—of the need to find a new, peaceful way to deal with the Muslims, that war and mutual violence would not help to solve the conflict between the two.

Thus, in *De pace fidei* III 8, in the dialogue between God and the various representatives of the different peoples and their respective religions, a dialogue which is mediated by the apostles Peter and Paul, Nicholas of Cusa emphasizes that, since God wanted "for man to be free, for nothing in the world of the senses to be stable, and for languages and conjectures to change over time, just like languages and interpretations, human nature needs more regular visits, for the many errors regarding your Word to disappear and for the truth to shine unceasingly. Since the truth is one and cannot fail to be comprehended by any free understanding, it will lead all the variety of religions to a single, orthodox faith," which will be accepted by all in harmony and will remain forever as a manifestation of a single, inviolable faith for each.

It is worthwhile, therefore, to seek spheres of belief and encounters that help to unite and not separate, and with this objective Nicholas of Cusa insists on thinking about a reality that seems to him to unify everyone. This idea is highlighted in *De pace fidei*, where Cusanus offers several different formulations of the idea, which, taken together, propose a peaceful relationship. He bases this on the analysis of the idea that in all the world's religions, and especially among Jews, Christians, and Muslims, there is a single, common foundation which is the belief in a single God, the God presented in the religions of the Book, but there are different ways of practicing religion, of relating to that God, as the various rites followed by the different believers make clear.

Nicholas of Cusa writes knowing that only God can bring about the reality of harmonious peace between peoples from the diverse manifestations of their cults and only God can help to unify the faith of all. But he also stresses that all men can and must reach a knowledge of the truth, according to each's intelligence and free from prejudices:

De pace fidei III 8: Et sic veritas continue elucescat. Quae cum sit una, et non possit non capi per omnem liberum intellectum, perducetur omnis religionum diversitas in unam fidem orthodoxam.

De pace fidei VI 16: VERBUM: Omnes ergo homines profitentur vobiscum unam absolutam sapientiam esse quam praesupponunt; quae est unus Deus.

ARABS: Sic est, et aliud nemo intelligens astruere potest.

VERBUM: Una est igitur religio et cultus omnium intellectu vigentium, quae in omni diversitate rituum praesupponitur.

4. “*Vna lex et fides, ritus uarius*” in the *Cribratio Alkorani*

Nicholas of Cusa also includes in the *Cribratio Alkorani* several allusions to this dilemma from Qur'ānic texts:

Alkoranus 42, 8: Omnis enim gens una fierent, si Deus ipse uellet, qui pro uelle suo misericordiam facit his.

Glossa MS Vat. lat. 4071, folio 105v to 42, 8: Omnes gentes una fierent si Deus ipse uellet.

Cribratio Alkorani I II 27: Quare concludunt, quod, si varietas legum vel rituum in identitate fidei in variis gentibus per dei nuntios praecepta reperiatur, hoc quidem oboedienti nequaquam, quominus apud piissimum atque iustissimum iudicem condignum praemium assequatur, obesse poterit. Enumerat autem prophetas et dei nuntios, quibus credendum erat: Abraham, Ismaelem, Isaac, Iacob, Moysen, Christum et alios plures. Haec est summa continentiae Alkorani secundum libri illius laudatores.

The idea of God's power to unify the religions and the forms of worship of all people, which is repeated several times in the Qur'ān (42: 8; 10: 99, 16: 93, etc.), is given consideration in the *Cribratio Alkorani* and is reaffirmed with the listing of all the different prophets sent by God to all corners of the world, for men to believe and obey:

Alkoranus 2 135: Tu ergo fidem creatoris illis predica, penitus persuadens.

Alkoranus 2 136: [...] ut libris tibi diuinitus missis, Abraheque et Hismaeli et Isaac atque Iacob, et tribubus legibusque Moysis et Christi, ceterorumque prophetarum nullis per te segregatis firmam fidem adhibeant, creatorem adorantes.

Cribratio Alkorani III XVI 218: Deus enim, ut Alkoranus dicit, dedit cuilibet genti, quod sua sunt ei placida; ideo hoc occultum spectat ad iudicem occultorum extremi iudicii. Ostendite, ubi hoc Abraham aut fecerit vel fieri praeceperit! Et quia non reperietis, male dicitis vos Abrahae legem sequi. Quotiens dicit liber vester: Si deus vellet. omnes eiusdem legis et ritus essent, sed sic, uti videmus, permittit.

Ultimately, Nicholas of Cusa bases the formulation of his glosses “*Fides una, ritus diuersus*” and “*Vna lex et fides, ritus uarius*” on the words of the Prophet, “*Lex quidem, siue fides, omnium una, sed ritus diuersorum nimirum diuersi,*” in the *Doctrina Mahumeti*, following the exact words that were used by Muḥammad in his response to the Jew Abdia iben Salon. Thus, he interprets *lex* as *fides*, which is embodied in the variety of forms of worship—*ritus, cultus*—with which all nations can honor God.

Latin Texts on Islam in a Manuscript at Yale University

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Abstract

A manuscript datable to the second half of the fifteenth century currently held at the Beinecke Library at Yale University contains in its first 59 folios an interesting group of texts relating to Islam, including: (a) a selection of verses from Robert of Ketton's Latin translation of the Qur'ān, along with some primitive glosses; (b) the treatise *Contra legem sarracenorum*, by Riccoldo da Monte di Croce; and (c) an abridged and incomplete version of Peter of Toledo's Latin translation of the *Risālat al-Kindī*. This little-known manuscript is relatively unimportant in terms of establishing critical texts of the works it contains. However, it does provide a good example of how fifteenth-century intellectuals proceeded when they wanted to familiarize themselves with Islam. This study will compare the arrangement of the texts in the Yale codex with other manuscripts of the *Corpus Islamolatinum* in order to arrive at a hypothesis regarding the context in which the manuscript was composed as well as its purpose.

1. Preliminary comments

This chapter deals with a little-known manuscript containing, in addition to other works, some material that comes from the *Corpus Islamolatinum*—the body of texts commissioned by Peter the Venerable and produced in Hispania during the twelfth century, which included translations of the Qur'ān and other texts belonging to the Islamic tradition, as well as early anti-Islamic polemical literature.

The manuscript in question is number 979 in Yale's Beinecke Library. It is a paper codex of rather small size (77 pages, 210 x 145 mm), lacking decoration and written by a single hand in humanist minuscule. Its state of conservation is relatively good, though the first four folios have suffered minor damage. It is from northern Italy and can be dated to the second half of the fifteenth century.² Its contents are the following:

1. This study was undertaken as part of FFI2015-63659-C2-1-P, MINECO-FEDER, EU, and 2017 SGR 1787 at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, whose principal investigator is Cándida Ferrero Hernández.
2. This information comes from the catalogue of the Beinecke Library: [<https://orbis.library.yale.edu/vwebv/holdingsInfo?bibId=9892240>]
The manuscript has been digitized in its entirety and can be accessed at: [<https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3792745>]

1r-8r: *Incipit prologus in Alchoran, id est, colectio preceptorum legis Machomet... Nota alchideram uocat noctem in qua dicebat uenisse super se angelos et atullisse Alchoran*: Excerpts from Robert of Ketton's Latin translation of the Qur'ān (1142-1143), along with some primitive glosses.³

8r-46r: *Quot sunt dies serui tui... quod euangelium sit lex a deo sanctissima pariter et obseruabilis mundo*. Complete copy (with only a handful of omissions) of the treatise *Contra legem Saracenorum*,⁴ by the Dominican Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (ca. 1300).

46r-59v: *Sciendum est quod ex quo sarraceni Egiptum possiderunt... cum nec Machometus circumcisis fuerit nec in Alchorano suo*. Incomplete, much-abridged copy (at times to the point of paraphrase) of the *Epistula Sarraceni* and the *Rescriptum Christiani*, which together comprise Peter of Toledo's 1142 Latin version of the *Risālat al-Kindī*.⁵

60r-74v: *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, amen. Sicut scribitur Prouerbiorum XI: ubi humilitas ibi est sapientia... sicut in aliquibus aliis donec ecclesia inualesceret*: Copy of the treatise *De erroribus Graecorum*,⁶ by Bonacursius de Bononia O.P. (ca. 1230-1295/1300), a work that is datable to 1292.

74v-76v: *Primum generale concilium fuit celebratum in Nicea... quas asserebant nullo modo esse colendas. Deo gratias. Amen*. A minor work by an anonymous author in the form of a brief overview of the first seven ecumenical councils, indicating the heresies that were condemned at each.

As I mentioned above, this is a little-known manuscript. It does not appear in the canonical lists of codices of the *Corpus Islamlatinum*,⁷ of Riccoldo's *Contra*

3. The only available edition, which has considerable flaws, is that of Theodor Bibliander (1550), *Machumeti Saracenorum principia eiusque successorum vitae ac doctrina ipseque Alcoran [...]*. Basel: Johannes Opporin, pp. 7-188. (2nd revised edition). Bibliander's text has recently been republished by Lamarque, Henri – Vigliano, Tristan (eds.) *Theodor Bibliander: Le Coran en latin*. Université de Lyon: GRAC, 2010 (online resource), and by Lappin, Anthony (2011), *Alcoran latinus: Editiones Theodori Bibliandri (1543 & 1550)*, Rome. A recent edition of the glosses can be found in Martínez Gázquez, José (2015), «Glossae ad Alchoran Latinum Roberti Ketenensis translatoris, fortasse a Petro Pictauiense redactae: An Edition of the Glosses to the Latin Qur'ān in BnF Ms. Arsenal 1162», *Medieval Encounters* 21/1, pp. 81-120. Martínez Gázquez and Fernando González Muñoz are currently preparing a new critical edition of Robert of Ketton's Qur'ān.
4. Edited in Mérigoux, Jean-Marie (1986), «L'ouvrage d'un frère precheur florentin en Orient à la fin du XIIIe siècle. 'Le *Contra legem Saracenorum*' de Riccoldo da Monte di Croce», in *Fede e Controversia nel '300 e '500* (Memorie Domenicane, Nuova Serie 17). Pistoia, pp. 1-144.
5. Edited in González Muñoz, Fernando (2005), *Exposición y refutación del islam, Las epístolas de al-Ḥašimī y al-Kindī*. A Coruña, pp. 1-81.
6. Edited in Stegmüller, Friedrich (1956), «Bonacursius contra Graecos. Ein Beitrag zur Kontroverstheologie des XIII Jahrhunderts», in *Vitae et Veritati. Festgabe für K. Adam*, Düsseldorf, pp. 57-82, based on the following manuscripts: Vatican City, BAV, Vat. lat. 819; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Redi 167.
7. I refer the reader to a few studies among the extensive bibliography on this topic: D'Alverny, Marie-Thérèse (1948), «Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen Âge» in *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale*

Legem sarracenorum,⁸ or of Bonacursius's *Contra errores graecorum*.⁹ Nor have I been able to find any information about when or how it came to the Beinecke. Thus, the comments I offer below regarding the works it contains relating to Islam are based only on my examination of the texts contained in the codex itself.

2. The *excerpta* from the Qur'ān

The first eight folios of the manuscript present a selection of passages from Robert of Ketton's Latin translation of the Qur'ān and of its primitive glosses, which were most likely written by Peter of Poitiers. The passages and glosses are copied one after the other, without differentiating between them or referencing their corresponding suras. If we compare the Qur'ānic texts in the Yale manuscript with the optimal version of the Latin translation, which is found in MS Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal 1162, ff. 26r-138r, we can detect numerous discrepancies, most of which seem to be copyist errors rather than variants that were present in the model that was copied. We might even say that this is a careless copy, in which the text is sometimes almost unintelligible.

The topics of the selected passages vary widely and touch on basic aspects of Islamic law: the sacred nature of the Qur'ān, religious obligations (particularly prayer and fasting during the month of Ramadan), legal provisions (especially those relating to marriage and the law of retaliation), ethical advice (the ill-advisedness of drinking wine and gambling, relations with women, standards of courtesy), doctrinal stances on the prophets and their laws (especially Abraham and Jesus), descriptions of Paradise and Hell, etc. However, there are also narrative verses such as the story of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (*azoara* 36 = Qur'ān 27: 17-44, in the Cairene edition), as well as brief maxims and oaths, particularly those used as headings for the final suras.

The order in which the excerpts are presented generally follows their order in the Qur'ān, although some passages that are thematically related are grouped together. Let us take a look at some examples:

Following the copy of a gloss about the authority of the Qur'ān corresponding to the first sura ("Qui liber apud eos tante est auctoritatis ut quicumque contra aliquid diceret statim sine mora interficeretur"; Arsenal, f. 26r), the text jumps to a passage from sura 68 (Arsenal, f. 128va = Qur'ān 59:21, in the Cairene edition): "De quo dixit Machometus quod tante sit dignitatis quod si super aliquem montium poneretur pre ipsius reuerentia et timore totus disolueretur."

et Litteraire du Moyen Âge 16, pp. 69-131; D'Alverny, Marie-Thérèse (1956), «Quelques manuscrits de la Collectio Toletana», in G. Constable and J. Kritzeck eds. (1956), *Petrus Venerabilis 1156-1956*. (Studia Anselmiana 40). Rome, pp. 202-218; and Burman, Thomas (2007), *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom*, 1140-1560, Philadelphia.

8. See Mérigoux, «L'ouvrage d'un frère precheur», pp. 35-43.

9. See Kaepelli, Thomas (1970), *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*. Rome, vol. I, pp. 247-249.

Similarly, a gloss on sura 2 about the feast after the breaking of the fast:

Istud festum siue Pasca ipsorum nichil aliud est quam quedam memoria, celebratio noctis cuiusdam que est in mense Romadam, in qua Alchoran multis uindicentibus [i.e. uidentibus], ut dicunt, Gabriel angelus super caput Machumet posuit. Modus festiuitatis et ieiunium ipsorum talis est, quoniam in nocte illa uigilantes per ecclesias, quas mesquidas uocant, gariunt et saliant, bibunt, insaniunt, luxuriis insistunt (Arsenal, f. 30r),

is followed by another on the same topic but that corresponds to sura 16:

Sic celebrant xxx dies. Singulis diebus, donec stelam uideant, ieiunant et exinde comedunt, bibunt, concubunt usquequo tantum dies luceat quo discerni possit filium [i.e. filium] album a nigro, secundum preceptum Machumet (Arsenal, f. 53r).

In one instance, passages with apparently contradictory meanings are grouped together in order to highlight the inconsistencies in Muḥammad's discourse regarding the peaceful versus violent nature of the spread of Islam: "Et iterum: castiga gentes ut unum deum adorent non alium" (Arsenal, f. 120va, corresponding to sura 55 = Qur'ān 46:21, in the Cairene edition), and on the next line:

Ecce manifesta contrarietas quam frequenter ponit. Quandoque enim dicit nullum cogendum ut ad suam legem conuertatur, dicens se solummodo missum ad predicandum; quandoque uero contrarium suadens hortatur suos ad subiugandum gentes, et in bello occisis paradikum pollicetur hiis uerbis: Viri boni, predatum atque expugnatum in dei nomine cum uestris animabus atque pecuniis tendite, quia ob hoc deus peccata uestra dimittet et paradikum tribuet (Arsenal, f. 128v, corresponding to sura 70 = Qur'ān 61:11-12, in the Cairene edition).

Another distinctive feature of the Yale manuscript is that, along with the verses and glosses of the Qur'ān, the text occasionally transcribes or paraphrases passages from other works, especially the *Rescriptum Christiani*. One case of this occurs in a discussion of divorce, where, following the quotation of Qur'ān 4: 19-29 (sura 8, Arsenal, f. 40rb): "Cumque contingit uos illas non diligere, sicut [i.e., licet] unam aut aliam mutare," a paraphrase of a passage from the *Rescriptum christiani* about remarriage is introduced: "Sic dimissam siue causa tedii siue odii siue sacietatis licet reuocare" (cf. Arsenal, f. 144vb).

Based on the foregoing observations, we deduce that the manuscript is a selection of Qur'ānic material (text and glosses) that was minimally developed, notably by grouping like passages and incorporating quotations from other works. Taken as a whole, the manuscript might constitute reference material for writing a polemic against Islam, perhaps in the form of *Errores Alchorani*.

Summae errorum are a well-known genre in medieval polemical literature developed in response to different Christian heresies, as well as Judaism and Islam. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, many of these *summae* merely repeat or

summarize what is set forth in the *Decretum Gratiani* or in the treatises of Nicholas Eymerich, Guido Terrena and Riccoldo da Monte di Croce. The lists of errors written in the fifteenth century, however, are based on explicit quotation of the Latin Qur'ān. A good example is the brief treatise by Juan de Segobia *Ex plurimis in ea contentis pauci errores legis Mahumeti*, copies of which are found in the codices Vat. Lat. 2923, 157v-164r, and Seville, Biblioteca Colombina ms. 7-6-14, ff. 130-133.¹⁰ Several of the passages from the Qur'ān selected by Juan de Segobia coincide with the excerpts in the Yale manuscript, though in the latter, as I have said, there is little development of the raw material.

3. Riccoldo da Monte di Croce's *Contra legem Sarracenorum*

The treatise on Islam written around 1300 by Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, a friar from Florence, is without a doubt the centerpiece of the Yale manuscript. This can be seen in the fact that the manuscript has a practically complete copy of this treatise, which is not the case for the other texts it includes. There are, however, several omissions, some of which appear to be accidental and others, very deliberate. One example of deliberate omission comes from a passage in chapter 8 about obscenities in the Qur'ān:

[...] habet uerba turpia et uerecunda maxime ad carnalitem pertinentia. Nam in pluribus locis utitur uerbo uerecundissimo futuo, futis, quod nulla alia lex facit, quo uerbo uix utuntur etiam poete qui uerecundas et carnales materias tractauerunt, nec recolo me inuenisse apud poetas nisi quod ille Oratius inuerecunde dicit: "Nec metuo dum futuo."

There are currently some 32 extant manuscripts of the *Contra legem sarra-cenorum*,¹¹ though not all of them contain the complete text. As in the Yale codex, in some of these manuscripts the treatise was copied together with works from the *Corpus Islamolatinum*. This is the case in the following:

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Ms. 335, ff. 74r-101r (fifteenth century)
 Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek., A. 120 B, ff. 206r-234v. (sixteenth century)
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6225, ff. 164r-174v (fifteenth–sixteenth centuries)
 Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale H.II.33 (1213), ff. 247r-267v (sixteenth century, ca. 1525)

10. Edition: Bündgens, Anna *et al.* (2013), «Die Errores legis Mahumeti des Johannes von Segovia», in *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 15, pp. 215-248.

11. In addition to the 28 that Mérigoux mentions in his edition of the treatise, there is not only the Yale codex that concerns us here but also the following: Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek - Cod. theol. et phil. 2° 83, 87v-89v; Pistoia, Biblioteca Comunale Forteguerriana, A.1, ff. 55r-83v; Pistoia, Biblioteca Leoniana, 31.

4. Summary of the *Epistola sarraceni* and the *Rescriptum christiani*

This is an incomplete copy that ends abruptly at the Christian's response regarding the precept of circumcision—namely, at about the halfway point of the work. Moreover, there are numerous omissions and passages that are summarized using paraphrase. The Muslim's letter in particular is much abbreviated.

In any case, it is important to point out that the model must have been a *Corpus Islamolatinum* manuscript and not the excerpts from the letters copied by Vincent de Beauvais in the *Speculum Historiale* (book xxiv, chaps. 40-67). There are two pieces of evidence to back this up. First, the order in which the Muslim's letter and the Christian's response are presented is the same as that in the *Corpus Islamolatinum*, while in the *Speculum Historiale* the excerpts from the Muslim's letter dealing with the description of Paradise and Hell follow (rather than precede, as in the original and the Yale codex) the Christian's letter. Second, the summary of the Yale codex opens with the first of the primitive glosses to the Saracen's letter, which are not transcribed in the excerpts in the *Speculum Historiale*:

Sciendum quia ex quo sarraceni Egyptum possederunt regnumque apud Menfis, que nunc Babilonia dicitur, statuerunt, omnes reges suos Emirhelimomini uocauerunt, sicut olim egipcii pharaones et romani cesares. Interpretatur enim Emirhelimomini rex credencium (ms. Yale, f. 46r).

This point strikes me as important because it defines parameters for the model that was followed by the copyist of the Yale codex. As is well known, the *Epistola sarraceni* and the *Rescriptum christiani* were not copied in many manuscripts of the *Corpus Islamolatinum* from the thirteenth century onward. Among those that are currently known, only eleven include the letters, and some of these contain only the *Rescriptum christiani*,¹² while others do not have the primitive glosses.¹³

5. The search for a model

Different hypotheses regarding the model for the Islam-related texts in the Beinecke codex are possible. The first would be to suppose that there was a single manuscript, from the fifteenth century or earlier, that contained the complete *Corpus Islamolatinum* (or, at least, the Qur'ān and the *Epistola sarraceni* and *Rescriptum christiani*, along with their respective glosses), as well as Riccoldo's treatise. However, none

12. Kues, Bibliothek des St. Nikolaus-Hospitals, ms. 108, ff. 109r-132v; and Paris, BnF 6225, ff. 182r.-234r.

13. Specifically, the gloss about the meaning of the term *Emirhelimomini* appears in only six manuscripts: Oxford, Corpus Christi College 184, f. 272; Paris, BnF 6064, f. lxxxiiiᵣ; Paris, BnF 3649, f. 2r; Paris, BnF 14503, f. 218r; Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat. 4072, f. 184v; and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 335, f. 1r.

of the known manuscripts of the *Corpus Islamolatinum* satisfies this condition; in fact, of the four listed above that include both texts from the *Corpus Islamolatinum* and the *Contra legem sarracenorum*, two do not contain the Qur'ān (the Cambridge manuscript and BnF 6225), and the other two (Dresden and Turin) do not include the letters.

It seems more reasonable, then, to suppose that the copyist of the Yale manuscript made use of two manuscripts, one with the glossed Qur'ān but not the letters and another with Riccoldo's treatise and the letters. This hypothesis would fit with the order in which the texts in the Yale codex are presented (Qur'ān, *Contra legem sarracenorum*, letters), and at the same time it would allow us to establish type-models: for example, any of the nine known manuscripts from the fifteenth century or earlier that have the glossed Qur'ān,¹⁴ and a manuscript such as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 335, which contains the letters and Riccoldo's treatise but not the Qur'ān.

Alternatively, there could have been one manuscript containing the entire *Corpus Islamolatinum* (or at least the Qur'ān and the letters), along with the glosses, and another with Riccoldo's treatise. The number and the make-up of extant manuscripts support this hypothesis, since there are five known manuscripts of the *Corpus Islamolatinum* that satisfy the necessary requirements,¹⁵ and 18 of the *Contra legem sarracenorum*. It is true that, if these were the models, we would expect the Yale codex to copy the texts in the order they appear in the model-type: excerpts from the Qur'ān followed by the summary of the letters followed by Riccoldo's treatise. However, the fact that Riccoldo is placed before the letters might also be seen as a reflection of a greater appreciation for the Florentine monk's work.

Needless to say, these considerations do not take into account the manuscripts of the complete *Corpus Islamolatinum* (that is, with the Qur'ān, the letters, etc.) that are assumed to have existed, though none are extant. Among these would have been the copies used by Vincent of Beauvais in the thirteenth century and by Jean Germain and Denis the Carthusian in the fifteenth.

6. The context of the manuscript's production

In light of some of the points presented above—namely, the dating of the manuscript to the fifteenth century and the fact that it includes both a group of texts related to Islam and texts concerning the errors of Greek Christianity—we can conjecture with some degree of certainty that it was used as a kind of *uademecum*, or reference

14. These nine manuscripts are: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 1162; Paris, BnF lat. 3390, 3391, 6064, and 14503; Oxford, Corpus Christi College 184; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden Supra 31; Troyes, Médiathèque du Gran Troyes Ms. 1235; Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat. 4072.

15. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 1162; Oxford Corpus Christi College 184; Paris, BnF lat. 6064 and 14503; and Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat. 4072.

codex, by a participant at the Council of Basel (1433-1449). The agenda at this council included both reunification with the Orthodox Church and policies to adopt toward the Ottoman Empire in response to the imminent conquest of Constantinople. In fact, a number of the most important fifteenth-century writers of anti-Islamic treatises participated in the council: Nicholas of Cusa, Enea Silvio Piccolomini (the future Pope Pius II), Juan de Segobia, Juan de Torquemada, Denise the Carthusian, Jean Germain, etc. We know that the majority of them were familiar with the texts in the *Corpus Islamolatinum* and Riccoldo's treatise, though possibly not all of them had access to a complete version of the works. Moreover, some of them wrote polemics against Greek Christianity over issues such as the Processions of the Holy Spirit, Purgatory, Communion with unleavened bread, etc. Juan de Torquemada, for example, is the author of *Tractatus de sacramento eucharistiae, Responsio pro parte patrum latinorum ad libellum a Graecis in concilio Florentino exhibitum de purgatorii igne* and *Apparatus super decretum Florentinum unionis Graecorum*.¹⁶

It is also important to point out that two of the texts in the Yale manuscript, both transcribed in their entirety, were written by Dominicans: Riccoldo da Monte di Croce and Bonacursius de Bononia. This, in addition to the fact that, by the fifteenth century, several of the manuscripts of the *Corpus Islamolatinum* (and, of course, of Riccoldo) were held in Dominican libraries,¹⁷ leads one to suspect that the Yale codex was produced in a Dominican context. It is tempting to want to link it to a member of the order—Juan de Torquemada or John of Ragusa, for example. However, we can in no way dismiss the possibility that it was connected to Juan de Segobia, in light of the similarities between the excerpts from the Qur'ān in the Yale manuscript and the *Errores legis Mahumeti* referred to above.

16. Kaeppli, *Scriptores*, vol. III, *2711, *2716, *2722.

17. For example, MS Paris, BnF lat. 3668 (thirteenth century) belonged to St. Adalbert (St. Wojciech), a Dominican monastery in Wrocław (Lower Silesia, Poland). This manuscript is related to MS Saint Petersburg, Publichnaya Biblioteka Lar. Q. I. 345, ff. 38v-212v (late fifteenth–early sixteenth century).

Appendix: Transcription of the Excerpts from the Qur'ān

[f. 1r] Incipit prologus in Alchoran, id est, colectio preceptorum legis Machumet. Qui liber apud eos tante est auctoritatis ut quicumque contra aliquid diceret statim sine mora interficeretur. [gloss. Azoara mater libri, cf. Arsenal, f.26rb]

De quo dixit Machometus quod tante sit dignitatis quod si super aliquem montium poneretur pre ipsius reuerentia et timore totus disolueretur. [Azoara 68 = Qur'ān 59:21; cf. Arsenal, f. 128va]

Dicunt etiam quod si quis hunc librum milies in uita sua legere potuerit, quandam mulierem in paradiso habebit quam Paradisam uocant, mire, ut ipsi delirant, pulcritudinis et magnitudinis, ita ut supercilia eius tanta sint quantus est arcus qui aparet in nubibus. [gloss. Azoara mater libri, cf. Arsenal, f. 26rb]

Per tot<um a>utem librum istum nulli cuiquam uerbum ascribitur nisi sol<i deo collo>quenti Machumeto [gloss. Azoara mater libri, cf. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, f. 50a]

Librum istum sicut supr*** [***] licet prout Machumetus significa*** [***] propriis scripsisse et sibi per Gabrielem [***] ***gandum transmisisse, et ne ab ipso cre*** [**] se dicat omnino literas ignorasse [...] **mens istorias noui et ueteris testamenti per <Sergium?> monachum et per quosdam iudeos didicit. [gloss. Azoara mater libri, cf. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, f. 50a]

Ex quibus mendacissime, sicut enim predicti doctores instruxerunt, nepharium librum composuit et populo diulgauit dum haberent legum omnium ultimam et omnibus esse meliorem. [gloss. Azoara de boue, cf. Arsenal, f. 26va]

In qua deum quandoque loqui pluraliter facit, quia in deo duo esse dicit, scilicet deitatis essentiam et eius animam, assignando essentie creationem, anime uero motum. [gloss. Azoara de boue, cf. Arsenal, f. 26va]

Liber iste absque falsitatis et erroris annexu ueridicus quibus inest amor diuinus deitatisque [f. 1v] timor et cultus orationum et elemosinarum studium sectam ueracem patefacit, que sui sequaces summo bono ditat, sicut erroneis et incredulis summum malum uero minatur [Azoara de boue = Qur'ān 2: 1-5; cf. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, f. 50a]

Quibus cum bone legis persuadere acceptio illi potius dapnose et mendaci secte adherentes surdi, muti cecique simul et inconuertibiles deo ridiculum existunt, illis asimilati qui ignis accensus estinguitur tenebreque succedunt. [Azoara de boue = Qur'ān 2:16-18; cf. Arsenal, f. 26ra]

Omnes igitur homines domini nostri [i.e deum uestri] priorumque simul et omnium uisibilium factorem inuocantes timete eique nullum existere parem firmate, librum hunc ueracem esse credite. [Azoara de boue = Qur'ān 2:16-18; cf. Arsenal, f. 26ra]

Sin autem ignem Gehene malos <puniturum> deinde paradiso bonos inducturum, ubi <dulcissim>as aquas pomaque multimoda, fru<ctus uarios> et decentissimas et mundissimas mu<lieres omne>que bonum in eternum possidebunt predicate. [Azoara de boue = Qur'ān 2: 24-25; cf. Arsenal, f. 26rb]

*** <de> non esse ad uitam deducere uolens, intima<ns angelis> sui similem se facturum in terra, quem illi contra sic <affati sunt>: nos in omnibus uestre magestati

subditi grates uobis referimus. Ille uero nostri similis nequam et cruoris effusor existeret. Tunc deus se re<m> ab angelis ignoratam firmans scire, Adam uocabula rerum semotim edocuit ab angelis ignorata. Que cum postmodum ab angelis interrogasset et illi se nescire faterentur, iusit se coram Adam humiles exhibere, cui mandato omnes preter Belcebut nequam peruenerunt [i.e. paruerunt]. [Azoara de boue = Qur'ān 2:30-34; cf. Arsenal, f. 26rb]

Sit igitur mentis nostre constans propositum falsa ueris nequaquam interserere nec uera cuncta [i.e. cognita] tacere, orationibus absigere [i.e. assurgere], cum summa subiectione decimas et deo debita [f. 2r] persoluere, uos orationibus et abstinere [i.e. abstinentia] premere, que sicut malis tedium et difficultatem sic bonis dulcedinem et leuitatem generat. [Azoara de boue = Qur'ān 2:41-46; cf. Arsenal, f. 26vb]

Cauendum quoque ne ceteris bona predicantes bene operari pretermittant. [Azoara de boue = Qur'ān 2: 44, Arsenal, f. 26vb]

Sciendum autem generaliter quoniam omnis ratione [i.e. recte] uiuens iudeus seu christianus seu lege sua relicta in animam [i.e. aliam] tendens adorans bonigestor indubitanter diuinum amorem consequetur [Azoara de boue = Qur'ān 2: 62; cf. Arsenal, f. 27ra-b].

Vos autem dei precepto per Moysen uaccam quandam colore ac etate multipliciter descriptam occidistis, cuius aliqua particula mortuus tactus et resuscitatus ignoratum homicidam [Azoara de boue = Qur'ān 2: 71-73; cf. Arsenal, f. 27rb].

Cum autem dei sit oriens et occidens, uersus quamlibet partem orationum fundens deum quisque inueniet. Sua namque pietas nullo loco conscribitur; eius sapientia cuncta complectitur. [Azoara de boue = Qur'ān 2:115; cf. Arsenal, f. 28va]

Asserunt etiam quidem unuer<sitatis> creatorem celi et terre regem filium habere, quibus nequaquam ueritas consonat. [Azoara de boue = Qur'ān 2:116; cf. Arsenal, f. 28va]

Deus loquitur ad Machumetum: tibi ueracia precepta committimus, quibus bonos instruas nil curans de predestinatis igni. Sed iudaicis christianisque predicans nullam legem esse bonam nisi creatoris. [Azoara de boue = Qur'ān 2:119-120; cf. Arsenal, f. 28va].

In hoc arguit christianos et iudeos leges suas mutasse et non sicut Moyses et Christus docuit seruare, sed sicut uisum est eis postmodum uariasse, et christianos quidem in mortem apostolorum Christi euangelium perdidisse, in quo lege Bachumeti laudauerat et ipsum uenturum esse predixerat. Legem uero Moysi, cum de Babilone iudei reuerterentur asino impositam, ipso asino lasciuante et per diuersa deuia fugiente, nequaquam postea repertam ex toto perisse. [Gloss. Azoara de boue; cf. Arsenal, f. 28r]

Et nescii quidam dicunt se credituros si deus illis non solum eloquio sed [f. 2v] uirtutibus patefaceret. Sed nonne res satis arduas uirtutesque sublimes sepius peregrimus?. [Azoara de boue = Qur'ān 2:118; cf. Arsenal, f. 28va]

Hoc dicit contra eos qui querebant ab eo signa per que legem suam confirmaret, sicut fecit Moyses et Christus. Et cum non posset aliud signum dicebat quod non esset ei datum ut modo talia faceret. Unde introducit deum dicentem sufficere

deberet illis priora miracula que olim Moyses et Christus fecit, calide se excusans. [Gloss. Azoara de boue; cf. Arsenal, f. 28v]

Obsequio dei perituros nostro [i.e. nemo] mortuos existimet sed uiuos et sanos. [Azoara II = Qur'ān 2:154, cf. Arsenal, f. 29va]

Hec dicit ut animet eos ad facienda mala pro lege sua et ne deficient in bellis aut uastationibus quas eis inferent christiani. Quando enim hic miser predicare sua deliramenta cepit, multi in terra illa christiani erant qui ei <resiste>bant. Ipse predictorum multitudinem paulatim sibi <aliciens e>t gladio diabolicam legem, quibus preualebat, imp<onens sepissi>me suos ortabatur, ut et si qua eis detrimen<tum hac de caus>a contingunt pacienter ferant et toto cona<mine et christiano>s et quicumque legem suam non susceperit expugnent, <et he>c bella expeditionem dei et opus dei uocat, plerumque uero ubi [i.e. ut] quasi mansuetus uideatur aliud simula[n]t et totum mutat et uariat, dicens nulli propter legem uim inferendam. [Gloss. Azoara II; cf. Arsenal, f. 29v]

Omnis iurans falsum confunditur; utroque uero iurante, unum [i.e. uerum] super iudeos transit. [Azoara II = Qur'ān 2:159; cf. Arsenal, f. 29va]

Hoc propter odium iudeorum dicit, quos maxime oderat eo quod difficilius ei credebant. Alii dicunt quod uisa quadam adulterante hocque merito [i.e. marito] suo dicto cum coram iudice testibus carens solo sacramento uelut ubi [i.e. uir] bone opinionis adprobaret et ob hoc maritus iuraret se nunquam deinceps rem habiturum cum ea, formaque prece illius femine motus Machumet maritum a iuramento [f. 3r] absoluit, primum tamen uxorem suam cohitu suo purificandam dicens et sic afir-mans super iudeos periurium transiturum, et exinde statuit quod liceret adultere ad maritum redire post cohitum cum propheta uel doctore legis. [Gloss. Azoara II; cf. Arsenal, f. 29v]

Creator inquit: unus ego creator sum, semper idem, pius et misericors, preter quem non est alius, cuius mirabilia uirtutesque sapientibus atque discretis sunt: celi terreque machina, diei noctisque uicissitudo, eductus imbrum ad terre torpentis rigatum, animalium compositio, uenti et nubes interpolate. [Azoara II = Qur'ān 2:163-164; cf. Arsenal, f. 29va]

Quem ueraciter collere est: in ipsum credere, angelis, liberis [i.e. libris] atque prophetis ab eo missis fidem adhibere, pecuniam suam beniuole consanguineis, orphanis, pauperibus et mendicis hostiatim querentibus atque captiuis impertire, <uer>bis fidem et <con>stantiam habere, hora graui malum et lites <su>stentare. Hec inquam omnia quibus insunt deum timent<es atque fid>eles proficiunt. Cedis uindictam equalem, que mu<ltorum uitas p>rotegit uolumus seruari, ut liber pro libero, <captiuus> pro suo simili, femina pro femina mortem subeat nisi quis pro pecunia condonare uolens eius homicide pacificet [i.e. pacificetur]. [Azoara II = Qur'ān 2:177-178; cf. Arsenal, f. 30ra]

Ieiunium, per quod deum timere uideamini, statuto tempore certoque dierum numero, uidelicet mensem Romedari [sic], in quo libet [i.e. liber] hic legifer celitus est datus, iniungimus, quod quisque preter infirmum et uiatorem persoluat, sed et ipsi postea faciant tempore quolibet; deus mansuetus et pius graui<a> a uobis nequaquam exigit. [Azoara II = Qur'ān 2:183-185; cf. Arsenal, f. 30rb]

Sed non in templo. Die tercio [i.e. tota] ieiunantes, nocte ieiunium soluite; tunc comedentes et bibentes quantum libuerit fere ad principium hore que solis ortum antecedit. [Azoara II = Qur'ān 2: 187; cf. Arsenal, f. 30rb]

Istud festum siue Pasca ipsorum nichil aliud est quam quedam [f. 3v] memoria, celebratio noctis cuiusdam que est in mense Romadam, in qua alchoran multis uindicientibus [i.e. uidentibus], ut dicunt, Gabriel angelus super caput Machumet posuit. Modus festiuitatis et ieiunium ipsorum talis est, quoniam in nocte illa uigilantes per ecclesias, quas mesquidas uocant, gariunt et saliuunt, bibunt, insaniunt, luxuriis insistunt. [Gloss. Azoara II; cf. Arsenal, f. 30r]

Sic celebrant XXX dies. Singulis diebus, donec stelam uideant, ieiunant et exinde comedunt, bibunt, concubunt usquequo tantum dies luceat quo discerni possit fil[i]um album a nigro secundum preceptum Machumet. [Gloss. Azoara 16; cf. Arsenal, f. 53r]

Domorum ingressus solum per portas, non retrorsum, non colateraliter iustus aut [i.e. atque] bonus censetur. [Azoara II = Qur'ān 2:189; cf. Arsenal, f. 30va]

Idcirco fertur dixisse nequis ingrederetur per <loca> abscondita ad uxores suas, quas ualde relasa<***> [Gloss. Azoara II; cf. Arsenal, f. 30v]

<Infer>entem uobis iniurias consimilibus penis afficite. [Azoara II = Qur'ān 2:194; cf. Arsenal, f. 30va]

Per<egrinari> proponens praua facta malasque cogitatio<nes abiiciat> nec aliqua controuersia agat. [Azoara III = Qur'ān 2:197; cf. Arsenal, f. 30vb]

Ius moremque b<onum agnitum permu>tans deum grauem ac difficilem inueniet. [Azoara III = Qur'ān 2:211; cf. Arsenal, f. 31ra]

Seiscitantibus de uino, stratis [i.e. scacis], talis, aleis et huius<modi> dixit peccatum maximum esse huiusmodi potum et ludum. [Azoara III = Qur'ān 2:219; cf. Arsenal, f. 31rb]

Licet autem uinum prohibeat, ipsi tamen in occulto sepe uinum bibere, uuas autem comedere et multum in aperto bibere licet. [Gloss. Azoara III; cf. Arsenal, f. 31rb]

Mulieres uobis subiectas penitus pro modo uestro ubicumque uolueritis parate. Mestruatas tamen nemo tangat nisi prius mundatas, res namque munda deo placet. [Azoara III = Qur'ān 2:222-223; cf. Arsenal, f. 31va]

Unde absque molestia et impedimento permittite eas sua corpora adaptare atque polire. [Azoara III = Qur'ān 2:235-236; cf. Arsenal, f. 32ra]

Hic inserit quandam stultam fabulam, dicens deum dedisse Dauid ut ferrum quasi neret et loricam texeret, cuius ipse, ut ait, primus inuentor fuit. [Gloss. azoara III, cf. Arsenal, f. 32va]

Hic inserit [f. 4r] de Christo multas fabulas et dixit quod iudei quidem uoluerunt Christum occidere, sed ipse se callide subtraens uasit dimittens alium quemdam loco sui quem crucifixerunt putantes illum esse Christum. Deus autem leuauit illum ad se et est ibi usque ad diem iudicii. Et tunc sicut alii homines moriturus et surecturus. [Gloss. azoara 5; cf. Arsenal, f. 35v]

Fraudulenti uero eum decipere nitentes ab ipso uelut a calidiore delusi sunt. [Azoara 5 = Qur'ān 3:54; cf. Arsenal, f. 35va]

Viri legum, cur uestre ratiocinationis et secte firmamentum ex Abraham asum-

mitis cum testamentum nec non et euangelium post ipsum traditum fuerit, afirman-tes quod nescitis? Ipse quidem nec iudeus nec christianus, sed uir fidelis et non incredulus uixit eiusque sequaces uiri preelecti. [Azoara 5 = Qur'ān 3:65-68; cf. Arsenal, f. 35vb]

Viros legum iudeos et christianos uocat, quibus dicit: cur uestre et cetera, id est, cur uos in fide Abrahe esse dicitis cum et testamentum uetus et euangelium nichil ad eum pertineret, sed melior lex quam ipse longe ante tenuit quam etiam quarto [i.e. ego] modo predi<co> *** saraceni quod legem habere teneant, et hec sic quomodo reuocata [i.e. renouata] est per Machumet cum iam perdita esset, interiectis ueteri lege et euangelio Christi, que ad temperamentum istarum legum data est, quia non poterant homines eas seruare [Gloss. azoara 5; cf. Arsenal, f. 35v].

Creditis uobis additum paradisi patere sini prius adeo fortibus et magnanimis in bello perpetis? Nullus mortem subire poterit nisi deo uolente a tempore statuto. [Azoara 6 = Qur'ān 3:142-145; cf. Arsenal, f. 37vb]

Nota hic quia statim dicit contrarium. Futura, inquit, uita firma, hec uero uita omniaque mundana fortuita sunt. [Azoara 7 = Qur'ān 3:185; cf. Arsenal, f. 39ra]

Uxores quodcumque placuerit duas aut tres uel quatuor ducite nisi timueritis eas pacificare non posse, tunc quot quilibet castigare potuerit ducat. [Azoara 8 = Qur'ān 4:3; cf. Arsenal, f. 39va-b]

Cumque contingit uos illas non [f. 4v] diligere, sicut [i.e. licet] unam aut aliam mutare. [Azoara 8 = Qur'ān 4:19-20; cf. Arsenal, f. 40rb]

Sic dimissam siue causa tedii siue odii siue sacietatis licet reuocare. [Epistola Sarraceni 24; cf. Arsenal, f. 144vb]

Viri boni, cum oratum surexeritis facies uestras ac manus et brachia usque ad cubitum et pedes usque ad tibias abluere et capilis reuoluendo capud abstergere, et post coitum mulierum balnari uos oportet; infirmi quidem uel in itinere ab egestu uel mulierum coitu uenientes et aquam minime reperientes facies suas atque manus terre munde puluere tergant. [Azoara 12 = Qur'ān 5:6; cf. Arsenal, f. 45rb]

Ihesus Marie filius, dei nuncius suusque spiritus et uerbum, Marie centus [i.e. celitus] missus extitit [Azoara 11 = Qur'ān 4:171; cf. Arsenal, f. 44va]

Quem increduli deum esse dicunt. [Azoara 12 = Qur'ān 5:17; cf. Arsenal, f. 45va]

Cui comisimus euangelium, quod est lumen et confirmatio testamenti ac recta uia timentibus deum, ad uestre legis supplementum missimus. Tibi quoque librum ueritatis suorum preceptorem confirmare [i.e. preceptorum confirmatorem], cum quo tuum est iudicare, desuper misimus. Tu igitur inter eos secundum ipsum discussurus eorum uelle nequaquam sed solam u<eritat>em amplectere. [Azoara 12 = Qur'ān 5:46-48; cf. Arsenal, f. 46va-b]

Caue ne suum uelle sequendo te a dato tibi celitus in suam partem distrahant. Vos, uiri credentes, super uos nequaquam constitui prefectos seu iudices iudeos aut christianos permittatis, de uestra lege ludum atque ridiculum facientes, quos [i.e. qui uos] orantes illudunt cum sint insipientes; nullatenus uobis participes nec uestrorum tractatores negociorum statuatis. [Azoara 12 = Qur'ān 5:49, 51, 57; cf. Arsenal, f. 46vb-47ra]

Viri legum, cum nos in deum credimus, suis preceptis super nos et predecessores nostros missis paremus, uos peiores nobis existitis, cum [i.e. cur] de nobis uindictam sumitis? quia a uia recta magis deuii, quibus deus amorem suum retrahens uestri quosdam simeas [i.e. simias] et porcos ac ydolatras constituit [Azoara 12 = Qur'ān 5:59-60; cf. Arsenal, f. 47ra].

Quod si testeri similis [i.e. testamenti, simul] et euangelii celitus super eos missi [f. 5r] precepta sequerentur tot cibos [i.e. cibis] totque bonis abundarent quod etiam substernerentur pedibus. [Azoara 12 = Qur'ān 5:66, cf. Arsenal, f. 47rb]

Deus Marie filio Ihesu tribuit animam mundam atque benedictam, qui formis uolatilium a se factis insuflans uolatum prebuit, cecum natum atque leprosum curauit, mortuos resuscitauit, qui librum et sapientia nec non etiam euangelium docuit. [Azoara 13 = Qur'ān 5:110; cf. Arsenal, f. 48vb]

Ait: o Ihesu Marie fili, tu persuades hominibus ut dei loco matremque tuam duos deos habeant et uenerentur? Respondet Ihesus: nolit deus, tu s<c>is me nichil hominibus nisi mandata tua dixisse, quod te deum meum atque suum inuocent et adorent. [Azoara 13 = Qur'ān 5:116-117; cf. Arsenal, f. 49ra]

Hic inserit fabulam stultam et mendosam de Habraham dicens: nocte superueniente uidens Abraham stelam ait: hic est deus, sed eandem in occasum tendentem agnoui, dixit: rem transiuram et ad occasum tendentem minime diligo. Lunam item orientem aspiciens ait: hic est deus, sed eandem ad occasum tendentem dixit: nisi me deus rectam uiam docuerit erroneis ascribar. Sole deinde oriente eum esse deum quoniam maior erat affirmavit, sed eodem in occasum uergente dixit: ab horum credulitate amodo recedo et ad deum celi terreque conditorem faciem meam conuerto. [Azoara 15 = Qur'ān 6:76-79; cf. Arsenal, f. 51ra-b; y Gloss. ad locum]

Montem autem super iudeos et cetera. Hic dicit quod deus super iudeos montem magnam nubi similem post exitum de Egipto deferebat, cuius ruinam super se metuentes saltem iudei legem suscipere. [Azoara 17 = Qur'ān 7:171; cf. Arsenal, f. 57va]

Nichil te facturum firmes nisi superaddito: si deus uoluerit. [Azoara 28 = Qur'ān 18:23-24; cf. Arsenal, f. 81rb]

Quamquam hominibus inde parum tractantibus suis ad iudicii diem transitus plurimum accedit. [Azoara 31 = Qur'ān 21:1; cf. Arsenal, f. 87rb]

Homo enim res est festinans et transitoria. [Azoara 31 = Qur'ān 21:37; cf. Arsenal, f. 87vb]

Oculorum cecitas minus efficit quam corde [i.e. cordis]. [Azoara 32 = Qur'ān 22:46; cf. Arsenal, f. 90ra]

Salus namque nisi cum propriis uxoribus aut [f. 5v] sibi subiectis et ancillis obseruantibus. Idem [i.e. inde] namque nulla fiet querimonia. [Azoara 33 = Qur'ān 23:1-11; cf. Arsenal, f. 90vb]

Ubi [i.e. uir] bonus nisi sui domum nisi aduentu patefacto ingrediatur. Nemine uero reperto non intret nisi uisus [i.e. iussus] et iniuncto sibi recessu pareat. Hoc dixit metuens deprehendi cum uxoribus alienis cum quibus assidue erat. [Azoara 33 = Qur'ān 24:27-28 y Gloss. ad locum; cf. Arsenal, f. 92vb]

Salomon quidem uoces auium cognoscens cum exercitibus demonum, hominum simul et auium ad subiugandum sibi mundum egressus ad locum formicarum usque

peruenit, quarum una persuadente ceteris cauearum ingressum ne a Salomone suisque conculcarentur. Salomon subrisit et auibus respectis upupaque non uisa quo lateret quesuiuit, dicens: ‘mortem illi inferam nisi michi aliquos rumores retulerit’. Eo itaque paulisper immorato illa ueniens dixit: ‘ego de Saba rumorem ueracem affero quam tibi esse cognitum minime credo. Est ibi namque mulier omnibus imperans, omnibus habundans, alta maiestatis sede quiescens, que simul cum gente dei loco solem adorat. Tunc Salomon per upupam epistolam illi transmisit, qua magistratibus suis conuocatis perlecta ait: ‘cum ipsi potentissimi uillam quamlibet ingressi funditus eam destruunt eiusque potentes deprimunt, tributum illi per nuncios transmittam’. Quo facto, cum nuncii ad Salomonem uenissent, dixit Salomon: ‘quid michi de pecunia uestra de qua plurimum habeo? Ego quidem uobis superueniam uosque dedecoratos eiciam’. Illis itaque discedentibus Salomon suum populum *s<c>*iscitatus est an aliquis eorum reginam [6r] prius dictam ad se ducere posset, quam ipsa cum suis credens accederet, quod pollicitus est diabolorum quidam sine lesione ipsius regine se facturum prius quam a loco discederet, quam cum aduisset, illa per pauimentum ingrediens sed pauimentum aquam esse putans, pannis elleuatis crura detexit ut aquam transiret, quam prohibuit Salomon dicens non esse aquam sed pauimentum uitreum. [Azoara 37 = Qur’ān 27:17-44; cf. Arsenal, f. 97vr-98ra]

De factis iniustus Deus loquitur ad Machumet: nullatenus nisi sponte crebroque interactis molestiis [i.e. molesteris] [Azoara 42 = Qur’ān 33.; cf. Arsenal, f. 104vb-105ra]

Tibi quidem, o propheta, mulieres omnes quibus donandum deberis [i.e. dederis] et omnes tue manui per emptionem supositas, amite tue matertereque filias, omnes etiam alias bonas mulieres tibi uolenti gratis succumbere cupientes, hoc tibi soli permittitur et licitas constituemus. [Azoara 42 = Qur’ān 33:50, cf. Arsenal, f. 106ra]

Nullus propheta domum comestum ingrediatur nisi uocatus, pransus aut statim exeat. [Azoara 42 = Qur’ān 33:53; cf. Arsenal, f. 106ra]

Neminem oportet uel prophetam in aliquo ledere uel uxorem eius usque post eum habere. [Azoara 42 = Qur’ān 33:53; cf. Arsenal, f. 106rb]

Dauidi diuitias habundanter tribuimus et montes [h]ac aues illi parere fecimus, ferrumque molere iussimus ipsique loricas intexere precepimus. Salomoni quoque uentos et pluuias parere fecimus sueque manui minerias arichalbi [i.e. aurichalci] et diabolos opiferes [i.e. opifices], ut pro uelle suo inde imagines et uasa fabricarent inmiximus [i.e. iniunximus]. [Azoara 43 = Qur’ān 34:10-12, cf. Arsenal, f. 106vb]

Viri boni, uictum bonum gaudiumque plenum et honorem integrum omnium rerum et uoluptatum in paradiso suis locis in aliorum direct[i]o positis possidebunt, habentes mulieres oculis clarissimis et immensis uelut oua, nunquam illos nisi ad maritos suos tamen erectos [i.e. erecturas], et eisdem uestientibus [i.e. uescentibus] fructus [6v] quoslibet porrigent ciphus plenus honore [i.e. humore] clarissimo dulci ac saporifero. [Azoara 46 = Qur’ān 37:40-49; cf. Arsenal, f. 110rb]

Vindicans se post iniuriam illatam nequaquam reus existit. Malum enim inferentes atque nocentes sine causa soli rei sunt, malum graue passuri. Paciens tamen et dimittens pre ceteris optime facit. [Azoara 51 = Qur’ān 42:41-43; cf. Arsenal, f. 117va]

Celum quidem caderet super homines nisi angeli, quos quidem feminas circa deum existentes esse asserunt, deum deprecarentur. [Azoara 51 = Qur'ān 42:5, cf. Arsenal, f. 116va-b, y Azoara 52 = Qur'ān 43:19, cf. Arsenal, f. 118ra]

Loquitur deus ad Machumet: Nos quidem non misimus te cohactorem disgre-diencium a lege, tuum enim non est nisi rem tantummodo nunciare. [Azoara 51 = Qur'ān 42:48; cf. Arsenal, f. 117va]

Huic statim dicit contrarium dicens: tibi quidem legem prebuimus per quam pro uelle tuo castigans homines doceas eos uiam rectam dei. [Azoara 52 = Qur'ān 42:52, cf. Arsenal, f. 117vb]

Et iterum: castiga gentes ut unum deum adorent, non alium. [Azoara 55 = Qur'ān 46:21, cf. Arsenal, f. 120va]

Ecce manifesta contrarietas quam frequenter ponit. Quandoque enim dicit nullum cogendum ut ad suam legem conuertatur, dicens se solummodo missum ad predicandum; quandoque uero contrarium suadens hortatur suos ad subiugandum gentes, et in bello occisis paradikum pollicetur hiis uerbis:

Viri boni, predatum atque expugnatum in dei nomine cum uestris animabus atque pecuniis tendite, quia ob hec deus peccata uestra dimitet et paradikum tribuet. [Azoara 70 = Qur'ān 61:11-12; cf. Arsenal, f. 128va]

Peccatores uero capitibus demersis in ghenam focum grauissimum in eternum sustinebunt. [Azoara 53 = Qur'ān 44:45-48, cf. Arsenal, f. 119rb]

Qui scintillas uelud tumentes camelos emittet. [Azoara 86 = Qur'ān 77:31-33, cf. Arsenal, f. 134ra]

Timentes autem deum locum ortis fontibus secundis [i.e. fecundis] possidebunt, uestibus sericis et purpura uestiendi, puellas cum oculis clarissimis et immensis, quorum albugines candidissime et pupille nigerrime, pro uelle quoque suo fructus multimodos absque timore mortis [f. 7r] comedentes. [Azoara 53 = Qur'ān 44:51-55; cf. Arsenal, f. 119rb-119va]

Peccatores autem opinati sunt mortem et uitam non esse nisi unam tantum sed hec eorum opinio falax est et falsa. [Azoara 54 = Qur'ān 45:21, cf. Arsenal, f. 119vb]

Quibus in die iudicii dicit deus: quoniam in terra uoluntates uestras sequendo mala perpetrastis hodie retributionem recipietis. [Azoara 55 = Qur'ān 46:20, cf. Arsenal, f. 120va]

Per uentos sufflantes atractosque nubes pond<er>osas et naues equore currentes angelosque nuncios. Hec omnia precepta sunt uera. Per celum rubore solis affectum. Vos non credentes errori inheretis. [Azoara 60 = Qur'ān 51:1-8, cf. Arsenal, f. 123va]

Per montem Sinai librumque linearum [i.e. lineatim] in cartis subtilissimis scriptum et per superne domum edificatam tectumque sublime mareque metis pressum: dei uindicta malis superueniet, quam nemo diuertere poterit. [Azoara 61 = Qur'ān 52:1-8, cf. Arsenal, f. 124ra]

Nota iterum iuramentum stultum contrafecit [i.e. quo fecit] deum iurare pro se. [Gloss. azoara 62; cf. Arsenal, f. 124va]

Per stelam uespertinam, cliens noster nullatenus errans nil ex proprio uelle nisi tantum diuinitus sibi mandatum loquitur. Qui subleuatus ad orientis [i.e. orizon-

tis] celsitudinem ad deum instrumentem ipsum atque docentem efficaciter accessit. [Azoara 62 = Qur'ān 53:1-8, cf. Arsenal, f. 124va]

Per locum occasus stellarum, quod magnum est scientibus sacramentum, hic alchoram optimus a rege mundi est compositus. [Azoara 65 = Qur'ān 56:75-80, cf. Arsenal, f. 126va]

Omnes boni paradisum possidebunt, quibus ministrabunt adolescentes pulcherrimi cum uasis et poculis aureis optimo liquore plenis, nec capitis dolorem nec ebrietatem parituros. Electosque fructus carnesque uolatilium afferent. Verbum culpabile sed tantum salutationis inuicem dicturi inter arbores propter has morantes [i.e. proceras manentes] umbram immensam cum optimis stramentis possidebunt. [Azoara 65 = Qur'ān 56:17-24, cf. Arsenal, f. 126rb]

Qui timuerunt coram deo stans duas paradisos rerum multiplicium communique fecundas fontiumque fluxu iocundas hereditatem accipient. Ubi accubabunt credentes tapetis sericis stramentisque [f. 7v] purpureis, omnibus sibi dilectis perpetuo pocientur ducentque pu<e>llas formosas, ubi (i.e. ut) iacinctas et margaritas nunquam monstratas [i.e. menstruatas]. [Azoara 64 = Qur'ān 55:46-58, cf. Arsenal, f. 126ra]

Tunc increduli supplicabuntur iustis ut eis aliquid de bonis eorum sumere liceat, sed non impetrabunt, quin immo tur<r>em inter se et illos cum patente porta fabricabunt. Erit autem inter portam turris. Qu<i>es atque gaudium foris, aut dolor atque miseria. [Azoara 66 = Qur'ān 57:13, cf. Arsenal, f. 127ra]

Christum Marie filium dicentem iudeis: 'ego uobis a deo missus sum nuncius uobisque bonum affero de nuncio post me uenturum cui nomen Machometus' illi mendaciter magum magnum esse asserebant. [Azoara 70 = Qur'ān 61:6, cf. Arsenal, f. 128rb]

Viri boni, nec aliquem sublimiorem nec filium nec mulierem habenti participem siue equalem ponite. [Azoara 81 = Qur'ān 72:2, cf. Arsenal, f. 132rb]

Dies quidem resurrectionis amarissima fiet incredulo [Azoara 83 = Qur'ān 74:8-10, cf. Arsenal, f. 133ra]

Cuius spatium est quinquaginta milia annorum. [Azoara 79 = Qur'ān 70:4, cf. Arsenal, f. 131v]

Per diem seculi futuri animam<que> ream: licet homines opinentur me minime potentem ossa sua resuscitare, ego enim resuscitabo. [Azoara 84 = Qur'ān 75: 1-4, cf. Arsenal, f. 133rb]

Per angelos legationis efficaces uentosque siccos et multiçiores [i.e. imbriferos] demonesque licitorum et illicitorum discretionos [i.e. discreturos], ac prophetis diuina mandata corectoria uel instructoria concito ferentes: omne nostrum mandatum ueraciter accidet. [Azoara 86 = Qur'ān 77:1-7, cf. Arsenal, f. 134ra]

Per calamum et lineas atque scriptum, tu es dei nuncius, mercedem maximam, non magus ut mali asserunt, non demoniatus. [Azoara 77 = Qur'ān 68:1-2; cf. Arsenal, f. 130vb]

Per res uisibiles et inuisibiles: nuncii uerbum bonum est, a deo mundi conditore compositum. [Azoara 78 = Qur'ān 69:38-43, cf. Arsenal, f. 131va]

Per lunam et auroram atque diluculum, iste unus maiorum docentium gentes. [Azoara 83 = Qur'ān 74:32-36, cf. Arsenal, f. 133ra]

Per stelas combustas et retrogradas atque directas ac noctem obscuram et auro-ram: hec uerba [f. 8r] boni prophete sunt. [Azoara 90 = Qur'ān 81:15-19; cf. Arsenal, f. 135ra]

Boni [i.e. Tibi] quidem presunt uigiles custo<de>s, deserti [i.e. diserti] scrip-tores, actus eius scientes atque notantes. [Azoara 91 = Qur'ān 82:10-12, cf. Arsenal, f. 135rb]

Per occasus ruborem noctemque tenebrosam lunamque deficientem: uerum est. [Azoara 93 = Qur'ān 84:16-18, cf. Arsenal, f. 135vb]

Per ce[l]lum signiferum placitique diem testantes ac testificatos: omnia predicta uera sunt. [Azoara 94 = Qur'ān 85:1-4, cf. Arsenal, f. 135vb]

Per celum stellamque currentem et lucidam: omnis anima suum opus scriptum inueniet. [Azoara 95 = Qur'ān 86:1-4, cf. Arsenal, f. 136ra]

Per auroram noctesque X et per pasca triduumque precedens noctisque transitum. [Azoara 98 = Qur'ān 89:1-4, cf. Arsenal, f. 136rb]

Per diluculum atque crepusculum. [Azoara 102 = Qur'ān 93:1-2, cf. Arsenal, f. 137ra]

Per ficus et oliuas montemque Sinay istamque tellurem impaudam [Azoara 104 = Qur'ān 95:1-3, cf. Arsenal, f. 137ra]

In nocte Alchiclera [i.e. Alchidera] felicissima mille mensibus alchoram super te posuimus, in qua facta angelorum dei mandata atque ferentium salutem desen-sus [i.e. discessus]. Nota alchicleram uocat noctem in qua dicebat uenisse super se angelos et atullisse alchoran. [Azoara 106 = Qur'ān 97:1-4 y gloss. ad locum; cf. Arsenal, f. 137rb]

The *Corpus Islamolatinum* as *Auctoritas* in the Polemical Discourse of Symon Semeonis

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Abstract

This chapter presents the *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*—an account of the journey to the Holy Land made by the Irish Franciscan Symon Semeonis in the fourteenth century—through an analysis of various passages in the text where Symon Semeonis constructs his anti-Islamic discourse using the polemical sources that Peter the Venerable commissioned for translation in the twelfth century.

1. The Text

The account of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem undertaken between 1323 and 1324 by the Irish Franciscan Symon Semeonis has been preserved in a single manuscript located at the library of Corpus Christi College, University of Cambridge, catalogue number 407.² This manuscript, first mentioned in 1748 by Thomas Tanner,³ has been divided into two parts by previous scholars:⁴ the first part contains three *Itineraria*, copied by a single hand, beginning with *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis* (ff. 1r–36v), followed by *Itinerarium Willelmi de Rubruck* (ff. 37r–67r) and *Itinerarium Odorici* (ff. 69r–91r). The second part contains three texts of different sorts copied by multiple hands.⁵ Although the entire manuscript has been dated to the fourteenth century, two factors have made it possible to date the first 92 folios with greater precision: the signature on the first folio of Symon Bozoun—prior of Norwich between 1344 and 1352—and the inclusion of the *Itinerarium Odorici*, which was written in 1330.

1. This study was undertaken as part of FFI2015-63659-C2-1-P, MINECO-FEDER, EU, and 2017 SGR 1787 at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, whose principal investigator is Cándida Ferrero Hernández; and AGAUR PhD Scholarship 2018.
2. A digital copy of the manuscript can be accessed online through the following link: [<https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/mj309qh4224>]. Operational as of December 16, 2018.
3. Tanner, Thomas (1748), *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, London, p. 702.
4. Golubovich, Girolamo (1919), *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, v.3, Florence, p. 245; Esposito, Mario (1960), *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis ab Hybernia ad Terram Sanctam*, Dublin, pp. 1-2.
5. Golubovich, Girolamo (1919), *Biblioteca*, p. 245; Esposito, Mario (1960), *Itinerarium*, p. 2. It has recently been argued that the three *Itineraria* were written by different hands, cf. Krasnodebska-D'Aughton, Malgorzata (2014), «Inflamed with Seraphic Ardor: Franciscan Learning and Spirituality in the Fourteenth-Century Irish Pilgrimage Account», in *Franciscan Studies*, 70, pp. 283-312. On the issue of the manuscript, cf. pp. 284-292.

These two details have led Mario Esposito to propose a date between 1335 (allowing a lapse of five years for Odoric's text to make it to Norwich, where this first part of the manuscript would have been copied) and 1352.⁶

Following Thomas Tanner's brief mention of the manuscript, Jacobus Nasmith cited it again in 1777 in his catalogue of the manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College,⁷ and a year later Nasmith produced the first edition of the *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*.⁸ This first edition was criticized by the last two editors of the text in the twentieth century: Girolamo Golubovich⁹ in 1919 and Mario Esposito¹⁰ in 1960. The latter divided the text into one hundred passages and numbered them. There have also been three translations of the text: two into English by Eugene Hoade¹¹ and Mario Esposito,¹² and one into French by Christiane Deluz.¹³ All three translations are partial and stray from the original Latin. In the particular case of Mario Esposito's translation, the passages in which Symon Semeonis cites the Latin translation of the Qur'an are omitted, because "Versions of these books are readily procurable."¹⁴

2. The Journey

In the brief prologue at the beginning of the text, Symon Semeonis announces the pious motives that induce him to "refuse the highest honor"¹⁵—referring, perhaps, as has been suggested elsewhere,¹⁶ to his rejection of a prestigious position in the provincial chapter of the Franciscan order in Ireland—in order to set out for the Holy Land with another Franciscan, Hugo Illuminator. Following the celebration of the provincial chapter in Clonmel, the two men depart on March 16, 1323, crossing the "*mare Hybernicum ferocissimum atque periculosissimum*"¹⁷ and arriving at Caer Gybi.

6. Esposito, Mario (1960), *Itinerarium*, pp. 1-3.
7. Nasmith, Jacobus (1777), *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum quos Collegio corporis Christi et B. Mariae Virginis in Academia Cantabrigensi legavit reverendissimus in Christo Pater Matheus Parker*, Cambridge, pp. 384-385.
8. Nasmith, Jacobus (1778), *Itineraria Symonis Simeonis et Willemi de Worcestre. Quibus accedit Tractatus de Metro ... e codicibus MSS*. Edidit Jacobus Nasmith, Cambridge. For an analysis of this edition, cf. «The Itinerary of Fitz-Simeon, 1322», in Southern, Henry; Harris, Nicholas (1828), *The Retrospective Review and Historical and Antiquarian Magazine*, t.II, London, pp. 232-253.
9. Golubovich, Girolamo (1919), *Biblioteca*, pp. 237-282.
10. Esposito, Mario (1960), *Itinerarium*.
11. Hoade, Eugene (1952), *Western pilgrims. The Itineraries of Simon Fitzsimons, O.F.M. 1322-1323, a Certain Englishman 1344-1345. Thomas Brygge 1392 and Notes on Others Autors and Pilgrims*, Jerusalem.
12. Esposito, Mario (1960), *Itinerarium*.
13. Regnier-Bohler, Danielle (Ed.) (1997), *Croisades et pèlerinages: recits, chroniques et voyages en Terre Sainte. XIIIè-XVIè siècle*, Paris, pp. 964-995.
14. Esposito, Mario (1960), *Itinerarium*, p. ix.
15. *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis ab Hybernia ad Terram Sanctam*, 1. Hereafter cited as *It. Sym.*
16. Golubovich, Girolamo (1919), *Biblioteca*, p. 238; Esposito, Mario (1960), *Itinerarium*, p. 4.
17. *It. Sym.*, 1.

In the first part of the journey, as they travel across Western Europe, there are numerous brief references to the *castra* and *civitates* that they see in Ireland, Great Britain, France and Italy—with an emphasis on their defensive structures—and to the *monasteria* that they visit and the relics that are kept there. Symon Semeonis lingers over the description only in the case of great cities like London, Paris, and Venice, where he highlights important buildings (Westminster Abbey and the Tower of London,¹⁸ the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris,¹⁹ and the *Piazza* of Venice with its palace and the church of San Marcos²⁰) or the distinctive features of the city (Paris’s workshops²¹ and Venice’s canals²²).

From Venice, Symon Semeonis and Hugo Illuminator depart by ship for Pula on August 18, 1323. Their arrival on the eastern shore of the Adriatic is marked by a change in how the journey is recounted: while in the first part we find descriptions only of churches and cities, in the journey through Eastern Europe attention is also paid to the inhabitants and their customs. Symon Semeonis thus incorporates his interest in ethnography into the *Itinerarium*, describing, for example, the hats worn by the women in Zadar,²³ the money used in Dubrovnik,²⁴ the differences in dress between *Albanienses*, *Greci* and *Sclavy*,²⁵ among others. In fact, his attention to the kinds of people living in these lands will make Symon Semeonis the first author to mention the presence of Gypsies in Europe, in Crete, to be exact:

Ibidem etiam vidimus gentem extra civitatem ritu Grecorum utentem, et de genere Chaym se esse asserentem, que raro vel nunquam in loco aliquo moratur ultra XXX dies, sed semper, velut a Deo maledicta, vaga et profuga post XXXm diem de campo in campum cum tentoriis parvis, oblongis, nigris et humilibus, ad modum Arabum, et de caverna in cavernam discurrit, quia locus ab eis inhabitatus post dictum terminum efficitur plenus vermibus ac aliis immunditiis cum quibus impossibile est cohabitare.²⁶

Crete is the last stop before the travelers’ arrival in Alexandria, where Symon Semeonis has his first encounter with Islam: the Franciscan recounts how his ship is boarded by port guards (“*Saraceni portus custodes*”²⁷) who take down the passengers’ names and inspect their belongings. Afterward, they are taken to the city and left at the gates to await an interview with the admiral. Symon Semeonis states how they are mistreated by passers-by as they are waiting: “*Inter prefatas vero portas*

18. *It. Sym.*, 4.

19. *It. Sym.*, 7.

20. *It. Sym.*, 14.

21. *It. Sym.*, 7.

22. *It. Sym.*, 14.

23. *It. Sym.*, 15.

24. *It. Sym.*, 16.

25. *It. Sym.*, 17.

26. *It. Sym.*, 22. Cf. Esposito, Mario (1960), *Itinerarium*, p. 7.

27. *It. Sym.*, 24.

*fuius a transeuntibus pro nomine Jesu consputi, lapidibus percussi et alii contumeliis et obprobriis a mane usque ad horam sextam saturati.*²⁸ During the interview with the admiral, there is a moment of tension when the guards discover the religious images that the Franciscans have brought with them from Ireland:

Inter quos cum scrutantes vidissent ymagines Crucifixi, beate Marie virginis, [et] Johannis ewangeliste, quas de Hybernia reverenter et devote nobiscum portavimus, statim blasphemantes et super ipsas spuentes, clamorosis vocibus insultabant dicentes: “Wach! hii sunt canes et porci vilissimi, qui non credunt Machometum esse prophetam Dei et nuntium, sed ipsum in suis predicationibus superstitiosis continue blasfemant, et ad hec alios inducunt affirmantes vanitates et insanas fabulas, dicentes Deum filium habere et ipsum esse Jesum, filium Marie.” Alii vero dicebant, videlicet renegati, Saracenorum ferocitatem formidantes: “Vere scimus quoniam exploratores sunt isti, et non est in bonum eorum adventus ad nos. Eiciantur de civitate cum confusione et revertantur ad partes Christianorum, sive Refuytanorum, unde egressi sunt.”²⁹

Symon Semeonis and Hugo Illuminator respond to both accusations in accordance with the precept of the Franciscan *Regula non bullata*,³⁰ which stated that Franciscans in Saracen lands had two options: to proselytize or to avoid all disputes by declaring themselves to be Christians. Symon Semeonis and Hugo Illuminator choose the second option:

Si verus propheta est Machometus et dominus, pacem habetote cum illo, et ejus laudibus insistite; nobis autem alius dominus non est nisi dominus Jesus Christus, qui est unigenitus Dei filius eternaliter genitus et filius Marie in tempore natus. Cujus filii per adoptionem sumus et non exploratores, ipsius sepulcrum gloriosum devote visitare volentes, tundere genibus, osculari labiis, et lacrimis rigare.³¹

The account of their journey through the lands of Egypt, which takes them through Fow and Cairo, combines polemical attacks—some examples of which we will look at below—and a fascination with the East: Symon Semeonis describes the beauty of the Nile River, the large number of fruits that can be found there, such as the *poma paradisi*, and the native animals of Egypt, which he considers to be

28. *It. Sym.*, 26.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Regula non bullata*, XVI: «Fratres vero, qui vadunt, duobus modis inter eos possunt spiritualiter conversari. Unus modus est, quod non faciant lites neque contentiones, sed sint subditi omni humanae creaturae propter Deum et confiteantur se esse christianos». Cf. Heullant-Donat, Isabelle (2005), «Des missionnaires martyrs aux martyrs missionnaires: La Mémoire des martyrs franciscains au sein de leur Ordre aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles», in *Écrire son histoire: Les communautés régulières face à leur passé. Actes du 5e Colloque International du C.E.R.C.O.R.*, Saint-Etienne, pp. 171-184.

31. *It. Sym.*, 26.

the most beautiful land in the world.³² The people who inhabit this land, however, are not so highly regarded by the Franciscan, who does not hesitate to characterize them as “*turpes, viles et impersonati, moribus et gestu bestiis totaliter conformes.*”³³ In Cairo, Hugo Illuminator succumbs to disease, and after eulogizing him in what are the most beautifully written paragraphs of the *Itinerarium*,³⁴ Symon Semeonis presents himself to the sultan and his *druchemanni* to obtain permission to travel freely to the Holy Land.³⁵

Permission granted, Symon Semeonis hires a driver and two camels and, in the company of two youths and another pilgrim,³⁶ he makes the arduous journey across the desert,³⁷ where he encounters the Bedouins,³⁸ before arriving in Jerusalem. His description of Jerusalem is limited to references to the holy sites and to the distances, expressed in *passus*, between them.³⁹ The unfinished account ends with a final lament over the replacement of David’s fortification of the holy city by a mosque: «*Ubi nunc est ecclesia Saracenorum, que est spherice figure, ad quam nullum Christianum permittunt accedere.*»⁴⁰

3. Symon Semeonis’s Polemical Discourse

3.1. *The Corpus Islamolatinum*

In 1142, Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, visited Spain as part of his tour of the Cluniac monasteries on the Iberian Peninsula.⁴¹ During his stay, he commissioned the translation of Islam’s religious texts as part of a new strategy for combatting the rival religion. Until then, Islam had been dealt with either militarily or on the basis of the fantastical claims of the Eastern Fathers, who disparaged Muḥammad without knowing anything about the teachings or beliefs of Islam.⁴² To carry out this commission, Peter the Venerable hired as translators Robert of Ketton, Hermann of Carinthia, Peter of Toledo and a Muslim named Mohammed.⁴³

32. *It. Sym.*, 40-46.

33. *It. Sym.*, 47.

34. *It. Sym.*, 73-77

35. *It. Sym.*, 77-79.

36. *It. Sym.*, 77.

37. *It. Sym.*, 85.

38. *It. Sym.*, 81-84.

39. *It. Sym.*, 93-100.

40. *It. Sym.*, 100.

41. Kritzcek, James (1964), *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, Princeton, pp. 10-11.

42. Martínez Gázquez, José, Petrus, Nàdia (2008), «Las motivaciones generales de las traducciones medievales latinas del Corán», in *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 18, pp. 230-246.

43. Kritzcek, James (1964), *Peter the Venerable*, pp. 56-69; Tolan, John (2002), *Saracens*, New York, pp. 155-157.

Robert of Ketton was commissioned to translate the Qur'ān (*Alcoranus*), which was accompanied by other texts that together make up the *Corpus Islamlatinum* and deal with various aspects of the Islamic world: a chronicle (*Chronica mendosa et ridicula sarracenorum*, also translated by Robert of Ketton), a life of Muḥammad (*Liber de generatione Machumeti*), a catechism-like dialogue between Muḥammad and the Jew Abdias b. Shalom (*De doctrina Machumeti*⁴⁴)—both translated by Hermann of Carinthia—and a polemical dialogue between a Muslim and a Christian (*Risālat al-Kindī*), translated by Peter of Toledo.⁴⁵ With these works, Peter the Venerable undertook to refute Islam. This refutation took form as his *Liber contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum*. His method met with success, and some two centuries later Symon Semeonis was still drawing on the *Corpus* established by Peter the Venerable in his portrayal of the Islamic religion and the life of Muslims. However, the Franciscan pilgrim to the Holy Land makes use of only two of the works: the *Alcoranus* and the *Liber de doctrina Machumeti*.

Throughout the polemical discourse that we find in the *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis*, the discussions where the Irish Franciscan has need of the authority of the *Corpus Islamlatinum* can be divided into two groups. In the first group we find his descriptions of different aspects of everyday life, which are based on his own observations but which he attempts to explain by reference to the polemical translations. This is the case with the clothing worn by men and by women,⁴⁶ the number of wives that a Muslim man can have,⁴⁷ and the treatment of slaves.⁴⁸ Symon Semeonis claims to have had direct experience of these customs, whether because he saw them (“*cujus rei testes sumus*”⁴⁹) or because he heard about them from a reliable source (“*ut relatu fide digno audivimus*”⁵⁰). In the second group we find Islamic concepts and precepts such as Paradise⁵¹ or Ramadan.⁵² Here, as we will see below, Symon Semeonis only cites the text—selecting the parts that support his argument—and is unable to add anything of his own.

44. Ferrero Hernández, Cándida (2011), «Difusión de las ideas islámicas a partir del *Liber de doctrina Machumeti*», in Pietro Entrialgo, Clara Elena (Ed.), *Asturiensis Regni Territorium. Documentos y estudios sobre el período tardorromano y medieval en el noroeste hispano. Arabes in patria Asturiensum*, Oviedo, pp. 191-204.

45. Burman, Thomas (2007), *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560*, Philadelphia, pp. 76-77.

46. *It. Sym.*, 35-36

47. *It. Sym.*, 51.

48. *It. Sym.*, 71.

49. *It. Sym.*, 37.

50. *It. Sym.*, 51.

51. *It. Sym.*, 30.

52. *It. Sym.*, 28.

3.2. *Aspects of Everyday Life*

In order to illustrate the kind of passages in which Symon Semeonis combines his own observations with the *auctoritas* of the *Corpus Islamolatinum* to polemicize against Islam, I have chosen two extracts where he describes the clothing worn by Muslim men and women. Upon arriving in Eastern Europe, Symon Semeonis shows—as was noted above—an interest in describing the dress of the inhabitants of the different places he passes through. However, he has no need of a religious authority to explain the use of this clothing in Croatia, Albania, or Greece. In Egypt, however, he will require the authority of the Qur’ān to make sense of the way Muslim men dress:

Saraceni autem raro vel nunquam cinguntur nisi tualia, quam cum oratum vadunt coram se extendunt, exceptis nobilibus et equitibus, qui cingulis cinguntur ad dominarum modum latis, et de serico totaliter factis, auro et argento nobilissime ornatis, in quibus summe gloriantur. Nec caligas portant, sed femoralia rugosa circa tybias largissima et ampla, a minori usque ad majorem, a parvo unius anni usque ad canum et annosum, et hoc quia sibi totiens lavant tybias et posteriora. Nam quinque orationes in die naturali ex legis precepto diaboli dicere tenentur, non clamorose sed voce mediocriter, prout scribitur in Alchorano, azoara cap. xxvii. Quas eorum multi cum genuflexionibus super memoratas tualias et inclinationibus, iudicio nostro salvo meliori, satis devote modo suo dicunt, versus templum Dei secundum eos, videlicet Mecham, se vertentes. Quod est situm in oriente, ubi Abraham primo templum fundavit in honorem Dei, et ibidem jussu divino filium suum Ysaac voluit in sacrificium immolare, prout dicitur in Alchorano, secundo azoara. Ante quarum horarum quamlibet lavant sibi manus, brachia, et pedes, et posteriora, firmiter credentes quod in aquarum ablutione percipiunt remissionem omnium peccatorum. Et quando sunt in deserto vel loco inaquoso, ubi aque copia non habetur, antequam ad orandum accedere presumant, sibi super capud terram mundam spargunt, credentes etiam sic a peccatorum sordibus se expiare. Unde scriptum est in Alchorano, azoara cap. xi: “Viri boni, cum oratum surrexeritis, facies vestras ac manus et brachia usque ad cubitum, et pedes usque ad tybias abluere et capillos revolvendo capud abstergere, et post coytum mulierum balneari vos oportet. Infirmi quidem et in itinere ab egestionem vel mulierum coytu venientes et aquam minime reperientes, facies suas atque manus terre munde pulvere tergant. Deus namque vestram diligit munditiam, officiique divini perfectionem, cum gratiarum sibi retributione et divinitatis invocatione.”⁵³

Symon Semeonis describes the clothing worn by Muslim men, differentiating between the upper and lower classes (“*exceptis nobilibus et equitibus*”). Their clothing and particularly their pants (“*femoralia*”) are explained by the ablutions that precede the prayers that they must perform throughout the day (“*et hoc quia sibi totiens*

53. *It. Sym.*, 35.

lavant sibi tybias et posteriora”). This fact allows Symon Semeonis to explain how many prayers Muslims are obliged to say according to their Law, which he attacks using his customary assertion, “*ex legis precepto diabolice.*” His mention of sura XXVII in the Qur’ān does not refer to the number of prayers but rather to vocal intonation, which he criticizes (“*non clamorose sed voce mediocriter*”).⁵⁴ Further along, he explains how prayers are performed—which apparently made a positive impression on him since he says “*satis devote modo suo dicunt*”—and he looks to the Qur’ān for an explanation of the practice of facing toward Mecca, paraphrasing the second *sura* but also providing further information, since the sacrifice of Isaac does not appear in Robert of Ketton’s translation of the cited *sura*.⁵⁵ He accompanies the description of the ritual of ablution with a verbatim quote from the Qur’ān, giving the reasons for it (“*firmiter credentes quod in aquarum ablutione percipiunt remissionem omnium peccatorum*”) and explaining what Muslims do when they find themselves in a place without access to water.

We have just seen how Symon Semeonis constructs his discourse by combining a description of the clothing worn by Muslim men with quotations from the Qur’ān, explaining that the reason why they dress in such a manner is the continual prayers that they must perform each day. The case of the women’s dress is different:

Quorum mulieres nunquam oratorium sive ecclesiam ingrediuntur, nec ad locum orationis admittuntur, sed semper quasi in domibus includuntur, et a discursu omni superfluo artantur. Et signanter nobilium mulieres que nunquam nisi urgente causa magna de domibus suis egredi permittuntur. Que omnes in ornatu modum habent singularem et valde mirabilem. Sunt enim mantellate omnes indifferenter mantellis lineis vel bumbacinis nive candidioribus, et velate et cooperte in tantum, quod cum difficultate earum oculi ab aspicientibus per retia subtilissima de serico nigro facta videntur et percipiuntur. Tunicas etiam portant omnes brevissimas, que minime usque ad genua se extendunt. Quarum quedam sunt de serico tantum, et quedam de lineo panno vel bumbacino, satis etiam vario modo contexto, prout earum status exigunt et conditiones. Et femoralibus sericis pretiosissimis auro contextis utuntur communiter omnes et potissime nobiles, que usque ad talos se ad instar equitum prescriptorum se extendunt, in quibus summe et principaliter relucet earum gloria, conditionis dignitas et status magnificentia. Earum quedam portant scalpas superius descriptas, quedam stivaldos rubeos, et quedam albos ad modum equitum, quibus cum predictis femoralibus et earum ceteris ornamentis similes totaliter fictitiis demonibus, qui in ludis clericorum solent haberi, totaliter efficiuntur. Unde in Alchorano scriptum est, azoara cap. xxiii : “Bone femine suos visus quamlibet tegant, membraque genitalia similiter. Hoc enim est optimum apud Deum, omnes suos actus dinoscentem. Mulieres itaque

54. Bibliander, Theodor (1550), *Machumeti Saracenorum principia eiusque successorum vitae ac doctrina ipseque Alcoran [...]*. Basel: Johannes Opporin, pp. 7-188. (2nd revised edition). Bibliander’s text has recently been republished by Lamarque, Henri – Vigliano, Tristan (eds.) *Theodor Bibliander: Le Coran en latin*. Université de Lyon: GRAC, 2010 (online resource), pp. 94, ll. 24-27.

55. *Le Coran en latin*, p. 13, ll. 43-46; p. 14, ll. 5-6.

bene se curent ut linealiter aspiciant suos, peplo tegentes collum et pectus ; omnem pulcritudinem suam, nisi quando apparere necessitas cogit, celent omnibus, speciemque pedum etiam eundo, nisi maritis suis, eorumque suisque parentibus, et filiis atque fratribus, et nepotibus et ancillis, omnibusque non suspectis sive subjectis manui, vel impollutis ; [et] ad Deum omnes convertimini, quod est vobis optimum.” Hec porcus Machometus mulierum amator. Portant etiam in tybiis inferius circa pedes et in brachiis circa manus anulos grossos et concavos ad instar compedum, qui sunt communiter de auro vel argento, in quibus ponuntur aliqua verba legis maledicte, que apud eos tantum appetantur, quantum apud nos appetiatur Ewangelium Sancti Johannis ewangeliste.⁵⁶

Here, the description begins by indicating the limited access that women have to places of worship and the lives they lead in general, making clear that class differences do not entail any variation in this regard. While in the case of Muslim men, dress was explained with reference to the ritual of ablution, in the case of women, Symon Semeonis points to Muḥammad as the ultimate source for these customs.

With the help of the Qur’ān—which for Symon Semeonis is the work of Muḥammad and not divine revelation, as we will see below—the Franciscan seeks to discredit the prophet of Islam, who is accused throughout the *Itinerarium* of offenses of a sexual nature. It is surprising that, despite the admiration that Symon Semeonis seems to profess for the women’s apparel (“*Que omnes in ornatu modum habent singularem et valde mirabilem*”), this does not prevent him from accusing Muḥammad of having made a law to benefit himself. This is indicated in the closing of the quotation from the Qur’ān (“*Hec porcus Machometus mulierum amator*”) and in the preceding passage, where Symon Semeonis seeks a utilitarian explanation for the men’s manner of dress. We should also not let pass without comment the last sentence of the paragraph, where Symon Semeonis makes clear that he opposes the idea of seeing Islam’s holy book as divine revelation. The Qur’ān, for Symon Semeonis, can never be comparable to the Bible.

3.3. *Islamic Precepts*

While with the previous passages we have established how Symon Semeonis constructs his polemical discourse based on evidence that he himself observes and witnesses, in this section we will find two of the most common themes in medieval anti-Islamic polemics: Islam’s Paradise and the number of wives men are allowed to marry:

De paradyso autem et vita eterna credunt secundum quod continetur in libello *De Doctrina* porci vilissimi Machometi, ubi continetur sic: “Paradyysi namque aureum

56. *It. Sym.*, 36.

solum smaragdīs et jacinthis crebro interpositis distinctum, omnique fructifera consitum arbore, decurrentibus per amena fluentis, quorum alia quidem lac, alia mel album, alia vinum purissimum fundunt. Dies enim mille annorum, annus xl milia annorum.” Et sequitur: «Incolis quidem ejus quicquid desiderare potest statim adheret. Omni siquidem colore vestietur, preter nigrum, qui color neminem illic attinget excepto preconone meo, qui ob insignem hujus vite meritum proprium colorem singulari privilegio retinebit. Perfecti omnes in statura quidem Ade, in facie vere Jesu Christi; nunquam incrementum aut decrementum patientes. Primum quidem ingressis vescendum proponitur jecur piscis allehbut, cibus ultra quam mirari possis delectabilis; succedunt fructus arborum potusque de fluentis paradisi; deinde quicquid affectaverint presto erit, ubi etiam panem et carnes comedent et fructus et cetera preter illicita que nec ipsis placebunt, cujusmodi sunt carnes suille.” Quod si voluptas illis deesset, beatitudo minime plena esset. Quod probat sic: “Si ullum oblectamenti genus deesset beatitudo minime plena esset; frustra igitur delicie adessent si voluptas deesset. Quinimo quicquid volunt presto est, et quascumque et quandocumque volunt habent, et qualiter et ubi et quando et quantum et quotiens volunt, omnia ad libitum sine mora et difficultate. Ita quidem quod quas hic habuerunt uxores fideles, habebunt et illic, cetera concubine erunt; ancillarum vero non erit numerus.” Hec Machometus porcus, mulierum amator.⁵⁷

This passage, as Cándida Ferrero has shown in her study,⁵⁸ includes a verbatim quote from the book *De doctrina Machumeti*. The quote is allowed to explain in its own terms the concept of Paradise in Islam, without any judgment being expressed by Symon Semeonis beyond the disparaging of Muḥammad in the opening and closing sentences of the passage (“*in libello De doctrina porci vilissimi Machumeti ... Hec Machometus porcus, mulierum amator*”). This seems to suggest that Symon Semeonis grants the same religious value to the *De doctrina Machumeti* as to the Qurʾān.

Like many other writers,⁵⁹ Symon Semeonis uses the Paradise argument to demonstrate the non-spirituality of Islam: a religion whose Paradise is utterly carnal cannot be likened to Christianity. Symon Semeonis underscores this fact by repeating, in the middle of the quote, the following sentence from the translation: “*Quod si voluptas illis deesset, beatitudo minime plena esset. Quod probat sic: ‘Si ullum oblectamenti genus deesset beatitudo minime plena esset.’*”

The selection of passages that he cites is not accidental: from Hermann of Carinthia’s translation, Symon Semeonis selects only those parts that make it possible to portray Islam’s Paradise as carnal and omits the questions posed by the Jew Abdullah and Muḥammad’s responses. The elided parts are numerous, and some of them

57. *It. Sym.*, 30.

58. Ferrero Hernández, Cándida (2014), «El *Liber de doctrina Machumeti* como auctoritas en el Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis», in D’Angelo, Edoardo, Ziolkowski, Jan (Eds.), *Auctor et Auctoritas in latinis mediæ aevi litteris*, Florence, pp. 353-367.

59. Daniel, Norman (1960), *Islam and the West. The Making of an Image*, Edinburgh, pp. 148-152.

coincide with Symon Semeonis's interjections in the quotation ("... *et sequitur ... Quod si voluptas illis deesset, beatitudo minime plena esset*"), but elsewhere, Symon Semeonis pastes together separate passages, suppressing the parts that are not necessary for his argument. In the case discussed below, Symon Semeonis introduces an adverb (*ubi*) to unite two sentences:

[...] deinde quicquid affectaverint presto erit, *Ait, Dic ergo, cum quicquid influit, et effluere necesse habet, nonne ut comedent, sic et iam egerere oportebit? Respondit, non sequitur. Nam et infans in utero dum uiuit, uescitur, nec tamen egerit. Et quam cito egerere incipit, mortalitatis legem subit. Quae et illos, si egererent, necessitas consequeretur. Si quid tamen superfluit, id per sudorem exit, odorem musti fragrantem. Ait, Bene quidem, et discrete huic obiectioni respondisti, dum subiungas, ubi etiam(ne) panem et carnes comedent et fructus et cetera ...*⁶⁰

As for the number of women whom a Muslim man can marry—a favorite topic among the polemical authors of the *Latinitas Christiana*⁶¹—Symon Semeonis deals with this issue specifically:

Est itaque sciendum quod in ea quasi ex omni tribu et lingua et natione, que sub celo est, viri vel mulieres reperiuntur, et quod ipsius cives et populares Alexandriae totaliter sunt conformes. Qui omnes, sicut ceteri legis dyabolice professores, a minore usque ad maximum, ab Admiraldo usque ad Soldanum inclusive, sunt sodomite pessimi et vilissimi, et eorum multi cum asinis et bestiis operantur iniquitatem. Et tamen Soldanus habet, ut relato fide digno audivimus, lx uxores, et pedissecas sive ancillas ipsis intendentes mille, que omnes secum in castro infrascripto continue morantur. Alii vero communiter habent iii vel iii^{or} et eorum multi vii, de quibus potest verificari illud Ysaie; "Et apprehenderunt vii mulieres virum unum in die illa, et cetera." Et in Alchorano, azoara id est capitulo vii: "Duas aut tres aut iv^{or} uxores ducite, nisi timueritis eas nullatenus pacificare posse; tunc enim [unam] vel quot sua manus castigare quieverit, qui rem determinatam donet, ducat, res autem suas illis permittentibus, voluntate vestra postulante, licite et commode potestis, nesciis et temerariis ante dies discretionis sue solum victui vestituique necessaria tribuite." Hec porcus Machometus, pudicitie et castitatis suffocator.⁶²

This passage begins with a description of the inhabitants of Cairo, who are characterized as being like those of Alexandria, but then moves on to attack them fiercely, accusing them of zoophilia ("*et eorum multi cum asinis et bestiis operantur iniquitatem*"). This introduction serves as a contextualization and to alert potential

60. The text of the *Doctrina Machumeti* is italicized following the edition by *Le Coran en latin*, p. 196, 11.33-45; p. 197, ll. 1-11.

61. Daniel, Norman (1960), *Islam and the West*, pp. 135-140.

62. *It. Sym.*, 51.

readers to the kind of commentary that follows: the number of wives a man can marry in Islam. The connection Symon Semeonis draws between the alleged practices of the people and their religion is clearly intended to discredit Islam by casting aspersions on Muslims. The Franciscan pilgrim argues that his account about the number of the sultan's wives must be believed because of the reliability of the source (“*ut relatu fide digno audivimus*”).

The line of argument in this passage is peculiar: he tells us that Muslim men can marry up to seven women (“*Alii vero habent iii vel iii^{or} et eorum multi vii*”) and, to prove it, cites a biblical verse (Is. 4:1), granting prophetic value to a Judeo-Christian *auctoritas* who apparently predicted the advent of Islam. Symon Semeonis takes this line of argument even further and, at the same time as claiming that the number of wives a Muslim man can marry is seven, includes the quotation from the Qur’ān, sura VII, which clearly limits the number of wives to four (“*Duas aut tres aut IV^{or} uxores ducite*”). Symon Semeonis’s argumentative method is surprising: it ignores the very text that it cites. In this passage, reality is established on the basis of the Judeo-Christian *auctoritas* and his conception of Islam; the quote from the Qur’ān does not seem to carry any weight for Symon Semeonis’s beliefs. Muḥammad is again insulted at the end of the quote: “*Hec porcus Machometus, pudicite et castitatis suffocator.*”

4. The Quotations

Throughout Symon Semeonis’s description of his journey across Egypt, where he first comes across Islam, he cites from the translations in the *Corpus Islamolatinum* fourteen times: twelve times from the Qur’ān, and twice from *De doctrina Machometi*. As we have seen in the previous three passages, he usually accompanied the quotes with insults in the form of epithets against Muḥammad (*It. Sym.*, 28: “*predictus porcus vilissimus et mulierum amator*”; 30: “*De doctrina porci vilissimi Machometi ... Hec Machometus porcus, mulierum amator*”; 36: “*Hec porcus Machometus mulierum amator*”; 37: “*Hec falsarius veritatis, primogenitus Sathane Machometus*”; 51: “*Hec porcus Machometus, pudicitie et castitatis suffocator*”; 70: “*Hec legifer filiorum Belial Machometus*”; 71: “*Hec primogenitus Sathane Machometus humani generis inimicus*”) or else against his holy book (*It. Sym.*, 29: “*in lege maledicta eorum scriptum est*”; 35: “*ex legis precepto diabolice*”).

Symon Semeonis deals with the quotations in one of three different ways. In five places, he appends the quotation to his own text without changing it. This is the case with the quotations about the rituals of ablution,⁶³ women’s dress,⁶⁴ wine,⁶⁵

63. *It. Sym.*, 35.

64. *It. Sym.*, 36.

65. *It. Sym.*, 37.

the number of wives a Muslim can take,⁶⁶ and Friday as a holy day.⁶⁷ Elsewhere, such as in the explanation of Ramadan⁶⁸ and the voice to be used and the direction to face when praying,⁶⁹ Symon Semeonis makes use of paraphrase, either inserting adverbs with a clearly pejorative intent (“*non clamorose sed voce mediocriter*”⁷⁰) or changing the text so much as to no longer resemble Robert of Ketton’s translation, as in the case of his discussion of Ramadan: “*Et tunc jejuntant tota die usque quo primam stellam noctis videant, et exinde comedunt et bibunt et cum mulieribus turpiter operantur usque tantum diei luceat quo discerni possit filum album a nigro.*”⁷¹ Lastly, there are places where Symon Semeonis intentionally modifies the quotes, selecting only the parts that are relevant to his argument about Islam, whether changing the word order in the text of the Qur’ān to further his point, as in the case of the figure of Jesus⁷² in Islam, jumping from one sura to another, as in the quotations he selects from the Qur’ān about war and slavery,⁷³ or omitting parts that are irrelevant to his argument, as in the passage that has already been mentioned about Paradise.

5. Conclusions

The text left to us by Symon Semeonis provides a portrait of conditions in Europe and Egypt between 1323 and 1324: he includes numerous ethnological descriptions regarding both dress and religious practices, as well as the first mention of the Gypsies in Europe. Yet once it reaches Egypt, the *Itinerarium* becomes a quasi-polemical text that combines Symon Semeonis’s knack for observation and description with a twelfth-century anti-Islamic polemical tool: the *Corpus Islamolatinum*. Despite this, Symon Semeonis is unable to detach himself from the fables about Islam that originated in the East and circulated in Europe (he refers to the story about Muḥammad and Zāynab bint Jahx when he explains the *miracula* that praise the Prophet from the minarets in the calls to prayer⁷⁴) or from crude vilification of Muslims on account of their faith (such as the accusation of zoophilia levelled against the inhabitants of Cairo⁷⁵).

66. *It. Sym.*, 51.

67. *It. Sym.*, 70.

68. *It. Sym.*, 28.

69. *It. Sym.*, 35.

70. *Ibid.* Here, Symon Semeonis alludes to sura XXVII of the Qur’ān, and the prayer translated by Robert of Ketton is the following one: *Le Coran en latin*, p. 94, l. 25: “*Orationes autem uoce mediocri funde.*”

71. *It. Sym.*, 28. The translation used by Symon Semeonis is *Le Coran en latin*, p. 15, ll. 31-33: “*Die tota ieiunantes, nocte ieiunum soluite, tunc comedentes et bibentes quantum libuerit, fere usque ad principium horae quae solis ortum antecedit.*”

72. *It. Sym.*, 29.

73. *It. Sym.*, 71.

74. *It. Sym.*, 28. Cf. Daniel, Norman (1960), *Islam and the West*, pp. 96-102.

75. *It. Sym.*, 51.

Symon Semeonis penned some passages whose objective was to discredit Islam through negative descriptions of Muslims and their prophet Muḥammad using as *auctoritas* quotations taken from the *Corpus Islamolatinum*. Thus, Symon Semeonis is connected to polemics in two different ways: as a Franciscan and as a pilgrim. His beliefs and his mentality render impossible any kind of conciliation with the religious Other that he spent so much time living among. Although the *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis* does not make use of elaborate theological arguments to combat Islam—since, as we have seen in the selected passages, no theological argument is made that defends his faith without attacking the other religion—it is representative of the image of the East that was projected by the West.

SECTION 2.
(Un)covering polemical identities

On Relics and Mausoleums: The Death of the Prophet Muḥammad between History and Legend in the Mediterranean Context

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Abstract

This contribution analyses some motifs related to the death, relics, and tomb of the Prophet Muḥammad in some of his medieval Latin legendary biographies, namely the dismemberment of his body, the keeping of his relics in the Ka‘ba, and his suspended reliquary-sepulchre. It argues that these motifs, rather than resulting from a bi-polar dialectical approach to the life of the Prophet (Muḥammad vs. Jesus; Mecca vs. Jerusalem; Islamic way of life vs. Christian way of life) for polemical purposes, originate from a reflection on Arabic terms, Islamic practices, and recent history.

1. Introduction

According to the Islamic tradition, the Prophet Muḥammad died on the 13th day of Rabī‘ al-Awwal in the 10th year from the Hijra (8 June 632). He passed away in the arms of his beloved wife ‘Ā’isha, in her dwellings adjacent to the mosque of Medina, where he was buried². His tomb was incorporated into the mosque in 707-710³ and subsequently it became the destination of the *ziyāra* (visitation) after the *ḥajj* (obligatory collective annual pilgrimage) or *‘umra* (spontaneous individual pilgrimage) to the *ḥaram* (holy enclosure) of Mecca.

As it is well known, only a few Western medieval texts dealing with Islam and his Prophet correctly locate Muḥammad’s tomb in Medina. On the contrary, most of them locate it in Mecca and associate the pilgrimage to the Ka‘ba with the veneration of the Prophet’s relics, which are considered as evidence of the dismemberment of his body. Another group of texts variously locate Muḥammad’s tomb and relics in an unidentified place in Arabia or Africa, or in *Babel* or *Baldach*, namely Cairo and Baghdad. Some texts also describe the wonder of the reliquary-sepulchre suspended in the air by means of a magnet.⁴

1. This study was undertaken as part of FFI2015-63659-C2-1-P, MINECO-FEDER, EU, and 2017 SGR 1787 at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, whose principal investigator is Cándida Ferrero Hernández.
2. Buhl, F., [Welch, A. T. (1993), « Muḥammad », in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, vol. VII, Leiden, Brill, pp. 360-374, esp. p. 376.
3. Sauvaget, Jean (1947), *La mosquée Omeyyade de Medine*, Paris, Vanoest.
4. On the numerous Latin accounts of Muḥammad’s death, the location and description of his tomb, see D’Ancona, Alessandro (1889), « La Leggenda di Maometto in Occidente », in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 13, pp. 199-281, esp. 274-279 (repr. ed. by Andrea Borruo, Rome 1994); Eckhardt, Alexandre (1947),

The mutilation or dismemberment of the body/corpse, which the sources most often ascribe to pigs or dogs, has been explained as an anti-hagiographical and anti-Christological strategy meant to emphasise the antithesis between the Prophet's life and that of the saints and Jesus, along with the intent to denigrate and ridicule Muḥammad and Islam. The identification of Mecca as the location of the Prophet's tomb would compare the destination of the Islamic pilgrimage to the most important destination of the Christian pilgrimage, Jerusalem, thus creating another antithesis between Muḥammad and Jesus through the contraposition of their respective sepulchres, in addition to evoking the eschatological contrast between Babel and Jerusalem. Likewise, the veneration of the relics and the description of the suspended reliquary-sepulchre would allude to an idolatrous cult and be intended to represent Islam as a pagan religion.⁵

Certainly, the opposition between Muḥammad and Jesus, Mecca and Jerusalem, Islamic and Christian ways of life pervade these narratives. This is obvious in a cultural context that considers Christianity to be the only true religion and therefore perceives other religious phenomena according to Christian hermeneutical categories. This does not necessarily imply, however, that all the elements featured in Muḥammad's biographies produced in such a context result from applying this bi-polar dialectical approach, thus ignoring or manipulating the Islamic historical tradition in order to create a negative and ridiculous image of the Prophet and Islam.⁶ Through the analysis of several motifs occurring in the description of the death, relics, and tomb of the Prophet found in legendary biographies,⁷ this

«Le cercueil flottant de Mahomet», in (Ed) the editor's name is not mentioned on the frontispiece, *Mélanges de philologie romane et de littérature médiévale offerts à E. Hoepffner*, Strasbourg, pp. 77-88; Daniel, Norman (1960), *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*, Edinburgh, pp. 125-129; Tolan, John V. (1998), «Un cadavre mutilé: le déchirement polémique de Mahomet», in *Le Moyen Âge* 104, pp. 53-72; Van Acker, Marieke (1998-1999), *Mahomet dans ses biographies occidentales du Moyen Âge: Entre Anti-Saint et Antéchrist*, Lic. diss. in Romaanse Talen, Universiteit Gent, ch. 3, par. 10; Kohlberg, Etan (2000), «Western Accounts of the Death of the Prophet Muḥammad», in Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, John Scheid (Eds.), *L'Orient dans l'histoire religieuse de l'Europe. L'invention des origines*, Turnhout, pp. 165-195; Tolan, John V. (2002), *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, New York, pp. 142-144; Reichert, Volker (2005), «Mohammed in Mekka», in *Speculum*, 56, pp. 17-31; Vanoli, Alessandro (2008), «Tra cielo e terra: Idoli e immagini nel Mediterraneo medievale (Between Heaven and Earth: Idol and Pictures in Medieval Mediterranean)», in *Revista Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebreos*, sección Hebreo, 57, pp. 247-278; Rotter, Ekkehart (2009), «Mohammed in der Stadt. Die Kenntnis um dies Stadt Medina und das dortige Prophetengrab im mittelalterlichen Europa», in *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 36, pp. 183-233; de la Cruz Palma, Óscar (2017), *Machometus. La invención del Profeta Mahoma en las fuentes latinas medievales*, in *Medievalia*, 20/2, Barcelona, Institut d'Estudis Medievals, pp. 555-576. For cartographical depictions of the Prophet's tomb in Mecca see Sáenz-López Pérez, Sandra (2007), «La peregrinación a la Meca en la Edad Media a través de la cartografía occidental», in *Revista de poética medieval*, 19, pp. 177-218; Di Cesare, Michelina (2015), «The Dome of the Rock in Mecca: A Christian Interpretation of Muḥammad's Night Journey in a Fourteenth-Century Italian Map (Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, ms. parm. 1612)», in *Le Muséon*, 128, pp. 203-228.

5. See n. 3.

6. This is clearly stated or implied in most of the contributions mentioned in n. 3.

7. For the distinction between pseudo-historical, legendary and eschatological biographies of the Prophet in Medieval Latin Literature see, Di Cesare, Michelina (2012), *The Pseudo-Historical Image of the Prophet*

chapter aims to demonstrate that they originated from a linguistic, aetiological, and historical reflection on Arabic terms, Islamic religious practices, and recent Islamic history, respectively. This points towards a more complex scenario where the genesis of such motifs can be traced back to a precise knowledge of the Islamic world and its culture, gathered from written and oral sources circulating throughout the Mediterranean regions.⁸ Consequently, the bi-polar dialectical approach to the life of the Prophet (Muḥammad vs. Jesus; Mecca vs. Jerusalem; Islamic way of life vs. Christian way of life) appears instead to be the result of this knowledge processed from a Christian – but also Jewish, as we shall see – point of view.

2. Ka‘ba and ka‘b

The earliest mention of the relics of the Prophet’s dismembered body kept in a tomb is found in the commentary on Isaiah by the Karaite Jew Yafet ben ‘Elī, written in the late 10th century in Arabic and Hebrew⁹. In relation to Isaiah 14:19 (“But you are cast out of your tomb like a rejected branch; you are covered with the slain, with those pierced by the sword, those who descend to the stones of the pit. Like a corpse trampled underfoot”),¹⁰ Yafet writes that someone said that ‘*ish ha-ruah*’ was taken out from his tomb (*miqqibro*) and devoured by lions, leaving aside only its heel (‘*aqev*), then it was buried and that was said to be the ‘*ish ha-ruah*’s tomb (*qever ‘ish ha-ruah*). ‘*Ish ha-ruah*’ (lit. “the man of spirit”, here “one inspired by the spirit of prophecy”) is an expression found in Hosea 9:7 (“The days of punishment are coming, the days of reckoning are at hand. Let Israel know this. Because your sins are so many and your hostility so great, the prophet is considered a fool, the inspired person a maniac”) used in Jewish sources to identify Muḥammad.¹¹ The intervention of the lions recalls some passages from the Book of Kings (1:13; 1:20, 35; 2:24ff.) and on the opposite the episode of Daniel in the lions’ den (Dn 6), whereas, the dismemberment of the corpse recalls the end of the idolatrous Queen Jezebel, who died after falling from a window and was dismembered and devoured by dogs, which only spared her head, hands, and feet (2 Rg 9:30ff). These allusions stress that this was the

Muhammad in Medieval Latin Literature: A Repertory, Berlin, Boston, pp. 1-10; Ead. (2013), «The Prophet in the Book: Images of Muḥammad in Western Medieval Book Culture», in Avinoam Shalem (Ed.), *Constructing the Image of Muḥammad in Europe*, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter, pp. 9-32.

8. A similar result was achieved by Fierro, Maribel (2012), «La visión del otro musulmán: el Liber Nicholay y la revolución almohade», in Juan Martos Quesada, Marisa Bueno Sanchez (Eds.), *Fronteras en discusión*, Madrid, pp. 143-161.
9. See Vajda, George (1976), «Un vestige original de “anti-biographie” éco de la tragédie de Karbalā», *Revue des religions*, 189, pp. 177-180.
10. Biblical quotations in English translation follow The New International Version (see biblehub.com under the corresponding passage).
11. Vajda, (1976), p. 178 n. 4.

appropriate end for a false prophet.¹² However, in the story told by Yafet, the lions spare Muḥammad's heel, a quite singular relic. Exactly this singularity may be at the origin of the story, since it appears to be an aetiology for that which was reputed to be the 'ish ha-ruaḥ's tomb. Indeed, the Hebrew 'aqev and the corresponding Arabic 'aqb are synonyms of the Arabic ka'ba, which is the masculine form of Ka'ba.¹³

Therefore, it is probable that Yafet's exegesis of Isaiah 14:19 offers an aetiology for the pilgrimage and cult at the Ka'ba originating from a linguistic reflection on the meaning of the sanctuary's name. Being the Ka'ba considered as the repository of the Prophet's heel, it could be identified as a reliquary as well as a tomb containing what remained of his corpse, thus the destination of Islamic pilgrimage.

3. Aqdām

Something similar is found in the narrative of *Mathomus*'s death in the *Gesta Dei per Francos* by Guibert de Nogent, composed in 1109, the earliest Latin text mentioning the dismemberment of the Prophet's body and the preservation of his relics.¹⁴ Guibert sets the story in recent times in an unidentified place located not far from Alexandria, in Egypt. A youth called *Mathomus* is approached and set into the path of error by a hermit who, inspired by the devil, wants to take revenge for not having been elected as Patriarch of Alexandria. *Mathomus* marries a rich widow, becomes powerful and concocts an anti-Trinitarian heresy restoring circumcision and encouraging immoral and licentious practices. This heresy rapidly spread in almost the entire East and Africa and the Mediterranean up to Spain (*per orientis pene uniuersi, Affricae, Egypti, Ethiopiae, Libiae et iuxta nos Hispaniae remotissimos sinus*).¹⁵ Exactly when *Mathomus* is enjoying power and success, he dies in a very shameful way. One day, he succumbed to an epileptic seizure while walking alone and was dismembered by a herd of swine; only his feet are left (*in tantum [...] ut nullae eius preter talos reliquiae inuenirentur*).¹⁶ Guibert observes that this death appears appropriate – as a sort of contrappasso¹⁷ – to

12. Vajda, (1976), p. 179-180, proposed to identify the protagonist of the story either as Muḥammad or al-Ḥusayn. The latter interpretation was precisely based on the dismemberment of the body, since during the battle of Kerbalā' Ḥusayn's head was cut off.

13. This brilliant intuition is due to Henri Pérès and was quoted in Ricard, Robert (1932), «Sûr les fêtes de 'Moros y Christianos' au Mexique», in *Journal de la société des américanistes*, 30-32, pp. 375-376. Pérès explained that the zancarron (a bone of Muḥammad's body which is described as suspended in the air in the Mexican morismas) originated from a misunderstanding of Ka'ba (cube) as its correspondent masculine form. Therefore, he concludes: "Adorer la ka'ba c'était, pour les Chrétiens du moyen âge, adorer l'os de la cheville (et par extension de la jambe) de Mahomet" (Ricard [1932], p. 376).

14. On Guibert's biography of the Prophet and recent bibliography on this subject see González Muñoz, Fernando (2015), *Mahometrica. Ficciones poéticas latinas del siglo XII sobre Mahoma*, Madrid, pp. 75-78, 243-257 (text, translation and notes).

15. *Ibid.*, p. 252.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

17. D'Ancona (1889), p. 278.

one who attempted to revive Epicureism (*epicureum [...] porcum resuscitare molitur, immo prorsus resucitat, porcus ipse porcis deuorandus exponitur, ut obscenitatis magisterium obscenissimo, uti conuenit, fine concludat*) and impressed the footprint of wickedness and depravation on the souls of his followers (*talos iure reliquit, quia perfidie ac turpitudinis uestigia deceptis miserabiliter animabus infixit*).¹⁸ As a worthy retribution, when they kiss his relics, they have to stand the stink left by the pigs (*Cum talos ori, tum quod sus fudit odori, digno qui celebrat cultor honore ferat*).¹⁹

However, Guibert also adds that these stories are meant to ridicule *Mathomus*'s followers, since in truth they do not worship him as a god, but rather consider him to be a just man and bearer of a divine law; they believe that he was taken up into Heaven and left his feet as relics, which they go to worship (*Hunc celis assumptum astruunt, et solos talos relictos ad suorum fidelium monumentum, quos etiam infinita ueneratione reuisunt*).²⁰ They do not eat swine meat because pigs were responsible for his death. Moreover, in this narrative, the dismemberment of the body recalls Jezabel's end according to 2 Rg 9:30ff,²¹ but the reference to Epicureism through the allusion to Horace, *Epist.* 1,14:16 (*Epicuri de grege porcus*)²² evokes *Apc* 2:20, where Jezabel appears as the model of the self-styled prophetess who invites her followers to give themselves over to pleasures and to consume the sacrificial victims as well. Therefore, the allusion to *Apc* 2:20 and Horace *Epist.* 1,14:16 symbolises the licentiousness ascribed to the law given by the false prophet *Mathomus* and explain as a kind of para-aetiology that Muslims are forbidden to eat swine meat. The implicit antithesis between *Mathomus*'s stinking relics and the fragrant relics of Christian saints, proposed by Guibert, also associates the Prophet's tomb to a *martyrium* and recalls the custom of pilgrimage, thus implicitly contraposing Mecca to Jerusalem. Actually, Guibert does not state where *Mathomus* was buried, but some details of his narrative seem to identify this place as the *haram* of Mecca.

Indeed, the feet spared by the pigs are not rendered in the text with the term *pedes*, but through a synecdoche: that *tali*, lit. heels, has to be understood as feet emerges from the following analogy to the footprints of moral abjection left by *Mathomus* on the soul of his followers. The lexical and stylistic choice of *tali* could not be by chance and therefore it could allude to the para-etymology of the term Ka'ba which, as mentioned above, is the feminine of *ka'b*, which means heel. Moreover, it is possible to detect another allusion to the *aqdām* (feet) impressed in the stone block named *maqām Ibrāhīm* (Abraham's place), which some Islamic traditions identify as the place where Abraham stood when building the Ka'ba²³. This block was originally kept inside the Ka'ba, then moved outside and currently is kept in a *qubba*

18. González Muñoz (2015), p. 254.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 255 n. 8.

22. *Ibid.*, n. 9.

23. Kister, Meir Jacob (1991), «Maqām Ibrāhīm», in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, vol. VI, Leiden, Brill, pp. 104-107.

(domed aedicule) in front of the Ka'ba's door.²⁴ Pilgrims used to kiss and stroke it in order to receive the *baraka* (blessing), and even perform a kind of circumambulation around it.²⁵ According to Ṭabarsī (m. 1154), the footprints impressed on the *maqām Ibrāhīm* had the same dimensions as the Prophet Muḥammad's feet.²⁶

A footprint of the Prophet Muḥammad is kept in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem. It is called *al-qadam al-sharīf* (the noble foot) and, according to the Islamic tradition, it was the footprint left by Muḥammad soon before the *mi'rāj* (the Prophet's Ascension to Heaven).²⁷ However, though Guibert mentions the Prophet's Ascension he cannot allude to *al-qadam al-sharīf* for chronological reasons. Indeed, though the *mi'rāj* had been located in the Dome of the Rock since the ninth century,²⁸ the identification of the footprints kept there as Muḥammad's only occurred after the Islamic re-conquest of Jerusalem in 1187.²⁹ Other footprints ascribed to the Prophet

24. Kister, Meir Jacob (1971), «Maqām Ibrāhīm. A Stone with an Inscription», in *Le Muséon* 84, pp. 477-491; Id. (1991), pp. 106-107.
25. Kister (1991), p. 106.
26. Ibid., p. 105.
27. Arnold, Thomas W. (1990), «Ḳadam al-sharīf», in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, vol. IV, Leiden, Brill, pp. 367-368.
28. The earliest identification of the Rock as the place where the Prophet laid his feet during the *mi'rāj* is found in al-Ya'qūbī (Tā'rikh, vol. 2, pp. 177-178) in a famous passage reporting the alleged reasons for the building of the Dome Rock in 691/2. On the dating of this tradition see Kister, Meir Jacob (1969), «'You Shall Only Set Out for Three Mosques': A Study on Early Muslim Tradition», in *Le Muséon*, 82, pp. 73-96. For the association of *isrā'* and *mi'rāj* with the Dome of the Rock see Elad, Amikam (1994), *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship: Holy Places, Ceremonies, Pilgrimage*, Leiden, New York, Köln, pp. 48-50. On the location of the *mi'rāj* in Jerusalem as following the *isrā'* (the Night Journey) see Schrieke, Bertram (1915-1916), «Die Himmelreise Muhammads», in *Der Islam*, 6, pp. 1-30; Bevan, Anthony Ashley (1924), «Mohammed's Ascension to Heaven», in Karl Martin (Ed.), *Studien zur semitischen Philologie und Religionsgeschichte Julius Wellhausen zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, Giessen, Verlag von Adolf Toppelman, pp. 46-61; Busse, Heribert (1991), «Jerusalem in the Story of Muḥammad's Night Journey and Ascension», in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 14, pp. 1-40; Schrieke, Bertram, Horowitz, Joseph (1993), «Mi'rāj in Islamic Exegesis and in the Popular and Mystical Tradition of the Arab World», in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, vol. VII, Leiden, Brill, pp. 97-100; Neuwirth, Angelika (2003), «From the Sacred Mosque to the Remote Temple: Sīrat al-Isrā' between Text and Commentary», in McAuliffe, Jane Dammen; Walfish, Barry D.; Goering, Joseph G. (Eds.), *With Reverence for the Word: Medieval Spiritual Exegesis in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, Oxford, pp. 376-407; Rubin, Uri (2008), «Muḥammad's Night Journey (isrā') to Al-Masjid Al-Aqṣā. Aspects of the Earliest Origins of the Islamic Sanctity of Jerusalem», in *al-Qanṭara*, 29, pp. 147-164.
29. Di Cesare, Michelina (2016), «The Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem as a Medieval Christian Pilgrimage Site», in Herbers, Klaus; Lehner, Hans-Christian (Eds.), *Unterwegs im Namen der Religion II / On the Road in the Name of Religion II: Wege und Ziele in vergleichender Perspektive – das mittelalterliche Europa und Asien / Ways and Destinations in Comparative Perspective – Medieval Europe and Asia*, Stuttgart, pp. 55-74; Ead. (2015), «The Qubbat al-Ṣaḥrah in the 12th century», in *Oriente Moderno*, 95, pp. 233-254. During the Crusader period, the footprints in the Dome of the Rock had been identified by Christian pilgrims as those of Christ. It is possible that the polarity between Jerusalem and Mecca had favoured the identification of the relics kept in the Ka'ba as Muḥammad's feet by Thietmar (fl. 1217), see De Sandoli, Sabino (1978-1984), *Itineraria Hierosolymitana Crucesignatorum (saec. XII-XIII)*, Jerusalem, Franciscan Press, vol. 3, p. 288. This may also be the case of the identification of Muḥammad's relic as one of his feet in the later accounts discussed in González Muñoz, Fernando (2004), «Liber Nicholay. La leyenda de Mahoma y el cardenal Nicolás», in *al-Qanṭara*, 25, pp. 5-43, esp. pp. 35-36.

are currently kept in several places of the *dār al-Islām*, but those attested before the 15th century are found in the oratory of Sitt Ruqayya in Damascus: they were seen by al-Harawī in the madrasa al-Mujāhidiyya at the end of the 12th century.³⁰ Therefore, if *Mahomet's* feet are linked to the *aqdām Ibrāhīm* it is also possible that the association of these relics to his Ascension, proposed by Guibert, is due to an analogy with the footprints on the rock kept in the Church of the Ascension in Jerusalem. These footprints were – and still are – considered by Christians as left by Jesus when he ascended to Heaven and the Church of the Ascension was included in Christian pilgrimage since the 4th century.³¹

4. The Fāṭimid context I

However, the story recounted by Guibert does not take place in Mecca nor Jerusalem, but in a place not far from Alexandria in Egypt (*Alexandrinum, quo nescio tempore, patriarcham obisse constiterat [...] haud procul inde heremita manebat*).³² It is exactly to the almost coeval Egypt that Guibert seems to allude.³³ In his text, the heretical monk who desired to become Patriarch of Alexandria finds his disciple not far from there, in a place from which the new pernicious doctrine spreads in the *Oriens, Affrica, Egyptus, Ethiopia, Libia, Hispania*. Precisely in Egypt, between 974 and 975 – a period not far from Guibert's times – the Patriarchal see of Alexandria had been vacant until the council gathered in Cairo elected the unwilling Abraham, a Syrian merchant destined to become a saint, who later performed an extraordinary miracle with the intervention of Simon the Tanner: the relocation of al-Muqaṭṭam Hill in the presence of *imām* al-Mu'izz (953-975).³⁴ Thus, Guibert's story seems to be set in Fāṭimid Egypt and this context also appears to fit some other details. Firstly, the expansion of the heresy in the Mashriq (*Oriens*), Maghrib (*Affrica*), Miṣr (*Egyptus*), Ifrīqiya (*Libia*), Bilād al-Sudān (*Ethiopia*), and al-Andalus (*Hispania*) overlaps the magnitude of the conquests by the *Rāshidūn* and Umayyads to the most

30. Arnold (1990), p. 367.

31. Pringle, Denys (2007), *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus, Vol. 3: The City of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, pp. 72-88, on the 4th-century structure p. 72.

32. González Muñoz (2015), p. 244.

33. A similar attitude to refer to the present recent but not coeval events of Islamic history is also found in Latin texts describing the *dār al-Islām* as divided between the Sunnī 'Abbāsīd empire and Shī'ī Fāṭimid empire, for which see Di Cesare, Michelina (2016), «From 'Alī to Dante's Ali: A Western Medieval Understanding of Shī'a», in *Medievalia*, 19, pp. 173-199.

34. Atiya, Yassā; Burmester, Khater (1948), *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, Known as the History of the Holy Church of Sawirus ibn al-Mukafa', Bishop of al-Asmunin, 2, 2: Khaal III – Shenouti II (A.D. 880-1066)*, Le Caire, Publications de la Société d'archéologie copte, pp. 91-100 (Arabic text), 135-146 (English Translation); for other versions of the story and their analysis see Den Heijer, Johannes (1994), «Apologetic Elements in Coptic-Arabic Historiography: The Life of Afrahām ibn Zur'ah, 62th Patriarch of Alexandria», in Samir, Samir Khalil; Nielsen, Jørgen (Eds.), *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period (750-1258)*, Leiden, New York, Köln, pp. 192-202.

recent conquest by the Fāṭimids (*Ismāʿīlīs*), who established their capital in Egypt by founding al-Qāhira (Cairo) in 969.³⁵ Secondly, the name of the protagonist of the story, *Mathomus*, does not conform to the usual Latin forms of the name of the Prophet, namely *Mahomet(us)/Mahomet(us)* – from Muḥammad, with a metathesis and sonorisation of the dental – and the Middle French *Mahum* and Middle English *Mahon* – from Muḥammad, with a metathesis and apocope. The term may be interpreted as a crasis of *Mahdī* > *Mati* and *Mahon* – Guibert was French –, thus alluding to the first Fāṭimid imām ʿAbd Allāh (r. 909-934), who took on the *laqab* of *al-Mahdī* (the Rightly Guided) when he became *amīr al-muʿminīn* (Commander of the Faithful). His coming to Ifrīqiya had been prepared by the *daʿī* (missionary) Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ṣanʿānī, who preached the coming of the Mahdī, the messianic reformer of Islām expected to appear at the end of times.³⁶ The preaching of a reformist movement, seen by Sunnī Muslims as heterodox, and the pair formed by ʿAbd Allāh and al-Ṣanʿānī could correspond to the endeavours of *Mathomus* and the heretical monk. Moreover, an anti-messianic reading of the *laqab* borne by ʿAbd Allāh al-Mahdī’s figure perfectly overlaps with the anti-Christological interpretation of *Mathomus* (Muḥammad)’s figure in Guibert’s text.

5. The Fāṭimid context II

This very spatial and temporal overlapping of the life of the Prophet Muḥammad with Fāṭimid history also seems to be found in the *Vita Mahumeti* by Embrico of Mainz, which was probably composed between 1118 and 1127.³⁷ In this poem the earliest description of the tomb housing the hanging reliquary-sepulchre occurs. The story takes place in *Libia* during the reign of Emperor Theodosius I (r. 379-395). There a heretical magician attends to take his revenge for not having been elected as Patriarch of Jerusalem. He pretends to be a holy man and takes into his care *Mamutius*, a servant to the local consul. The magician kills the consul and manages to marry *Mamutius* to his widow. Then, after the king dies, he succeeds in having *Mamutius* recognised as the king’s successor by having him appear to tame a wild beast. The magician and *Mamutius* start to proclaim a lustful law and to justify the epileptic fits of the latter as the effect of journeys to Heaven, where he is equal to

35. For the rise of the Fāṭimids, their conquests, their history see: Halm, Heinz (1991), *Das Reich des Mahdi: Der Aufstieg der Fatimiden (875-973)*, München; Brett, Michael (2001), *The Rise of the Fatimids: The World of the Mediterranean and the Middle East in the Fourth Century of the Hijra, Tenth Century CE*, Leiden, Boston, Köln; Garcia-Arenal, Mercedes (2006), *Messianism and Puritanical Reform. Mahdīs of the Muslim West*, Leiden, Boston, pp. 62-95; Daftary, Farhad (2007), *The Ismāʿīlīs: Their History and Doctrine*, Cambridge, first edition 1997, pp. 87-300; for the early Islamic conquest see Donner, Fred McGraw (1981), *The Early Islamic Conquests*, Princeton.

36. On Islamic “messianism” and the concept of Mahdī see Garcia-Arenal, Mercedes (2006), pp. 1-28 and references given there.

37. On Embrico’s biography of the Prophet and recent bibliography on this subject see González Muñoz (2015), pp. 33-60, 97-167 (text, translation and notes).

God and rules together with Him. Therefore, *Mamucius* is sanctified as *Mahumet* and his name invoked in ritual purification formulas. One day, *Mamucius/Mahumet* goes out at dawn and while he is busy thinking up new tricks, he falls to an epileptic fit and is prey to a herd of swine, which tore his body apart. His remains are found by the magician, who recompose and anoint them with aromatic fragrances. He then announces that *Mahumet* has been taken up into Heaven, from where he would continue to guide his people to salvation and forbid the consumption of swine meat. In order to make this version credible, the magician built an imposing temple made of marble and other precious materials, which looked like a mountain of gold. On its door he had carved an inscription stating that *Mahumet* would grant whatever should be asked for in that place. The building was covered by a dome made of magnet, which held suspended in the air the sepulchre containing *Mahumet*'s remains. The gullible people thought that it was a miracle performed by *Mahumet* and believed in him, but the wise people knew that it was the effect of magic.

The location of the story in Libya has been explained as a confusion between Yathrib – the original name of Medina, namely *Madīnat al-nabī* (the town of the Prophet), and Tripoli in Libya.³⁸ However, such a confusion could also have originated a dislocation of the story in the *Syria Libanica* (Lebanon) where the homonymous town of Tripoli was found. According to another explanation, this location would be reminiscent of previous narratives referring to Muḥammad preaching in North Africa and Spain.³⁹ Moreover, Libya was a desert region like Arabia, and this may have recalled the Thebais Desert – in Southern Egypt –, where the heretic Nestorius was relegated or the Numidia – in Maghreb – where, according Sallustius, polygamy was practiced.⁴⁰ Actually, in the poem *Libya* often appears as a synonym of *Africa*.⁴¹ This could be understood as *Ifriqiya*, the central area of northern Africa lying between *Maghrib* (currently Morocco and Algeria) and *Miṣr* (Egypt). This region, as already mentioned, had been the propulsive centre of the Fāṭimid expansion. Thus, it is probable that the location of the story in *Libya/Ifriqiya* hints to an overlapping of the early Islamic history to the almost coeval Ismā'īlī history.

This context could also explain the double name of the protagonist: *Mamucius* and *Mahumet*, which have a different prosodic value (*Māmūcīūs* vs. *Māhūmēt*). Moreover, while the former is used to identify the character before his sanctification, the latter identifies him after that.⁴² While the form *Mahumet* is transparent, the form *Mamutius* has been explained as an attempt to latinise “an Arabic name of the type *Maḥmūd*.”⁴³ However, though both terms share the Arabic root *ḥamada* – *Muḥammad* is *ism al-maf'ūl* of the second verbal form, *ḥamida*; *Mamḥūd* is *ism al-maf'ūl*

38. Tolan, John V. (1996), «Anti-Hagiography: Embrico of Mainz's Vita Mahumeti», in *Journal of Medieval History* 22, pp. 25-41, p. 31 n. 25.

39. González Muñoz (2015), p. 44.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

41. See for example *Ibid.*, p. 110 vv. 200-201; p. 122, vv. 409-410; p. 144, vv. 785-786.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 111 n. 8.

43. *Ibid.*

of the second verbal form, *ḥamida* – the name of the Prophet is always expressed in Arabic as *Muḥammad*. Moreover, the derivation of *Mamucius* from *Maḥmūd* does not explain the transformation of the voice dental [d] to the voiceless sibilant [s] – as the digraph *ti/ci* is pronounced in the French-German area – rather than to the voiceless dental [t] as in *Muḥammad* > *Mahumet*. On the contrary, *Mamucius* could be a rendering of *Maḥmūd*, *ism al-maʿfūl* of *maḥāda*, identifying one who has a pure descent.⁴⁴ The concept of purity applied to genealogy is very important in the *shīʿī* context – to which the *Ismaʿīlīs* belonged to – where the *imāma*, the right to guide the Islamic community, was strictly related to the descent from the Ahl al-Bayt – Muḥammad, his daughter Fāṭima, her husband ʿAlī and their sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. The Fāṭimids claimed to descend from the Holy Family, but this was refuted by the ʿAbbāsids, who accused the founder of the dynasty, ʿAbd Allāh, to have Jewish ancestors as well to descend from a slave in the service of Ziyād b. Abīhi, step-brother of the most hated Umayyad *amīr al-muʿminīn* Muʿāwiya (r. 661-780).⁴⁵ Though *Mamucius*'s exordia as a servant and his deeds before becoming king of Libya seem to be a narrative strategy meant to emphasise the low status of the protagonist and the role of the heretical magician, they seem to allude to this polemic, in the light of which *Maḥmūd* could have an ironical meaning.

Moreover, the figures of the consul and the king, which have seemed an inconsistency due to the redoubling of the figure of a sole sovereign,⁴⁶ could allude to the *amīrs* of Ifrīqiya vanquished by the Fāṭimids: al-Yasʿa, the Midrarid *amīr* of Sijilmasa, which was conquered in 909, and Ziyādat Allāh, Aghlabid *amīr* of Ifrīqiya vanquished in the same year in Raqqāda, where ʿAbd Allāh proclaimed himself *al-Mahdī* and *amīr al-muʿminīn*⁴⁷.

The accusation of faking their genealogy was attributed to the Fāṭimids in 1011 by the ʿAbbāsīd Caliph al-Qādir (r. 991-1031) in Baghdad when *imām* al-Ḥākim reigned in Cairo. During this period occurred some events analogous to those found in the *Vita Mahumeti*. The *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, attributed to Sawīrus b. al-Muqaffaʿ, recounts that the Patriarch of Alexandria, Zachariah, was defamed by a monk who had failed to become bishop. Al-Ḥākim punished Zachariah by offering him to ferocious lions, which, however, by divine intervention, did not devour him. Therefore, the jailors were accused of having been bribed by the Christians and having tamed and satiated the beasts. Al-Ḥākim would have used this event as a justification for the destruction of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (between 1006 and 1010).⁴⁸ There, in this very period, the Patriarch Orestes was journeying on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople and his See was admin-

44. Lane, Edward William (1968), *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, Beirut, vol. 7, p. 2692.

45. See Jiva, Shainool (2017), «The Baghdad Manifesto (401/1011). A Re-Examination of Fatimid-Abbasid Rivalry», in Daftary, Farhad; Jiwa, Shainool (Eds), *The Fatimid Caliphate: Diversity of Traditions*, London, pp. 22-79 Available on [iis.ac.uk/academic-article].

46. González Muñoz (2015), p. 45.

47. See references given in n. 33 above.

48. Atiya, Yassā, Burmester, Khater (1948), pp. 193-194.

istered by his brother Arsenius, Orthodox Patriarch of Alexandria; their sister had been a concubine of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, al-Ḥākim’s father.⁴⁹ These episodes respectively recall the pretended taming of the wild beast by *Mamucius* and the crisis related to the Jerusalem Patriarchate, which causes the heretical monk’s rancour.

Around 1017 the *dā’i* al-Darazī was welcomed into al-Ḥākim’s court. He began to preach the *imām*’s superiority over the Prophet Muḥammad and identifying the former as the cosmic intellect (*al-‘aql al-kullī*).⁵⁰ Later al-Darazī was substituted by Ḥamza b. ‘Alī, who became the official preacher of a new theological and cosmological vision according to which al-Ḥākim was the embodiment in time of the creating principle, the only God. A disciple of his even altered the *basmala* (*Bi-smi-llāhi-r-rahmāni-r-rahīm*: In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate) by substituting the name of al-Ḥākim for God.⁵¹ This blasphemous equivalence between the *imām* and God could be echoed in Mahumet’s account of his journey to Heaven, where he states that there he is equal to God and rules together with him, as in the formula used to invoke *Mahumet* in order to attain absolution from sins and eternal salvation.

The narrative of Mahumet’s death overlaps with that of al-Ḥākim’s end. In one of the versions of the latter, the *imām* left the city early in the morning and approached the Muqaṭṭam hill to meditate, and then disappeared. His servants found his donkey with its hocks cut and his clothes covered with blood.⁵² Al-Ḥākim’s disappearance was interpreted by some as the Mahdī’s occultation (*ghayba*).⁵³

In addition, the description of how the magician recomposed, anointed and dressed Mahumet’s remains⁵⁴ recalls the rules on the cleansing of the dead’s body established by the *qāḍī* al-Nu‘mān (m. 974), according to which the body had to be bathed in water and various disinfectant and perfuming substances, then dried and anointed with aromatic balms.⁵⁵

49. Kellner, Max Georg (1993), «Orestes», in *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon*, vol. 6, Bautz, Herzberg, cols. 1252–1253.

50. Hodgson, Marshall G. S. (1991), «“al-Darazī” and “Durūz”», in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, vol. II, Leiden, Brill, pp. 136–137 and 631–634. On the Druzes see Abu-Izzeddin, Nejla M. (1993), *The Druzes. A New Study of Their History, Faith and Society*, Leiden, New York, Köln.

51. Madelung, Wilfred (1986), «Ḥamza b. ‘Alī’», in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, vol. III, Leiden, Brill, p. 154. On al-Ḥākim possible averse attitude towards the extremism reached by al-Darazī, Ḥamza b. ‘Alī and their followers, see Assaad, Sadek (1971) “*The Reign of al-Ḥākim bi Amr Allāh (386/996 – 411/1021), A Political Study*”, Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London, pp. 243–266.

52. Assaad (1971), p. 270–271, for other versions and a possible historical reconstruction of the event see *ibid.*, pp. 267–282.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

54. González Muñoz (2015), p. 162.

55. Fyze, Asaf A. A. (2002), *The Pillars of Islam: The Da‘ā’im al-Islām of al-Qāḍī Nu‘mān*, completed, revised and annotated by Ismail K. H. Poonawala, New Delhi, pp. 283, 286.

Another hint to Fāṭimid Egypt may be gathered from the proclamation of Mahumet's *dies natalis* as a feast day by the magician.⁵⁶ Indeed, though the antithesis with the Christian celebration of the day in which a saint passed away is quite evident, there may also be an allusion to the fact that the commemoration of the *mawlid al-nabī* (the birth of the Prophet) on the 12th day of Rabīʿ al-Awwal was institutionalised in Fāṭimid Cairo along with the celebration of the birthdays of ʿAlī, Fāṭima, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and the ruling *imām*.⁵⁷ This celebration consisted in a court ritual which involved the trustees and the guardians of the mausoleums of the descendants of the Ahl al-Bayt.⁵⁸

6. The Fāṭimid context III

Other references to Fāṭimid Cairo in Embrico's narrative are found in the description of *Mahumet's* tomb. It is described as an unholy temple (*fanum, immo profanum*), made of precious materials, provided with a monumental inscription carved in marble, stating that *Mahumet* would grant any request made there by his devotees.⁵⁹ One of the Fāṭimids' achievement in architecture was a new conception of monumental inscriptions, which were disseminated in the public space, thus allowing the political and religious message of the dynasty to reach all of its subjects.⁶⁰ In particular, the sources recall that al-Ḥākīm had golden epigraphs placed on the doors of the houses, in the bazaar, and in the interior and exterior of the mosques.⁶¹ The earliest evidence of this public display of inscriptions is found in al-Anwar mosque, also known as "the mosque of al-Ḥākīm", adjacent to Bāb al-Futūḥ in Cairo. Its building was commenced by Yaʿqūb b. Killis, vizier of al-ʿAzīz (r. 975-996), al-Ḥākīm's father, and completed in 1012-1013.⁶² The furnishing included precious matting, brocade curtains, and four silver chandeliers. The decoration included stucco and wood carving. The epigraphical programme is developed at the interior and exterior of the mosque. The former consists of large bands in kufic script carved in stucco and running below the ceiling of the prayer hall according to its special arrangement – i.e. along the base of the dome in front of the miḥrāb, along the arcades of the central nave perpendicular to the qiblī wall, along the qiblī wall and the arcades parallel to it. The content of these inscriptions consists of a sequence composed by the initial verses of Qurʾān 48, 3, 7, 6, 8, 1, 36, 2, 4, which do not seem to convey

56. González Muñoz (2015), pp. 162-163.

57. Kaptein, Nico J.G. (1993), *Muhammad's Birthday Festival. Early History in the Central Muslim Lands and Development in the Muslim West until the 10th/16th Century*, Leiden, New York, Köln, pp. 7-30. For these mausoleums see below.

58. Ibid.

59. González Muñoz (2015), p. 164-166.

60. Bierman, Irene A. (1998), *Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text*, Berkeley.

61. Ibid., p. 76.

62. Ibid. pp. 3-4 and 75-95; Creswell, Keppel Archibald C. (1978), *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. I: Ikhshīds and Fāṭimids, A.D. 939-1171, New York, pp. 65-106; Bloom, Jonathan M. (1983), «The Mosque of al-Hakim in Cairo», in *Muqarnas* 1, pp. 15-36.

a specific message. The inscriptions at the exterior, large bands in Kufic script, are located on the two minarets. Those on the western minaret consist of Qur'ān 11:73 and Qur'ān 9:18, both followed by a foundation text; those on the northern minaret consist of Qur'ān 9:128, 24:35-38, 5:55, 17:80, 3:198. However, in 1011 both minarets were encapsulated into cubic salients, which totally hid the inscribed surfaces, but others were added to the new structures. Only those on the salient of the northern minaret are preserved, which consisted of Qur'ān 33:56, 9:107, 24:26-28, 62:9. On the main entrance to the mosque was originally located a foundation inscription on a marble slab, now lost, containing Qur'ān 28:4. While the new inscriptions placed on the salients just invoke blessing on the Prophet, condemn unbelievers, the corrupt men and women, encourage the believers to behave well with each other, and state the importance of the Friday prayer, those belonging to the previous program had a very different tone. Indeed, the Qur'ānic verses celebrated the heirs of the divine favour appointed to guide the believers (*a'imma*), the Ahl al-Bayt, God as light, the Messenger and the *walī* (friend) of God, the rightly guided, the virtuous innocents, purity. These are all key words of the Fāṭimid language applied to the *imām*, recipient of the divine light bestowed on the descendants from the Ahl al-Bayt, pure, faultless, friends of God and his Prophet, the rightly guided.⁶³

The message conveyed in the marble inscription carved on *Mahumet's* tomb focuses on the divinised false prophet's ability to grant the requests of his followers, therefore to perform miracles. This is not mentioned in the epigraphic programme found in al-Ḥākīm's mosque, nonetheless *karāmāt* (miracles) were requested from *walīs*, the friends of God – an epithet also applied to saints⁶⁴ –, and as we have seen, the *imām* is called there *walī* of God. In Fāṭimid Cairo, *karāmāt* along with the *baraka* (blessing) were requested by the faithful at the mausoleums (*mashāhid*: *martyria*) erected to honour and preserve the burials of the descendants of the Ahl al-Bayt or to commemorate them.⁶⁵ These were the destination of an institutionalised pilgrimage (*ziyārat al-qubūr*: visitation of the tombs), with specific rituals (*manāsik*), still performed today.⁶⁶ Indeed, the descendants of the Ahl al-Bayt were considered as mediators between God and humanity.⁶⁷ This very concept is expressed in one of

63. This section on the epigraphic program featuring in al-Ḥākīm's mosque relies on Bloom (1983).

64. Radtke et al. (2002), «Walī», in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, vol. XI, Leiden, Brill, pp. 109-125.

65. Raghīb, Yousef (1977a), «Les sanctuaires de la gens de Famille dans la cité des morts au Caire», in *Rivista di Studi Orientali*, 51, pp. 47-76; Id. (1977b), «Al-Sayyda Nafisa, sa légende, son culte et son cimetière», in *Studia Islamica*, 45, pp. 27-56; Id. (1981), «Les mausolées Fāṭimides du quartier d'al-mashāhid», in *Annales islamologiques*, 17, pp. 1-30; Williams, Caroline (1985), «The Cult of 'Alid Saints in the Fāṭimid Monuments in Cairo. Part II: The Mausolea», in *Muqarnas*, 3, pp. 39-60.

66. Massignon, Louis (1958), *La cité des morts au Caire*, Le Caire; El Kadi, Galila; Bonnamy, Alain (2007), *Architecture for the Dead: Cairo's Medieval Necropolis*, Cairo.

67. Madelung, Wilfred (1961), «Das Imamāt in der frühen ismailitischen Lehre», in *Der Islam* 37, pp. 131-146; Makarem, Sāmī N. (1967), «The Philosophical Significance of the Imām in Ismailism», in *Studia Islamica* 27, pp. 41-53; Madelung, Wilfred (1986), «Imāma», in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, vol. III, Leiden, Brill, pp. 1163-1169, esp. 1167 and 1168.

the probable models for the description of *Mahumet*'s suspended reliquary-sepulchre, namely Aristotle's tomb in Palermo as described by Ibn Ḥawqal.⁶⁸ The latter visited Sicily in 973, when the island was ruled by Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, second Kalbid *amīr* recognised by the Fāṭimids as governor. Ibn Ḥawqal, according to what he heard, writes that in the inner part (*haykal*) of the congregational mosque of Palermo, when it was a church, a wooden coffin containing the remains of Aristotle, the philosopher (*al-ḥakīm*) of the Greeks, was suspended in the air. Christians gathered there to ask for miracles. Ibn Ḥawqal also adds that his source reported that the coffin is suspended between heaven and earth so that people can request God's intervention, and that he himself saw a wooden coffin there.⁶⁹ It is clear that in this narrative the philosopher is considered as a *walī*, a mediator between God and mankind, and the suspension of his coffin seems to reflect this privileged condition. On the other hand, this narrative may also reflect a custom attested in Irān, which may explain why some funerary monuments are not built on graves.⁷⁰ Indeed, in the 14th century, Mustawfī Qazwīnī relates that when the Buyid vizier Ibn 'Abbād died (in 975), his coffin was transported to a house of prayer and then hanged from the ceiling.⁷¹ A similar account is reported by al-Jannabī, writing in the 16th century, in reference to the remains of the Ziyarid Qābūs b. Wushmagīr (977-1012), which were buried in a glass coffin suspended from the ceiling of his mausoleum by chains.⁷² It may be that the custom of suspending coffins from the mausoleums' ceiling was a Ziyarid custom inherited by the Buyids. The latter were Shī'ī, though not Ismā'īlī: is it possible that a similar practice was followed in Fāṭimid Egypt? If so, the description of *Mahumet*'s reliquary-sepulchre might reflect an actual Islamic custom.

7. Conclusion

Based on the texts analysed above, we have argued that some motifs related to the death, relics, and tomb of the Prophet Muḥammad as found in his Medieval Latin biographies, rather than originating from a calculated polemical strategy based on a bi-polar dialectic (Muḥammad vs. Jesus; Mecca vs. Jerusalem; Islamic way of life vs. Christian way of life), originate from (para)etymological reflections on Arabic terms, aetiological interpretations of Islamic practices, and reflections on recent events of Islamic history. This suggests that, if inserted in the broader Mediterranean context, the life of the Prophet appears as a hermeneutical space for understanding and narrating Islām.

68. For different interpretations of this passage see D'Alverny, Marie-Thérèse; Vajda, George (1951), «Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart», in *Al Andalus*, 16, pp. 99-140, esp. 121-122, and Vanoli (2008), pp. 250-253.

69. Kramers, J. H.; Wiet, G. (1964), *Ibn Hawqal, Configuration de la terre (Kitāb šurat al-arḍ)*, Beyrouth, Paris, p. 117.

70. Blair, Sheila (1983), «The Octagonal Pavillion at Natanz: A Reexamination of Early Islamic Architecture in Iran», in *Muqarnas* 1, pp. 69-94, esp. 88-89.

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

Radicalism and Pauline Thought in Pedro de la Cavallería's *Zelus Christi contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et infideles*

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Abstract

The reference to Saint Paul (2 Cor. 10:2) that we find in the prologue to *Zelus Christi contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et infideles* (mid-fifteenth century) is an early indication of the authority that Pedro de la Cavallería seems to attribute to Paul, and in my opinion this authority is relevant for interpreting the work. In this study, the different allusions and references to Saint Paul throughout the *Zelus Christi* will be identified and analyzed (primarily the use of his epistles but also other terminology). My objective is to determine to what degree this treatise adopts Pauline thinking, which will later become a central feature of convert circles in Iberia.

1. Preliminary considerations

Pedro de la Cavallería's *Zelus Christi contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et infideles* (hereafter *Zelus Christi*) has traditionally been classified as one of the most radical polemics² against Jews and other infidels, alongside Hieronymus de Sancta Fidei's works and Alphonso de Spina's *Fortalitium Fidei*, for example. And a close reading of the work, independent of any preconceived ideas, confirms that its author, who was from Zaragoza,³ was clear about his rejection of those who do not acknowledge Jesus Christ as the Messiah foretold in Scripture. Thus, we find that the author does not hesitate to use terms like "madness" (*insaniam*), when referring to Jews and other infidels, or "Satan's Synagogue" (*Sinagogae Satane*), when alluding to Jews alone; he likewise criticizes the "tepidity" (*tepiditatem*) of "bad Christians":

Igitur, solus zelus Dei, quod est primum quod dixi, contra insaniam Iudaeorum et Sarracenorum ac aliorum infidelium, et contra tepiditatem malorum Christianorum,

1. This study was undertaken as part of FFI2015-63659-C2-1-P, MINECO-FEDER, EU, and 2017 SGR 1787 at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, whose principal investigator is Cándida Ferrero Hernández.
2. See, among others, Cantera Montenegro, Enrique (2002), «Judíos medievales. Convivencia y persecución», in Eloy Benito Ruano (Ed.), *Tópicos y realidades de la Edad Media* (I), pp. 179-252; Echevarría, Ana (1999), *The fortress of faith: the attitude towards Muslims in fifteenth century Spain*, Leiden, Boston, Köln, pp. 28-32, and Sicroff, Albert A. (1981), «Anticipaciones del erasmismo español en el Lumen ad revelationem gentium de Alonso de Oropesa», in *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, 30 (2), pp. 317-318 (especially note 6).
3. At the end of this chapter, I will discuss the inevitable debate over the author's identity.

me induxit ut de fide Christi sic gloriose disseram ut dentes infidelium obrudam efficacissimis rationibus et tam contra Iudaeos quam contra Sarracenos demonstrarem quod filii Israel dereliquerunt pactum Domini, idest fidem Christi, quod est secundum quod praedixi. In quo quidem secundo offertur materia operis, quae erit demonstrare quod fides Christi est uera et ipsa ueritas, et est pactum Domini uerum et fidele. Et, per consequens, Iudaei, qui se dicunt filios Israel licet non sint sed sunt Sinagoga Sathanae, et Sarraceni, qui in sui primordio Christiani fuerunt et sic fuerunt ueri filii Israel, omnes dereliquerunt pactum Domini, quod est fides Christi, et destruxerunt altaria Domini et prophetas occiderunt, quod est tertium. In quibus uerbis assertur finalis intentio operis, quae est quia isti infideles fundamenta nouae legis Christi destruunt altaria, idest Scripturas sacras prophetarum calumniando.⁴

However, in my view, the use of this language remains in the background compared to the author's desire, expressed in this same passage and many others, to defend the truth of the faith of Christ using powerful arguments based primarily on Holy Scripture and on reasoning derived from scholasticism.

2. The prologue and the use of Scripture

These preliminary considerations are, in fact, perfectly illustrated at the very beginning of the prologue to the *Zelus Christi*, which provides the bases for interpreting the rest of the work, especially as regards its doctrinal intent and its use of rhetoric:

Zelo zelatus sum pro domino deo exercituum, quia dereliquerunt pactum domini filii Israel, altaria tua destruxerunt et prophetas tuos occiderunt gladio, scribitur iii^o Regum xix^o ca^o. In quibus uerbis tria mihi assumo notanda. Primo zelum quem zelari me oportet pro domino Deo exercituum: ex quibus uerbis notatur causa efficiens huius operis, quia propter zelum dei est aggrediendum opus istud, quod de eius fide tractabit. Secundo super quo hunc zelum assumpserim, uidelicet, quia dereliquerunt pactum Domini filii Israel, in quibus uerbis notabitur causa huius operis materialis, quia de Iudaeis et Sarracenis, qui legem domini male intelligunt, tractandum est. Tertio ad quem finem et quare hunc zelum assumpserim, uidelicet, quia altaria tua destruxerunt et prophetas tuos occiderunt, in quibus uerbis notabitur causa huius operis finalis, quia de Scripturis sacri canonis Bibliae diserendum est, quae pessime lacerantur et male intelliguntur per Iudaeos et Sarracenos.⁵

4. *Zelus Christi*, 2b-3a. In citing the Latin text of the *Zelus Christi*, I use Martín Alfonso Vivaldo's edition (1592), since my critical edition is not yet available: De la Cavallería, Pedro (1450), *Zelus Christi contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et Infideles*. Ed. Martín Alfonso Vivaldo, Venice, 1592.

5. *Zelus Christi*, 1a-b.

The prologue, which is organized around the quote from I Kings (“*Zelo zelatus sum pro domino deo exercituum, quia dereliquerunt pactum domini filii Israel, altaria tua destruxerunt et prophetas tuos occiderunt gladio*”), is to my way of thinking profoundly significant for understanding the rhetorical arrangement of the treatise.⁶ The prologue’s structure also recalls how medieval sermons were organized, in which a psalm—or here a quote from I Kings—constituted the thematic core.⁷

In fact, the treatise uses Scripture constantly throughout. While this first quote from I Kings serves to present the author’s reasons for writing it (to demonstrate his zeal for Jesus Christ after the Jews had forsaken the covenant), Pedro de la Cavallería’s second quote is taken from the Gospel of John and reflects his desire to refute the argument that the faith of Christ is based on articles that are difficult to understand, an argument put forward by many infidels who refused to convert: “*Motus zelo Dei, uolens demonstrare totum oppositum, confirmando et demonstrando quod uerbum Christi est uerum, qui dixit ‘Si crederetis Moysi, crederetis forsitan et mihi,’ Ioan. 5. cap<itulo> in fine.*” In fact, this quote is closely connected to the previous one, since it also mentions *zelus* as a driving force and speaks of the continuity between the New Law and Mosaic Law;⁸ secondarily, it refers to the Jews’ poor understanding of the law, asserting that they do not believe that Jesus Christ is the Messiah because they actually “male intelligunt” the law of Moses.

Lastly, once again in the prologue, we find a third quotation from the Bible, this one from Saint Paul’s second letter to the Corinthians, which is at the end of the paragraph reproduced below:

6. I analyzed the contents of the prologue and its rhetorical function in a recent article in the following way: “El tratado empieza y se fundamenta en una cita del Antiguo Testamento, la del profeta Elías en el libro primero de los Reyes, que se presenta mediante un desarrollo totalmente sistemático, de base racional, que será imperante a lo largo del tratado. Además, resulta muy interesante que el autor utilice esa cita como inicio de la obra, ya que recuerda al modo de proceder en la definición del tema de los sermones medievales. Parece que en esta cita ya lo diga todo. De hecho, no duda en repetirla, tal como Elías hiciera en el Libro de los Reyes (I 19: 10 y 14). En ella encontramos la causa motriz, la causa material y la causa final de la obra. En ella se explica el celo (la fe) y la refutación argumentada, basada en las Escrituras”, see Gómez Llauger, Núria (2020 [forthcoming]), «Intención y retórica en el *Zelus Christi* contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et infideles (s. XV)», *Hispania Sacra*.
7. Cándida Ferrero Hernández’s analysis of the prologue to Riccoldo da Monte di Croce’s *Contra legem Sarracenorum* is very interesting in this connection. She also sees similarities with sermons and even asserts that “Riccoldo, por la estructura del *Contra legem Sarracenorum* y, en particular, a partir de su prólogo, parece seguir los presupuestos escolásticos de la *lectio divina*, establecidos por Petrus Cantor, según cuya hermenéutica la *lectio* configura los cimientos, la *disputatio* las paredes, la *praedicatio* el techado”, see Ferrero Hernández, Cándida (2019), «*Lectio et disputatio* en el prólogo del *Contra legem Sarracenorum* de Riccoldo da Monte di Croce», in Amélie de las Heras - Cándida Ferrero Hernández (Eds.), *Exégèse et lectio divina dans la péninsule Ibérique médiévale*, Dossier des *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*. Nouvelle série 49 (1), p. 148. This analytical perspective seems to me to be suitable for the study of the prologue to the *Zelus Christi*.
8. This idea that there was continuity between the New Law and the Law of Moses appears throughout the treatise, almost in the manner of a leitmotif.

Aggrediar hoc opus in nomine Iesu Christi, ubi demonstrabo cuicumque sano intellectui, Iudaei primum et Sarraceni, et etiam Philosophi et cuicumque infideli, quod Fides Christi est ipsa ueritas, ut iuxta uerbum Apostoli “redigatur in captiuitatem omnis intellectus in obsequium Christi”. 2. Ad Corinth<os>. 10.⁹

What role does this quote play in the treatise? If we look closely at the specific phrase used by Saint Paul, we see that it reinforces the idea that evidence of the truthfulness of the faith of Christ will persuade infidels (“redigatur in captiuitatem omnis intellectus”) of the need to convert. It is thus a matter of using suitable arguments, of being sufficiently persuasive, to captivate the thinking of Jews, Saracens and other unbelievers, and lead them to a conviction of the truth of the Christian faith.

Moreover, in answer to why Pedro de la Cavallería might have included this quote, we can point to the fact that it is in chapter 10 of Paul’s second letter to the Corinthians. This chapter, in which Paul clearly defends himself against his detractors, begins thus:

Ipse autem ego Paulus obsecro vos per mansuetudinem et modestiam Christi, qui in facie quidem humilis inter vos, absens autem confido in uobis; rogo autem, ne praesens audeam per eam confidentiam, quae existimo audere in quosdam, qui arbitrantur nos tamquam secundum carnem ambulemus. In carne enim ambulantes, non secundum carnem militamus—nam arma militiae nostrae non carnalia sed potentia Deo ad destructionem munitionum—consilia destruentes et omnem altitudinem extollentem se aduersus scientiam Dei, et in captiuitatem redigentes omnem intellectum in obsequium Christi, et in promptu habentes ulcisci omnem inoboedientiam, cum impleta fuerit uestra oboedientia.

The Apostle’s obvious effort to defend himself against his detractors might have been seen by Pedro de la Cavallería as a reflection of his own. We get a glimpse of the author’s desire (or need) to defend (or protect) himself in his emphasis on the zeal for Christ as a driving force behind the writing of the treatise. We should bear in mind that Pedro de la Cavallería was very possibly a convert, with an important position at court (he was *Maestre Racional* of Aragon),¹⁰ and he understood that his privileged status was jeopardized by the problems arising out of the popular revolt against converts that took place in Toledo in 1449 and subsequent altercations during the second half of the fifteenth century, both in Castile and in Valencia and Aragon. The resulting “blood purity statutes” and various other actions taken against Jews and converts (and Moriscos) may have been a determining factor for our author

9. *Zelus Christi*, 2b.

10. Some biographical details, analyzed in light of earlier scholarship on this author, can be found in Ferrero Hernández, Cándida - Gómez Llauger, Núria (2013), «Polémica y razón cristiana en el *Zelus Christi contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et infieles* de Pedro de la Cavallería», in *Iberia Judaica* V, and in Gómez Llauger, “Intención y retórica...” (as in note 6).

(about whom we only know that he wrote this work) in deciding to write a treatise that would shield him from eventual attacks by his detractors. In fact, in the prologue there is a well-known paragraph in which Pedro de la Cavallería introduces himself in the first person (as Paul had done in 2 Corinthians and in other epistles cited in the *Zelus Christi*), presenting his credentials and proclaiming his unwavering determination to serve Jesus Christ:

Et, quia ego Petrus de la Caualleria, legum doctor natus in ciuitate Cesaraugustae Regni Aragonum, licet iuri ciuili et canonico operam dederim, tamen a mea tenera aetate iussu fidelissimorum parentum meorum sic in quadruplici lingua fui eruditus, Latina, Caldea, Arabica et Hebraea, ut sacri canonis Bibliae studio me mancipauerim et in seruitutem Dei me redegerim, ut a tenera mea aetate, gratia Dei, desiderio desiderauerim adhaerere Christo Iesu. Et, aequando scripturam Hebraicam cum Latina, nouerim caecitatem Iudaicam, et, habens cum Iudaeis et Sarracenis multas disputationes, noui eorum caecitatem ualidis rationibus superatam.¹¹

3. Other quotations from and references to Paul in the *Zelus Christi*

It is not only in the prologue, but throughout the treatise, that we find quotations from and references to Saint Paul. Below I list what are perhaps the most important among them, taking into account the context in which they appear and commenting on each, in the interest of providing a general overview of Pauline thought in the *Zelus Christi*.¹²

3.1. *Colossians 2:9*

Tertio principaliter demonstrabitur quod iste Messias in lege promissus debebat esse Deus, et sic erat promissus quod esset Deus et homo: ita quod esset homo perfectus, “*in quo habitaret plenitudo diuinitatis corporaliter,*” ut ait Apost<olus> ad Coll<o-censes>, c<apitulo> 2.¹³

This quotation is inserted into the section dedicated to a general demonstration *contra iudaeos* (“*Probatio primae partis contra Iudaeos*”). So, here the author expounds on the main topic of his work, the truthfulness of the faith of Christ (“*quod fides Iesu Christi est ipsa ueritas*”) as opposed to the opinions of the Jews. To this end he quotes Saint Paul, who is, in this passage, refuting several errors into which the Colossians have fallen. In this specific paragraph, Paul defends the absolute

11. *Zelus Christi*, 2a.

12. The quotation is copied exactly as written by Pedro de la Cavallería.

13. *Zelus Christi*, 6a, no. 37.

power of Jesus Christ, “en el cual habita corporalmente la plenitud del ser divino, en tanto que todo el universo creado recibe un influjo de vida divina en la humanidad de Cristo, llena de Dios.”¹⁴

3.2. *Galatians 3*

Videntes ergo iudaei, quod nec Populus iudaicus nec filius Abrahae in seminis benedictione aptatur, recte fugiunt ueritatem; ex quorum fuga apparet necessaria declaratio Apostoli Pauli de ista auctoritate disserentis egregie in Epistola ad Galatas capitulo 3.¹⁵

Further along, in the section titled “*Probatio primi articulo primae partis, quod Messias fuit promissus in lege*,” we find this reference to Galatians 3, in which Paul addresses Judaizing Christians in Galatia, reproaching them for straying from the Law of Christ. Thus, chapter 3 of the epistle deals with the relationship between the Law (of Moses) and (Christ’s) faith, and to that end it uses the example of Abraham, whose lineage was blessed precisely because he believed in God. This example is significant, moreover, because Pedro de la Cavallería asserts that to prove that the promise of Christ was included in the Law (of Moses), “*multae auctoritates patent*,” one of whom is Abraham.

Below is Paul’s text, so that the reader can compare it with the reference given by Pedro de la Cavallería, since in this case the *Zelus Christi* does not quote the Apostle’s exact words:

Sicut Abraham credidit Deo, et reputatum est ei ad iustitiam. Cognoscitis ergo quia qui ex fide sunt, hi sunt filii Abrahae. Providens autem Scriptura, quia ex fide iustificat gentes Deus, praeuntyavit Abrahae: “*Benedicentur in te omnes gentes*.” Igitur, qui ex fide sunt, benedicuntur cum fideli Abraham.¹⁶

Galatians is among the Pauline epistles with the most fervent tone and that express the clearest desire to unify all Christians, whether they were once Jew or Gentile. In fact, at the end of the third chapter of Galatians, where the above quotation is found, we read this well-known passage (Gal. 3:26–29):

Omnes enim filii Dei estis per fidem in Christo Iesu. Quicumque enim in Christum baptizati estis, Christum induistis: non est Iudaeus neque Graecus, non est servus neque liber, non est masculus et femina; omnes enim vos unus estis in Christo Iesu. Si autem vos Christi, ergo Abrahae semen estis, secundum promissionem heredes.

14. See Biblia de Montserrat, n. 3168 (retrieved from: [http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/obra-visor/la-biblia--0/html/0006ab60-82b2-11df-acc7-002185ce6064_465.html#I_679]; accessed on May 3, 2019).

15. *Zelus Christi*, 11b.

16. Gal. 3:6-9

This passage, which comes at the exact middle of Galatians, seems to be a kind of synthesis or summary, encapsulating the essential meaning of the epistle as a whole. The passage might actually have been a baptismal hymn going back to even before Paul, which he used in his letter.¹⁷ Its use in the *Zelus Christi* is especially significant precisely because this emphasis on unity was hailed in pro-convert circles.¹⁸

3.3. *Galatians 2:21; Hebrews 7:19 and 8:6*

Hoc tibi dico, iudaeae, ut cognoscas quod ista grandis dubitatio omissionis retributionis Gloriam per Legem Moysi, pulsavit animos iudaeorum, et uides quomodo sunt angustiati in eius solutione. Hinc est, quod Apostolus Paulus institutus a Spiritu Sancto ausus est dicere ad Galat<as> 2 cap<itulo> in fine: “*Si enim per Legem iustitia, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est*”. Quasi uelit clare dicere, per Legem Moysi non erat iustitia, et sic non erat Gloria Coelestis promissa, quia si promissa fuisset, non erat necessaria passio Christi, ad Gloriam consequendam. Et etiam ad Hebr<aeos> 7 c<apitulo> dicit: “*Nihil enim ad perfectum adduxit Lex*”.¹⁹

Another dominant theme in the anti-Jewish refutation found in the *Zelus Christi* is dealt with in the section “*Quartus Articulus primae partis, uidelicet, quod Lex Moysi non dabat Gloriam animabus post mortem.*” Here, the quotes from Paul come from Galatians 1 and Hebrews 7, and both are used to uphold Christianity’s promise of eternal life after death. In addition, once again both quotations refer to the question of the Law (and its connection to Abraham), since they speak of the supremacy of the New Law over Mosaic Law, of the Law of Christ as the only path that “leads to perfection.” This idea continues to be developed in the following pages of the treatise, and at the beginning of “*Septimus Articulus primae partis, uidelicet, quod lex Moysi non erat perfecta*” we find another reference to Paul, specifically to Hebrews 8, where he speaks of the need for a New Law and of Jesus Christ as the priest of this “New Covenant”:

Satis etiam est probatum septimum, quod dixi in hoc secundo corellario, quod lex Moysi non erat perfecta, cum non daret perfectionem post mortem; et ideo necessaria erat lex noua, de qua scribit Ieremias capitulo 3 et capitulo 31. Quod capitulus 31 inducit Apostolus Paulus ad Heb<raeos> c<apitulo> 8.²⁰

17. See Ferreira, Joel Antonio (2014), *Gálatas: la epístola de la apertura de fronteras*, Bogotá, Editorial San Pablo, pp. 5-6.

18. This is interesting for the reading of the work that I propose here, which belies the radical anti-convert interpretation that has traditionally been given to it.

19. *Zelus Christi*, 21a (nos. 128-129).

20. *Zelus Christi*, 22a (no. 134). We find, once again, the same references to Jeremiah and Hebrew 8 in *Zelus Christi*, 30a (no. 183), in the section “*Quintus principalis articulus primae partis, uidelicet, quod celebrato sacrificio corporis Messiae, debebat lex noua per electos Messiae, in cordibus hominum infundi, ubi ponitur Prophetiarum ueteris Testamenti discursus de iis, quae de Christo prophetata sunt.*”

3.4.1. *Corinthians 15*

Ita, quod corpora humana tanta gloria redundabunt et glorificabuntur, quod licet sint corpora humana cum suis formis et membris substantialibus, erunt tamen quasi spiritalia, ut Angeli. Et, quia forsitan posset quis dubitare de quo seruiet ista membra, ut infelix Rabbi Moyses Aegyptius dubitauit. His respondet Daniel Propheta in sua prophetia, quod “*fulgebunt quasi splendor firmamenti et qui ad iustitiam erudiunt multos, quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates.*” Dan. ca<pitulo> 12 in fine. Quod magis declarans Apostolus Pau<lus> I ad Cor<inthios> c<apitulo> 15, quod ista corpora resuscitata, miraculose surgent post corruptionem in corpora incorruptibilia, quae dabit Deus cuilibet sicut uolet, cum differentia condigna, sicut est differentia inter stellas, quia una est maior alteras, et clarior. Et omnes resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimus, quia non omnes erunt in Gloria et resplendentes, prout stellae.²¹

The last reference to Paul that I will comment on here is inserted into the section “*Quintus principalis articulus primae partis ...*,” which deals with the spread of the New Law by the apostles (“*electos Messiae*”). This New Law was announced by the prophets of the Old Testament, who, together with other prophetic voices such as the sibyls, are Pedro de la Cavallería’s focus throughout this section.

The paragraph that we will be commenting on below comes from the part about the prophet Isaiah, which deals with the resurrection of the flesh, a fundamental aspect of Christian eschatology. Moreover, just below the reference to Paul that concerns us (1 Cor. 15:38-49) there is a direct quotation from another prophet, Daniel (Dan. 12:3), which refers to the glory that some men will receive after death: “But the wise shall shine brightly like the splendor of the firmament, and those who lead the many to justice shall be like the stars forever.” This idea is reinforced by the quotation from Paul that follows, which addresses the concept of resurrection directly and, perhaps somewhat less directly, the idea of predestination (which is present in the word *electos* itself).

However, let us take a look at Paul’s text, since here Pedro de la Cavallería quotes freely and in abridged form:

Sed dicet aliquis: “Quomodo resurgunt mortui? Quali autem corpore veniunt?” Insuper! Tu, quod seminas, non vivificatur, nisi prius moriatur; et, quod seminas, non corpus, quod futurum est, seminas sed nudum granum, ut puta tritici aut alicuius ceterorum. Deus autem dat illi corpus sicut voluit, et unicuique seminum proprium corpus. Non omnis caro eadem caro, sed alia hominum, alia caro pecorum, alia caro volucrum, alia autem piscium. Et corpora caelestia et corpora terrestria, sed alia quidem caelestium gloria, alia autem terrestrium. Alia claritas solis, alia claritas lunae et alia claritas stellarum; stella enim a stella differt in claritate. Sic et resurrectio mortuorum: seminatur in corruptione, resurgit in incorruptione; seminatur in ignobilitate, resurgit in

21. *Zelus Christi*, 40b-41a (nos. 273-274).

gloria; seminatur in infirmitate, resurgit in virtute; seminatur corpus animale, resurgit corpus spiritale. Si est corpus animale, est et spiritale.²²

Clearly the most important thing for understanding the *Zelus Christi* is the text itself. However, I believe that we should not leave out the general context in which it is inscribed or to which it refers, and which the readers of the treatise must have known. That is why in this case it was important to quote this key passage from Paul's epistle, which makes explicit reference to the existence of a spiritual body in addition to a carnal one, one of Saint Paul's basic concepts.

4. The use of Paul's authority

Now that we have identified and commented on the main references to Saint Paul in the *Zelus Christi*, we need to ask how significant Paul's authority is for the work. And if we find it to be significant, we should ask whether this allows us to interpret the treatise (and even its author) in the light of Pauline humanism, which was consolidated by Erasmus of Rotterdam in the sixteenth century, though its earliest traces can be found in Iberia back in the fifteenth century, mainly among convert circles.²³

The authority granted to Paul is one of the issues that requires, in my view, special attention when analyzing a Christian apologetic text, particularly if it is a work written by a convert. And though space prohibits me from elaborating on this debate here, different scholars have studied the issue in depth and have arrived at the consensus that the fifteenth-century in Spain was a very interesting time for the development of Pauline Christianity. This strain of Christianity, which stresses the inner life, grew in importance in tandem with Erasmian humanism and influenced Luther's reformation. In fact, it was due to Erasmus that Pauline thought began to develop in earnest in Iberia in the sixteenth century, even though it had previously made a deep impression there.²⁴

22. [http://www.vatican.va/archive/bible/nova_vulgata/documents/nova-vulgata_nt_epist-i-corinthios_lt.html#15]

23. "A lo largo del siglo XV, siempre que se desarrollaba un debate religioso, había también una conciencia conversa inquieta que acudía a la autoridad del apóstol Pablo, como el navegante cuyo barco ha perdido el rumbo en la noche oscura. Más adelante, ya asentados en el cristianismo, volvieron a protagonizar el debate religioso inevitablemente, puesto que entonces su formación y vivencia paulina les puso en sintonía directamente con el contexto europeo y, sobre todo, con lo que de dicho contexto penetró en España gracias a Erasmo", see Giordano, María Laura (2010), «La ciudad de nuestra conciencia: los conversos y la construcción de la identidad judeocristiana (1449-1556)», in *Hispania Sacra*, 62, p. 46.

24. "De hecho, el paulinismo de Erasmo pudo triunfar porque se injertaba en un paulinismo anterior," see *ibid.*, p. 47. In this connection, the article by Albert A. Sicoff that was cited at the beginning seems particularly relevant, because, though he considers the *Zelus Christi* to be strongly anti-Jewish (a thesis that I attempt to qualify here), he lays the groundwork for the study of pre-Erasmus Pauline thought in the Iberian Peninsula, following up on an earlier insight by Marcel Bataillon. Maria Laura Giordano is currently doing research along these lines, especially in her studies on Alonso de Cartagena.

In this connection, the reference to Paul that we find at the beginning of the *Zelus Christi* (2 Cor. 10:2) is especially noteworthy, because of both its contents (already discussed) and its location in one of the key paragraphs of the prologue, which as we have seen, turns out to be extremely useful for understanding the treatise as a whole. The fact that this reference appears up front leads me to think that it is intended as a kind of foretoken to signal a less belligerent tone than what we would initially be inclined to expect from Pedro de la Cavallería. In this way, the reference would make the *Zelus Christi* more akin to the Pauline thinking that would later on will take center stage among convert circles in Iberia.

We perceive this Pauline tone, whose function remains to be elucidated, both in the quotations from Paul that Pedro de la Cavallería inserts into the text of the *Zelus Christi* and perhaps also in the somewhat ambiguous and relatively nuanced tone that the author uses in his refutation. Indeed, the glossator and editor of the 1592 Venice edition of the text, Martín Alfonso Vivaldo, asserts this very fact when he says, without any ambiguity, that “*auctor es imitator D. Pauli*” and recalls a Pauline phrase, also from Corinthians: “*Sine offensione estote Iudaeis et gentilibus et ecclesiae Dei*” (1 Cor. 10:32).²⁵ Along these lines, it should also be mentioned that Vivaldo himself uses many references to Paul in his glosses, another indication of the importance that the saint had both for Pedro de la Cavallería and for the Dominican who edited his work a century after it was written.

5. Conclusions

In his study “Ideología y anfibología antijudías en la obra *Fortalitium Fidei*, de Alonso de Espina: Un apunte metodológico,” José María Monsalvo Antón argues, as I do here regarding *Zelus Christi*, that there is a tendency among critics to classify authors of polemics as either radical or moderate, based on their view of converts. The problem, as Monsalvo also points out, is that the contrast pro-convert/anti-convert presents a polarization that makes thoughtful analysis of less-certain, wavering positions impossible. This focus on the author’s pro-convert or anti-convert position also requires us to adopt a perspective on the connection between authors and their work that has largely been superseded by literary theory.²⁶

25. *Zelus Christi*, “*Index copiosissimus ad tractatum Zelus Christi*” (p. 1). This point was made previously in Gómez Llauger 2020 (forthcoming).

26. “A menudo la historiografía sobre conversos o sobre judíos bajomedievales atribuye a Alonso de espina la condición de antisemita ‘radical’, alineado con el sector ‘duro’ de las polémicas sobre los conversos, como lo fue también Pedro Sarmiento, Marcos García de Mora y todos los herederos de la revuelta toledana de 1449 contra los conversos, frente a otro puñado de autores ‘moderados’ o ‘proconversos’, entre los que se encontraban Alonso de Cartagena, Lope de Barrientos, el cardenal Juan de Torquemada o Alonso de Oropesa. El problema es que a partir de esta contraposición proconversos/anticonversos no solo se tiende a diluir las opciones que fueron tibias o los discursos vacilantes de muchos autores, sino que se tiende a adjudicar a las obras sobre judíos y conversos las mismas intenciones o posiciones personales de sus autores. Se quiebra así la necesaria distancia entre el autor y su obra, entendida esta como creación intelectual o literaria de naturaleza genuina y en parte autónoma respecto a la voluntad de aquel.

Indeed, the motives behind the writing of the different Christian polemics and apologies, especially in Spain during the tumultuous fifteenth century, are complex, and it would be reductive to make general assertions about them. Though such assertions may apply to many authors and their works, they are inadequate as explanations of them as a group. This is true of the classification of authors and works into pro-convert and anti-convert camps, spoken of by Monsalvo and alluded to, with regard to *Zelus Christi*, at the beginning of this chapter. Moreover, as for the connection between the author and the work, I propose that Pedro de la Cavallería (who refers to himself in the first person throughout) uses the treatise, at least in part, to present himself to his contemporaries as a zealous defender of the Christian faith, to dispel any doubts that a convert like him might have raised at such a complicated historical moment.

As I have attempted to show in previous studies on this work,²⁷ the method used in the *Zelus Christi* is mainly argumentative. It places the word and the *validae rationes* at the center of its argument in order to demonstrate the veracity of the faith of Christ and, above all, the coming of the Messiah, to those who reject them. Jews, Saracens and other infidels (i.e., Greeks) must be convinced that Jesus Christ is the Messiah foretold in Scripture, especially by the prophets, to whom Pedro de la Cavallería devotes a large portion of his anti-Jewish refutation and to whom he grants clear authority.

Lastly, we should acknowledge that the *Zelus Christi* is not a work that is openly pro-convert, as is, for example, Alonso de Cartagena's contemporary work, *De unitatis Fidei Christianae*. However, that is no reason to label it as "radical" or to liken it to others that have been classified as taking clearer anti-convert positions. In any case, to determine where both the *Zelus Christi* and its author belong on the radical-moderate spectrum, a much more detailed study of the work will be necessary, in which the analytical perspective offered by the use of the Saint Paul's authority will, I believe, be absolutely decisive.

"Ciertamente, la polarización en dos bandos pro o anticonversos existió. Existió desde el punto de vista de la opinión pública de Castilla de 1449-1492. Pero el significado de los mensajes sobre judíos o conversos, y de las obras que los contenían, es algo más complejo. En el caso de Alonso de Espina convendría no confundir obra y autor, actitudes personales y creación intelectual", see Monsalvo Antón, José M^a. (2013), «Ideología y anfibología antijudías en la obra *Fortalitium Fidei*, de Alonso de Espina. Un apunte metodológico» in Pablo de la Cruz Díaz Martínez et al. (Eds.), *El historiador y la sociedad. Homenaje al Profesor José M^a. Mínguez*, pp. 164-165.

27. See Ferrero Hernández - Gómez Llauger (2013) «Polémica y razón cristiana...» and Gómez Llauger (2020 [forthcoming]), «Intención y retórica...».

SECTION 3.
(Un)covering Christian propaganda

The Figure of Muḥammad in the *Disputa* by Pseudo Pere Pasqual

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Abstract

The *Disputa del bisbe de Jaen contra los jueus*—a work attributed to Pere Pasqual, a thirteenth-century Mercedarian from Valencia—contains two chapters that vilify Muḥammad and disparage various Muslim beliefs. In these chapters, we find clichés borrowed from anti-Islamic polemics written by previous authors, although there was probably also some direct influence from an Arabic source. The question of whether the Mercedarian Pere Pasqual, who was canonized in 1670, authored the work remains an open one. Answering this question requires a comprehensive analysis of textual features that allow us to date the text. Moreover, the use of Islam in an anti-Jewish treatise is a polemical strategy typical of medieval religious polemics.

Saint Peter Pascual (Pere Pasqual in Catalan) is a figure who is popular still today in the region of Valencia, especially in its capital city. His great renown is reflected in the many schools that are named for him and the numerous images of him that can be found on ceramic tiles on the walls lining the streets of Valencia. In the iconography, he is always shown writing, since this is the principal activity he is associated with: he is a saint whose fame rests on the works he composed.

Pere Pasqual (we will use the Catalan form of his name, since we will be dealing with a Catalan text attributed to him) is traditionally and popularly understood to have been a thirteenth-century Mercedarian from Valencia who was given the name Pere in honor of the founder of the Mercedarian order: Pere Nolasc. It should be recalled that, from its beginnings, the Mercedarian order was closely linked to the Crown of Aragon, as is clear from Pere Nolasc's biography and the crest of the order. It is also important to recall that the order's main mission was the redemption of captives. This is an essential fact for understanding how the figure of Pere Pasqual developed, since—according to the traditional version of events—he became bishop of Jaen and was taken prisoner by the Muslims in Granada, where he wrote apologetic works in defense of the Christian prisoners' faith. The works that have been attributed to him are the source of his later fame.

1. This study was undertaken as part of FFI2015-63659-C2-1-P, MINECO-FEDER, EU, and 2017 SGR 1787 at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, whose principal investigator is Cándida Ferrero Hernández.

The corpus of texts attributed to Pere Pasqual is quite broad: four works in Castilian (*Sobre la seta mahometana*, *Glosa del Pater Noster*, *Tratado contra los que dizen que ay fadas y ventura* and *Los diez mandamientos con su glosa*) and five in Catalan (*Disputa del bisbe de Jaen*, *Històries i contemplacions*, *Llibre de Gamaliel*, *La destrucció de Jerusalem* and *Llibre del bisbe de Jaen*).² This last work is also known by the Latin title *Biblia parua*, even though the work was written in Catalan, because of a translation into Castilian entitled *Biblia pequeña* that is not extant. In 1906, Pedro Armengol Valenzuela published these works along with a Latin translation, though he combined into a single work the *Disputa del bisbe de Jaen* and the *Llibre del bisbe de Jaen*, which are very similar, as we will see below. In 1986, Jaume Riera published an important article in which he questioned whether the bishop of Jaen who was taken prisoner in Granada and the Valencian Mercedarian were the same individual. He argued that this conflation of identities was the result of an appropriation by the Mercedarian order of the writings of a bishop of Jaen in order to strengthen Pere Pasqual's candidacy for canonization.³ In keeping with Riera's work, it makes sense to refer to the author of these works as Pseudo Pere Pasqual. In 2011, Fernando González Muñoz published the Castilian work, *Sobre la secta mahometana*, whose introduction includes a thorough study of the extant writings and their authorship.⁴ It is also important to point out that the works attributed to Pere Pasqual have received special attention for political reasons connected to a reluctance to consider the autochthonous language of Valencia a variant of Catalan. If Pere Pasqual wrote these texts in the thirteenth century, this would mean that a Mozarabic Romance dialect existed in Valencia prior to the conquest of James I of Aragon in 1238. This explains the publication of studies on Pere Pasqual that focus specifically on linguistic aspects.⁵

The *Llibre del bisbe de Jaen* (or *Biblia parua*) and the *Disputa del bisbe de Jaen* are very much alike. The beginning of both texts is virtually identical, and there are many chapters with very similar contents. The titles of the chapters may serve as an example. In the *Disputa* we have: *si les colpes de Adam egualment foren paga-*

2. I include here the works that appeared in the edition prepared by Valenzuela, Pedro Armengol (1905-1908), *Obras de S. Pedro Pascual, mártir, obispo de Jaén y religioso de la Merced, en su lengua original, con la traducción latina y algunas anotaciones* (4 vols.), Rome, Imprenta Salustiana. For a description of the works, the manuscripts that they preserve, and the study of the same, see the essential introduction by González Muñoz, Fernando (2011), *Pseudo Pedro Pascual: Sobre la se[c]ta mahometana*, Valencia, Publicacions de la Universitat de València.
3. See Riera i Sans, Jaume (1969), «La invenció literària de Sant Pere Pasqual», in *Caplletra* 1, pp. 45-60. A more recent study on the same question is Pérez-Embid, Javier (2005), «De la frontera espiritual a la frontera militar: el caso del obispo de Jaén Pedro Pascual (+ 1300)», in *Iglesias y Fronteras: V Jornadas de Historia en la Abadía de Alcalá la Real. Homenaje a Don José Rodríguez Molina*, pp. 597-612.
4. González Muñoz (2011), *Sobre la se[c]ta*. A further addition to the existing scholarship on the works of Pseudo Pere Pasqual will be the new edition of the *Disputa del bisbe de Jaen* that I am preparing, which will be accompanied by an English translation made in collaboration with Dr. Ryan Szpiech.
5. An example would be the study by Costa Català, Joan (1996), «Introducció a la Bíblia Parva de Sant Pere Pasqual» in *Revista de Filologia Valenciana* 3, pp. 39-72.

des, com lo cors de Yhesu Christ fo més en lo sepulcre and quin captaniment féu la ànima de Adam quant vehé la santa ànima de Ihesu Christ en los inferns. These chapters clearly coincide with the following, from the *Llibre: si les colpes de Adam equalment foren pagades, per què lo cors de Ihesu Christ fon més en lo sepulcre and quin captiviment féu Lucifer e los altres dimonis qui tenien la ànima de Adam e dels altres sancts pares en lur poder quant la ànima de Ihesu Christ fon vista en los inferns.* It is easy to find other coinciding chapter titles if we compare the indexes of the two works. The similarities between the *Disputa* and the *Llibre* make it logical to surmise that one of the texts is probably an adaptation of the other. For this reason, Valenzuela only published the *Disputa* in the complete works of Pere Pasqual, since he thought that the *Llibre* was a new version of the same text. Riera, however, is of the opposite opinion, believing that it is the *Disputa* that comes from the *Llibre*.

Despite the similarities, the two texts have clear differences. The *Disputa*, as its title suggests, consists of a debate between a Christian and two Jews, while the *Llibre* reminds one of a catechism, in that it presents questions, followed by answers. Another important difference between the two texts is their unequal success: while the *Disputa* survives in only two manuscripts (the second being a direct modern copy of the first), the *Llibre* is preserved in more than twenty manuscripts; moreover, the *Biblia parua* was printed in 1676 and was translated into a number of languages, including Castilian, Occitan, and Italian.⁶

In the text of the *Disputa*, there are two chapters devoted to Muḥammad and Islam. These are chapters 48 and 49, found on folios 82v–85r of manuscript 75 at the University Library of Barcelona, which dates from the fifteenth century. This amounts to only a small portion of the text, since the work has a total of 48 chapters. Still, the attention given to Islam in the *Disputa* is greater than what we find in the *Llibre*, which has only a few short references to Muḥammad and Muslims at the Last Judgment.

The two chapters in the *Disputa* dedicated to Muḥammad and Islam are announced in the previous chapter, which recounts the Devil's battles and is entitled *De les VIII batalles fetes per lo Diable*. The eight battles described in this chapter are: Lucifer's rebellion against God in heaven, the Devil's temptation of Eve, the idolatry that preceded the Flood, the attempt by Egyptian magicians to match the signs of Moses, the worship of the golden calf on Mount Sinai, Jeroboam's golden calves at Bethel and Dan, Simon the Sorcerer's actions in Rome, and lastly, the appearance of false gods 600 years after the Passion of Jesus. The chapter ends with this last section, where the next two chapters, dedicated to Muḥammad and Islam, are announced. In this way, the reader is prompted to understand that everything to be described in these two chapters should be seen as the work of the Devil.

6. The *Disputa* is preserved in the following manuscripts: Biblioteca Universitaria de Barcelona, ms. 75, from the fifteenth century, and Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, 9-27-6-5356, from the seventeenth century. For a description of the manuscripts of the *Llibre* del bisbe de Jaen, see Riera i Sans, Jaume (1969), «La invenció literària» pp. 51-55, and González Muñoz (2011), *Sobre la se[c]ja*, pp. 46-48.

It would be pointless to repeat here all the information about Muḥammad and Islam that appears in these two chapters of the *Disputa*, but I will attempt to recap the most salient points. The author outlines his own view of Islamic doctrine, which he consistently describes as the personal prescriptions of Muḥammad. This is how he explains the license to practice polygamy (“que prenguessen moltes mullers e drudes tantes com se volguessen”), the prohibition against wine (“donà’ls per ley que no baguessen vi”), the celebration of Friday for being the day consecrated to Venus (“colguessen los divendres, e açò per reverència de Venus”), the precept of circumcision to avoid the criticism of the Jews (“ordonà’ls circuncisió per so que los jueus no haguessen rahó de contrestar ab ells”) and the precept of ablution to avoid the criticism of the Christians (“ordonà’ls levament d’ayga per los forats del cap e de les anques... per so que los christians no haguessen rahó de preycar lo sant bapisme”), as well as the description of Paradise (“e seran en aquell Peradís de Déu quatre rius: un de let, altre de mel, altre de noble vin, e altre de noble aygua”).

As for details about the life of Muḥammad, his family origins are recounted (“era alarp del linatge de Ismael, bort, fill de Agar, serventa de Abram”) and the name of his father is given (“son pare, qui fo ydolatre e hac nom Bachalif”), as there is information about the origins of Islam (“materanli al cab qu’el seria gran senyor de Aràbia e que seria appellat entre los alarps ‘Missatge de Déu’”) and the names of its earliest followers:

[...] per so Mafumet insercà deu companyons qui fessen ab ell falsos testimonis, alarps semblants d’ell, entre los quals era lo primer, Xali, en Sayt, en Babil, en Mas-sot, en Maymo, en Homar, Nadis, en Casim, dient Mafumet a ells: “yo n’hauré la honor e vosaltres tots serets grans senyors en Aràbia”.⁷

The text also adds biographical details that are inconsistent with Christian notions about prophets and the Messiah, such as the fact that Muḥammad never performed miracles (“e creen que Mafumet no féu null temps miracle”) and failed to predict and therefore avoid his own injuries in battle (“creuen que Mafumet fon nafrat per la cara e per les dents... e les nafres de les dents e de la cara pres en diverses batalles que ell null temps poch revelar com hu pendria de la batalla, e per aquesta rahó és vist manifest que ell no era profeta”), his carnal relations with women (“creuen que Mafumet hac affer ab diverses fembres, drudes”), and his death and burial, which are described in mundane terms (“creen los moros que Mafumet morí, e que fo soterrat en les muntanyes de Mecha”).⁸

The *Disputa* also calls attention to the legends transmitted by hadith collections, which it calls *Mislim* (“un dels seus libres, qui es appel·lat ‘Mislim’”) and *Lomari* (“en lo libre de Mafumet qui ha nom ‘Lomari’”). According to one of these legends, Muḥammad instructed his followers to lick their hands after eating (“que menjassen

7. *Disputa*, UB 75, f. 83ra

8. *Disputa*, UB 75, f. 84va

abans qu'es torcassen les mans que les se lapassen e axí mateix les scudelles... Mafumet, per darlosne aximpli, les se lepava abans que les se torchàs”) and said that if a fly fell into food, it should be submerged entirely to avoid poisoning (“encare se lig de la moscha que Mafumet los donà doctrina que, si la moscha cau en la nap o en la scudella, que ells que la y empenguen de dins com diga que en la una ala porta verí e en l'altra aporta medicina”). According to a different legend, Muḥammad gave the precept that the bones of meat should be left for the *jinn*:

Mafumet legia l'Alcorà als diables, que molts d'ells tornaven serrahins e, açò fet, qu'els diables demanaren a Mafumet qu'els assignàs vianda que menjassen, e que Mafumet respòs “menjats tots los ossos que trobaret”, e per so los serrahins no roseguan los ossos ne ls venen ab la carn.⁹

In addition, these legends relate that God gave Muḥammad permission to have his followers rob whatever they needed (“que Déu dix a Mafumet que ell e als seus poguessen amblar e robar segons les lurs pobreses”).¹⁰

All these legends are used in one way or another to create an uncomplimentary image of Muḥammad, but we should not therefore conclude that they are crude inventions of the author. By tracking down the sources of all these passages, we will be in a better position to understand the nature of the text and the author's method in writing it. Thus, for example, the quotation about the use of the bones of food comes from an authentic hadith found in al-Bukhari (5, 58, 200), which gives the same information about the *jinn*. Moreover, this same passage is found in *De seta Machometi*, by Ramon Martí:

Machometus legit Alcoranum demonibus, quem cum audierunt, facti sunt Sarraceni; quo facto, petierunt ab eo uaticum eorum et quod omne stercus caprarum uel ouium esset annona bestiis eorum; et ideo probauit Sarracenis ut non pergerent interiora sua cum ossibus, quia sunt illa cibus fratrum eorum, scilicet demonum.¹¹

We have a similar situation in the reference to Muḥammad ordering his followers to submerge the whole fly in the food so that the antidote in one wing might neutralize the poison in the other. This information also comes from an authentic hadith found in al-Bukhari (7, 71, 673), which Ramon Martí included in his work: (“*Item in libro qui dicitur Bochari, loquens de musca, dixit Sarracenis: ‘Quando ceciderit musca in uas, submergite eam ibi, quia in una ala portat uenenum et in altera medicinam, ponite ante alam in qua est uenenum deinde aliam’*”).¹²

9. *Disputa*, UB 75, f. 84rb.

10. *Disputa*, UB 75, f. 84rb.

11. Ramon Martí's quotations are taken from the edition by Hernando, Josep (1983), «Ramon Martí (s. XIII), *De seta Machometi seu de origine, progressu et fine Machometi et quadruplici reprobatione prophetiae eius*», in *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia*, 4, pp. 963.

12. Hernando (1983), «Ramon Martí (s. XIII), *De seta*», p. 32.

Likewise, the reference to Muḥammad's precept about the need to lick one's hands after eating comes from a hadith found in *Sahih Muslim* (23, 5300), where Muḥammad tells his companions that nothing should be left uneaten because we do not know in which part of the food the blessing resides. Ramon Martí quotes this same hadith:

Dicitur in libro qui uocatur *Muzlim*, in tractatu ciborum, que Machometus mandauit suis quos lamberent digitos et parapsidem. Et dicunt alibi quod Machometus dixit 'Quando comederit aliquis uestrum non tergat manum suam quousque lambat aut suggat eam aut lambat eam sibi aliquis'. Et ipse Machometus lambebat manum suam et antequam ipsam tergere.¹³

Thus, we can confirm that the information in the *Disputa* that relates to the hadith is correct, and it is highly likely that it was taken from Ramon Martí's Latin work. In this sense, neither Martí nor the author of the *Disputa* invented scenes to disparage Muḥammad. Rather, they selected passages from the hadith collections that, in the eyes of Christians, would seem ridiculous.

Other information included in the *Disputa* seems to come from different authors. This is true of a reference to the argument that Muḥammad was not a prophet because he could not foresee the wounds that he would receive ("Mafumet fon nafrat per la cara e per les dents... e les nafres de les dents e de la cara pres en diverses batalles que ell null temps poch revelar com hu pendria de la batalla, e per aquesta rahó és vist manifest que ell no era profeta"). This line of reasoning can be found in virtually the same form in the Latin text *Dialogus contra Iudaeos*, by Pedro Alfonso ("de bellis autem, quae domino precipiente et uictoriam promittente se inisse fatebatur, dentes eius contriti in bello faciesque collisa, multa etiam cedes et fuga suorum ueritatem testantur").¹⁴

However, the *Disputa* contains some surprising information whose origin is unclear. This is the case with the passage in which the name of Muḥammad's father is given as *Bachalif* ("son pare, qui fo ydolatre e hac nom Bachalif"). Here, the text does not follow Ramon Martí's treatise, which gives the name of Muḥammad's parent as *Abdalla*.¹⁵ Neither does it seem to follow Jiménez de Rada's *Historia Arabum*, a very popular work among Christian polemicists, which mentions the name *Aly*. The name *Bachalif* is surprising, and it might come—though this is only a conjecture—from a corruption of the name of Muḥammad's uncle, *Abutalib*. The list of the names of Muḥammad's earliest companions is also surprising: *Xali, en Sayt, en*

13. Hernando (1983), «Ramon Martí (s. XIII), *De seta*», p. 46.

14. The quotation is taken from Cesare, Michelina (2011), *The Pseudo-Historical Image of the Prophet Muḥammad in Medieval Latin Literature: A Repertory*, Berlin – Boston, DeGruyter, p. 66.

15. Hernando (1983), «Ramon Martí (s. XIII), *De seta*» p. 18. This name, Abdalla, also appears in the Castilian work *Sobre la seta mahometana*, likewise attributed to Pere Pasqual, as the name of Muḥammad's father. See González Muñoz (2011), *Sobre la se[ç]ta*, pp. 86. Thus, the two works attributed to Pere Pasqual provide contradictory information on this point.

Babil, en Massot, en Maymo, en Homar, Nadis, en Casim. Most of these names are preceded by the Catalan personal article *en*, so that the name *Nadis* should perhaps be understood as *n'Adis*. Some of the names might be said to correspond to those of the earliest caliphs, such as *Homar* (Umar ibn al-Jattab) and *Maymo* (Mu'awiyya), or else of people closely connected to the Muḥammad during his lifetime, such as the name *Sayt*, which might refer to Muḥammad's adopted son, Zayd ibn Haritha. The rest of the names are truly difficult to identify. Perhaps the form *Xali* should be understood as the name *Ali*; perhaps *Babil* refers to Abu Bakr; *Massot* is possibly Masud; and *Adis*—if the interpretation *n'Adis* is correct—might be Adiga, a possible variant of Khadija. But all these identifications are extremely dubious and should be considered mere conjectures. Accordingly, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the significant modification of these names is the result of a transcription based on hearing the pronunciation of an Arabic speaker. One argument for this explanation is the fact that the *Disputa* contains a quote that, though it is an altered version, is without a doubt in Arabic. This is a passage in which a phrase is attributed to Muḥammad, and its Catalan translation is given: “dient axí en morisch, ‘cacuyll exerop humistich onofor’, qui vol dir ‘menjarem e beurem e sequdirem fembres e haurem rapós.’” The transcribed part, though distorted, contains words that can be recognized as the verbs “eat” and “drink” in Arabic, so it is possible that these are Andalusian variants taken down by ear from the pronunciation of an Arabic speaker, which would account for their distortion.¹⁶ This is the likely reason for the significant alteration of the proper names that appear in the *Disputa* and the difficulty in identifying them.

Based on the text's description of the features of Islam, a few conclusions can be drawn from this analysis of Pseudo Pere Pasqual's *Disputa*. It seems that the author drew from earlier anti-Islamic sources in Latin, particularly Ramon Martí's *De seta Machometi*. Accordingly, this part of the *Disputa* consists of a repetition of anti-Islamic clichés developed in earlier polemical literature. We should note, however, that there must have been a direct Arabic source for the transcriptions from Arabic and possibly for the alteration of Arabic proper names. It is especially noteworthy that there are some discrepancies of fact between the *Disputa* and the work *Sobre la seta mahometana*, since both works—one in Catalan and the other in Castilian—have traditionally been attributed to the same author. An example would be the name given for the father of Muḥammad: *Bachalif* in the *Disputa* and *Audalla* in *Sobre la seta mahometana*. This should cast doubt on the identification of the author and the attribution of the complete corpus of works in Castilian and Catalan to a single author according to the traditional understanding of Pere Pasqual.

16. I am grateful for the assistance provided by the distinguished Arabist Luis Fernando Bernabé Pons, who was kind enough to look at this passage for me.

The dating of the text has been a source of controversy. Although it is preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript, as we have said, the claim was made that the text was older in order to be able to attribute it to the thirteenth-century Mercedarian Pere Pasqual.¹⁷ For this reason, it would be ideal if an in-depth study of the features of the Catalan used in the text were undertaken in order to definitively date the text to the thirteenth or the fifteenth century. From my limited experience with Catalan manuscripts from the fourteenth century—all of them of the *Llibre dels Fets*, by James I of Aragon—I can confirm that there are some features that can be found in those manuscripts but not in the *Disputa*. One of them is the frequent use of the verbal periphrasis formed by the infinitive and the verb *haver*, which will evolve into the simple future tense, though here the form even allows pronouns to be inserted between the infinitive and *haver* (*venjarnos hem, mostrarliho hem, darli hem*, etc.). This kind of periphrasis, which is very common in the fourteenth-century manuscripts of the *Llibre dels fets*, does not appear in the *Disputa*, where the future is now expressed using the independent, inflected verb form (*exirà, serà, aportarà*, etc.). I do not feel at all qualified to date the language of the *Disputa*, but I believe that details like this may help to determine whether the Catalan in which the text is written is closer to the fifteenth century or closer to the thirteenth.

Lastly, I do not want to neglect to mention that the *Disputa* has two features that are commonly found in religious polemics. One of them is the discussion of Islam in a treatise that is predominantly anti-Jewish, wherein Islam plays the role of a relative, circumstantial ally of Christianity. Although there are relatively few references to Islam in the work as a whole, given that only two out of 48 chapters deal with this religion, both contain certain facts that validate Christianity vis-a-vis Judaism, especially the description of the figure of Jesus among Muslims, as in the following example:

[Mahoma] dix que Jesucrist isqué de Déu e que no hac pare en aquest món e que nasqué de sancta Maria verge e ella romanent verge en per tots temps, e-n açò dix veritat... que Jesucrist ressucitava morts e endressava los contrets e fahia ulls a aquells qui no-n havian del lot de la terra, e-n açò dix veritat.¹⁸

The role assigned to Islam as circumstantial ally of Christianity vis-à-vis Judaism in religious disputations has been referred to as the “rhetorical Muslim” and has been studied by Ryan Szpiech.¹⁹ Secondly, it is important to acknowledge that the experience of captivity—whether real or feigned—served to heighten authority in religious polemics: we find it used in this way by authors such as Llull and Alfonso

17. The same is true for the dating of the *Biblia parva*. See, for example, Costa (1996), «Introducció a la *Biblia Parva*».

18. *Disputa*, UB 75, f. 83vb

19. Szpiech, Ryan (2013), «Rhetorical Muslims: Islam as Witness in Western Christian Anti-Jewish Polemic», in *Al-Qantara* 34 (1), pp. 153-185.

Buenhombre.²⁰ The authority of the writer of the *Disputa del bisbe de Jaen contra los jueus*, which was enhanced by the fact that he had undergone captivity, probably contributed to the later attribution of this work by the Mercedarians to the historical Pere Pasqual. It remains to be seen whether this attribution is accurate, whether the works on which Saint Pere Pascual's fame and iconography are based were actually written by him.

20. On the authority conferred by captivity, see Szpiech, Ryan (2018), «Prisons and Polemics: Captivity, Confinement, and Medieval Interreligious Encounter», in *Polemical Encounters: Christians, Jews, and Muslims in Iberia and Beyond*, pp. 271-303.

Projecting Identity onto the Other: Christian Identities in Medieval Preaching and Polemics¹

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Abstract

Religious polemics and sermons are two common sources for studying the image of religious minorities in the Middle Ages. Yet these works also construct Christian identity. While it might seem initially that this identity is the opposite of the image created to portray minorities, a closer look reveals that Christian identity is not homogeneous or immutable and that Christian authors end up portraying (bad) Christians using the same images and characteristics as are used for Jews and Muslims.

1. A two-fold identity under ongoing construction

The question of identity is in fashion in today's society and, consequently, in academia,² but too often “[t]he problem is discussed by medievalist historians focusing on source analysis without theorizing,”³ which can lead to confusion. Moreover, the process of categorizing and characterizing a community entails a distortion of reality, which means that any identity is partly imagined. Identity is not a neutral concept, nor is it a natural given: it is fabricated by society's elites and serves specific political, religious and economic ends.⁴

In this chapter, we will define identity as “qualities of a person or group that make them different from others.”⁵ Identity is socially and culturally constructed in tandem with the image of other groups or societies that it is in contact with through literature, art, law, tradition, dress, food and language. Identity evolves and is not perfectly consistent.

1. This article is part of the project FFI2015-63659-C2-2-P (MINECO/FEDER): “Interdisciplinary and Comparative Studies in Religious, (Trans)cultural, and Gendered Identities in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia and the Mediterranean,” whose principal investigator is Linda G. Jones.
2. See, for example, Lambert, Sarah and Nicholson, Helen (Eds.) (2012), *Languages of Love and Hate. Conflict, Communication, and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean*, Turnhout.
3. Pleszczyński, Andrzej, Sobiesiak, Joanna, Tomaszek, Michał and Tyszka, Przemysław (2002), «Introduction», in: Id. (Eds.), *Imagined Communities. Constructing Collective Identities in Medieval Europe*, Leiden, p. 2.
4. Pleszczyński, Sobiesiak, Tomaszek, Tyszka (2002), «Introduction», p. 3-4.
5. Cambridge English Dictionary: Another meaning is “sense of belonging to a large collectivity” or “consciousness factor actually connecting People”, as in Pleszczyński, Sobiesiak, Tomaszek, Tyszka (2002), «Introduction», p. 2 and 3. In this chapter, we will use the term identity to refer to characteristics that a group attributes to itself, while the term image is used for characteristics attributed to other groups.

Among the many different kinds of identity constructed in the Middle Ages (personal, professional, religious, ethnic, gender and, in fledgling form, national), I am going to focus on Christian identity and its construction in religious polemics and sermons up to the first quarter of the fifteenth century.⁶ The thesis of this chapter is that preaching and Christian polemics—in addition to creating an image of minority groups—also construct Christian identity.⁷ This Christian identity is often considered to be the opposite of that of minorities.⁸ Less frequent is the recognition that Christian identity can be, at least in part, similar to that of minorities. A close reading of the sources shows that, in some cases, the image of the other is in essence a negative image of the self, an image that the self is struggling against and attempting to exorcise.

Christian identity had been constructed in the early centuries of Christianity in opposition to beliefs considered heretical or against the Jews, the group that Christianity had broken away from and that it sought to differentiate itself from.⁹ From the very beginning, there were not only religious aspects but also territorial and ethnic aspects to Christian identity.¹⁰ Thus, several biblical quotes that have traditionally been interpreted as a paean to ethnic diversity can also be interpreted as a signal that in Christian belief all people are susceptible to conversion; that is, that Christianity tends toward universalism in that it seeks salvation for all of humanity.¹¹

In addition to the immutable primacy of baptism, another key feature of Christian identity was the construction of difference between orthodoxy and heresy, a process that gave rise to the *Credo*. During this same period, Saint Augustine revolution-

6. After that point, the development of the notion of “purity of blood” marks a significant change in the situation.
7. “It is their (the texts’ authors) religious self-image that is reflected most clearly. This self-image is further seen as a religious identity, a means of distinguishing between religious communities”. Tieszen, Charles L. (2013), *Christian Identity amid Islam in Medieval Spain*, Leiden, p. 266. “The Jews are [...] symbolic figures who play an essential role in the communication and development of the church’s own distinctive conception of God’s plans for His chosen people, and in the formation of the church’s cultural identity”. Taylor, Miriam S. (1995), *Anti-Judaism and Early Christian Identity*, Leiden, p. 5.
8. “Depiction[s] of Muslims in ... texts [are often] designed to hold up a mirror to medieval Christian practice, showing the readers of those texts what they are not so that they may understand what they are”. Akbari, Suzanne, «Imagining Islam: The Role of Images in Medieval Depictions of Muslims», p. 20, cited in Tieszen (2013), *Christian Identity*, p. 266.
9. Cohen, Jeremy (1998), «Slay them Not: Augustine and the Jews in Modern Scholarship», in *Medieval Encounters*, 4/1, pp. 78-92. Id (1999), *Living Letters of the Law. Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity*, Berkeley.
10. On the concept of Christianitas and its connection to the concept of Europe, see Tolán, John (2016), «Constructing Christendom», in Hudson, John and Crumplin, Sally (Eds.), *The Making of Europe*, Brill, pp. 277-298. On the geographical aspect of identity, and its fluidity and rigidity, see Weeda, Claire (2016), «The Fixed and the Fluent. Geographical Determinism, Ethnicity and Religion c. 1100-1300 CE», in Futo Kennedy, Rebecca and Jones-Leis, Molly (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Identity and the Environment in the Classical and Medieval Worlds*, London-New York, pp. 93-113.
11. Kimber Buell, Denise (2009), «Early Christian Universalism and Modern Racism», in Eliav-Feldon, Miriam, Isaac, Benjamin and Ziegler, Joseph (Eds.), *The Origins of Racism in the West*, Cambridge-New York, pp. 126-128.

ized personal identity by placing it at the center of the road to salvation. From that moment on, there was a debate between personal identity and group identity that, though it evolved over time, constituted an important part of Christianity.

Economic, political and cultural changes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries influenced Christian identity: the growth of cities, the emergence of alternative Christian beliefs to official Catholicism, evangelical pauperism and the mendicant orders, the conquest of Muslim territories and the consequent increase in the Jewish and Muslim populations in Christian territory altered interconfessional relations and Christianity's concept of itself.

The image of Christianity offered by preachers and polemicists is two-fold. On the one hand, they believed that human nature inclined toward evil:

Naturalment los hòmens són inclinats a mal [...] aquesta inclinació no és peccat, que ja naix la creatura ab aquella inclinació.¹²

Nonetheless, the Christian is destined for eternal salvation. To that end, he or she must triumph in the war against nature and the Devil and lead a life according to the norms established by the Church. Christian identity is also constructed along the axis between nature/Devil and perfection. Humankind is capable of overcoming nature:

Let us try, each and every one, to rise above the vice of his own people. If you are a Jew, take pains to rise above your innate disbelief. If you are from France, take pains to overcome your innate arrogance. If you are from Rome, take pains to overcome your innate avarice. If you are from Poitou, take pains to overcome your innate gluttony and garrulity, and the likewise applies to the others.¹³

Admittedly, only saints and martyrs can attain perfection in this battle:

I say that all men who live uprightly are moved by this Crucifix as the thing they love and desire, for if you look around and read carefully all the histories in accordance with moral philosophy, you will not find—nor can one even imagine—any life more ordered than that of the Christian, a life such as Christian saints have not only described, but also as they have lived it. [...] all those who have followed this Crucified One as the thing they loved and desired—those who lived before Him as well as those who have lived since then—were all perfect.¹⁴

But perfection is not necessary for salvation. Vincent Ferrer admits that only Jesus and Mary were perfect:

12. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons*, vol. III, p. 240.

13. Raoul Ardent, *Homilia 22 In die Trinitatis*, PL 155, 1949 cols. C-D. Cited by Weeda, *The Fixed and the Fluent*, p. 105.

14. Borelli, Anne, Passarro, Maria Pastore (Eds.) (2006), *Selected Writings of Girolamo Savonarola. Religion and Politics, 1490-1498*, New Haven, p. 7.

Jamés fo hom ne dona, sinó Jesuchrist e sa mare, verge Maria, que per molt que visqués, que del tot pogués arrencar aquella mala inclinació.¹⁵

Salvation is achieved by living a life in accordance with basic precepts: knowing the basic prayers, following the Commandments, going to confession regularly and doing good deeds: alms, prayer, forgiving offenses, etc.

És d'alguns que moren no lluny ne prop, mas dintre Déu. E qui són aquests? Hòmens e dones que no moren en lo camí, mas complida la penitència, que han fetes tantes de bones obres que més són les béns que·ls mals. Axí com ara los qui han vera contricció e ploreu e confessen sovín e fan abstinències, porten cilicis, etc. en tant que en la balança pesarien molt més los mèrits que·ls peccats que havien fets [...] E tals van a paradís tot dret, sens purgatori.¹⁶

But reality differs from the ideal. As we have said, human nature is sinful by nature, and there is a struggle between the flesh and the spirit:

You will not find anything which is composed of elements that has greater contrariety than man, because he is composed of four contrary elements [...] the major contrariety is the one between flesh and spirit; the flesh is opposed to the spirit and the spirit to the flesh.¹⁷

The three most common metaphors used to describe this reality were the ship beset by a tempest, the warrior against sin and the sick man in need of a doctor:

“*Erat navis in medio maris et Iesus solus in terra*” [...] Per questa nave s'intende la santa Ecclesia, anzi podem dire tutta la natura umana, la quale è posta ne la tempestate e ne la varietade di questo mare, cioè di questo mondo, nel quale non è altro que tempestate e mutamenti continui, non si trova ne pace ne tranquillità nulla.¹⁸

Tutta la vita de l'omo insino a la morte è tempo di battaglia e di tentazione, e cominciasi insino che n'asce [...] “*Temptatio est vita hominis super terram*”, vedete quanto n'è utile e necessario di sapere combattere e difenderci del nemico.¹⁹

Nos summus infirmi in peccatis multis [...] unus de superbia, alter de avaricia. Etc. Ideo medicus noster Iesus, sua gratiosa misericordia, nos visitat cotidie dans nobis preciosam medicinam sui sacri corporis et sanguinis [...]”²⁰

15. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons*, vol. III, p. 241

16. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons*, vol. III, p. 287.

17. Borelli and Passarro (Eds.), *Selected Writings*, p. 14.

18. Giordano da Pisa, *Quaresimale fiorentino 1305-06*, (Ed.) Carlo Delcorno, Florence, pp. 27-28.

19. Giordano da Pisa, *Quaresimale fiorentino*, p. 38.

20. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermones de Cuaresma en Suiza*, p. 72.

2. New aspects of Christian identity in the Late Middle Ages

2.1 *Individual responsibility*

The gradual increase in literacy did not involve merely the ability to read and write; it also meant that memory became a text written by each individual, for which he or she periodically had to render an account. With the expansion of compulsory auricular confession, each Christian became responsible for his or her own salvation. Each man or woman needed to know the rules to follow and to lead a life of perfection in order to avoid eternal condemnation:

When the penitent went to confession, he had to prove to the priest that he knew his prayers by heart: that he had acquired the kind of memory on which words could be engraved. Only after this memory-test could he proceed to the examination of another spot of his heart, henceforth called his conscience, in which the account of his evil deeds, words, and thoughts had been kept. Even the illiterate “I” that speaks in confession now perceives through new, literate, eyes, its own “self” in the image of a text.²¹

The Christian was thus under perpetual scrutiny, and salvation depended on his or her actions: it was not enough to know and believe the Credo, and there was no hiding behind the predestination argument. The faithful were frequently reminded by the preachers that free will was not affected by divine foreknowledge.

Moreover, individual behavior determined not only personal salvation but also the security of the entire community. In the same way that Adam’s sin affected all of humanity, individual sins corrupt and influence all of society, leading to catastrophic consequences:

Per un hom que tenia una putana dins la ciutat, de què tota la ciutat ere corrompuda, e de fer sostenie de grans plagues, e no sabien perquè, entre les quals ne hagueren una, que tres anys estigueren que no-y plogué. E trameteren a sent Pau que-ls o declaràs; e dix-los que per tal peccat, que sostenien aquella putana, dient-los: “Nescitis quia modicum fermentum total massam corrumpit?” (1Cor 5, 6)²²

2.2 *Faith, reason, segregation and violence*

Being Christian was not a given and was not a matter of birth: it was dependent on several factors and actions. The two most basic factors were perhaps baptism and the profession of faith. Once baptized, the Christian needed to learn the basic concepts that defined him or her—that is, he or she needed to learn, understand and believe the Credo:

21. Illich, Ivan (1987), «A Plea for Research on Lay Literacy», *Interchange* 18, 1-2, p. 17.

22. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons*, vol. III, p. 112.

Que al matí, al peu de vòstron llit, ans que us occupeu en altres negocis e ans que anats a la església, digats agenollat ab les mans altes e ab devoció axí: “Credo in Deum”, etc. [...] E si·l sabets, si no, aprenet-lo, que gran peccat és de no saber-lo; e si·l sabets e·l dyets, exireu de hun perill. E quiny? Sapiats que en breu deu venir la fi del món e Antechristi, e quan seran acèn los seus dexebles, quan te trobaran, diran: “Quinya fe has tu?” Diràs tu: “la fe christiana”. “E quala és?” Si no la saps, diràs: “No·u sé”. Oo, quiny perill! Que·t poran mostrar una error que·n seràs dapnat. E si sabeu lo Credo, poreu dir: “Aquesta és la mia fe”, e diràs-la, *scilicet*: “Credo in Deum, Patrem”, etc. “Veus ací la mia fe”. [...] Tingats almenys lo eçcut de la fe²³.

Beginning in the thirteenth century, reason came to complement faith as an aspect of Christian identity. Early on, Pedro Alfonso, in his *Dialogus adversus iudeos*, linked faith and reason, arguing that the Holy Spirit in baptism illuminates the heart and guarantees the rationality of Christian beliefs:

M. Multum certe suae tibi Deus dedit sapientiae et te magna illustravit ratione, quem vincere nequeo, immo tu obiectiones meas confutasti ratione.

P. Hoc procul dubio donum est Spiritus Sancti, quem in baptismo recipimus, qui et corda nostra illuminat, ne falsum quid credere presumamus. Quod si tu, quod credimus, ipse etiam crederes et baptizari te faceres, eandem Spiritus Sancti illustrationem haberes, ut, quae vera sunt, cognosceres et, quae falsa, respueres. Nunc autem quoniam super te pietatem habeo, Dei misericordiam imploro, ut Spiritus sui plenitudine te illustret et finem meliorem quam principium tibi prestet. Amen²⁴.

Later, Thomas Aquinas also explained the complementarity of faith and reason, and described Muḥammad and his followers as irrational, ignorant and beasts. Although the human reason cannot grasp fully the truths that are above it, yet, if it somehow holds these truths at least by faith, it acquires great perfection for itself²⁵.

[...] He (Mohammed) seduced the people by promises of carnal pleasure to which the concupiscence of the flesh goads us. His teaching also contained precepts that were in conformity with his promises, and he gave free rein to carnal pleasure. In all this, as is not unexpected, he was obeyed by carnal men. As for proofs of the truth of his doctrine, he brought forward only such as could be grasped by the natural ability of anyone with a very modest wisdom. Indeed, the truths that he taught he mingled with many fables and with doctrines of the greatest falsity.

[...] No wise men, men trained in things divine and human, believed in him from the beginning. Those who believed in him were brutal men and desert wanderers, utterly

23. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons*. vol. IV, pp. 17-18.

24. Petrus Alphonsi, *Dialogus contra Iudaeos*, ed. Klaus-Peter Mieth (1996). Huesca, p. 193.

25. Thomas Aquinas, *On the Truth of the Catholic Faith. Summa Contra Gentiles Book One: God*, Anton C. Pegis (1955), trans. New York, p. 71.

ignorant of all divine teaching, through whose numbers Mohammed forced others to become his followers by the violence of his arms [...] It is thus clear that those who place any faith in his words believe foolishly.²⁶

At the same time that Christianity was using rational arguments for its faith, the emergence of beliefs labelled heretical, along with a growing Jewish and Muslim population in Christian lands and the Turkish victory at the Battle of Manzikert (1071), resulted in a sense that Christianity was under attack. This led to a military response, as we can see in the different versions of the call for the First Crusade that are given in Robert the Monk, Guibert of Nogent, Fulcher of Chartres, William of Tyre and Orderic Vitalis.

According to some, the Jewish-Muslim threat was present not only in the Holy Land but also in Christian territory. This sense of threat no doubt derived in part from stories about ritual murder, host desecration, well poisoning and vandalizing of images of Jesus, which placed Christians in the position of martyrs under attack by infidels.²⁷ At times, in spite of increased segregation, Jews were described as having special privileges:

In detrimentum fidei katholice in multis locis sunt magis exaltati et privilegiati quam christiani, quod est magnum peccatum et probat esse multos antichristos.²⁸

In reaction to the sense of fear or insecurity, Christianity went on the attack, making coexistence more and more difficult with other creeds that, up to then, had existed side by side with Christianity. The dialogue format of Pedro Alfonso's *Dialogus adversus iudeos* gradually disappeared from Christian polemics, which adopted a more and more aggressive tone. This exclusionary ideology involved denying rationality to heretics and infidels. The Christians were the only ones who understood, who used reason correctly. This argument, which was frequently used against the Jews, appears early on in a sermon by Bernard of Clairvaux:

Car ce gens-là ne cèdent pas aux arguments, puisqu'ils son incapables de comprendre; ni a l'autorité, qu'ils contestent, ni aux efforts de persuasion, puis qu'ils on été pervertis.²⁹

Peter the Venerable, a contemporary of Bernard, also contrasts Christian rationality with the irrationality of heretics, Jews and Muslims:

26. Thomas Aquinas, *On the Truth of the Catholic Faith*, pp. 73-74.

27. An example is the story of the Beirut Christ, which appears in different literary forms and in sermons, such as one by the Franciscan Bernat de Déu. See. Catalán, Oriol (2015), «Los sermones de Bernat de Déu, OFM en el contexto de la predicación antijudía medieval», in *Archivo Iberoamericano* 75/281, pp. 422 and 437-438.

28. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermones de Cuaresma en Suiza*, p. 68

29. Bernard of Clairvaux (1957), *Sancti Bernardi Opera V. Sermones II*, Rome, p. 186. Quoted from Iogna-Prat, Dominique (1988), *Ordonner et exclure: Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'islam, 1000-1150*, Paris, p. 132.

Sed quid proderit inimicos Christianae spei in exteris aut remotis finibus insequi ac persequi, se nequam blasphemi, longaque Sarracenis deteriores Iudaei, non longe a nobis, sed in medio nostri, tam libere, tam audacter, Christum, cunctaque Christiana sacramenta, impune blasphemauerint, conculcauerint, deturpauerint? Quomodo zelus dei comedet filios dei, si sic prorsus intacti euaserint, summi Christi ac Christianorum inimici Iudaei? An excidit a mente regis Christianorum, quod olim dictum est a quodam sancto rege Iudaeorum? *Nonne ait qui oderunt te, domini oderam, et super inimicos tuos tabescebam? Perfecto odio oderam illos.* Si detestandi sunt Sarraceni, quia quamuis Christum de uirgine ut nos natum fateantur, multaue de ipso nobiscum sentiant, tamen deum deique filium quod maius est negant, mortemque ipsius ac resurrectionem, in quibus tota summa salutis nostrae est, diffitentur, quantum execrandi et odio habendi sunt Iudaei, qui nichil prorsus de Christo uel fide Christiana sentientes, ipsum uirginem partum, cunctaque redemptionis humanae sacramenta abiiciunt, blasphemant, subsannant?

[...] Non inquam ut occidantur admoneo, sed ut congruente nequitiae suae modo puniantur, exhortor.

[...] Manet multum scelus detestabile in Iudaeo, quod horrenda morte suspendii punitur in Christiano.³⁰

Although this idea might never have been hegemonic and although less extreme ideas persisted in Christianity, the presumption that Christianity was the only rational religion would be part of Christian identity for centuries, and augustinian tolerance gave way to intolerant rationalism. In fact, reason and intolerance are sometimes complementary. Ramon Martí contrasts Christian rationality with the blindness, hardness of heart, malice and perfidy of the Jews.

Circa cetero vero, quae in Iudaeorum disputatione concurrunt, multos habent dolos, quibus Deum ac veritatem scire renunt, multasque fallendi species sive modos, ad quos, non obstante timore Dei, non hominum verecundia, cum a fraude quam circa textum faciunt per supradictum modum appulsi fuerint, sic extento collo refugiunt, quemadmodum lacerta praeoccupata, vel talpa, refugit ad cavernam. Timore vero fastidii, non nisi tres modos ex eis in hoc proemio volui coartare.³¹

The following excerpt shows how Ramon Martí's reasoning becomes a pillar of Christian identity:

His ita praemissis, deducantur omnia in rationis ordinem et dicatur: Cum legumlator et virga, sive sceptrum, quod non debebat recedere de Iuda donec Messias veniret, sit Cenhedrin et eorum potestas, ut ex praedictis manifestum est, et ipsi Cenhedrin recesserint de loco suo et amiserint potestatem regendi et iudicandi per XL annos

30. Constable, Giles (1967), *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, Cambridge (Mass.), vol. I, pp. 327-330.

31. Ramon Martí, *Capistrum Iudaeorum*, ed. and trans. Adolfo Robles Sierra (1990), Würzburg., p.56.

ante destructionem templi, et postmodum recesserint non solum de Iuda, sed etiam de toto mundo, ut ipsu factum ostendit, et supra probatum est, de duobus sequi alterum, necessarium est. Videlicet, vel prophetam fuisse mentitum, vel Messiam iam diu venisse. Sed cum primum sit impossibile, scilicet, prophetam fuisse mentitum, ultimum, scilicet, Messiam iam diu venisse, erit necessarium.³²

Jews were accused at times of malice and obstinacy or of madness, always with the subtext that Christian identity was the opposite:

Jesucrist reprenia als majors de la llei dels jueus de un gran pecat en què estaven en dubte e menyscreença, que ell fos lo ver Messies e salvador [...] Nota la follia dels maestres de la llei. Nostre senyor Jesucrist confirmava la sua doctrina santa, e que ell era tramès per Déu lo Pare, faent miracles molt meravellosos, il·luminant los cecs, e faent oir los sort, e fer parlar los muts, e los mesells guarint, los paralítics sanant, los morts resuscitant [...] Per ço, per la follia de aquells maestres rabins, jueus malvats, que volien veure algun senyal, la reprensió que Jesucrist los fa, diu: Generatio prava et adultera [...] no el podien creure ne conèixer, ans se partien d'ell: "Excecavi illos malitia".³³

Com a les primeres preïcacions verdaderament cregueren Jesucrist (Mt. 21) bé ho mostra Nicodemus quan dix: "Rabbi, scimus quis a Deo vinisti" (Jo. 3, 2). E com Jesús los reprenia [...] hagueren malícia e foren encegats, e lo diable tornà en ells, e lladoncs, induïts per los dimonis, feren ordenació ab sentència e crida, que tothom que digués que fos lo rei Messies, que morís.³⁴

The negative image of the Jews has been widely studied and is not the subject of this chapter. It interests us only as a counterpoint to Christian identity. In one of his sermons, Vincent Ferrer presents contrasting Christian and Jewish identities using the concept of nobility. The Jews, God's chosen people, lose their nobility when they reject Christ. This nobility is passed onto the Christians, while the Jews become the Devil's vassals:

Aquesta noblea és de nosaltres, que som fills de Jesucrist e de santa mare Església [...] *Vos ex patre diaboli estis* (Io. 8, 44)³⁵

To confine to oneself the ability to reason is to reserve for oneself alone the status of personhood. From there it is only a small step to the brutalization and demonization of the other.³⁶

32. Ramon Martí, *Capistrum Iudaeorum*, p.80.

33. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons de Quaresma*, I, p. 109.

34. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons de Quaresma*, I, p. 113.

35. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons de Quaresma*, I, pp. 118-119.

36. Due to space limitations, and because of the large number of studies, we will not expand on this topic.

3. Christian identity in question: Reality versus the ideal

The Late Middle Ages were not the first period to be aware of a divergence between alleged Christian identity and reality,³⁷ but during this period there was increased zeal in the quest for perfection. Identity became radicalized, while the middle ground and half-heartedness disappeared. Both lay and religious were criticized for the corruption of mores:

Multis Ecclesiarum pontificibus et prelati [...] potius sunt Pilati quam prelati; dissipatores quam dispensatores; depresores ouium quam defensores; ruptores potius quam rectores [...] Uita eorum facta est omnibus exemplar malitie, sentina criminum, spectaculum ignominie, ambitionis materies et totius auersionis forma deformis: quorum est inexplebilis et inexplicabilis auaritia, libido insatiabilis, ambitio infinita.³⁸

Iste rex est Dominus noster Iesus Christus [...] Civitas eius es sancta Dei Ecclesia. Quem regem acriter offendimus, dum sibi civitatem suam subtrahimus, id est, de sacramentis ecclesiasticis non curamus, cui eciam fidem, quam sibi i baptismo promissimus dicentes: “Abrenuncio Sathano”, etc. Frangimus, tociens quociens peccatis suo adversario, scilicet dyabolo, nos subdimus, prout faciunt divini et divine demones invocantes, superbi, avari, etc. Omnes tales sunt filii dyaboli Christum negantes, eius sanctissimam matrem et omnes sanctos.³⁹

Idio ha aspettato, e aspettato, e voi non fate niuno frutto che sia a sua laude, ma fate ogni cosa contraria alla sua volontà; unde che elli e già indegnato, e credetemi que ha in pensiero di tagliare questo arbore, poi che elli è disposto a non volere dare il frutto, come elli ha aspettato già cotanto tempo. Ma se elli arà tanta pazienza d’aspettare questo quarto anno, e tu non li rendi frutto, guardati, guardati, poi guardati, Siena!⁴⁰

Doh, dimmi: hai tu veduta Italia come ella sta nel Lappamondo? Or ponvi mente: ella sta proprio come uno ventre. Eglino hanno errato tutti ’Taliani. O fuoco di Dio, come non discendi tu di cielo, a ciò che dibrugli tutti questi paesi! Tutta questa patria si può chiamare madre di questo peccato, però che non s’ode di niuna parte del mondo tanto contaminata, quanto questa. O Italia, aspettane vendetta.⁴¹

37. For example, Houdeville, Michelle (2000), «Les sarrasins, miroir des chrétiens?», in *La chrétienté au péril sarrasin*, Aix-en Provence, Université de Provence, pp. 77-84 (p. 78): “Le païen, par sa logique implacable, oblige à réfléchir sur le comportement du chrétien et l’invite à adopter une attitude plus conforme aux principes qu’il prétend défendre”, and in Suard, «La chrétienté ...», (p. 247): “Ainsi le motif de l’invasion sarrasine, qui met en péril un lieu essentiel à la vie et au développement de la chrétienté (...) apparaît-il comme un élément fondateur de la chanson de geste”.

38. Lillo Redonet, Fernando (Ed.) (2011), *Sermonario. Juan Gil de Zamora*, Zamora, p. 86.

39. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermones de Cuaresma en Suiza*, p. 57.

40. Bernardino da Siena (1989), *Prediche vulgari sul Campo di Siena 1427*, Ed. Carlo Delcorno, vol. I, p. 439-40.

41. Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari*, II, pp. 1145-1146.

Nosaltres mesquins, que havem ley, la Bíblia, decrets e cànones e altres santes scriptures e preycacions, mes que jamés no servim Déu ne fem res de bé. Ideo dicit Dominus: “Reddite prevaricatores [...]” gran vergonya és nostra, que tants llibres e tants preycadors havem, e ab tot açò som malastruchs en creure la fe catòlica.⁴²

One of the main accusations against Christians concerned the irrationality of their behavior:

E parliamo contra coloro i quali credono nel destinato delle costellazioni; chè sonno assai che dicono e credono e tengono una grande eresia; dove stamane cognosciranno la verità, e i'errore dove so'stati [...] E qui puoi vedere: se hai tenuta quella oppenione, che ella è gattiva, non la tenere più, ma crede l'uomo avere il libero arbitrio di poter fare bene e male, senza èssare constretto a fare contra al suo volere. O pazzatoni, a volere credere quello che non avete niuno atacco di ragione! Sappiate che questo è atacco del diavolo.⁴³

Superbi, avari, luxuriosi, etc. Sensualitati more animalium irrationabilium sensualitati innitentes, dicuntur bestie, et per peccatum bestie efficiuntur [...] contra quod Deus dedit nobis rationem et intellectum, et non bestiis, ut si sensualitas nos ducat ad malum faciendum, ratio resistat⁴⁴

From this point of view, many Christians are seen as traitors to the contract signed at baptism, becoming subjects of the Devil or the Antichrist:

Quando venerit, Lucifer et omnes dyaboli servient sibi, et omnes thesauri auri et argenti, lapidum preciosorum, etc. sibi per demones aperientur et presentabuntur, et elle distribuer cuilibet sibi adherere volenti, iuxta appetitum et desiderium suum.⁴⁵

This betrayal makes Christians similar to Jews:

No siam semblants als jueus: nostres senyor Déu ne vol fruita de nosaltres [...] Los jueus fulles li daven de paraula [...] mas no fruit de bona vida. Donen clergues la cistella plena de fulles a nostre senyor Déu [...] en paraules donen llaor a Déu, e no en obres de penitència e pietat [...] Molts religiosos donen paraules a Déu com fan la professió [...] mas no faran fruites, sinó fulles. Ítem los que preïcam [...] Ítem los regidors [...] Ítem los senyors [...] e los servidors [...] Ítem los juristes e notaris e altres.⁴⁶

42. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons*, III, p. 309.

43. Bernardino da Siena, *Prediche volgari*, I, pp. 36-37.

44. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermones de Cuaresma en Suiza*, p. 61.

45. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermones de Cuaresma en Suiza*, p. 54.

46. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons de Cuaresma*, I, p. 166.

Hominibus peccuniam indigentibus consilium do ut vadant ad iudeos, qui absque hoc sunt dampnati, et non des causam christiano sue perpetue dampnacionis accomodando ab eo ad usuram. Sed, heu! Tot sunt mali christiani usurarii quod iudei modo nichil lucrantur, ecce crimina, videlicet superbia et avaricia multum generalia.⁴⁷

Indeed, the sins of Christians are worse than those of Muslims and Jews, since there is an element of betrayal in their sin. Although this view does not appear very frequently, it is implicit in preaching and polemics.

3.1 Association with Jews: Coexistence and acceptance of converts

The construction of one's identity and the image of the other also entails the construction of symbolic and physical borders that the members of each group must not cross: marriage and sexual relations with members of the other group, taking up residence in certain neighborhoods, regulations in dress and other markings, etc., which we know were the subject of legislation in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁴⁸

Tolerance toward the Jews was compatible with segregation. Although legislation attempted to minimize cohabitation among Jews and Christians as much as practicable,⁴⁹ some sermons demonstrate that the law was not followed:

Want to taste everything: Muslim and Jews, and animals, men with men; there is no limit⁵⁰

Moros, Juheus e Christians tots están mesclats. Acó podeu dir que destróix... Lo Rey nostre ha ordenat en Castella que tots los moros van ab hun capuxo senyalat, e los juheus ab una roda, e aci van los moros axi com a christians ¿e no sou gelosos de vostres mullers?⁵¹

[...] si vos moratis in simul cum judeis et infidelibus in hoc mundo in alio in inferno morabitis cum ipsis. Et ideo, si vultis hoc vitare, evitatis conversacionem ipsorum in

47. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermones de Cuaresma en Suiza*, p. 84.

48. English translations of fragments from Vincent Ferrer in Nirenberg, David (2014), *Neighboring Faiths: Christianity, Islam, and Judaism in the Middle Ages and Today*, Chicago, pp. 247-248.

49. A long quote in Vicent Ferrer, *Sermones de Cuaresma en Suiza*, p. 68. It is not copied here since it does not deal directly with Christian identity, but rather with the segregation of Jews. This reiteration in the prohibition against contact between religions has been called "a crisis of religious identification". Groebner, Valentin (2009), «Sleeping with Arabs and Blacks, 1300-1500», in *The Origins of Racism in the West*, Cambridge - New York, p. 225.

50. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons I*. English Translation from Nirenberg, *Neighboring Faiths*, p. 105.

51. Chabás, Roque (1903), *Estudio sobre los sermones valencianos de San Vicente Ferrer que se conservan manuscritos en la biblioteca metropolitana de Valencia*, Madrid, p. 85.

quatuor, scilicet hospicios et officios et negotios et servicios, aliter conversabitis cum eis in inferno.⁵²

Sed modo non cognocetis quis sit pater vester vel filius, quia talis putat esse filius christiani et est judei, et econtra. Et hoc est propter conversacionem et habitacione inter christianos et iudeos.⁵³

No tingau juheus ne moros entre vosaltres, mas a una part de la vila, e quiscús viviu segons vostra ley. Vosaltres christians no·ls deveu encendre foch, car s'és esdevengut que una joveneta christiana fon forçada per hun juheu.⁵⁴

Although Vincent Ferrer supported the segregation of the Jews, he also argued that converts should be integrated and enjoy the rights of full membership in the Christian community:

E vosaltres, ¿havets de aquesta consolació, quant hun juheu se converteix? Molts christians folls són que no n'han consolació, que·ls deuriem abraçar e honrar·los e amar·los; e fets lo contrari, que·ls' menyspreau perquè són stats juheus, e no·u deveu fer, car Jesuchrist juheu fo e la Verge María abans fo juhia que christiana. Gran peccat és de escarnir·los, que'ls dieu “retallat”; no·u deus fer, que axí serás dapnat, com aquell fore si morís juheu; mas deveu·los adoctrinar en lo servi de Déu. [...] Vet aquí quiny scàndel li fas, que li fas perdre la fe; e axí guardau·vos de menysprear·los.⁵⁵

Si algun moro o jueu se converteix, e es fa cristià, que lo deu hom voler e fer·los tots plaers per honor de Déu, e no injuriar·los, que els dieu “retallats”, e així, aquells tals cristians par que sien renegats, que hagen oi a aquells qui prenen la llei de cristiantat. Així, vullats·los honrar aquells qui vénen a cristiantat.⁵⁶

As is well known, Vincent Ferrer's views in this matter were rejected after 1430 and converts were segregated from Spanish Christian society for centuries. However, this lies beyond the purview of this study.

52. Gimeno Blay, Francisco, Mandingorra, María Luz, (Eds.) (2002), *Sermonario de san Vicente Ferrer*, València, p. 536-7.

53. Gimeno Blay, Mangingorra, *Sermonario de san Vicente Ferrer*, p. 764.

54. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons*, III, p. 113.

55. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons*, III, p. 70.

56. Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons de Quaresma*, I, p. 137.

4. Conclusion

The way Christian identity is reflected in late medieval sermons and religious polemics combines faith, rationality and individual responsibility for the salvation of the community with high moral standards that lead to an acknowledgment of both the desire for perfection and everyday imperfection. To reflect this contrast, several classical conventions were adopted for Christian self-representation: the saint, the sick man, the warrior and the storm-tossed ship, among others.

This negative self-image is sometimes very similar to the image constructed of the other. Turning the argument around, it seems that the negative image of the other is constructed from one's own defects. At bottom, then, the battle against the other is the battle against the self, against the weakness, error or sin that needs to be excised from oneself and from society as a whole.⁵⁷ The construction of this identity was a laborious and complicated process in which preaching and the religious polemic played a prominent role.

57. Legros, Huguette (2000), «Réalité et imaginaires du péril sarrasin», in *La chrétienté au péril sarrasin*, Aix-en Provence, Université de Provence, pp. 125-14 (pp.137, 142). Houdeville (2000), «Les sarrasins», (pp. 80, 82).

New Developments Challenging Long-Established Anti-Islamic Arguments: The Case of Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón

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Abstract

Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón was a Spanish humanist who, influenced by the *devotio moderna* and Juan Luis Vives, wrote two works to promote Muslim conversion in Valencia—as well as in Aragon and Granada. His arguments were not original given that they had been commonly used since the Middle Ages. However, Pérez de Chinchón’s approach to the debate appears to be very different from the merely controversial tone of many previous authors. In fact, this paper argues that he presented the Muslims as neighbors to be persuaded by the implementation of a proposing catechesis. These requirements were supposed to be valid for the entire society. In this way, the call to Muslim conversion relates to the appeal for a general Church reform.

1. Introduction

The long process initiated in sixteenth-century Spain to promote Muslim conversion required the use of clear arguments and fine persuasiveness. This need focused the debate on how to carry out the mission campaigns in two concrete parts of rhetoric, namely *inventio* and *dispositio*. Actually, if one takes into account that the arguments would have come down from postulations inherited from medieval anti-Islamic apologetics, it would not be an exaggeration to affirm that the singularity of sixteenth-century preaching addressed to Moriscos lies specifically in the way of arranging those long-established arguments. Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón is an outstanding example of this procedure, and he was fully aware of this fact, as will be demonstrated with his own words. Certainly, after acknowledging that his reasoning’s main source had been Bishop Martín García Puyazuelo, he asserted that “cotejando lo que allí se trata con esto, creo haver dado, si no¹ más doctrina, alomenos mejor orden para persuadir a esta gente.”²

This *mejor orden* might be justified by the prerequisites of a debate inspired by the idea that truth does not involve either gradations or nuances. On the contrary, the contention’s starting point is to defend the existence of a unique and totally harmonized truth. Thus, one must not to confuse sixteenth-century religious discussions

1. *Sino* in the used edition. Similar mistakes are corrected to improve the deficient punctuation.
2. Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), *Antialcorano. Diálogos cristianos. (Conversión y evangelización de moriscos)*. Estudio preliminar, transcripción y notas de F. Pons Fuster. Alicante, Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante, p. 81.

with current inter-religious dialogue and even less with any sort of multi-culturalism or of inter-faith cooperation. Multiculturalism seeks the coexistence of all kinds of religions turning them into a private subject; inter-faith cooperation strips religions of their proselytizing ambition. These two features were foreign to the European mindset in the Renaissance period.

Accordingly, if the purpose is to understand the Christian attempts to convert Muslims, there is no other choice but to assume that they dealt exclusively with mission and proselytizing deliberations. As a result, their explicit and unique objective was the conversion of the other by confronting completely contrastive soteriologies and by deploying arguments that might have been decisive for Christians but ultimately were unpersuasive for Muslims. Thus, the little success obtained in the numerous campaigns led to promote conversions might be related to the impossibility of an effective dialogue between Christians and Muslims since both considered the other either heretical, false, or mendacious.

2. The case of the Valencian Kingdom

The rationale for explaining all sorts of incomprehensions among social groups is never univocal. The failure of every missionary attempt can be elucidated by pondering a multiplicity of factors. In addition to the theological and philosophical aspects, social and political issues should be taken into account as well. In the case of Valencia, it is necessary to bear in mind the *Germanías*' revolt. The *agermanados* forced the conversion of Muslims in the entire central area of the Valencian Kingdom after having defeated the viceroy of Valencia's troops in 1521. Shortly thereafter, in 1525, when the revolt was crushed, many of the converts openly returned to the Islamic faith with the support of the nobility. Pons Fuster describes this episode as follows:

Las razones que indujeron a los agermanados a bautizar coactivamente a los mudéjares hay que buscarlas tanto en el supuesto milenarismo que alentaría a la revuelta agermanada, como en el daño que tal medida podría provocar a la nobleza valenciana. Los agermanados pensaban que al bautizar a los mudéjares lanzaban un ataque directo contra la nobleza regnicola. Los vasallos mudéjares, ahora convertidos al cristianismo, verían equiparados sus derechos a los de los cristianos con la consiguiente merma que ello significaría para las haciendas señoriales. Finalizadas las Germanías con la derrota de los agermanados, los nuevos convertidos (moriscos) volvieron a la práctica de su fe islámica con el beneplácito de los señores. Y aunque su apostasía planteó algunos problemas doctrinales, éstos no se abordaron oficialmente hasta 1525, cuando se convocó una Asamblea para dilucidar la cuestión de la validez del bautismo coactivo y la apostasía de los moriscos. Esta convocatoria no fue bien recibida por la nobleza regnicola que trató por diversos medios de boicotearla.³

3. Pons Fuster, Francisco (2000), *Introducción* in Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, (2000), p. 19. See also, Lea,

Pérez de Chinchón's proposals seem to be addressed precisely to those Moriscos who, at the end of the sixteenth century, were still Muslims, showing the fruitlessness of both violence and persuasion in religious matters. Yet in the first half of the sixteenth century, a group of Erasmus-inspired humanists maintained the hope that common arguments could change the *pertinacity* of the Moriscos, if they were properly adapted and adequately explained. Often times, as Pérez de Chinchón said, the problems with achieving the conversion of Muslim people were not theological, but purely educational and even cultural:

[...] porque ni allí (Gandía) ni por todo el reyno de Valencia les predicavan ni hablan, ni por ninguna manera de cathecismo los aparejavan a la fe, sino sólo vía procurar que viniessen a la yglesia a oyr missa. Como quiera que de buena razón primero havían de passar meses y años que ellos entrassen a ver lo que no creen, como algunos dellos públicamente dizen, y empeçarlos a christianear por la missa es como empeçar la casa por el tejado, para que, sin fundamento, nunca se haga, siendo también menester para su información cada día o, a lo menos, las fiestas, hazerles pláticas y predicaciones. Y aun éstas con mucha maña para ganarles poco a poco la boca como a pollos; y mostrándoles los males y mentiras de su ley, enamorarlos a la nuestra, primero con las obras y, luego, con las palabras, pues Jesu Christo empeçó a obrar y a enseñar; primer dize obrar. Y este exercicio havía de durar tanto, que ellos mesmos, ya desseosos de la fe, pidiessen la missa y los otros sacramentos.⁴

Pérez de Chinchón astutely moved the discussion to everyday life and highlighted that belonging to one or another religion was manifested principally in rites, customs, and practices. In the same vein, he emphasized the fact that it would be ineffective to force people to change their habits or to coerce them to attend mass without a previous catechesis. In his opinion, all such efforts would be useless without a rational proposal of stages in approaching Muslims. All those premises should be linked to the external elements of life, which have been traditionally regulated and timed by religion. Among them, the customs of eating, dressing, burying the dead, or getting married could be mentioned.⁵

In short, any process of changing religion involves an initial phase of acculturation. Scholars influenced by Erasmian religiosity had especially stressed this concern both because they adhered to a religion far removed from external practices and because they were completely conscious that religion was also a matter of civi-

Henry Charles (2007), *Los moriscos españoles. Su conversión y expulsión*. Estudio preliminar y notas de Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco. Traducción de Jaime Lorenzo Miralles, Alicante, Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante (2nd ed.), pp. 131-152.

4. Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), p. 80.

5. Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, Rafael (2000), «¿Cristianos o bautizados? La trayectoria inicial de los moriscos valencianos, 1521-1525» in *Estudis*, 26, p. 13. Martínez Sierra, María Teresa (2000), «La situación religiosa en la antigua morería de Valencia en 1522, según las denuncias de Juan Medina», *Estudis*, 26, pp. 113-136.

lization. As a result, their preaching usually led to relating the changing of religion to the changing of customs. Both religion and customs appeared to be purified by a set of moral rules that, in principle, would awaken the desire to immerse oneself in the authentic values of the society.

These interrelationships made it inevitable that the question of Muslim conversion would be affected by Christian sectarianism. In fact, the emergence of different Catholic reform movements, and especially the advent of Luther and other Protestant reformers, exerted considerable influence on the preaching methods used to convert Muslims. As a result, the political turbulence of those times deeply affected the Morisco debate. The Lutheran schism gave rise to a series of crossed alliances throughout Europe to destabilize the Spanish monarchy, which was the main bulwark of Catholicism. This subject was elucidated by L. Cardaillac, who studied certain documents of Valencian Moriscos offering submission to the King of France against Spain: “Nosotros, los de Valencia, sumamos setenta y seis mil casas, más bien más que menos, podemos reunir sesenta mil hombres sin despoblar las dichas somos casas, somos los amos y no queremos obedecer sino a la voluntad de S.M. el rey de Francia.”⁶

Moriscos strove also to obtain the support of Lutheran and Reformed Protestants underlining that they were closer to the truth than Catholics. Hence, they tried to link certain Lutheran principles such as *sola fides* with the Islamic concept of submission to the Unitarian God and attempted to exploit to their advantage the mutual censorship between Catholics and Protestants on matters such as the sacraments or the criticism of the immoral behavior of certain clergy. In the process, all the contenders used these crossed alliances to defend their truth vis-à-vis the others. As a result of those clashes, almost a century later Quevedo placed Muḥammad and Luther together in hell as successors of Judas, the betrayer of Jesus: “Digo verdad que vi a Judas, Mahoma y Lutero tan cerca de atreverse a entrar en juicio.”⁷ Moreover, according to Quevedo, Muḥammad and Luther contended with each other for being considered Judas: “En esto que todo era ya acabado, quedaron descubiertos Judas, Lutero y Mahoma. Preguntó un ministro que cuál de los tres era Judas? Lutero y Mahoma dijo cada uno que él.”⁸ Identical were the proceedings of Protestants, such as Cipriano Valera, fighting against Catholicism and Islam, jointly accusing those religions of being two types of heresy in contrast with the pristine purity of their faith, which would be represented by Reformed Christianity:

Los cuales (Muslims) hoy ha cien años fueron totalmente echados de nuestra España. El reino de Mahoma y el del Papa ya ha casi mil años que comenzaron. El papa comenzó como zorra, con astucia y con engaños, so color de santidad. (...) Mahoma

6. Cardaillac, Louis (2004), *Moriscos y cristianos. Un enfrentamiento polémico (1492-1640)*. Traducción de M. García Arenal. México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, [2nd Spanish Edition. 1st French edition 1977], p. 133.
7. Quevedo, Francisco de (1993), «Sueño del juicio final» in *Sueños y discursos*, James O. Crosby (Ed.), Madrid, Castalia, 2 vols, I, p. 137.
8. Quevedo, Francisco de (1993), I, p. 139.

casi en el mismo tiempo comenzó como león, con violencia. Y así ambos han entretenido sus reinos, y perseguido el de Cristo: Mahoma con su Alcorán, y el Papa con sus Decretales.⁹

In this context, missionary campaigns were practically destined to fail, because neither the theological arguments, nor the social reality, nor the international situation favored any points of agreement. On the contrary, all the opposing interests seemed to contribute to reinforcing confrontation. This failure became patent and unambiguous in a fragment of the novel, *El curioso impertinente* inserted in *Don Quijote*:

Paréceme, ¡Oh Anselmo!, que tienes tú ahora el ingenio como el que siempre tienen los moros, a los cuales no se les puede dar a entender el error de su secta con las acotaciones de la Santa Escritura, ni con razones que consistan en especulación del entendimiento, ni que vayan fundadas en artículos de fe, sino que les han de traer ejemplos palpables, fáciles, inteligibles, demostrativos, indubitables, con demostraciones matemáticas que no se pueden negar, como cuando dicen: “si de dos partes iguales quitamos partes iguales, las que quedan también son iguales”; y cuando esto no entiendan de palabra, como en efecto no lo entienden, háseles de mostrar con las manos y ponérselo delante de los ojos, y aun con todo esto no basta nadie con ellos a persuadirles las verdades de nuestra sacra religión. Y este mismo término y modo me convendrá usar contigo, porque el deseo que en ti ha nacido va tan descaminado y tan fuera de todo aquello que tenga sombra de razonable, que me parece ha de ser tiempo gastado el que ocupare en darte a entender tu simplicidad (que por ahora no le quiero dar otro nombre), y aun estoy por dejarte en tu desatino, en pena de tu mal deseo.¹⁰

It is certainly valuable not to overlook that Cervantes was comparing Muslims to lovers by considering that both of them were unable to be convinced by rational arguments. The acceptance of this assertion implied the complete impossibility of convincing a Muslim to change their faith. In fact, the blindness of the Moors when it came to their faith was equated to that of lovers and their passion. This comparison was nothing less than a joke about the commonplace that compared the Moriscos to animals for refusing to recognize the truth. At that point, Cervantes carefully described the proposed way of preaching that had been carried out in Spain at least from the end of the fourteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century. What makes this statement striking is the evidence that Cervantes' writing appears to be an accurate and ironic depiction of Vives or Pérez de Chinchón's method to convert Muslims. Once more, one should forget that the employment of biblical, philosoph-

9. Valera, Cipriano de (2004), *Tratado para confirmar en la fe cristiana a los cautivos de Berbería*, introducción y edición de Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra y Beatriz Alonso Acero. Ediciones Espuela de Plata-Editorial Renacimiento, Sevilla, p. 178.

10. Cervantes, Miguel de (2004), *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, edición dirigida por F. Rico con la colaboración de J. Forradellas. Estudio Preliminar de F. Lázaro Carreter. Circulo de Lectores, Madrid, p. 418.

ical, and Christian dogmatic authority was forbidden since Muslims denied their authoritativeness. Consequently, *mathematical* explanations were the only applicable resource, namely, expositions, “palpables, fáciles, inteligibles, demostrativos, indubitables, con demostraciones matemáticas que no se pueden negar, como cuando dicen: *si de dos partes iguales quitamos partes iguales, las que quedan también son iguales*.”¹¹

Cervantes could not be more sarcastic, because he was admitting that Muslims are *inconvertible* with logic, dialectics, or rhetoric. The only possible path to their acceptance of the Christian faith appeared to be through elementary demonstrations. But in the end, these reasons were going to be futile also, due to the fact that Muslims are said to be unable to understand even those easy statements. Accordingly, “háseles de mostrar con las manos y ponérselo delante de los ojos.” But Cervantes had no hope in this simple method, seeing that, as in the case of a lover:

[...] el deseo que en ti ha nacido va tan descaminado y tan fuera de todo aquello que tenga sombra de razonable, que me parece ha de ser tiempo malgastado el que ocupe en darte a entender tu simplicidad, que por ahora no le quiero dar otro nombre; y aún estoy por dejarte en tu desatino en pana de tu mal deseo.¹²

The main consequence of this *dejar en tu desatino* was the decree of expulsion.

3. Humanist preaching

Before arriving at the expulsion as a point of no return, there was a large stretch to traverse. In that journey, scholars such as Juan Luis Vives¹³ or Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón occupied a prominent place, since they represented two of the most outstanding heirs of the proposing catechesis inherited from the fifteenth-century Spanish tradition. The distinctive and most visible feature of this movement was to

11. Cervantes, Miguel de (2004), p. 418.

12. Cervantes, Miguel de (2004), p. 418.

13. Gómez, Jesús (1988), «El diálogo *Contra Iudaeos* de Vives y su tradición medieval» in *Criticón* 41, pp. 67-85. Cantarino, Vicente (1991), «La polémica de Luis Vives contra el Islam» in *Boletín de la Biblioteca Menéndez Pelayo*, 67, pp. 5-34. Kohut, Karl (1995), «Anmerkungen zu *De veritate fidei Christianae*» in Strozetzki, Christoph (ed.), *Juan Luis Vives, sein Werk und seine Bedeutung für Spanien und Deutschland*, Frankfurt a/M, Vervuert Verlag, pp. 122-134. George, Edward (2007), «Rules of engagement: The humanist Apologetics of Vives' *De Veritate Fidei Christianae*» in *Erasmus Studies* 27 pp. 1-36. George, Edward (2008), «Author, adversity, and reader: a view of *De Veritate Fidei Christianae*» in Fantazzi, Charles (Ed.), *A Companion to Juan Luis Vives*, Leiden, Brill, pp. 315-158. Parello, Vincent (2008), «La apologética antijudía de Juan Luis Vives (1543)» in *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 38-2, pp. 171-187, [http://journals.openedition.org/mcv/3959]; Colish, Marcia (2009), «Juan Luis Vives on the Turks», in *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 35, pp. 1-14. Havu, Kaarlo Johannes (2018), «Dialogue and toleration in Juan Luis Vives's *De veritate fidei Christianae*: Vives on Muḥammad and Islam» in *Medieval Encounters* 24, pp. 649-665.

relate the church's reform to the preaching addressed to the Moriscos. This fact had consequently given prominence to the need to offer a deeper Christian teaching for everybody whether they were Moriscos or *cristianos viejos*. The Moriscos' conversion was clearly a reference within the broader catechetical field.

The first outcome of these conditions is the reluctance to praise religions. Indeed, praise existed, but the debates usually emphasized the pedagogical aspects over any sort of glorifying exaltation. Juan Luis Vives explained that with the following words: "*Nec sunt pauca in pietate nostra adeo congruentia cum hominis mente, atque ingenio, ut cognita illico amplectatur, ut sola illarum expositio sufficiat nuda, et quasi inermis.*"¹⁴ As a matter of fact, panegyric and encomia would only extinguish any hope of dialogue. On the contrary, the recommended strategy had to be exclusively propositional and catechetical: "Plurimos arbitror non se nobis aggregare hac una de causa, quod de fide nostra vel nihil prorsus audierunt, vel perparum. De quibus Paulus ait: "*Quomodo credent ei, de quo non audierunt? Quomodo audient, sine docente?*" (Rom 10, 14)."¹⁵

This attitude of Juan Luis Vives seems to be similar to Pérez de Chinchón's frame of mind, when the latter accentuated the lack of humanistic education among the Morisco population, instead of stressing the traditional topos of Muslim –and Morisco– depravity and inherent evil:

[...] pero todos los hijos de los ciudadanos y señores aprenden las ciencias y saben en que ley biven. Nada desto hallaréys entre los moros, porque, aunque tengan algún estudio, en muy poco y en pocas partes y falta de las más cosas destas. Y si algunos moros ha havido sabios, es porque han ydo a estudiar a Grecia o a Egipto o a Ytalia, donde siempre ha havido estudios.¹⁶

As a consequence, the two central aims which characterized the Islamo-Christian polemic of authors like Vives and Pérez de Chinchón were (1) to have linked Muslim conversion to Church reform, and (2) to subordinate any apologetic attitude to a profound pedagogical intention. Both arguments cohere with the Catholic reformist tradition, which used to underscore the role of the clergy as responsible for the faith of believers. The clergy were said to have to lead the Church's missionary campaigns. This was the ultimate reason for Pérez de Chinchón to urge the clergy to respect their ministry:

Mejor se emplearían en esto los buenos obispos que no en andar en cortes. Otra granjería de ánimas sería ésta que no atesorar ducados, que son tierra amarilla. Las disputas de París, los ejercicios de Salamanca, los actos de Alcalá, la retórica de Italia,

14. Vives, Juan Luis (1790), *De veritate Fidei Christianae*, in *J.L.V. Opera Omnia distributa et ordinata (...)* a Gregorio Majansio. Valentiae, In officina Benedicti Monfort, VIII, p. 23.

15. Vives, Juan Luis (1790), *De veritate Fidei Christianae*, p. 23.

16. Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), p. 375.

la eloquentia romana en esta empresa de deuría emplear. Mueren algunos por anotar a Plinio, sudan por declarar a Vergilio, trabajan por metrificar epigramas y versos de amores, y ninguno se exercita en estirpar este error de Mahoma que tanto cunde. ¡O gran mal! Antiguamente contra un Arrio huvo dozientos concilios, y no tenía sino una heregía, aunque grande, y nunca descansó la Yglesia hasta la estirpar y destruyr. Y contra esta seta que contiene todas las heregías del mundo, y la primera y principal la mesma de Arrio, todos duermen los que deurían velar.¹⁷

If these three perspectives – (1) the pedagogic attitude, (2) the relationship established between Muslim conversion and Church reform, and (3) the accent on clergy– are combined, all the other missionary conditions will be clarified, including the traditional corpus of motives handled in debates against Islam. The first of these conditions is to learn Arabic to be able to communicate directly with the Muslims. Speaking Arabic came to be considered a requisite to facilitate that approach and not only a means to know their scriptures in order to negate and combat them. Thus, the core purpose is neither erudition nor a sort of defensive fight, but a real persuasive approach to Muslim people. That was the goal *e.g.* of Hernando de Talavera, the first archbishop of Granada, who promoted making available various prayers of Christian piety in Arabic¹⁸ and sponsored the first Arabic grammar in Spanish.¹⁹ This requirement distinguished Vives' thought as well:

[...] quocirca vehementer cuperem ut in plerisque nostris civitatibus *gymnasia instituerentur linguarum*, non solum *illarum trium*, sed *Arabicae*, sed *earum etiam*, quae *essent Agarenis populis vernaculae*, quas addicerent non otiosi homines ad gloriam inde captandam et plausum, sed ardentissimi zelo pietatis, parati vitam pro Christo impendere, ut eis instructi Christum illis gentibus annuntiarent, quae paucissima ac nihil paene de illo audiverunt.²⁰

Pérez de Chinchón emulated Vives's thought in his *Diálogos christianos* by writing them in the spoken language of Valencian Muslims: “*Ceterum quod dialogi hispane loquuntur non latine, scias isthuc huic negotio huic regioni fuisse quam maxime necessarium, nam sarracenus, quibuscum est disserendum, hispane sciunt, latine nesciunt.*”²¹ But going further and deeper, this instrumental conception of languages was obviously the reiteration of a topic firmly rooted in Greek philosophy, that is, the postulation that a human being should be defined as a speaking animal,

17. Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), pp. 399-400.

18. Iannuzzi, Isabella (2008), «Educar a los cristianos: Fray Hernando de Talavera y su labor catequética dentro de la estructura familiar para homogeneizar la sociedad de los Reyes Católicos» in *Nuevo Mundo. Mundos Nuevos*, [http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/19122]. [Read 10/18/2018].

19. Alcalá, Pedro de (1506?), *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua aráviga*, Granada, Juan Varela de Salamanca.

20. Vives, Juan Luis (1785), *De Disciplinis in J.L.V. Opera Omnia*, VI, p. 300.

21. Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), p. 391.

and that the spinal cord of this animal was the ability to debate and to confront opinions. This innermost human attribute became central in the anti-Islamic argumentation by enhancing the alleged lack of confidence of Muslims in the internal congruence of their religion:

Y si me dizes que te manda tu ley que no la pongas en razón ni pruebas especialmente con el christiano, como lo dice tu alcorán, libro tercero, capítulo noveno, donde dize: *No queráys disputar con judíos ni christianos*. Item una çora hos manda que digáys: *tenéos vos vuestra ley que no me terné la mía*.²² Mira que esse mandamiento es injusto por la razón que tengo ya dicha; que o tu ley es buena o mala: si mala, déxala; si buena, por qué no la pornás en razón, pues todo lo bueno se puede mostrar a todos.²³

On account of this mindset, Vives' evident counter-argument emerges:

Metuant hoc aliae religiones falsae, atque umbratiles, in quibus nihil est solidi, ideoque attingi se se non sinunt. Judaeus gravatur cum Christiano de lege sua conferre; Mahometus de secta sua disputari omnino vetuit: ne attingatis vitrum tenuissimum, falsum, inane; levissimo contactu statim friatur.²⁴

Summing it up: "*Nostra religio intus etiam est, quam exterius formosior, solidior, firmior. Accedat quivis, tractet, agitet, scalpat, modo cum ingenio, et iudicio; thesauros inveniet latentes sub specie egestatis, sapientiam in simplicitate, divinitatem in humanitate*."²⁵ But the most relevant assertion within the rhetorical coherence of Vives or Pérez de Chinchón's preaching was to claim that the alleged animadversion of Muslims to debate about their religion was a symptom of irrationality as well as a sign of distrust in their internal congruence. Pérez de Chinchón pointed out that there was no human being without reason, no reason without debate, and no debate without rhetoric and dialectic:

Pues luego, si soys hombre, holgad de poner en razón vuestra ley; holgad que se platique; holgad que se sepa. Mirad, hermanos, una de las cosas de que no debe haver verguença el hombre en este mundo es de publicar su ley. Si huys de publicar vuestra ley, si la escondéys por los rincones, señal es que no es buena; señal es que estáys engañados. (...) vete a los hombres sabios, a los que leen las sanctas scripturas y los prophetas de Dios, y pregúntales, platica con ellos, que ellos te enseñaran la buena ley.²⁶

22. See Q3:18-20. These assertions had been used e.gr. by Peter the Venerable (2016), «*Contra sectam Saracenorum*. Against the sect of the Saracens» in *Writings agaisnt the Saracens*, translated by Irvn M. Resnick. The Fathers of the Church. Mediaeval Continuation. Volume 16. Washington D.C., The Catholic University of America Press, pp. 81-86.

23. Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), p. 94.

24. Vives, Juan Luis (1790), *De veritate Fidei Christianae*, p. 16.

25. Vives, Juan Luis (1790), *De veritate Fidei Christianae*, pp. 16-7.

26. Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), p. 93.

In short, a given individual who does not debate and use reason is simply an animal. This attitude would mirror not only the recognition of Islam's weakness, but even worse, the disparagement of human uniqueness:

La diferencia del hombre a la bestia sólo está en la razón. (...) Y la razón se pierde quando el hombre no usa della, para lo que fue criado. El hombre, según la filosofía política, fue criado para común paz y concordia con otro hombre. Y por esto lo llaman animal racional, amigable. Y, según la theología, fue criado el hombre, como dize sant Agustín, para entender, amar, posseer y gozar el summo bien. Luego quel hombre, ni como animal racional político bive en paz y concordia, ni como animal divino busca la divinidad, sale de razón y se haze bestia.²⁷

This anthropology led Vives and Perez de Chinchón to defend pacifism vividly by affirming that forced conversion should be considered another form of irrationality. That standpoint could explain the mood and tone of Pérez de Chinchón's preaching: "nuestro señor Dios a nadie quiere hazer fuerça. Muéstranos el camino derecho de nuestra salvación. Si no anduviéremos por él, nuestra será la culpa y no suya, que para esto nos dio entendimiento y razón, y nos hizo hombres y no bestias."²⁸ This mental disposition, which turned the precept of love into the password of rationality, defined and made singular the pacifism of the whole Vivesian movement identifiable in those Vives' words:

Amandi sunt Turcae, nempe homines, amandi ab iis qui illi voci volunt parere: *Diligite inimicos vestros* (Mt. 5, 44), illis, ergo, quod veri est amoris, bene cupiemus, illudque optabimus unicum et maximum bonum, agnitionem veritatis, quod nunquam assequuntur conviciis aut maledictis nostris, sed eo modo, quo nos ipsi ope ac beneficio sumus Apostolorum consecuti, rationibus naturae et humanis ingeniis congruentibus, integritate vitae, modestia, moderatione, inculpatis moribus, ut nos ipsi priores re ostendamus quae profitemur et jubemus, ne a fide nostrorum dictorum arceat eos tam discrepans vita.²⁹

Perez de Chinchón glossed the words of Vives in the following way:

[...] que es mucha razón que todos los hombres quantos ay en el mundo tengamos paz y concordia y amistad y amor unos con otros, y que no hazerlo es yr contra razón natural y contra la voluntad y mandamiento de Dios, que nos manda en su ley que no nos tomemos unos con otros. Y porque veáys que esto es assí, mirad que los dos más principales mandamientos que Dios pone en su ley son éstos: el primero que amemos a Dios sobre todas las cosas, porque es padre y señor de todos; el segundo

27. Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), p. 398.

28. Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), p. 89.

29. Vives, Juan Luis (1784), *De concordia et discordia in humano genere* in *J.L.V. Opera Omnia*, V, p. 390.

mandamiento es que amemos a nuestros próximos como a nosotros mismos (Mk. 12, 28-31).³⁰

Hence, “[...] el christiano, para hazer lo que le manda su ley, no ha de querer mal al moro ni al judío ni al gentil en quanto son hombres. Antes ha de rogar a Dios por ellos, y rogar que Dios los trayga a buena ley y los ponga en el verdadero camino de salvación.”³¹ Without a doubt, this notion of love forced Pérez de Chinchón to mould the traditional anti-Islamic arguments into a new shape. As stated previously, this shape, outline and context were the scope of the Church’s reform within the ethical and philosophical framework of Erasmian Catholicism. Some of these postulates seem to presage the current inter-confessional dialogues based upon the rule of mutual respect and pacific coexistence. Pérez de Chinchón recalled that “Fe y buenas obras son las armas del christiano.”³² These Christian weapons were interpreted as an especially valuable exigency for the clergy who were responsible for a general Church’s reform:

Y nosotros, señores, a quien la boca de Dios llama gente sancta, linage escogido, real sacerdocio (1P 2,9), sirvamos de lo que somos, que es ser pilotos, y guías desta armada spiritual. Acordaos de lo que al nombre de cada uno nos obliga, pues *episcopo* quiere decir atalayador; *canónigo regular*, rector regidor; *vicario* como veedor; *cura* como el que tiene cuydado, para que cada uno de nosotros sea atalaya, regla, vista, cuydado, para guiar, regir, ver, procurar estas naos que están a nuestro cargo, que son las ánimas de los fieles christianos.³³

The assumption of these postulations obliged Pérez de Chinchón to defend the so-called propositional preaching. The *recipe* was evident:

[...] como a plantas nuevas empear a regarlas y labrarlas con el agua y doctrina de las sanctas scripturas, enseñando la ley y fe de nuestro señor Jesu Christo, muy particularmente quién la dio, cómo extendió, qué cosas manda, y qué cosas promete, y qué milagros ha tenido, y qué orden llevan los libros della, y si es honesta, verdadera, justa, spiritual, ygual, clara, alta, misteriosa y digna para ser llamada ley de Dios.³⁴

As a result, the preaching had to be focused on knowledge of Scriptures, on absolute faith in Christ, and obviously on Christ’s imitation. These three pillars run through and form the essence of Erasmian Catholicism. They might be carefully applied to the whole of Christianity formed by *moriscos*, *conversos*, and *cristianos*

30. Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), p. 100.

31. Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), p. 101.

32. Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), p. 400.

33. Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), pp. 76-77.

34. Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), p. 369.

viejos. As we have seen, the testimonies of those goals are Pérez de Chinchón's *Antialcorano*³⁵ and *Diálogos Christianos*.³⁶

4. Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón

Pérez de Chinchón's catechetical works appear to be a preaching manual providing tactics and topics rather than sermons or dialogues actually pronounced or performed. As Pons Fuster affirms, Pérez de Chinchón "pretendía suministrar material doctrinal a todos los rectores y a las personas eclesiásticas que se encargaban de la conversión y de la evangelización de los moriscos."³⁷ That *material doctrinal* was not different from the concerns usually raised against Islam since the Middle Ages. Pérez de Chinchón's particularity, as demonstrated above, lay in his way of arranging them in conformance with the anthropological, political and theological postulations of Spanish Vivesianism. The convergence of those principles determined a deductive method according to Erasmian postulates and to the following passage from Cervantes:

[...] les entro por razón natural, la qual no pueden negar, y, quando la autoridad concierta y viene bien con la razón natural, entonces se la traygo. Las materias por donde empieço son comunes a todas gentes, para que, como de principios naturales, vengamos a lo particular y, concediendo lo primero que es general, quando vengo a lo particular, que es la falsedad de su ley, ya los tengo presos, de manera que, o han de yr contra la razón natural que concedieron, o han de conoscer la falsedad de su ley.³⁸

The requirement of beginning with general and universal arguments to try to reach an agreement later –followed by a step by step conversion– represents Cervantes' mathematical method, whose ostensible purpose may be summarized by urging Muslims to accept moral universals. In a second phase, those universals would be identified with the Christian faith, so Muslims could become constrained apparently either to agree with Christians or to risk being compared to irrational animals.

It is not necessary to clarify that the logic of this syllogism is valid only from the perspective of a Christian preacher who, trusting in a supposed universality of logic, assumes that the adherence of Muslims to their faith could be undermined intellectually through charitable example or simply by emphasizing faith in a miraculous and divine Christ. It is not my goal to criticize Pérez de Chinchón for his naïve

35. *Libro llamado Antialcorano, que quiere decir contra el Alcorán de Mahoma, repartido en XXVI sermones*. Valencia, Juan Joffré (?), 1532. 2nd edition Salamanca, Andrés y Juan Renaut, 1595.

36. *Diálogos christianos contra la secta mahomética y contra la pertinacia de los judíos: compuestos por el maestro Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón canónigo de Gandía: obra nuevamente compuesta muy útil y provechosa*, Valencia, Francisco Díaz Romano, 1536.

37. Pons Fuster, Francisco (2000), *Introducción*, in Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), p. 23.

38. Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), p. 82.

procedure, because such an anachronistic approach would impede the inquiry into the content of his books. This paper's objective is simpler and attempts to unveil the reasons underlying Pérez de Chinchón's choice of sermon settings.

In this regard, this scholar established his two chief convictions in the first two sermons of the *Antialcorano*. These primary bases are (1) the classical definition of a human being as a rational animal, and (2) the premise that society only lives in harmony and peace when ruled by reason. Reason and social peace are acknowledged as gifts from God in the third sermon. Once this notion has been established, the next question will be how human beings could act rationally and build social peace. Pérez de Chinchón's answer referred to the concept of wisdom in the fourth sermon. In fact, he described wisdom as being the ultimate goal of humankind. Shortly afterwards, in the fifth sermon, he posited that wisdom was necessary to make human salvation possible. Finally, in the sixth sermon, after having defended Christian wisdom, he underscored that this was a sort of faith.

In this way, he conjoined reason with faith through a wisdom manifested in social peace. As is evident, he slowly strove to bring Muslims to conversion by convincing them that he had verified that the Christian faith was based upon natural and rational principles. In addition to this, he asserted that only this faith could build a peaceful society. The relationship between rationality, wisdom, and faith is explicit in another essential notion of Pérez de Chinchón's mindset, namely his concept of the law, which he developed in the seventh sermon.

Underscoring the concept of law would allow Pérez de Chinchón to start confronting Christian and Islamic beliefs in detail. Indeed, by considering religion as law, he could emphasize the principles, rituals, and customs of each religion and determine the rational degree of each one. Subsequently, he subjected Muslim law to a strict—and certainly biased analysis—in the eighth sermon with the sole aim of comparing it to Christian law. The next *logical* step was to scrutinize the Christian faith in the ninth sermon following the guide of Jesus' Sermon on the Mount. This comprehensive confrontation between Christianity and Islam was only the beginning of another debate, namely, the usual opposing arguments, such as the validity of circumcision and baptism as visible signs of each law. He developed this subject in the tenth and eleventh sermons.

With the same intention of contrasting the rationality of Christianity and Islam, the Gospel and the Qu'ran were juxtaposed in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth sermons, and, in fifteenth and sixteenth ones, the personality of Jesus and Muḥammad, in order to resolve the question about the authority that Christian and Islamic sacred books merited. Yet this confrontation between Jesus and Muḥammad did not suffice, and so Pérez de Chinchón continued to raise a series of traditional issues, whose only function was to discredit Islam.

To conclude, the most relevant matter cannot be the arguments themselves, but the fact that the Valencian author resorted to them after having constructed a logical edifice to discern between rational and irrational religious behaviors. It is not realistic to look for a modern conception of tolerance within Pérez de Chinchón's books. That would not be the best way to understand the humanist strategy of dealing with

the Muslims. This paper considers that it is more appropriate to highlight the specific moments in which these anti-Islamic prejudices appear within the textual coherence of Pérez de Chinchón's writings. Furthermore, the author's mood and tone must be also considered.

Attending to these two factors and notwithstanding previous occurrences of the traditional anti-Islamic polemic, Pérez de Chinchón postponed this crucial debate and these common overgeneralisations about dogmatics and moral matters to the final sections of his sermons. At that point, among the dogmatic topics, he reproduced the standard dissensions over the Trinity, Christ's dual nature, his miracles, or his passion and resurrection; among moral subjects, the leitmotifs of Muslim polygamy and holy war carried a huge weight. The closing reference to all those issues could only aim to highlight the absolute rationality of Christianity. In this sense, he presented the call to conversion together with an intellectual recognition of Christian philosophical superiority, under which supposedly lay a theological and soteriological superiority.

As a result, every evaluation of Pérez de Chinchón's preaching should derive from its contemporary and personal coordinates. Furthermore, it is indisputable that his way of thinking responded to Erasmian Christian principles, whose first premise was the need for a comprehensive Church reform. Without this reform, Christianity would fail as a religion, as an ethical corpus, and even as a force to construct Europe's nations. For that reason, this paper concludes that Pérez de Chinchón and Juan Luis Vives' books should be characterized principally for their pedagogical value. The apologetic issues and the anti-Islamic prejudices are clearly subordinated to the effort to create a peaceful society. Although it would be impossible not to find the traditional preconceived bias against Islam in a sixteenth-century Christian preaching text, the most outstanding feature of the Erasmian humanists is the assumption that these prejudices were strongly connected to a sort of human weakness and to the lack of education. Those premises turned every single debate about Muslims into a debate on humankind. This particular circumstance led the Valencian author to end to his sermons addressing the entire human race:

Peccador es el hombre que ama más reyno, imperio, fama, riqueza, deleytes, hermosura, alabança, muger, hijos, padres, parientes, amigos, salud, descanso, delicadez, ygnorancia, passatiempos, vanquetes y murmuraciones, crueldad, lisonja, mentira, discordia y guerram que a Dios y a su ley, por la qual todo lo deuría dexar. Y como no lo hazen ni christianos ni moros, por esso ay guerras y discordias en el mundo.³⁹

Thus, if Pérez de Chinchón began his work seeking human universals and making explicit that rationality, peace, wisdom and faith were the real divine gifts to humankind, he concluded his *sermons* based on the reasons and evidence demonstrating that a peaceful society is impossible not only because individuals do not

39. Pérez de Chinchón, Bernardo (2000), p. 351.

profess a certain faith, but also because they do not act in accordance with the most basic principles of rationality. And that reality affected *christianos* and *moros* alike. This statement embodies the most conspicuous singularity of humanist preaching which, as mentioned, locates the lack of rationality and morality at the heart of all wars, disputes and hatred. Thus, the call for Muslim conversion was also a call for everybody, Muslims and Christians, to convert to the universal reason and to act in accordance with the authentic values and the basic principles of ethics.

In conclusion, this paper has demonstrated, firstly, that Pérez de Chinchón adopted the Spanish tradition of proposing catechesis, which emerged in the fourteenth century, and secondly, that he acted in accordance by sharing the postulates of his compatriot Juan Luis Vives and the general mindset of Spanish Erasmian movement. With that background, he enlivened the traditional anti-Islamic arguments by trying to overcome all kinds of apologetic tendencies. His ultimate purpose was to rebuild European society upon a bedrock of morality. To make this come true, he considered that the conversion of the Muslims was as essential as the Church's reform. The main purpose of this equation was to establish the humanist tenet and confidence both in human reason and in the rationality of Christian truth. These beliefs led him to think naïvely that Christian reason was persuasive enough to conquer the heart of the Muslims. Nevertheless, he failed as well as all the other attempts by persuasion or force failed. They forgot that faith is not only a question of reason or wisdom, but also a matter of culture and a feeling of belonging to a given community. In this context, all kinds of arguments, even those raised with the best pedagogical intentions, were doomed to end up sounding belligerent or blatantly apologetic.

SECTION 4.
Uncovering gender identities

Preserving Jewish Heritage: Conversas after the Establishment of the Barcelona Tribunal (1487-1505)

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Abstract

The study explores the world of Jewish women conversas and their devotion in the perpetuation of Jewish legacy after the reestablishment of the Barcelona Tribunal in 1487 until 1505. This investigation, based on the manuscript *Liber descriptionis reconciliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum ALIAS de Gestis Hereticorum* written by the inquisitorial notary of the Barcelona Tribunal, Pere Miquel Carbonell, will furnish new insights into the lives and spiritual endeavour of these heroic women who faced the wrath of the Inquisition. Through a close and fine-grained analysis of the trial records and legal proceedings of the Barcelona Tribunal, this study will provide a better comprehension of a complex period and a fuller reconstruction of the conversas' religious practices as a system with its own structure.

The present research concerns the world of Jewish women conversas and their devotion in perpetuating Jewish religious heritage in the late medieval period, after the Barcelona Tribunal was established in 1487, until 1505, based on inquisitorial trial records. The study will contribute to a better understanding of the spiritual lives of the last generation of Judeo-Conversas with personal knowledge of Jewish religion, whose dualistic lifestyle made them far from passive victims of the inquisition.

In the past decades, there has been a remarkable interest in the study of Sephardi female religiosity from the late medieval and early modern period. Conversas' devotion to perpetuating the spiritual practice of their ancestors and their attempts to resist inquisitorial authorities based on trial records have been examined in depth by Renée Levine Melammed. First, her meticulous historical work, *Heretics or Daughters of Israel: The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile*,² published in 1999, and based on archival dossiers has advanced the world of Castilian Judeo-Conversas in an impressive manner. In this study, Levine reconstructed the religious practice of conversas in an environment in which Jewish public oriented rituals and institutions had been prohibited while crypto-Judaism survived as a system on its own inside of homes, where these women took the role of female leaders. In addition, Levine's sub-

1. This study was undertaken as part of FFI2015-63659-C2-1-P, MINECO-FEDER, EU, and 2017 SGR 1787 at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, whose principal investigator is Cándida Ferrero Hernández.
2. Levine Melammed, Renée (1999), *Heretics or Daughters of Israel: The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile*, New York-Oxford, Oxford University Press.

sequent rich opus continued to focus on this theme; for instance, in the article, “Crypto-Jewish women facing the Spanish Inquisition: Transmitting Religious Practices, Beliefs, and Attitudes,”³ she investigated in which circumstances under the haunting presence of the inquisition these women maintained clandestine Judaic observances, and thus preserved their religion. In the following essay, “The Ultimate Challenge: Safeguarding Crypto-Jewish Heritage,”⁴ using inquisitorial trials records from the court in Toledo in the period between 1492 and 1520, Levine provided an analysis of 111 proceedings of women who were sentenced for Judaizing. She revealed that the home became a central and the only safe place for learning, where conversas could safeguard their religious legacy clandestinely. In the last few years, a growing interest in Judeo-Conversas’ religious and intellectual identity from other Iberian regions and diasporas has emerged. For instance, in a 2016 publication, “Literacy and Education among Judeo-Conversa Women in Castile, Portugal, and Amsterdam, 1560–1700,”⁵ Sara T. Nalle shed light on the literacy and literary production of early modern conversas by revealing that these Castilian women had an unusually high level of education, significantly higher than most of their Old Christian female contemporaries. Additionally, Gretchen D. Starr-LeBeau analyzed the proceedings of conversas based on their depositions and the strategies by which they protected themselves and their family members to affirm their identity at the end of the sixteenth century in Guadalupe. At the time, the Extremaduran city was a popular pilgrimage site inhabited by a remarkable number of New Christians, even prior to the issuing of the Edict of Expulsion in 1492. LeBeau published her findings in the paper, “Writing (for) Her Life: Judeo-Conversas in Early Modern Spain.”⁶ However, none of these works has addressed the central question of the first generations of Judeo-Conversas, who continued practicing *mitzvot* in secret after the renewal of the Aragonese inquisition in Barcelona. Hence, this study will remedy this gap, examining these women’s commitment to Judaism and ritual practices, especially reflected in inquisitorial archival documents. This study will focus particularly on a primary source of heresy inquisition, *Liber descriptionis reconsiliationisque, purgationis et condemnationis hereticorum ALIAS de Gestis Hereticorum*, written by the notary of the Barcelona Tribunal, Pere Miquel Carbonell. A close analysis of this manuscript will reveal the lives and spiritual endeavour of the conversas who faced the wrath of the inquisition during first seventeen years after its establishment in 1487 Barcelona.

3. Levine Melammed, Renée (2000), «Crypto-Jewish women facing the Spanish Inquisition: Transmitting Religious Practices, Beliefs, and Attitudes», in Meyerson, Mark D.; English, Edward D. (Eds.), *Christians, Muslims and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Interaction and Cultural Heritage*, Notre Dame, Indiana, University of Notre Dame Press, pp. 197-219.
4. Levine Melammed, Renée (1986), «The Ultimate Challenge: Safeguarding Crypto-Jewish Heritage», in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 53, pp. 91-109.
5. Nalle, Sara T. (2016), «Literacy and Education among Judeo-conversa Women in Castile, Portugal, and Amsterdam, 1560–1700», in *Early Modern Women* 11/1, pp. 69-89.
6. Starr-LeBeau, Gretchen D. (2017), «Writing (for) Her Life: Judeo-Conversas in Early Modern Spain», in Vicente, Marta V.; Corteguera, Luis R. (Eds.), *Women, Texts and Authority in the Early Modern Spanish World*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, London – New York, pp. 57-72.

Permanent tribunals under the Aragonese inquisition's jurisdiction were renewed and established in Zaragoza (1482), Valencia (1482), Barcelona (1487), and Mallorca (1492).⁷ On July 29, 1487 the tribunal of Barcelona in the Palau Reial Major was established, having a prison for heretical convicts and chambers for the inquisitor and members of their personnel.⁸ With the advent of the inquisition, the Edict of Grace was pronounced, and a grace period was declared during which significant information about Judaizing activities was collected, which served as a basis for future trials. Uncommonly prolonged, a grace period lasted for approximately five months; hence, on Friday, December 14, 1487 thirty conversas conscious of their and their co-conspirators' heretical practices voluntarily repented. The inquisition began operations in Barcelona in the next year on January 25, on the Feast of the Conversion of Saint Paul the Apostle.⁹ The first *auto de fe* was presided by Dominicans, inquisitors Alfonso de Spina and a second inquisitor, Sanxo Marín, both experts in theology, who both remained in these function until 1493. From 1493 until 1501, in charge of the Tribunal were the autochthonous inquisitors Antonio de Contreras and Pere Pariente, experts in canon laws; and finally, from 1501, Francesco Pays de Sotomayor, an expert in canon and civil laws, and the Dominican Joan Enguera, future Grand Inquisitor of the Crown of Aragon, took charge over Barcelona's tribunal.¹⁰

The records of 198 women prosecuted for Judaizing during this period provide the basis for the present study. These processes resulted in twenty-six capital punishments (eight during the reign of Alfonso de Spina; two during Antonio de Contreras, and Pere Pariente, and sixteen during the mandates of Francesco Pays de Sotomayor and Joan Enguera); eighty life sentences (thirty-nine during the Spina and Marín; twenty-three during the Contreras and Pariente mandate; and eighteen during the Pays de Sotomayor and Enguera mandate), eighty-two sanbenito sentences (during the mandate of Alfonso de Spina and Sanxo Marín), and ten acquittals (during the period of Antonio de Contreras and Pere Pariente). Additionally, 348 women were prosecuted and sentenced in absentia and their property was confiscated.¹¹

Transcripts of legal proceedings reveal the data about the conversos' knowledge and activities. A plethora of these transcripts provide only basic information about the proceedings, such as the list of culprits, the date and place of trials, the names of the Tribunal members, and the imposed sentences. Yet a certain number are preserved in a more extensive form and also include documents of the proceedings (the prosecution and examination of the defendant, stages of the defence, arguments

7. Contreras, Jaime; Dedieu, Jean Pierre (1980), «Geografía de la inquisición española: La formación de los distritos 1470-1820», in *Hispania* vol. 40, Nº 144, p. 41.

8. Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Registro sobre negocios de la Inquisición de Fernando II, Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXXIV.

9. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXI-CXI'.

10. Fort i Cogul, Eufemià (1973), *Catalunya i la inquisició*, Barcelona, Editorial Aedos, pp. 157-221.

11. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684.

arguments of confronted sides, confessions and depositions of the accused), consultation of the sentence, the final verdict, and the subsequent public execution.¹²

Each of inquisitorial trials were based on fixed elements: a preliminary investigation about the defendant had to be done, which summarized the gathering of evidence based mainly on eyewitness testimonies. For instance, as was discovered in this manuscript – the servants were potential informants. The majority of conversos were from the middle or the upper middle class; hence, they had servants who worked as as teachers for their children or in the kitchen where they were obligated to follow Jewish dietary laws and restrictions. Since the inquisition was well-informed about Judaic dietary customs, it created a network of spies who paid special attention to the culinary habits of the converso community and infrequently cooperated inside of the converso homes. For instance, a conversa, Marquesa Badia, tried by the inquisition in 1496 in Barcelona, specifically stated in her confession that during the Passover she and her sisters, contrary to the tradition, ate unleavened bread only on a first day of holiday, so they do not provoke a suspicion of Christian servants:

[...] ella e dites ses germanes lo primer dia de dita Pascha manjaven pa alis e guardavan aquell empero los altres dies no manjaven del dit pa alis per que tenian en casa moços e mestre que eran christians de natura perque no fossen descubertes empero be tenian devotio de fer e servir dita Pascha si poguessen.¹³

The information collected by witnesses varied from one accused to another; however, certain socio-religious practices of conversas quickly become apparent. During the period in question, converso education of the generation that personally experienced the establishment of the Barcelona tribunal and the Expulsion was based on a profound knowledge of religious laws and tradition. Judaizing parents and especially mothers took the role of transmitting their religious knowledge to the future generation seriously. Therefore, the following examples will demonstrate that religious instructors were women, usually family members, and mostly mothers who encouraged children to follow the laws of the *mitzvot* by creating an unbreakable link among generations of Judaizers. For instance, three sisters, the eldest Marquesa, wife of merchant Pau Badia, the middle Catherina, wife of the royal scribe, Galceran Bertran, and the youngest, a widow Joana Libiana, who were tried by the inquisition in 1496 in Barcelona, confessed that they were influenced and instructed in Judaism by their mother Na Marquesa. Joana confessed in her testimony that she was under her mother's influence, who encouraged her to observe the *mitzvot* while she was still single, prior to her marriage to Francesc Libia at the age of 16 or 17: “en diverses vegades e confessions ha dit e confessant com ella dita Joana stigue en poder

12. For detailed inner workings of the Inquisitorial court, trial preparation and execution, see: Beinart, Haim (1981), «The Court of Ciudad Real at Work», in *Conversos on Trial: The Inquisition in Ciudad Real*, Jerusalem, Magnes Press, Hebrew University, pp.105-195.

13. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLV.

dena Marquesa quondam mare sua fins ques casa ab En Franci Libia quondam que era de edat ella dita Joana de setze fins desset anys.”¹⁴ Catherina, the middle sister, stated that her indoctrination under her mother’s guidance begun in her parents’ house even before she was 13 years old, when she got married:

[...] ella confessant era de edat de tretze anys poch mes o menys fins que ella se casa ab son marit En Galceran Bertran que era de edat de desset anys poch menys ella confessant sempre stigue fora de la creença de la Sancta fe catholica creent la ley de Moyses esser bona axi com la dita sa mare ley havia induida [...].¹⁵

The oldest sister, Marquesa Badia confessed that she intended to persuade her sisters to repent for their sins during the time of grace and confessed the heretical life they had led while living under their mother’s roof: “ella confesant dix a dites ses germanes que en temps de la gratia fora bo ques confessassen de la mala vida habían tenguda ab sa mare.”¹⁶ At the time, Marquesa was 38 years old and had been married for 22 years. Before she got married around the age of 16, she confessed that her mother had educated her in the *mitzvot* since she was an 11- or 12-year old girl:

E mes ha confessat la dita Marquesa com en lo mes de janer prop passat ella hague XXXVIII anys e que ha ques casa ab En Pau Badia marit seu vint e dos anys. E que es veritat que despuys que ella comença haver discretio ço es de onze en dotze anys poch mes o menys ella confessant sempre cregue en la ley de Moyses creent aquella ley esser millor que la ley dels christians.¹⁷

Mothers were aware of the dangers they exposed their family to by instructing their children to observe; if they waited for maturity, the Catholic beliefs could become too deeply instilled to be rooted out. However, if they started child initiation from early youth, their immature babble could jeopardize the whole family. Children were exposed to Judaism from early adolescence, because, according to Jewish law, Jewish boys and girls at ages 12 or 13 years old become accountable for their actions and undergo the ritual Bar Mitzvah or Bat Mitzvah; therefore, this age, by the converso community, was considered ideal for beginning the initiation into the rituals of Judaism.¹⁸

Some conversas were influenced by more than one individual. For instance, in the case against Isabel Pallares, who was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment in 1496 in Barcelona, it was discovered that her stepmother Na Clara had taught her to observe before she got married and was still living in her father’s house: “... ha

14. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLII’.

15. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLV’.

16. Ibid.

17. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLIV.

18. Roth, Cecile (1959), «The Religion of the Marranos», in Id., *A History of the Marranos*, New York, Meridian Books, p. 70.

confessat com ella per inductio de na Clara madastre sua muller den Berthomeu Limona quondam pare della confesant ella en lo temps de les figues e dels raimen en lo mes de setembre ha fet un dejuni abans de sopar.”¹⁹ Additionally, after she got married, she continued to practice the religion of her ancestors, instructed also by her aunt Elionor Colella: “Lo qual dejuni faea per inductio de una tia sua nomenada Elionor Colella muller den Colell... La qual tia sua deya a la dita Isabel semblants paraules – Isabel, dema o tal dia sera lo dejuni feslo.”²⁰

Each of these conversas was treated differently during the trials in which they were accused of heresy. However, certain patterns became obvious; for instance, in their confessions they not only provided a description of indoctrination, they also chose to reveal their sources, but only if they were deceased at the time of the trial, or previously sentenced in absentia for Judaizing. The offenders collapsed under inquisitorial pressure and revealed *dogmatizadora*'s (woman teacher of religion) identity and accused them in turn for their heretical activities, and consequently got away with minor penalties. For instance, in the case against sisters Marquesa Badia, Caterina Bertran, and Joana Libiana, we know that their mother Na Marquesa was dead at the time of their trial; hence, their depositions placing the guilt on her could be justified to a certain extent. The same pattern followed Isabel Pallares, whose stepmother Na Clara was sentenced in absentia on the 10th of April 1495, and whose father Berthomeus Limona and aunt Elionor Colella were deceased at the time of her trial.²¹

Celebrating Shabbat, the principal holidays, and observing the dietary laws or *kashrut*, which formed a set of dietary restrictions, played a central role in maintaining Jewish life. In comparison with the Old Christian's food, Jewish and crypto-Jewish cuisine differ in three ways: first, Judaic culinary tradition prescribes which foods can or cannot be eaten; second, it prescribes how food must be prepared and how meat must be made kosher; and finally, conversas created a certain number of traditional meals which future generations preserved and prepared for Shabbat and other festivals.²² On the one hand, these dietary laws were easier to remember because they were observed more frequently on a daily and weekly basis; however, as was mentioned previously, they were most easily noticed, especially by anyone working in the household or by neighbours. Therefore, having that in mind, the inquisition put pressure on potential witnesses to gain the information about which foods were consumed and the way they were prepared inside of conversos' home. The following examples will demonstrate how the inquisition used a cultural heritage of conversos as a heretical charge in creating a case against them. For instance,

19. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLVII'.

20. Ibid.

21. Carbonell, Pere Miquel (1865), *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, tomo XXVIII, *Opúsculos inéditos del cronista catalán Pedro Miguel Carbonell*, vol. II, Publicada de real orden por su archivero, D. Manuel de Bofarull y de Sartorio: Barcelona, p. 78.

22. Gitlitz, David M.; Davidson, Linda Kay (1999), *A Drizzle of Honey: The Lives and Recipes of Spain's Secret Jews*, New York, St. Martin's Press, pp. 4-5

the confessions of defendant Joana Libiana revealed that they ate *afami*, a typical judaizer dish, and that she, as well as her sisters and mother, abstained from forbidden food, such as hares or jackrabbits and fish without fins or scales: "...que ella ni sa mare ni dita Marquesa sa germana no menjaven conills ni lebres... ni peix sens scata..."²³; additionally, they ate only mammals and birds slaughtered in accordance with the Jewish law, which had not died of natural causes or were killed by other animals: "...ni nenguna manera de ocells offegats"²⁴; and finally they did not eat meat with dairy, in this particular case, cheese: "...ni apres que havian manjat la carn no menjaven formatge per que deya sa mare que los juheus non menjaven."²⁵

Studying the depositions of conversas revealed that in maintaining dietary laws they obeyed the rule of removal of forbidden fat and the sciatic nerve and its adjoining blood vessels. For example, while preparing a Jewish meal, Aldonça Comte removed fat before she soaked and salted the meat: "ella dita Aldonça levava lo greix de la carn e la posava en sal e apres de una stona la posava a coure."²⁶ Additionally, Joana Libiana removed the nerve which was prohibited by biblical rule by following the procedure known as *nikkur*: "E mes dix e confessa que una vegada vea com la dita sa mare prengue una cuixa de carn e obri aquella e de aquella trague una ver-toleta."²⁷ In the absence of religious functionaries and ritual slaughterers to perform these tasks, many women carried them out; although Jewish law permitted them to do so, these tasks were usually reserved for the men. Preparing the unleavened flatbread (*matza*) for the Passover is frequently identified with conversas from the period in question. For instance, conversa Marquesa Badia prepared a *matza* to celebrate the Passover, which was eaten during the entire week of the holiday, as well as rice with fish, and peas: "Ella confessant e la dita sa mare e dites ses germanes dessus dites faen la Pascha dels juheus del pa alis la qual durava vuyt dies e la dita sa mare los dits vuyt dies sempre manjava pa alis e arros e peix e faves tenres."²⁸

Properly keeping Shabbat required advanced preparation; for instance, the house had to be cleaned, the family members had to be dressed up, and a festive meal was prepared a day before, everything had to be previously done for a day of rest. The positive precepts of Shabbat (lighting candles, wine blessing) as well as negative (abstaining from work) were seen by the inquisitors as clear proofs of guilt.²⁹ As a home-oriented holiday, Shabbat was marked as one of the most persistent crypto-Jewish observances. Marquesa Badia reported that she intended to keep Shabbat holy and refrained from undertaking any type of forbidden work, whenever possible, from sundown on Friday until sundown on Saturday: "E que es veritat que si ella pogues

23. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLII.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLVIII'.

27. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLII.

28. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLV.

29. Gitlitz, David M. (2002), *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of Crypto-Jews*, Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, p. 317.

colre e servir lo dia del dissapte complidament ella lo divendres lo sol post se lexara de fer faena e lo dia del dissapte se abillare e no faera alguna faena fins al vesper.³⁰

The ingredients of the Sabbath meal did not provoke the suspicion of the Inquisition; rather, it was how and when the food was prepared. It was prepared prior to sunset on Friday and it stayed untouched until Saturday lunch. For example, Joana Libiana confessed that on Shabbat she and her sister Marquesa ate cold meals prepared a day before, which their mother justified as being more delicious when it was eaten that way: “E mes confessa la dita Joana que ella e Marquesa germana sua deyan a la dita sa mare per que lo dissapte manjava la vianda apparellada lo divendres que era freda e aquella responia que millor li sabia la vianda freda que calda,”³¹ Aldonça Comte provided a similar example in her confession when she admitted that in her house the Shabbat stew, containing chickpeas, spinach, and eggs, was prepared one day in advance:

[...] e les dites Beatriu e Isabel apparellaven lo divendres la vianda que havian a manjar lo dissapte e una vegada o dues les dites Beatriu e Isabel apparellaven una certa vianda ço es spinachs com ciurons e ous e altres coses e la dita vianda apparellada lo divendres manjaven lo jorn del dissapte tots los de casa.³²

The lighting of candles at sunset on Friday marked the beginning of Shabbat; it was one of three commandments reserved especially for women, as one of the most constant traditions found in these records. The flame that converso families maintained on Shabbat was frequently seen by the inquisitors as an incriminating evidence of Judaism. The Shabbat light could not be extinguished by any means by observant Jewesses, and it was left to burn itself out. In her confession, Aldonça Comte admitted that for this ritual she elected new or cleaned wicks and pure olive oil: “E axi mateix ella confessant lo divenres a vespre per manament de dita Beatriu natejava los cresols e aquells encenia ab metxes noves e aquells no apagaven fins que ells mateys se apagaven.”³³

According to the inquisitorial documents, after Shabbat, Yom Kippur, with its central themes of atonement, repentance and fasting the day was the most frequently observed holiday among conversas, despite all the perils of discovery by the inquisition. The calculation of this holiday was far too difficult to be determined due to the existence of only an orally transmitted knowledge of Judaism. Hence, the depositions of conversas typically mentioned that the observance of the Day of Atonement was in September, during the time of the harvest of grapes and figs, when the conversas, such as Isabell Pallares fasted for the entire day until the stars became visible on the sky: “en lo temps de les figues e dels raïms en lo mes de se-

30. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLIV.

31. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLIII.

32. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684., CXLVIII.

33. Ibid.

tembre ha fet un dejuni que no manja ni begue de tot lo dia fins a la nit les esteles vistes... Lo qual dejuni dix la dita Isabel ques nomenava de Equipur.³⁴ Therefore, it is open to discussion whether Yom Kippur was intentionally not observed on its proper date when the vigilance of the inquisition slackened, and conversas could tranquilly prepare the holiday, or due to its complexity in determining of the exact date. Additionally, it seems that this observance acquired one more misconception among the converso families in Barcelona. One of the characteristics of the holiday came to be the formal acts of forgiveness between family members for received offences, especially by younger members. Thus, for three years in a row, Isabell Pallares asked her father and step-mother for forgiveness: “Lo qual dejuni ella apres feu per tres vegades ço es per tres anys següents en lo dit mes de setembre ensemps ab los dits son pare e madestre e sempre los demanava perdo lo vespre del dejuni els besava les mans abans de sopar.”³⁵

The most important Jewish fasting day after the Yom Kippur was Purim, renamed the Fast of Queen Esther. It commemorates the salvation of the Jewish people of Persia from Haman, the minister of King Ahasueros, who had conspired against them, as is written in the Book of Esther. Both Marquesa Badia and Catharina Bertran reported to the inquisition that their mother instructed them to abstain from eating and drinking in honor of the Fast of Queen Esther: “E mes confessa que en lo dit temps ella feu lo dejuni de la Regina Aster.”³⁶

As a rule, at the end of defendant’s list of charges, final accusations of being bad Christians were brought forth; they appeared at this spot because they were insufficient to sentence the offender. Therefore, with these statements they expressed the refusal to accept the imposed Christianity. Conversas led a dual lifestyle, in which the clandestine denial of Christianity played an important role, while publicly they were forced to appear as true believers. With the designing of this defense mechanism, their former religion was affirmed by maintaining certain unchristian acts. For instance, Marquesa Badia confessed that she and her mother intentionally displayed disrespect for the Church and disbelief in the Sacrament and confession:

E mes ha confessat la dita Marquesa que es veritat que en lo dit temps ella confesant ab la dita sa mare anaven a la ecclesia no per devotio que hi ha haguesen sino per demostrar que eran bones christianes. E mes dix e confessa que en lo dit temps ella confesant no crea en los Sacramentos de Sancta mare Ecclesia ni crea que per la confessio li fossen perdonats los peccats ni en aquell temps encara que ella se acostumava de confessar no confessa james que fes ni servas las ceremonies damunt per ella confessades.³⁷

34. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684., CXLVII’.

35. Ibid.

36. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684., CXLIV’.

37. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLV.

Marquesa also admitted that, under the influence of her mother, she questioned Mary's virginity, comparing its image to a worthless piece of stone: "E mes que ha confessat que en lo dit temps ella confessant no crea que la Verge Maria fos verge axi com la dita sa mare ley havia induida abans crea de la imatge de la Verge Maria que los christians crean es un tros de pedra."³⁸ A similar motif is found in the Joana Libina's testimony where she admitted that her mother owned an image of the Virgin Mary holding baby Jesus in her arms, not out of respect, but rather out of fear of that they could be denounced to inquisitorial authorities:

E mes confessa que en la casa de dita sa mare havia una imatge de la Verge Maria la qual tenia lo Jesus en lo braç de la qual una persona se burlava e ella confessant e dita sa mare li deyan que callas que avegades les parets tenian orelles e aço ella confessant e dita sa mare deyan no perque creguessen en la dita Verge Maria sino perque no fossen descubertes.³⁹

Joana Libiana confessed that from the entire Christian religious panoply she only knew a small part of the *Pater noster* and the *Ave Maria*, which, in the accepted formula frequently used by the conversos, neglected to mention the name of Jesus Christ or the Virgin Mary. Moreover, she was unfamiliar with other Christian hymns or prayers, such as *Credo in Deum* or the *Salve Regina*:

E mes ha confessat com no sabia lo credo in Deum ni la Salve Regina sino un tros e que lo Pater nostre e Ave Maria sabia be empero que no les deya e que sabia dues altres orations empero que no led deya per quant si nomenavan Jesu Christ e la Verge Maria.⁴⁰

The first period from the renewal of the inquisition in Barcelona until 1505 was characterized by a policy of hatred and persecution of conversos whose life was dominated by fear. A significant majority of the converso population were women who had experienced personally the arrival of the inquisition and the circumstances leading to the Expulsion. Some of them were third- or fourth-generation conversas, baptized during the previous centuries' mass conversions, while others belonged to the first converso generation, who presented with the choice between leaving their native soil and forced conversion choose the latter. However, in maintaining the religious and cultural legacy of their ancestors they acted the same. At the time, the influence of Judaism was strong, and although the ceremonies were limited by collective fright, they were not characterized by ignorance. The conversas of this time were not uninstructed and isolated: women, and especially mothers, presented

38. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLIV'-CXLV.

39. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLIII.

40. Real Cancillería registros núm. 3684, CXLIII'.

themselves as strong spiritual guardians: the dietary laws were observed completely, celebrating Shabbat, Yom Kippur, Passover, and Purim were kept with all accuracy, and they even developed the defence mechanism in which denial of the newly imposed religion occupied a significant part. In the end, all that we know about these women is hidden in inquisitorial dossiers containing several depositions and forced confessions for which they finally paid a high price for remaining loyal to their people and religion.

Medieval Islamic Preaching as a Resource for the Study of Gender and Islam

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Abstract

This chapter explores constructions of gender identities and gender distinctions reflected in medieval Islamic preaching and ancillary prosopographic literature on male and female preachers. The goal of this research was to ascertain what the study of Islamic preaching and homiletic sources adds to our knowledge regarding the status of women, the sanctification of patriarchy, female piety, ideals of masculinity and femininity, and gender relations. Two kinds of investigations were conducted: (1), the search for and analysis of prosopographic data concerning female preachers and (2), a brief thematic, rhetorical, and gender analysis of two hortatory sermons on women, possibly addressed to all female or mixed audiences. The chapter ends by suggesting areas of future research on gender and medieval Islamic preaching.

1. Introduction

One of the goals of the research project, “Interdisciplinary and Comparative Studies in Religious, (Trans)cultural, and Gendered Identities in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia and the Mediterranean” (Ref. no. FF12015-63659-C2-2-P, MINECO/FEDER, UE) was to study the role of Christian, Muslim and Jewish religious agents in articulating and transmitting notions of religious identity and alterity in medieval and early modern Mediterranean societies as they relate to gender. Toward this end, I focused part of my research on analyzing gender related themes in Islamic preaching and oratory. Scholars of medieval Christian sermons have conducted extensive research on women preachers, their sermons, and female authority; *ad status* sermons of male preachers addressed to religious and laywomen; gender distinctions in the reception of preaching; and sermons on marriage and marriage symbolism, among other topics.² Studies on gender and Islamic preach-

1. This chapter summarizes partial findings of my research undertaken within the frameworks of the Spanish government funded research project, “Interdisciplinary and Comparative Studies in Religious, (Trans)cultural, and Gendered Identities in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia and the Mediterranean” (Ref. no. FF12015-63659-C2-2-P, MINECO/FEDER, UE) and the Ramón y Cajal Postdoctoral Program.
2. A pioneering study on women preachers and female authority was the coordinated volume by Kienzle, Beverly Mayne and Walker, Pamela (Eds.) (1998), *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*, Berkeley-Los Angeles. Numerous studies on gender and medieval Christian preaching have since followed, among them several of the contributions in Muessig, Carolyn (Ed.) (2002), *Prea-*

ing and oratory³ in the premodern period are scarce in comparison, apart from brief mentions of the religio-political orations delivered by female soothsayers and certain women from the Prophet Muḥammad's household under extraordinary circumstances.⁴

This chapter seeks to outline what my research on Islamic preaching and ancillary sources contributes to our knowledge regarding gender issues in pre-modern Islamic societies, such as the status of women, the sanctification of patriarchy,⁵ expressions of female piety, ideals of masculinity and femininity, and genders relations. I conducted two kinds of investigations: (1), the search for and analysis of prosopographic data concerning female preachers preserved in biographical dictionaries, hagiographic literature, and juridical sources, and (2), a brief thematic, rhetorical, and gender analysis of two hortatory sermons on women, possibly addressed to all female or mixed audiences. I will include a brief explanation of the sources I analyzed and their methodological limitations. Despite the paucity and the gaps in the sources, preliminary results illuminate how hortatory preaching provided a vehicle for ascetic and Sufi women to exercise spiritual authority over men as well as women. The majority of studies on gender and Islam in the premodern period analyze the Qur'ān, Hadith, exegesis, prosopographic, and juridical sources. By contrast, the present study sheds light on the creative strategies male preachers deployed to transmit notions of ideal Muslim femininity and female piety by reinterpreting and adapting these sources to suit their targeted audiences of ascetic Sufi women or women from the general public. I will conclude with some suggestions for future lines of research.

cher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages, Leiden/Boston/Cologne; O'Mara, Veronica M. (2000), «Preaching to Nuns in Late Medieval England» in George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig (Eds.), *Medieval Monastic Education*, New York, pp. 93–119; Waters, Claire M. (2003), *Angels and Earthly Creatures: Preaching, Performance, and Gender in the Later Middle Ages*, Philadelphia; and Pryds, Darleen (2012), «Franciscan Lay Women and the Charism to Preach» in Timothy J. Johnson (Ed.), *Franciscans and Preaching. Every Miracle from the Beginning of the World Came about through Words*, Leiden/Boston, pp. 41–57.

3. Islamic oratory (khaṭāba) encompasses the canonical ritual orations for prescriptive religious occasions and civil occasions (Friday and festival sermons, nuptial orations, rain rogation sermons, etc.), para-liturgical religious sermons, and jihad orations. There are also other genres of non-canonical hortatory preaching (maw'īza/wa'z) and storytelling (qaṣaṣ). On the various genres of Islamic oratory and preaching, see Berkey, Jonathan (2001), *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East*, Seattle/London; Qutbuddin, Tahera (2006), «Khuṭba: The Evolution of Early Arabic Orations» in Beatrice Grundler and Michael Cooperson (Eds.), *Classical Arabic Humanities in Their Own Terms: Festschrift for Wolfgang Heinrichs*, Leiden, pp. 176–273; and Jones, Linda G. (2012), *The Power of Oratory in the Medieval Muslim World*, New York.
4. Qutbuddin, «Khuṭba», pp. 193–194, 200–201, 245–250.
5. On this notion see Mir-Husseini, Ziba (2007), «Islam and Gender Justice» in Vincent Cornell and Omid Safi (Eds.), *Voices of Islam*, vol. 5, *Voices of Diversity and Change*, Westport, Greenwood, pp. 85–113.

2. Sources for the study of gender and Islamic oratory

A number of challenges arise upon exploring gender related themes using Islamic oratorical sources. In the first place, one must consider the social limitations on female preaching in Muslim societies, which finds parallels in Christianity and Judaism. Muslim women were prohibited from leading the canonical rituals, including the sermon, in the mosques to avoid the spectacle of women exercising authority over and exposing themselves to strange men. Yet just as there is evidence that Christian women preached “despite repeated prohibitions,” as the contributors to the collective volume, *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*, edited by Beverly M. Kienzle and Pamela Walker have demonstrated,⁶ so too are there indications that some Muslim women preached under restricted circumstances. Admittedly, the information gathered thus far about Muslim women preachers, their sermons, reflections of gender distinctions or gendered religious rhetoric amounts to glimpses scattered across a broad range of sources. These sources include biographical dictionaries of religious scholars (*‘ulamā’*) and other notables; hagiographic compendia of Muslim ascetics, mystics, and saints; compendia of juridical opinions and casuistry; literary anthologies that preserve the orations and sermons of famous orators; and discreet collections of oratory. I will complete this section with highlights of the data I have gathered from these sources, together with an explanation of their limitations.

Biographical dictionaries (*tabaqāt* or *tarājim*) of the religious, political, and intellectual notables of a given geographical region, legal school, or other group affiliation have long been recognized by scholars of Islamic history as one of the most useful sources of information about the social, intellectual, political, and cultural history of the Muslim world.⁷ Although the protagonists of biographical notices are overwhelmingly masculine, biographical dictionaries can also be mined for tidbits of information concerning women and gender. I underscore the scantiness of the data because typically the number of biographical notices dedicated to men in any given compendium far exceeds those dedicated to women. Moreover, as María Jesús Viguera and Ruth Roded have pointed out, the content of the notices featuring women tend toward extreme brevity and stereotyped information in comparison with the biographies of men.⁸ The following are three examples: First, the Iraqi hortatory preacher and historian Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) described Fāṭima bint

6. Kienzle, Beverly Mayne and Walker, Pamela (Eds.) (1998), *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*, Berkeley-Los Angeles.
7. On Islamic biographical dictionaries, see al-Qadi, Wadad (1995), «Biographical Dictionaries: Inner Structures and Cultural Significance» in George N. Atiyeh (Ed.), *The Book in the Islamic World: The Written Word and Communication in the Middle East*, Albany, pp. 93–122; and Roded, Ruth (1994), *Women in the Islamic Biographical Dictionaries: From Ibn Sa’d to Who’s Who*, Boulder.
8. Viguera, María Jesús (2016), «Dieciséis mujeres andalusíes biografiadas por el cordobés Ibn Baskuwāl (494/1101-578/1183)», in *Revista al-Mulk* 14, pp. 9-18; Roded, Ruth (1994), *Women in the Islamic Biographical Dictionaries: From Ibn Sa’d to Who’s Who*, Boulder, Lynne Rienner.

al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Faḍlawiyya al-Rāzī as “a pious devout hortatory preacher (*wā‘iza muta‘abbida*) who “owned a lodge (*rābiṭa*) where the ascetic women would gather (*tajma‘u al-zāhidāt*),” presumably to listen to her sermons.⁹ A later Syrian historian al-Dhahabī (d. 753/1352) included her in his *Major History of Islam*, adding that the lodge was in Baghdad and that she was “a famous preacher (*wā‘iza mashhūra*).¹⁰ The second and most intriguing notice I have found is the Valencian historian Ibn al-‘Abbār’s (d. 658/1260) description of an Andalusī woman identified simply as Rashīda “al-Wā‘iza (the hortatory preacher):” Rashīda “travelled throughout al-Andalus preaching and exhorting the women; she had a good reputation and excelled in piety and goodness.”¹¹ Finally, Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), an Egyptian historian and hadith transmitter wrote a biographical notice about Bayram ibnat Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Surūr, in which he mentioned that while on a journey to Jerusalem in the company of her father, she took lessons from the eminent religious scholars (*al-shuyūkh*) there and she “preached exhortations to the women (*wa‘azat al-nisā*).”¹²

Despite their brevity, the notices provided by Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-‘Abbār, and al-Sakhāwī are of historical importance as proof that women practiced the genre of non-liturgical religious and moral preaching known as *wa‘z* (pious exhortation). *Wa‘z* typically speaks of one’s duties to God, eschatology, and ascetic themes such as condemnation of the mundane world, patience in adversity, and complete reliance upon God. The biographers coincide in affirming that the three preachers Fāṭima, Rashīda, and Bayram restricted their homiletic sessions to all female audiences. Yet each case differed: Ascetic women converged at Fāṭima’s private lodge to listen to the sermons of this “famous hortatory preacher.” This scenario probably reflects Fāṭima’s fame as a preacher as well as her status as an ascetic recluse, which may be inferred from Ibn Jawzī’s description of her as a *muta‘abbida*, i.e., a person who devotes herself exclusively to worshipping God. On the other hand, Rashīda and Bayram exemplify contrasting cases of female itinerant preachers. Whereas Bayram travelled “in the company of her father,” Rashīda “wandered throughout al-Andalus,” which implies that she enjoyed the freedom of movement to travel about un-chaperoned.

Two other brief biographical notices merit comment: Palestinian Mamluk historian Khalīl al-Ṣafadī wrote an obituary for “the Baghdadi female belletrist (al-Kā-

9. Ibn al-Jawzī, Abū l-Faraj ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (1938), *al-Muntaẓam fī ta’rīkh al-mulūk wa-l-umam*, 6 vols., Haydarabadh, p. 2110; Online version: [http://www.alwaraq.net/Core/SearchServlet/searchone?docid=43&searchtext=2YjYp9i52L-jYqQ=&option=1&offset=1&WordForm=1&exactpage=2110&totalpages=1&AllOffset=1]
10. Al-Dhahabī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Uthmān (2003), *Ta’rīkh al-Islām wa-wafāyāt al-mashhūr wa-l-a‘lām* (Ed.) s. n., Beirut, p. 3624; Online version: [http://www.alwaraq.net/Core/SearchServlet/searchone?docid=141&searchtext=2YjYp9i52L-jYqQ=&option=1&offset=1&WordForm=1&exactpage=3624&totalpages=4&AllOffset=1]
11. Cited in Ávila, María L. (1989), «Las mujeres ‘sabias’ en al-Andalus» in *La mujer en al-Andalus*, ed. María Jesús Viguera, Madrid, pp. 139-84, 170.
12. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’*, vol. 2, 15.

tiba l-Baghdādiyya)” Şafiyat bint ‘Abd al-Rahmān, eulogizing her as a “virtuous hortatory preacher and belletrist (*wā’iza adība fādila*).”¹³ ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Sam‘ānī (d. 1166), an Arabophone historian from Merv, described ‘Ā’isha bint al-Ḥasan al-Warkānī as a “scholarly woman (*imra’ a ‘ālīma*) and a hortatory preacher (*wā’izā*) of beautiful irreproachable conduct (*ḥasanat al-sīrat*).¹⁴ Though few in number,¹⁵ it is interesting to note that the five cases considered here pertain to women from different places: ‘Ā’isha al-Warkānī came from Warkān, a town in Isfahan; Fāṭima and Şafiyat resided and preached in Baghdad, while Bayram preached in Jerusalem and, as mentioned, Rashīda preached throughout Muslim Iberia. The broad geographic expanse suggests that women engaged in hortatory preaching throughout the Muslim world.

The positive commentaries of the male biographers about the extreme piety, devotion, virtuousness, irreproachable moral conduct, and erudition of these women preachers could be interpreted as gender neutral. After all, in many parts of the Islamic world hortatory preaching and especially homiletic storytelling provoked divided opinions between the ‘*ulamā*’ (religious and legal scholars) who sanctioned these activities as licit under certain circumstances, and those who condemned these “popular preachers” as charlatans or agents of religious “innovation” (*bid’a*). As a result of this polemic, biographers and chroniclers often made a point of highlighting the religious erudition, moral probity, and piety of male and female hortatory preachers.¹⁶ Thus, the comments recognizing the profound devotion, erudition, and morality of the female preachers could be read as an indicator of gender parity. Yet these positive qualifiers of the women’s character and conduct, together with the explicit mention that they preached before all female audiences, could also serve the narrative function of assuaging the prejudices of certain male elites—the probable intended audience of the biographical dictionaries—who might doubt or disparage a woman’s capacity for scholarship or for assuming leadership roles as teachers or preachers.

A prime example of this disparaging attitude toward women appears in the writings of a fourteenth-century Egyptian Maliki jurist, Ibn al-Ḥājj, the author of a com-

13. Al-Şafadī, Khalīl b. Aybak, *Kitāb āb al-Wāfī bi-l-wafāyāt*, in Hellmut Ritter; Sven Dederich et al. (Eds.) (1931-1997), Leipzig, Istanbul, Damascus, Weisbaden, 29 vols., *Dār al-Naṣr/Frantz Staynart*, vol. 2 pp. 22-51. Online version at <http://www.alwaraq.net/Core/SearchServlet/searchone?docid=280&searchtext=2Y-jYp9i52LjYqQ=&option=1&offset=3&WordForm=1&exactpage=2251&totalpages=5&AllOffset=1>
14. Al-Sam‘ānī, Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad, *Kitāb al-Ansāb* in David Samuel Margoliouth (Ed.) (1912), Leiden-London, Brill, p. 1421: Online version: [<http://www.alwaraq.net/Core/SearchServlet/searchone?docid=61&searchtext=2YjYp9i52LjYqQ=&option=1&offset=1&WordForm=1&exactpage=1421&totalpages=1&AllOffset=1>]
15. Altogether Roded has located twenty notices of female preachers. Roded, *Women in the Islamic Biographical Dictionaries*, pp. 104-106.
16. Roded, *Women in the Islamic Biographical Dictionaries*, pp. 105-106; Jones, *The Power of Oratory*, pp. 218-231. Iraqi hortatory preacher Ibn al-Jawzī composed a famous apologetic treatise on hortatory preaching and storytelling that exposed some of the abuses of disreputable preachers. See Swartz, Merlin L. (1986), *Ibn al-Jawzī’s “Kitāb al-Quṣṣās wa’l-mudhakkirin,”* Beirut.

pendium of Islamic jurisprudence, *Introduction to the Noble Law according to the Four Schools of Law*.¹⁷ Legal compendia, prescriptive treatises, and collections of juridical casuistry and opinions (*fatāwā*) contain goldmines of information about the legal and social history of Muslim societies. An instance of the latter is Ibn al-Ḥājj's denunciation of what he considered to be unlawful "innovations (*bida'*)" in certain preaching practices. He railed against the female leaders (*shaykhāt*) who organized preaching assemblies (*majālis al-wa'z*) for women in the cemeteries during Ramadan and the celebration of the Prophet Muḥammad's birthday (*Mawlid al-Nabī*). Ibn al-Ḥājj delegitimized the authority of these women by insinuating that they had insufficient authentic religious knowledge to merit the title of "*shaykha*," the feminine form of *shaykh*, a term of respect for pious learned men with a profound knowledge of the religious sciences (the Qur'ān, scriptural exegesis, Hadith, legal, or mystical texts). Ibn al-Ḥājj appeared to disdain the very notion that a woman could be considered a "*shaykha*" when he urged that women be forbidden from attending the assembly (*majlis*) of "someone whom they claimed to be a female *shaykha* (*man yaz'amna annahā shaykha*)." He further undermined their authority by accusing them of "meddling" in Qur'ānic exegesis ("*tadakhkhala nafsahā fī l-tafsīr li-Kitāb Allāh*") and "*spinning tales* about the prophets (*wa-taḥkī al-anbiyā'*),"¹⁸ rather than narrate from the canonically recognized sources.¹⁹

Moreover, later in the same passage Ibn al-Ḥājj revealed that some women preachers delivered sermons before mixed audiences, for he denounced as "that heinous cause of moral corruption (*hādhihi l-mafāsīd*)" the "mixing of men, women, and children, all mingled together before the male or the female hortatory preacher (*'alā l-wā'iz aw al-wā'iza*)." ²⁰ Yet mixed audiences in hortatory preaching sessions sometimes provoked the censure of the jurists even when the preacher was male. For instance, 'Abd Allāh al-'Abdūsī (d. 850/1446), the *qādī* of Fez, was asked to render a juridical opinion (*fatwā*) concerning the probity of a group of Sufis who gathered together on the Prophet Muḥammad's birthday to pronounce hortatory sermons (*mawā'iz*) and litanies (*adhkār*). One of the arguments adduced to defend the activity was that "women do not participate in these assemblies, which does not give rise to any excess."²¹

Hagiographic texts also furnish details about female preachers. Hagiographic literature is an excellent source of data on the lives and activities of Muslim ascetics,

17. Ibn al-Ḥājj al-'Abdarī, Muḥammad (1981), *Madkhal al-shar' al-sharīf 'alā l-madhāhib al-arbi'a*, ed. s. n., 4 vols., Cairo.

18. Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal al-shar' al-sharīf*, vol. 2, p. 12.

19. On Ibn al-Ḥājj's attitudes toward women and female authority, see Lutfi, Huda (1991), «Manners and Customs of Fourteenth-Century Cairene Women: Female Anarchy versus Male Shar'ī Order in the Muslim Prescriptive Treatises», in Nikkie Keddie and Beth Baron (Eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern History*, New Haven, pp. 99-121.

20. Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal al-shar' al-sharīf*, vol. 2, p. 16.

21. Lagardère, Vincent (1995), *Histoire et Société en Occident Musulman au Moyen Âge: Analyse du Mi'yār d'al-Wanšarisī*, Madrid, p. 475.

Sufi mystics, and saints, as well as the communities that venerate them.²² As with the biographical dictionaries, hagiographic compendia are composed by men and tend to contain far fewer notices dedicated to women than to their masculine counterparts. Apart from including biographies of preachers, the authors/compiler of these texts might provide information about preaching, noting, for example, that someone converted to the ascetic or Sufi path after listening to a powerful sermon; commenting on the content of the saint's sermons, or describing the impact of their preaching.²³

An important hagiographic source containing information on female preaching are the exempla preserved in the anthology of Sufi hortatory sermons, *The Splendorous Garden of Homiletic Exhortations and Edifying Tales*, compiled by the Egyptian ascetic Sufi preacher, Shu'ayb al-Ḥurayfīsh (d. 801/1398).²⁴ The work contains 56 sermons, 17 of which treat the prodigious deeds and virtues of male ascetics, Sufis, and saints while two sermons focus specifically on "devout women (*al-sālihāt*)."²⁵ Whereas Ibn al-Hājj condemned the spectacle of women preachers speaking before mixed gender audiences, all the examples of female preaching al-Ḥurayfīsh describes in his sermons on pious women take place as private audiences before one or more male listeners within the context of a specific type of religious activity, the Sufi *siyāḥa*, or spiritual wandering. These sojourns were undertaken primarily to retreat from society and test one's reliance upon God, to visit holy ascetics, Sufi master, or saints, benefit from their superior mystical gnosis, or obtain their blessings and prayers. A *topos* of al-Ḥurayfīsh's narratives of the Sufi *siyāḥa* is a dialogue that ensues between the Sufi male or female protagonist and the male narrator who seeks out a Sufi devotee or saint whom he has heard about, or whom he encounters unexpectedly during the course of a journey elsewhere. These dialogues typically follow a certain pattern: an initial greeting, an interrogation that reveals the Sufi protagonist's spiritual gnosis and proximity to God, and the reaction of the narrator who requests the saint to preach to him, provide him with spiritual guidance, and/or ask for divine intercession on his behalf. Al-Ḥurayfīsh depicts scenes of private extemporized hortatory preaching in which a pious Sufi woman preaches exhortations to her male interlocutor, either at her own initiative or at the latter's behest. Invariably, in these exchanges the person who preaches exhortations possesses greater spiritual authority than his or her interlocutor. Thus the act of homiletic exhortation is an indicator of female authority and demonstrates that women could excel spiritually just like men and exercise spiritual authority over them.²⁵ This idea is consistent with al-Ḥurayfīsh's affirmations that God "equated (*qarana*) men and women in their

22. On this genre see Mojaddedi, Jawid A. (2001), *The Biographical Tradition in Sufism. The Ṭabaqāt Genre from al-Sulamī to Jāmī*, New York, Routledge.

23. On audience responses to Islamic preaching, see Jones, *The Power of Oratory*, pp. 232-256.

24. Al-Ḥurayfīsh, Shu'ayb b. Sa'd (1992), *al-Rawḍ al-fā'iḳ fī l-mawā'iz wa-l-raḳā'iq*, (Ed.) Khālid 'Abd al-Rahmān al-'Akk, Damascus.

25. For further analysis of Sufi women exerting spiritual authority over men, see Roded, *Women in the Islamic Biographical Dictionaries*, pp. 100-104; and Salamah-Qudsi, Arin Shawkat (2018), *Sufism and Early Islamic Piety: Personal and Communal Dynamics*, Cambridge/New York, pp. 53-82.

capacity to attain mystical states (*aḥwāl*), excel in asceticism (*zuhd*),” and engage in spiritual activities such as spiritual wanderings (*as-siyāḥāt*) “just like the men.”²⁶ Al-Ḥurayfīsh’s focus on the spiritual authority of devout women suggests that the sermon was addressed to female Sufis or perhaps a mixed gender audience of Sufis and ascetics, rather than the general public.

Finally, an anonymous hortatory sermon (*maw‘īza*) on the subject of spousal relations provides insights into the gendered messages targeting either an all female or a mixed audience of the general public, which contrasts with the quasi proto-feminist discourse articulated in al-Ḥurayfīsh’s sermons on/to devout women. Manuscript no. 1248 of the Bibliothèque National de France is titled, “*Huqūq ikhwat al-Islām* (the reciprocal inalienable rights between Muslims),” and is dated 1516.²⁷ Of special relevance here is the homily titled, “the inalienable rights of the two spouses (*huqūq al-zawjāyn*).”²⁸ This sermon is one of two anonymous hortatory sermons²⁹ I have located that explicitly speak of women, gender, and spousal relations. The analysis of these sermons suggests that the preacher of the hortatory sermon has greater leeway to develop a variety of gender-related themes than the preacher of the canonical nuptial oration, which has certain restrictions due to its juridical and ritual functions, making the content more predictable.³⁰ In the remainder of this essay, I will briefly comment on selected passages from al-Ḥurayfīsh’s sermons on pious women and the anonymous sermon on “the inalienable rights of the two spouses.”

3. Images of women and gender in Islamic hortatory sermons

Although Shu‘ayb al-Ḥurayfīsh performed the pilgrimage to Mecca and spent time there studying Sufism with eminent shaykhs, he was associated with a variety of “popular” Sufism, first introduced to Egypt by Andalusī and North African Sufis in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which attracted men and women from all strata of society. The Sufis invited the general populace to observe and participate in their rituals and to attend the lectures and sermons held in mosques and spiritual lodges (*zāwiyas*). By all accounts, al-Ḥurayfīsh was a charismatic preacher however, his preaching style elicited disapproval among some of the religio-juridical elites.³¹

26. Al-Ḥurayfīsh, *al-Rawḍ al-fā‘iq*, p. 182.

27. The cataloguer Georges Vajda disagrees with De Slane’s attribution of the text to the Egyptian Shafī‘i jurist and Sufi ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī (c. 1492-1564). The date of the text (1516) makes it improbable that Sha‘rānī could have composed it at such a young age. See Vajda, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, pp. 122-123.

28. BnF, ar. 1248, ff. 300v-306v.

29. The other is Paris, BnF, ar. 1316, no. 3, “Mawā‘iz.” For the catalogue description, see Vajda, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*, pp. 176-177. One of the sermons is titled, “bāb al-mar’a taḥūnu zawja-hā” (on the woman who deceives her husband).

30. For an analysis of the nuptial oration, see Jones, *The Power of Oratory*, pp. 123-130; and Qutbuddin, «Khuṭba», pp. 196-197.

31. Berkey, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority*, p. 18. On Shu‘ayb al-Ḥurayfīsh, see Al-‘Asqalānī, Ibn Hajar (1975), *Inba‘ al-ghumr bi-abnā‘ al-‘umr*, 9 vols., Haydarabad, vol. 4, p. 63 and Al-Sakhāwī,

The first sermon al-Ḥurayfīsh gave on women was titled, “That which expels harshness from the heart by remembering the (pious) women.”³² After the extended doxology he recited two Qur’ānic verses³³ that spoke of gender equality with regard to men’s and women’s religious beliefs and practices. As noted previously, al-Ḥurayfīsh recited these verses to support his assertion that “God equated (*qarana*) men and women” in their capacity to excel in mystical and ascetic piety and that women and men alike engaged in spiritual practices, including journeys to visit Sufi masters and ascetic retreats.³⁴ To illustrate this spiritual gender parity al-Ḥurayfīsh narrated several exempla, including one featuring a dialogue between the famous Egyptian ascetic Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī and an anonymous devout ascetic woman (*‘ābida*). Dhū l-Nūn had heard about the woman’s many “good deeds and spiritual striving,” so he sought her out and “found her fasting during the day, staying awake at night in prayer, not breaking her fast to worship or perform good deeds.” He also mentioned that she lived alone “in a ruined Christian monastery,” which served as a pretext to assert his male prerogative to interrogate her about her religious and moral integrity.³⁵

The woman’s response echoed the familiar Sufi *topos* used by men and women to justify the life-choice of voluntary celibacy and ascetic retirement: that her heart was so filled with the love of God that she had no room for anyone else and that she was constantly in the divine presence. At this point, the gender dynamic definitively changed as Dhū l-Nūn abandoned his masculine authoritative role of interrogator and supplicated her to guide him on the mystical path by preaching to him. He said, “You have surely guided me onto the mystical path (*al-tarīq*), so lead me by the path of words (*fa-slakī bī masālak al-qawl*). For verily and by God, I am drowning in my sins.” She replied with a brief sermon exhorting him “to make the fear of God (*taqwā*) your source of greatness, the Hereafter your only quest (*marādaka*), piety and ascetic retirement your natural disposition (*sajiyataka*), to fling the mundane world from your heart, follow the path of the ones who fear (God), and abandon the path of sinners (*tarīq al-mudhnibīn*).” Al-Ḥurayfīsh recorded Dhū l-Nūn’s reaction: “Her words impacted me in my heart and were the cause of my reconciliation with my Lord.”³⁶ Al-Ḥurayfīsh portrays the woman’s sermon as the catalyst for Dhū l-Nūn’s spiritual conversion. In sum, this homiletic anecdote illuminates how spiritually elevated ascetic Sufi women could influence and assert their authority over men through personalized sermons.

Al-Ḥurayfīsh’s second sermon, “On the memory of the righteous, penitent, forbearing women,” reveals the masculine anxieties surrounding the chastity of

al-Ḍaw’ al-lāmi’, vol. 5, p. 20. Al-Sakhāwī was scandalized that al-Ḥurayfīsh adopted the “vile speech” and “wore the distinctive outer robe of the Ḥurayfīsh.”

32. Al-Ḥurayfīsh, *al-Rawḍ al-fā’iq*, pp. 182-189.

33. Qur’ān 48: 25 and 33:35.

34. Al-Ḥurayfīsh, *al-Rawḍ al-fā’iq*, p. 182.

35. Al-Ḥurayfīsh, *al-Rawḍ al-fā’iq*, p. 188.

36. Al-Ḥurayfīsh, *al-Rawḍ al-fā’iq*, pp. 188-189.

female ascetics and mystics living on the margins of society beyond the control of patriarchal authority. Al-Ḥurayfīsh based this sermon on verse 34 from the Qur'ān's chapter on women and explained that if a woman is obedient to her husband, if she guards her private parts (*idhā ḥafazat farjahā*), and if she preserves herself only for her husband out of a desire to gain God's pleasure and seek His rewards, then she shall be granted paradise.³⁷ In contrast to the previous sermon on women, which defended the gender parity of female and male Sufis and ascetics, here al-Ḥurayfīsh defined female piety in more overtly sexualized terms of obedience to spousal authority and strict sexual morality. Yet all the subsequent exempla he related feature unmarried ascetic and Sufi women, suggesting that they were the target audience. The narrative elements of the male gaze, the greeting, and the interrogation display a pronounced masculine anxiety about the virtue and chastity of Sufi women that is only hinted at in the first sermon.

Signs of this greater male anxiety emerge in the exemplum about a man named 'Uthmān al-Jurjānī,³⁸ who was traveling from Kufa toward Basra when he saw "a woman (*imra'a*) walking alone on the road. She was wearing a woolen cloak (*jubbat ṣūf*) and a veil covering the lower part of her face made out of coarse hair (*khamār min sha'r*), all the while repeating, 'O my God, O my Lord.'"³⁹ Male anxiety about encountering a woman alone and unaccompanied on a public road is mitigated by the detailed description of her clothing: the cloak and face veil signal her modesty and chastity, while the mention of the woolen fabric (*ṣūf*) reveals her condition as a Sufi. In the ensuing dialogue, al-Jurjānī initiated the greeting but the woman seized the initiative as interrogator, asserting her authority over him by asking him who he was, where he was going, and what he was planning to do in Basra. His response that he had a "personal need to attend to" prompted her to interrogate him about his relationship with God: "O 'Uthmān, don't you know the Fulfiller of Needs (Ṣāhib al-ḥājja) who takes care of them for you?" Admitting that he was not on such intimate terms with God due to his "many sins," he asked her to pray for him and she did, but she also admonished him with a sermon, saying, "If only you had been as righteous in your dealings with the Most Sublime and you had relied exclusively upon Him to satisfy your need....O 'Uthmān,...had you loved Your Lord, he would have made you richer than all mankind." The gist of the sermon was to rely solely upon God to satisfy all his needs.⁴⁰ Here al-Jurjānī did not ask her to preach; she claimed the prerogative to do so. Despite the more explicitly gendered concerns expressed in this sermon about the chastity of ascetic Sufi women, both sermons demonstrate and legitimize the capacity and propriety of such women to exercise and exert spiritual authority over men.

37. Al-Ḥurayfīsh, *al-Rawḍ al-fā'iḳ*, pp. 358-367.

38. I have not been able to identify this person, although he most likely was a prominent ascetic or Sufi, since all the other narrators of exempla in this sermon fit that profile.

39. Al-Ḥurayfīsh, *al-Rawḍ al-fā'iḳ*, p. 359.

40. Al-Ḥurayfīsh, *al-Rawḍ al-fā'iḳ*, pp. 359-360.

Turning now to the anonymous hortatory sermon on “the inalienable rights of the husband over the wife” in BnF, ar. 1248, the anonymity of the text means that we can only conjecture about the identity of the author, the intended audience, and the context in which it was written or delivered. According to Georges Vajda, all the sermons are written in Arabic although many have Persian glosses. Hence, the author might have been from Iran or Iraq. The texts are identified as *mawā‘iz*, suggesting that the author was a hortatory preacher. The title of the manuscript, “*Huqūq ikhwat al-Islām* (the reciprocal inalienable rights between Muslims),” alludes to an ethical system defining the proper conditions for harmonious licit coexistence (*mu‘āshira*) among Muslims and between Muslims and non-Muslims. The focus on “inalienable rights” could mean that the preacher was also a jurist. Because the sermon treats the rights of people from all social conditions, the most likely scenario and public of this homily would have been in a mosque before a mixed gender audience.

The homilist began the sermon by listing various relations between equals: “the friend with the friend (*al-ṣadīq ma‘ā al-ṣadīq*), the loved one with the loved one (*al-ḥabīb ma‘ā al-ḥabīb*), the boon companion with the boon companion (*al-khalīl ma‘ā al-khalīl*).” He then mentioned various pairs of people with a differentiated unequal status: the master with the disciple, the prince and the subject, the rich man and the poor man, one of the spouses over the other (*wāḥid al-jawzayn ma‘ā al-ākhar*)... the Muslim with the infidel, and so forth.⁴¹ Thus the relations between spouses are but one type of human relation discussed in a homily that is intended to have something for everyone.

The homily on spousal relations purports to discuss the rights and claims that each spouse may make over the other. Yet in fact, the preacher sanctifies the figure of the obedient wife and privileges the husband’s perspective by focusing overwhelmingly on the duties and responsibilities the wife owes him. He began by declaring that “marriage/sexual relations is a kind of possession or bondage (*naw‘a raqqin*) and that the wife who is possessed owes her husband absolute obedience (*wa-min raqqatihi fa-‘alayhā ṭā‘atu l-zawj muṭliqan*) in everything that he asks of her as long as it is not contrary to God’s will.”⁴² This is a central message of the homily, which he develops by treating the following related subthemes:

- a. The wife’s salvation depends upon her obedience to and satisfaction of her husband. Moreover, the wife who pleased her husband will enter the highest ranks of paradise alongside those who showed exemplary patience—Job’s wife, Mary, female martyrs and saints.⁴³
- b. The wife’s obedience to her husband is an obligatory act of worship, equal to if not more meritorious in the eyes of God than other devotional acts. Con-

41. BnF, ar. 1248, ff. 300v–306v.

42. Ms. 1248, f. 300v.

43. Ms. 1248, f. 301r

- versely, the wife who performs voluntary devotions without her husband's permission will be denied their heavenly recompense.⁴⁴
- c. The wife's duty to her husband supersedes the allegiance to her family, including her male relatives. To demonstrate this, the preacher narrated an anecdote about a woman whose husband had to travel. He made his wife promise not to descend from the upper floor of the house while he was away. She obeyed her husband even when she received word that her father had died. After the burial, the Prophet sent a message to the woman informing her that God had forgiven all the sins of the father "due to the obedience of his daughter."⁴⁵
 - d. The ideal man is the husband who has absolute authority over his wife. Unusually, the preacher relied heavily upon female authorities to support this point. He related several hadiths transmitted by women, most of which unequivocally sanctify patriarchy although one advocates greater mutual respect between spouses. For instance, he quoted this saying of 'Ā'isha bint Abī Bakr, the Prophet's favorite wife: "If the Prophet knew what the women were doing he would not have allowed them to go out at all." In fact, the preacher altered the saying to make it more restrictive, since in the established versions 'Ā'isha stated that the Prophet would have banned women from going to the mosque. The preacher also quoted the advice Asmā' bint Kharījah, gave to her daughter on how to create a marriage based on mutual respect, "Be his earth and he will be your sky. Be his plain and he will be your pillar," and yet, "Do not nag him so he will not despise you....Do not let him smell (anything on you) except perfume....Do not let him see anything except beauty."⁴⁶
 - e. The final theme problematizes the ideal of the hypermasculine authoritative husband by upholding Muḥammad as the perfect man *because* he was most compassionate, gentle, kind, patient, forgiving, and affectionate of husbands. The preacher cited several hadiths to this effect, including the following, "The best of you are the men who treat their wives the best. And I am the best of you in the treatment of my wives."⁴⁷ By ending with such exempla, the preacher seems to have intended to temper the image of the hypermasculine hegemonic husband presented earlier. Such a sermon addressed to a general audience sanctified the husband's "inalienable right" to expect obedience from his wife while protecting her right to not be brutalized by urging men to emulate Muḥammad in being kind, compassionate, and affectionate husbands.

44. Ms. 1248, f. 301v.

45. Ms. 1248, f. 303r.

46. Ms. 1248, f. 305v. She was one of the first generation of Muslim women.

47. Ms. 1248, f. 306v.

4. Conclusions

The research undertaken on representations of gender in medieval Islamic preaching adds to our knowledge concerning the status of Muslim women and the nature and limitations of female authority. The data suggests that female hortatory preaching was practiced in many countries of the Muslim world. Male bias of the sources reflects a preference that women confine their preaching to all female audiences; women preachers who addressed mixed gender audiences risked arousing the suspicions of some men. That exceptions to this social norm are encountered in Sufi sources corroborates the scholarly thesis of the relatively greater gender equality found in Sufi circles. Yet a comparison of the sermons on women by al-Ḥurayfīsh and the anonymous hortatory preacher demonstrates that male anxieties about female sexual virtue persist in sermons about and/or addressed to devout ascetic and ordinary women alike, and reveals that male preachers drew upon different rhetorical and gender strategies to neutralize this anxiety. While al-Ḥurayfīsh's women preachers undoubtedly exhibit greater gender equality, agency, and authority than the anonymous hortatory preacher's obedient wives, a reading against the grain of the latter illuminates the capacity of the obedient wife to intervene in the salvation of her male relatives and to shape ideal masculine identity. Regarding future lines of research, the search for data needs to be expanded to locate additional specimens of thematic and hortatory sermons that could shed further light on discourses targeting female audiences and gendered religious rhetoric. Finally, further investigations of prosopographic and hagiographic literature could yield additional data about female preachers and preaching.

The State of Research on Early-Modern Islamic Sermons in an Ottoman Context

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Abstract

This chapter reflects preliminary findings on how Muslim preachers constructed gender identities and roles in early modern Ottoman world. Despite their significant roles in bringing the teachings of Islamic ideas on gender roles to Ottoman Muslims, their function and influence in this regard has not been studied yet. In studying this, there are two sources that could provide insight on the content of the sermons delivered by Ottoman preachers: the books of sermons and the *cönks*. Following a short introduction to these sources, I will briefly analyze two popular texts: the *Tarīkatü'l-Muhammediyye fī beyāni's-şirāṭi'n-nebeviyye ve'l-Ahmediyye* (The Way of Muḥammad in Interpreting the Prophetic and Most Praiseworthy Path) by Birgivî Mehmed İbn Pîr 'Alî (d. 1573), and *Naşāyih ve'l-mevā'iz* (Advices and Sermons), a compilation of 'Azîz Maḥmūd Hüdāyî's (d. 1628) sermons. A close reading of these texts shows that preachers had different approaches to gender.

1. Introduction

On February 11, 2015, a 20-year old college student, Özgecan Aslan, was raped and brutally killed in Turkey. This tragic event generated enormous public anger and indignation against both the government—for the weakness and insufficiency of its rape laws—and the Directorate of Religious Affairs, which prepares the weekly sermons and distributes them to all imams throughout the country to deliver at Friday prayers. The latter was accused of not paying sufficient attention to this event and others like it. In response to the public backlash, the Directorate ensured that the sermon for February 20, 2015 focused on respect, passion, and mercy towards women, integrating exemplary anecdotes from the sayings of the Prophet Muḥammad.

This one example demonstrates that preaching is still perceived to be an effective method of public instruction for shaping gender notions, morals, and ethics in Turkey. The role of preachers in shaping Ottoman society and the ways in which public opinion has influenced the subjects that preachers teach through their sermons have not yet been studied in detail. Nevertheless, numerous anecdotes scattered in early modern Ottoman texts reveal that public opinion was also effective then in determining the contents of preachers' sermons.¹ Though an audience “might have helped

1. For more on the use of public sermons in public education, see Naskalı, Emine Gürsoy (2017), «Cuma Hutbeleri ve Toplumun Talepleri», in *Hutbe Kitabı*, Istanbul, Kitabevi, pp. 343-356; Yüksel, Zeynep

to establish the contours of a preaching session through the questions that they put to the preacher”, preachers have maintained a significant role in Islamic societies throughout centuries.²

This study reflects preliminary findings from part of a broader research project on medieval and early modern Iberian and Mediterranean sermon studies.³ As a sub-topic within this larger project, I aim to explore how pre-modern Muslim preachers (both *vā'iz* and *ḥaṭīb*) contributed to the shaping of gender identities and roles in an Ottoman context.⁴ What follows is a short summary of the state of my on-going research in this regard. After a brief introduction to preachers in the Ottoman context, I introduce some major sources for Ottoman preachers to better understand the role of preachers in the creation of gender identity. I then share some excerpts from Birgivī Meḥmed İbn Pīr 'Alī's (d. 1573) *Ṭarīkatü'l-Muḥammediyye fī beyāni's-şirāṭi'n-nebeviyye ve'l-Aḥmediyye* (“The Way of Muḥammad in Interpreting the Prophetic and Most Praiseworthy Path”) and 'Azīz Maḥmūd Hüdāyī's (d. 1628), *Naşāyih ve'l-mevā'iz* (“Advices and Sermons”) in order to demonstrate how early modern Ottoman preachers perceived gender roles in marriage.⁵

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- (2013), «Osmanlı'da Vaaz ve Vaizlik Geleneği», in *Vaaz ve Vaizlik Sempozyumu* (17-18 Aralık 2011) I-II, Ankara, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, pp. 163-185; Doğan, Recai (1999), «Osmanlı'nın Son Döneminde Yaygın Din Eğitiminde Vaaz ve Vaizlik», in *Diyanet İlmî Dergi*, 35/1, pp. 171-206.
2. Berkey, Jonathan P. (2001), *Popular Preaching & Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East*, Seattle and London, University of Washington Press, p. 54.
 3. Interdisciplinary and Comparative Studies on Religious, Transcultural, and Gender Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Iberian Peninsula and the Mediterranean/Estudios interdisciplinarios y comparativos sobre identidades religiosas, (trans)culturales y de género en la Península Ibérica y el Mediterráneo medieval y moderno. Funding agencies: Spanish Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad (MINECO) and the Fondo Europeo de Desarrollo Regional (FEDER) of the European Union. Ref. no.: FF12015-63659-C2-2-P, MINECO/FEDER, UE. Principal researcher: Linda G. Jones.
 4. Much has written on women and construction of gender identities in Islam; thus, the literature is too vast to discuss here. Yet, Leila Ahmed's *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* and Saba Mahmood's *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* warrants mentioning. As regards gender and sexuality in an Ottoman context, there are valuable studies. To name some of them, see for example, Peirce, Leslie P. (1993), *The Imperial Harem Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, New York, Oxford University Press; and Andrews, Walter G. and Kalpaklı, Mehmet (2005), *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society*, Durham, Duke University Press. See also, Kuru, Selim S. (2000), *Scholar and Author in the Sixteenth-century Ottoman Empire: Deli Birader and his work Dâfi'ü 'l-gumûm ve Râfi'ü 'l-humûm*, Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University; and Ze'evi, Dror (2006), *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500–1900*, Berkeley, University of California Press. Recently, manhood and masculinity have also attracted the attention of scholars. See, for example, Delice, Serkan (2010), «Friendship, Sociability, and Masculinity in the Ottoman Empire: An Essay Confronting the Ghosts of Historicism», in *New Perspectives on Turkey* 42, p. 107; idem (2016), «The Janissaries and Their Bedfellows: Masculinity and Male Friendship in Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Istanbul», in Gul Ozyegin (Ed.), *Gender and Sexuality in Muslim Cultures*, London, Routledge, pp. 115–38. However, the role of preachers, who were among the most effective agents in creating gender norms, remain as an understudied topic.
 5. In this paper, I will refer to the text as *Ṭarīkat-ı Muḥammediyye* and use its Turkish translation by Vedadī İbn Pīr 'Alī, Birgivī Meḥmed (2010), *Tekmile-i Tercüme-i Ṭarīkat-ı Muḥammediyye* trans. Vedadī ([Istanbul], 1278 (1862)). 'Aziz Maḥmūd Hüdāyī's *Naşāyih ve'l-mevā'iz* (MS Üsküdar Hacı Selimağa Kütüphan-

2. Preachers as Agents

There are two kinds of public preaching in the Islamic tradition: *va'z* and *huṭbe*. Both entail giving religious advice concerning, and warnings against wrongdoing based on Islamic canonical texts. The primary differences between the two traditions lie in the nature of their messages, the timing of their delivery, and their duration. A *va'z*, derived from the word to warn, can be delivered in any language (in our case, in Turkish) by the *vā'iz* at any time and location, without a specific occasion, and with no duration limits. In the early modern Ottoman world, mosque preachers were generically described as *vā'izān* (sng. *vā'iz*).⁶ As advice givers, their duties included commenting on the Qur'ān, transmitting hadiths, and reminding people of God's blessings and of their own obligations (*tezkīr*).

The *huṭbe*, by contrast, literally means the word through which one speaks; as such, it entails both the *huṭbe* of the Prophet Muḥammad, which refers to all teachings of the Prophet Muḥammad in the general Islamic context, and the talk itself given by an addresser, the *ḥaṭīb*, on the pulpit to his congregation.⁷ Unlike the *va'z*, the *huṭbe* is short and linked to particular times: it is delivered on Fridays as part of the weekly prayer and on the annual holy days of Islam, namely *Eid el-Adha* and *Eid el-Fitr*. Besides, the *huṭbe* is delivered in Arabic, in a prescribed order.⁸ In the present study, when using the English word “preacher”, I refer to both *vā'iz* and *ḥaṭīb*.

When considering preachers in the Ottoman context, what first comes to mind is the *Ḳāḏīzādeli* movement, led by anti-mystical, strict mosque preachers, such as *Ḳāḏīzāde Meḥmed Efendi* (d. 1635), *Üstüvānī Meḥmed Efendi* (d. 1662), and *Vānī Meḥmed Efendi* (d. 1684). This religious and political movement became highly influential and controversial in the seventeenth century by offering a clear example of how preachers maintained a significant role in Islamic societies.⁹ In fact, Muslim preachers not only gave religious advice and warned against wrongdoing, but they also functioned as instruments through which social messages were delivered,¹⁰

esi, İstanbul—Hüdāyī Efendi Bölümü nr 266, dated 1093/1682) was published by Arpağuş, Sâfi. *Sohbetler Aziz Mahmud Hüdāyī*, İstanbul, Vefa Yayınları.

6. The words *kāş/kuşşāş* (storytellers) and *müzekkir* (reminder) were also used for preachers. For the discussions regarding storytellers and preachers in medieval and late middle Islamic world, see Berkey, *Popular Preaching & Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East*.
7. For detailed information regarding the *huṭbe*, its features, and history, see Bakır, Mustafa (1998), «*Hutbe*», in *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 18, pp. 425-428.
8. For an extensive study on the history and tradition of *huṭbe* in the Ottoman and early Republican periods, see Yarıcı, Güler (2017), «*Osmanlı'da Hutbe*», in *Hutbe Kitabı*, İstanbul, Kitabevi, pp. 3-102. See Taşköpri-zāde Aḥmed Efendi, *Mevzū'ātü'l-'ulūm*, trans. Kemaleddin Mehmed Efendi, İstanbul, Dersaadet İkdām Matbaası, 1313, pp. 98-100.
9. On the *Ḳāḏīzādeli* movement, see Zilfi, Madeline C. (1988), *The Politics of Piety: The Ottoman Ulema in the Postclassical Age (1600-1800)*, Minneapolis, Bibliotheca Islamica, pp. 129-181; Terzioğlu, Derin (2010), «*Sunna-minded Sufi Preachers in Service of the Ottoman State: The Naşihatname of Hasan Addressed to Murad IV*», in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, (Ed.) György Hazai, 27, pp. 241-312.
10. Especially during the Second Constitutional Era (1908-1918), preachers became more important than ever, effectively creating public opinion. Sermons had an important role in explaining the Second Con-

served as motivational speakers to inspire soldiers during war,¹¹ and played a role in shaping the political environment.¹²

Yet what has been disregarded thus far is the fact that their privileged access to the people meant that preachers did more than provide instruction about morals, ethics, and ideologies. If, as other research has already shown, gender identity (including manliness) is a social and cultural construction tied to a particular place, we must then question where and by whom this construction was produced in the early modern Ottoman world.¹³ Here, gender identity was produced and perpetuated through constant reinforcement, shaped according to Islam's foundational concepts and rules and promulgated through a wide range of "agents".¹⁴ Of all these agents, preachers — who were to a large degree highly educated and trained — played one of the most central roles in bringing the teachings of Islamic ideas on gender roles to Muslims.¹⁵ They were thus frontline agents who taught the masses and shaped

stitutional to the public, and "cleansing" Islam from religious innovations. See, Yüksel, «*Osmanlı'da Vaaz ve Vaizlik Geleneği*»; and Yazıcı, Nesimi (2005), «Tanzimat Dönemi Ramazanlarında Vaaz ve İrşad Hizmetleri Üzerine Değerlendirmeler», in *Diyanet İlmî Dergi* 41/3, 105-110.

11. Çakır, Ömer (2017), «Harp Sırasında Çanakkale Kahramanlarına İki Hitâbe», in *Hutbe Kitabı*, İstanbul, Kitabevi, pp. 371-392, and Kaymak, Suat, «'Ya Muzaffer Olurum Ya da Şehid' Sultan Alp-Arslan'ın Malazgirt Savaşı Öncesindeki Hutbesi», in *Hutbe Kitabı*, pp. 393-405.
12. Yılmaz, Metin, «Haccâc b. Yusuf'un Hutbelerinin Emevi Siyasi Hayatındaki Yeri», in *Hutbe Kitabı*, pp. 429-461; Akkaya, Ahmet Yaşar, «Darbe Döneminde Diyanet Hutbeleri», in *Hutbe Kitabı*, pp. 331-341.
13. The study of the body, gender, and sexuality in early modern Islamic sermons is still in its infancy. One significant example is Linda G. Jones' article "Bodily Performances and Body Talk in Medieval Islamic Preaching", in which she examines how the body was perceived and taught in medieval Islamic sermons. See, Jones, Linda G. (2013), «Bodily Performances and Body Talk in Medieval Islamic Preaching», in Suzanne Conklin Akbari/Jill Ross (Eds.), *The Ends of the Body Identity and Community in Medieval Culture*, Toronto, Buffalo, London, University of Toronto Press, pp. 211-235.
14. One lively example of the effectiveness of a preacher is Mu'in el-Miskîn (d. 1502), a fifteenth century Herati preacher. As reported by the biographers, he was such an effective and lively preacher that people came from far and wide to listen to his sermons. See, Felek, Ozgen (2010), «Reading the Mi'raj Account as a Theatrical Performance: The Case of Ma'arîj al-Nubuwwa», in Guber, Christiane; Colby, Frederick (Eds.), *Exploring (Other) Worlds: New Studies on the Prophet Muḥammad's Ascension (Mi'raj)*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, pp. 271-296. Regarding medieval Muslim effective performances, see also Jones, Linda G. (2010), «Prophetic Performances: Reproducing the Charisma of the Prophet in Medieval Islamic Preaching», in Jansen, Katherine L; Rubin, Miri (Eds.), *Charisma and Religious Authority Jewish Christian and Muslim Preaching 1200-1500*, Turnhout, Brepols Publisher, pp. 19-47. For the effective Ottoman preachers, see Akgündüz, Murat (2016), *Osmanlı Döneminde Vaizlik*, İstanbul, Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı, pp. 52-57.
15. During the early Ottoman Empire, preachers were trained and educated in the madrasas, where they were taught Islamic sciences (i.e. Hadith, exegesis, jurisprudence, and the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad), history, literature, and mathematics. After the seventeenth century, the madrasa curriculum focused mainly on Islamic sciences. In 1912, a special college named the Medresetü'l-vâ'izîn was opened. Yet, it was closed after a few years, and the Medresetü'l-irşad was launched in 1919. The curriculum lists courses on Islamic sciences, Turkish literature, History, Philosophy, Sociology, Public Health, and Preaching. See, among other works, Öcal, Mustafa (2014), «Geçmişten Günümüze Vâizlik, Vâizler ve Vaazlar Hakkında Bazı Tespit ve Teklifler», in *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 23/2, pp. 127-128; Doğan, Recai, «Osmanlı'nın Son Döneminde Yaygın Din Eğitiminde Vaaz ve Vaizlik».

notions of gender identities and roles. It should be noted here that, as Zilfi writes, most of the prominent Sufi Sheikhs started and continued their preaching careers while continuing their positions as spiritual leaders.¹⁶

According to philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre, “(Social) space is a (social) product... [It] also serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power”.¹⁷ As Doreen Massey notes, space and place are important in the construction of not just gender identities, but also gender relations: “from the symbolic meaning of spaces/places and the clearly gendered messages which they transmit to straightforward exclusion by violence, spaces and places are not only themselves gendered but in their being so, they both reflect and affect the ways in which gender is constructed and understood”.¹⁸ Preachers delivered sermons in mosques, madrasas, and dervish lodges, making these places social spaces in which piety became a primary and essential part of the construction of gender identities. Although there were some integrated gatherings of men and women to listen to preachers, in particular, mosques were (and still are) architecturally divided into separate gendered spaces for men and women.¹⁹ They were also the most often visited public spaces for Muslim men of different cultural, social, racial, economic, and ethnic backgrounds. Mosques were thus spaces that brought together numerous notions of manhood, filled by male believers led by male imams on behalf of a male Sultan, the Caliph (The Shadow of God on the Earth). They served as, however, as primary spaces that enabled the creation of a particular “Sunni” male image in the Ottoman context. That is, mosques were the spaces in which variant concepts of masculinity and manhood were silenced and made uniform via sermons that conveyed the traditional Sunni Islamic teachings.²⁰

In studying the early-modern Islamic preaching tradition, it should be emphasized that “the *wa'z* is the only form of preaching where one finds female actors”.²¹ As such, even though mosques were the major gathering sites that facilitated the ne-

16. Zilfi, *The Politics of Piety*, p. 133.

17. Lefebvre, Henri (1991), *The Production of Space*, translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Oxford: Blackwell, p. 26.

18. Massey, Doreen (1994), *Space, Place, and Gender*, Oxford: Polity Press, p. 179.

19. Berkey, *Popular Preaching*, pp. 30-31.

20. Through the calligraphic works that included the names of the most significant five men of the Sunni Islamic history (namely, Prophet Muḥammad, and his close companions and successors Ebū Bekr, 'Ömer, 'Oṣmān, and 'Alī) as well as the beautiful names of God, Qur'ānic verses and phrases were mentally imprinted into the minds of Ottoman Muslim men. Their names were also often brought up in the daily prayers and weekly sermons as exemplary figures for their certain characteristics, such as piety, loyalty, generosity, and bravery.

21. Romanov documents the existence of female preachers, although their number is relatively small compared to the male preachers. For a brief survey on female preachers in early Islamic period, see Romanov, Maxim (2013), *Computational Reading of Arabic Biographical Collections with Special Reference to Preaching in the Sunnī World (661–1300 CE)*, Unpublished Dissertation, University of Michigan, pp. 225-227.

gotiation and reshaping of different notions of manliness and masculinity, women's occasional attendance and engagement from the time of the Prophet Muḥammad complicates this picture. Even though in most cases women accessed preachers' teachings through their intimate male acquaintances and relatives, they did occasionally attend the mosques themselves (in particular on holy days), but only as a passive audience in the area reserved for them or behind a curtain.

Chronicles further inform us that women were allowed to listen to preachers directly at mosques, although only rarely. For example, while narrating a lightning bolt hitting the minaret in 1575, a poet and compiler of a seventeenth-century biographical work 'Aṭā'ī reports the death of 17 women and two children due to a fire caused by lightning at the mosque.²² Likewise, according to a *Tenbīh-nāme* (the book of orders) published on March 21 1860, the mosques Sultan Ahmed, Şehzade, and Laleli in Istanbul were devoted to enabling women to fulfill their prayers and listen to sermons. Except for the mosque servants, men were not allowed to enter these mosques outside of regular prayer times, which further emphasizes sexual segregation even in the second half of the nineteenth century.²³ Based on a court record, Leslie Peirce reports that a woman named Hacıye Sabah of Aintab was exiled from the city in mid-sixteenth century for hiring a male teacher (and his apprentice) to preach to the girls, young women, and brides at her home.²⁴ These anecdotes indicate that preachers were, one way or another, able to reach out not only to men but also to women—although again only occasionally.

While preachers are very significant for understanding how gender identities and roles were constructed in the Ottoman period, direct access to early modern sermons remains limited. In addition, the extent to which the sermons offered to men, to women, or to mixed audiences differed, especially in terms of their gendered messages, remains to be examined. Research on these issues through Ottoman preachers and sermons thus relies on two major sources: the books of sermons and *cönks*.

3. Sources: Collections of sermons and *cönks*

Books of sermons are compilations of sermons, usually under generic titles, such as *va'z*, *hutbe*, and *mev'ize*.²⁵ They mainly consist of short religious opinions on particular issues and function as a sourcebook for preachers or others interested in the

22. 'Aṭā Allāh ibn Yaḥyā 'Aṭā'ī, *Ḥadā'ikü'l-hakā'ik fi Tekmileti'ş-şekā'ik: Zeyl-i şekā'ik*, Istanbul: 1268/1852, p. 361.

23. The *Tenbīh-nāme* used here is quoted in Nesimi Yazıcı, "Ramazan Tenbihnāmeleri", in: Aüfîd (2005) XLVI: II, 1-11; p. 8. *Tenbīh-nāmes* were special issues published before or during the month of Ramadan to regulate social life. The *tenbīh-nāmes* first emerged during the 1800s, in particular between 1834 and 1871. See, Yazıcı, "Ramazan Tenbihnāmeleri".

24. Peirce, Leslie (2003), *Morality Tales Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*, Berkley/Los Angeles, University of California Press, pp. 258-275.

25. For example, *Mev'izeler*, MS Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul—Hacı Mahmud Efendi nr 1681/1.

topic, rather than as complete sermons ready to be delivered. These books touched on a variety of issues, from praying to marriage and inheritance rights, and they draw from a variety of sources.²⁶ For the most part, though, they mainly employed the canonical texts of Islam, namely the Qur'ān and the Hadith (the sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad), as reference works. In addition, certain other texts written by previous scholars were used to support the authors' arguments, pointing to the importance of knowing and understanding all kinds of religious texts when studying sermons.

In addition to these generic collations of short opinions, compilations of actual sermons delivered by well-known preachers, scholars, and religious figures shed additional light on the specific contents of sermons and their teachings. Among these, the *Ḥuṭbetü'l-emîrî'l-mü'minîn*, which is believed to be the collection of the sermons of 'Alî b. Ebî Tâlib, who was the fourth caliph and the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet Muḥammad, should be mentioned.²⁷ 'Alî is known not only as a heroic figure but also an effective preacher.²⁸ Other sermon books are attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad and the Rightly Guided Caliphs, under the titles *Ḥuṭbe-i nebiyyunâ 'aleyhi's-selâm*, *Ḥuṭbe-i Ebû Bekr*, *Ḥuṭbe-i 'Ömer*, *Ḥuṭbe-i 'Osmân*, and *Ḥuṭbe-i 'Alî*.²⁹ Among the best examples of this kind is the *Nehcü'l-belâğa*, a compilation of 239 pieces of 'Alî's sermons, letters, and advice to his son Ḥasan. Some collections of sermons are attributed to other preeminent companions of the Prophet, such as *Ḥuṭbe-i Ebû Eyyüb-i Enşârî*, or to other Muslim scholars.³⁰ Sufî masters also delivered sermons, not only in their own Sufî circles to their disciples, but also to the masses at mosques. One of the most well-known of this kind is the *Mecâlisü'l-Va'ziyye ve Mecmû'a-i Ḥuṭab*, a 496 folio collection of sermons in Arabic by the seventeenth-century Sufî master 'Azîz Maḥmûd Hüdâyî Efendi.³¹ Besides, the *Naşâyih ve'l-Mevâ'iz* provides a 237 folio collection of Hüdâyî's Turkish sermons, compiled from those that he delivered in his Sufi lodge on Fridays and other holy days as well.³² These sermons were read in his Sufi lodge for many years, even after

26. In regard to sermons on marriage, for example, see *Ḥuṭbetü'n-nikâh*, MS Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, İstanbul—Yazma Bağışlar nr 6580/5; *Ḥuṭbe Mecmû'ası*, MS İl Halk Kütüphanesi, Balıkesir—nr 196, fols. 36v-37v; *Mecmû'atü'l-Ḥuṭbe*, MS Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, İstanbul—Reşid Efendi nr 1193/2, fols. 183v-189r; *Risâle-i Ḥuṭbe*, MS Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, İstanbul—Üsküdar Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi-Kemankeş Koleksiyonu, nr 394; *Mecmû'a-i Ḥuṭbe-i şerif*, MS Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, İstanbul—Reşid Efendi 1377, H. 1284; *Risâle-i mev'ize*, MS İl Halk Kütüphanesi, Manisa—Akhisar Zeynelzade Koleksiyonu 45 Ak Ze nr 5720/1.

27. *Ḥuṭbetü'l-emîrî'l-mü'minîn*, MS Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, İstanbul—Ayasofya nr 2052/11.

28. Ahmadov, Şahî (2013), «Hz. Ali'nin Vaaz Açısından Yeri ve Konumu», in *Vaaz ve Vaizlik Sempozyumu* (17-18 Aralık 2011) I-II, Ankara, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, pp. 535-544.

29. For example, *Ḥuṭbetü'l-emîrî'l-mü'minîn*; *Ḥuṭbe Mecmû'ası*, MS Adnan Ötügen İl Halk Kütüphanesi, Ankara—nr 06 Hk 3554, fols. 32b-34r.

30. *Ḥuṭbe Mecmû'ası*, MS Adnan Ötügen İl Halk Kütüphanesi, Ankara—nr 06 Hk 3554, 34v-35r.

31. *Mecâlisü'l-Va'ziyye*, MS Üsküdar Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi, İstanbul—nr 276. For his other *Ḥuṭbes* see, MS Üsküdar Hacı Selimağa Kütüphanesi—Hüdâyî Efendi Bölümü nr 270/7, and 593/2.

32. *Naşâyih ve'l-Mevâ'iz*.

his death. The collections of many other preachers were also popular in the late Ottoman period, as was the History of Taberī and numerous eschatological and *mi' rāj* works that warned believers by describing heaven and hell.³³

The *huṭbes* are also named according to their contents, such as the *huṭbe* on the Word of Oneness,³⁴ or the *huṭbe* on marriage, which teaches readers the conditions and rules of a legal marriage.³⁵ Likewise, sermons delivered on the merits of certain holy days, nights, and months, such as *huṭbe* on the month of Ramadan,³⁶ the [holy] night *berāt* or *mi' rāj*,³⁷ or *Eid el-Adha*³⁸ were named accordingly. In addition to these sermons dedication to a specific topic, there were sermons under the title *huṭbe-i muṭlak*, which were generic sermons.³⁹

Another genre called *cönk* (known as *danadili*, cow tongue, due to its shape) also can be useful sources to understand preachers' roles in the construction of gender roles and identities. These are personal anthologies which gathered favorite poems, hymns, songs, riddles, stories, mealtime prayers, daily notes, significant dates (the birthday of a child or death of a loved one), receipts for remedies, notes on black magic, notes regarding credit and debits, as well as sermons written down by the *cönk* keeper.⁴⁰ Different handwriting in some *cönks* suggest that they did not belong to one individual, but rather that they may have been passed down from one person to another, each of whom added what was personally important. It is perhaps be-

33. The most popular sermon books are listed as Ebū'l-Leys Semerḳandī's (d. 985) *Tenbīhü'l-Gāfilin* and Bustānū'l-'Ārifin; Gazālī's (d. 1111) *İhyā'ü 'Ulūmī'd-dīn* and *Kimyā-yı Sa'ādet*; İmām-zāde Muḥammed b. Ebī Bekr (d. 1177)'s *Şir'atü'l-İslām*; Ahmed b. Muḥammed b. 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b. el-Ḳudāme el-Maḳdisī's (d. 1223) *Minhācū'l-Ḳāşidīn*; 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b. 'Abdi's-selām eṣ-Şafūrī's (d. 1480) *Nizhetü'l-Mecālis*; and Birgivī Mehmed İbn Pīr 'Alī's (d. 1573) *Ṭarīkatü'l-Muḥammedīyye*. Besides these books, the following books were among the popular texts among preachers: Celāle 'd-Dīn Rūmī's (d. 1273) *Meşnevī*, Sinān-zāde Ḥasan b. Ümm-i Sinān's *Mecālis-i Sināniyye* (d. 1677); Erzurumlu İbrāhīm Ḥaḳkī's (d. 1780) *Ma'rifet-nāme*; 'Oṣmān b. Ḥasan. Ahmed ez-Zākir el-Hopavī's (d. 1826) *Dürretü'n-Nāşihīn*, also known as *Dürretü'l-Vā'izīn*; Oflu Muḥammed Emīn Efendi's (d. 1902) *Necātü'l-Mü'minīn*; Muḥammed Şākir's *İrşādü'l-ġāfilīn* (published in 1908); and Muḥammed Cemāle'd-dīn el-Ḳāsimī's (d. 1914) *Mev'izātü'l-Mü'minīn min İhyā'ü'l-'Ulūmī'd-dīn*. Abdullah Kahraman, "Vaizlerin Kaynakları", in: *Vaaz ve Vaizlik Sempozyumu* (17-18 Aralık 2011) I, Ankara, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 2013, pp. 235-254; 239-240.

34. *Huṭbe Mecmū'ası*, MS Adnan Ötügen İl Halk Kütüphanesi, Ankara—06 Hk 3554, fols. 26v-27r.

35. See, for example, *Huṭbe Mecmū'ası*, MS İl Halk Kütüphanesi, Balıkesir—nr 196; *Huṭbe Mecmū'ası*, MS Adnan Ötügen İl Halk Kütüphanesi, Ankara—nr 06 Hk 3554; and *Huṭbe Mecmū'ası*, MS Adnan Ötügen İl Halk Kütüphanesi, Ankara—nr 06 Hk 3554, fols. 36v-37v.

36. *Huṭbe Mecmū'ası*, MS Adnan Ötügen İl Halk Kütüphanesi, Ankara—nr 06 Hk 3554, fols. 18v-19r. For the sermons on other holy months, see also *ibid.*, 18v-21v.

37. There is more than one sermon on holy nights. See for example, *ibid.*, fols. 24v-25r, and 24r-24v.

38. *Ibid.*, fols. 22v-23r.

39. See, for example, *Huṭbe Mecmū'ası*, MS Adnan Ötügen İl Halk Kütüphanesi, Ankara—06 Hk 3554 fols. 25r-25v. I would like to thank Sheikh Ashraf Ibrahim of the Masjid al-Mustafa in Waterbury, Connecticut, for his insights on the *huṭbe-i muṭlak*.

40. For a typical sample of *cönks*, see [Cönk], MS Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, İstanbul—Yazma Bağışlar nr 2356; MS Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, İstanbul—Mehmet Taviloğlu nr 310 and 311.

cause of their different keepers that *cönks* are especially rich in their content.⁴¹ The contents of *cönks* also vary according to where they were penned.⁴² Although it was common to keep a *cönk*, these books appear to have been especially popular among those who combined urban and rural traditions through education in madrasas (college) and Sufi lodges.

The *cönks* are understudied materials. Part of the challenge is that there are so many of them, and few offer any indication of their owner's identity. A thorough analysis of their contents is thus necessary to understand if those that contain sermons actually belonged to a preacher who wrote them down, or to a regular Muslim man who took notes on sermons that he enjoyed. In the limited examples that I have examined thus far, I have not noticed any strong reference to male-female relations in the sermons noted in *cönk* texts.⁴³ Yet, considering the abundance of the *cönks*, it should be kept in mind that a thorough study of the sermons in these texts might reveal further insights on the topic.

What follows is a closer look at two of the most popular Ottoman texts: The *Ṭarīkatü'l-Muhammediyye fî beyāni's-sırāti'n-nebeviyye ve'l-Ahmediyye* on ethics (aḥlāk) and Islamic belief system (aḳā'id) by Birgili Pîr 'Alî oğlu Muḥammed, the intellectual inspiration of the Kāḏīzādeli movement (referred to as Birgivî from here on); and the *Naşāyiḥ ve Mevā'iz*, a compilation of the aforementioned 'Azîz Maḥmūd Hüdāyî's sermons.

4. Gender Roles/Perception

One of the popular sermon books is the *Tenbîhü'l-Ġāfilîn* (Admonition for the Neglectful) by Ebū'l-Leyṣ Naşr b. Muḥammed b. Aḥmed Semerḳandî (d. 983), a significant tenth century Hanafî scholar from Samarkand.⁴⁴ The *Tenbîhü'l-Ġāfilîn* deals with the topic of sincerity (iḥlās), Paradise, Hell, and the weighing of deeds; it also has a short section on the rights of women and men in marriage.⁴⁵ He lists the wife's duties and her husband's rights over her. Six hundred years after Ebū'l-Leyṣ, another Hanafî Scholar in Istanbul dedicated a short section to the same topic

41. Köktürk, Şahin (2007), *Cönklerden Bir Cönk Amasya Cöngü*, Samsun, Yazı Yayınevi.

42. For example, the *cönks* kept in Bosnia focus on mainly heroic poems. Yıldırım, Dursun (2013), *Elyazması Bir kitap Türü: Cönk/Cöng Kayıp Saraybosna Cöngü Bağlamında*, Ankara, Türk Kültürü Araştırma Enstitüsü Yayınları, p. 27.

43. There are numerous *cönks* including copies of sermons in manuscript libraries. One interesting example among many is “*Huṭbe-i nikāḥ*” (sermon on marriage) in *Cönk, Danadili, Hutbeler, Çeşitli Şairlerden Şiirler, İlahiler, Şarkı Güfteleri*, MS Suleymaniye Kütüphanesi, İstanbul—Fuad Bayramoğlu Özel Koleksiyonu, Mikrofilm 3799 (undated), no pagination.

44. Van Ess, John, «Abu'l-Layṣ Samarḳandî», in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, I/3, 332-333; retrieved from [http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/abul-lay-nasr-b] (accessed on 28 April 2019).

45. Semerḳandî, Ebū'l-Leyṣ Naşr b. Muḥammed b. Aḥmed, *Tenbîhü'l-Ġāfilîn*, The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto, Call Number: 325; fols. 139r-140r. Retrieved from https://archive.org/details/tanbihalghafilin00unse

in his *Ṭarīkatü'l-Muḥammediyye*, almost repeating Ebū'l-Leys' words. That these arguments were incorporated directly into Muslim culture vividly demonstrates that gender identities and roles were repeatedly shaped by Muslim scholars, despite geographical and time distance.

Along with Ebū'l-Leys' *Tenbīhü'l-Ġāfilīn* and the *Bustānū'l-Ārifīn* and Muḥammad Ġazālī's (d. 1111) *Ihyā'u 'Ulūmu'd-dīn* (The Revival of the Religious Sciences), the *Ṭarīkatü'l-Muḥammediyye* became one the favorite sermon books for preachers, not only in Ottoman lands, but also in East Asia and North Africa.⁴⁶ It was the first text to be printed in the Ottoman world. Although it deals with the duties of wives and husbands in marriage in only a short section, this text nevertheless sheds further light on how medieval and early modern Muslim preachers constructed gender identities and roles through their sermons.⁴⁷

The *Ṭarīkatü'l-Muḥammediyye*, a handbook for many early modern and modern Ottoman/Turkish preachers, was originally written in Arabic in 1573, and then translated into Ottoman Turkish. Its popularity is attested by the almost 1,000 extant copies found in manuscript libraries in Europe and the Middle East.⁴⁸ Birgivī used approximately eighty Islamic sources in developing the *Ṭarīkatü'l-Muḥammediyye*, including thirty-three treatises on hadiths, twenty-nine on Islamic jurisprudence, nine on morals and mysticism, five on the beliefs of Islam, and four on exegesis.⁴⁹ He might not have consulted all of these sources personally, yet his copious references to these texts demonstrate his familiarity with them. This lengthy manuscript (472 pages) contains a short but insightful section on the rights of wives and husbands (four pages) that vividly depicts how Birgivī perceived gender roles and what he taught to his readers and audience about them. For example, the text discusses a wife's responsibilities and duties to her husband as follows. According to Birgivī, it is a man's essential right to be obeyed by his wife, so long as his commands do not conflict or contradict Islamic teachings and law:

46. Ġazālī's *Ihyā'u 'Ulūmu'd-dīn* has been one of the most influential texts in the Islamic world. For our purposes, especially see the detailed analysis of his discussion on marriage by Immenkamp, Beatrix (1994), *Marriage and Celibacy in Mediaeval Islam: A study of Ghazali's Küüb ādāb al-nikāh*, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Cambridge.

47. While marriage appears to be one of the main topics for medieval and early modern Muslim scholars to discuss gender roles, celibacy, though not often, was also part of the discussion. In this regard, see Bashir, Shahzad (2007), «Islamic Tradition and Celibacy», in Olson, Carl (Ed.), *Celibacy and Religious Traditions*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 133-150.

48. For some of them, see Martı, Huriye (2012), *Et-tarīkatü'l-muḥammediyye-Muhteva Analizi, Kaynakları ve Kaynaklık Değeri*, Istanbul, Rağbet Yayınları, footnotes 81 and 82: The British Library, Near and Middle Eastern Collections, no: 13394, 14503; National Libraray of Chech Republic, no: XVIII G 148; Helsinki University Library, no: Arab-148, Arab-235; Amavutluk Devlet Arşivleri Osmanlı Yazmaları, no: 232-288; Jewish national & University Library, Arabic manuscripts, no: Ms. Ar. 281, Ap. Ar. 428; Penjab University Library, no: Ar. I 22; Ayetullah el-Uzma Mer'asi Necefi ktp no: 1998. 3039, 3713, 8112; and Merkezu'l-melik Faysal li'l-Buhus ve Dirasati'l-Islamiyye, no: 67896, 399430.

49. Martı, p. 90. For a full list of Birgivī's sources, *ibid.*, pp. 65-99.

The aforementioned treatise says that the right of a husband over his wife is that the wife serves her husband in all chores that are not illicit. Even if he asks her to carry stones from one mountain to another one, she has to obey him.⁵⁰

He then reports another hadith account that “Even if a wife licks the blood and purulence that runs [from] her husband’s nose, she cannot fulfill his rights”.⁵¹ A wife should obey her husband to the degree that she should not obey anyone else. Birgivî quotes another hadith account to support his rationale: “If I were to command a single person to bow in prostration to another person, I would have commanded a woman to bow down (in obedience and respect, not in worship) to her husband”.⁵²

A wife should serve her husband physically and must be attentive to her husband’s sexual needs. She is recommended to beautify herself for him. If she refuses to respond to his legitimate sexual advances, she would be committing a monstrous sin, unless there is a legitimate excuse for her to do so, such as menstruating, making up an obligatory fast that she has previously missed, or being ill. If a wife opposes her husband, she is entitled to (deserves) divine wrath. As a matter of fact, he quotes, “The Messenger who is the most generous said: ‘Whenever a husband calls his wife to his bed, but the wife refuses to fulfill the call, then angels will curse such a wife until the morning’”.⁵³

Birgivî also defines the wife’s duties in the home, emphasizing that the wife is responsible for household chores such as sweeping the house, cooking, making dough, and washing the clothes. If she does not fulfill these duties, he writes, she is a sinner. If she is a descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad or paralyzed, she is not obliged to serve according to the Islamic law. If she is none of these two, she is expected to serve. While referring to some other texts to support his opinion, he states that when his daughter Fāṭīma married ‘Alī, the Prophet charged her with completing the chores inside the house and ‘Alī with the chores outside the house.⁵⁴

A woman cannot leave her house without her husband’s permission; if she does, the angels will curse her until she returns home. And for every step she takes, a house is built for her in Hell. Even if she leaves home with permission, she should neither put on perfume, nor adorn herself. She should be wearing an old woman’s dress. What is necessary for women is that they should not make their hair styles look bigger under their scarves and not wear *pointed* toe heels. He continues:

[...] because the Prophet said, “I saw two kinds of women on the *mi‘rāj* night that I haven’t seen during my own time. And a group of demons of hell were holding whips of fire which were as big as the tail of a cow. They were beating these women [with those whips] in Hell”. He was asked, “O Messenger of God, what kinds of women

50. Birgivî, *Ṭarīkatü’l-Muḥammediyye*, p. 419.

51. *Ibid.* p. 418.

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*, p. 419.

were those women”? He replied, “They are the kinds of women who wear thin dresses on the earth and look naked. The second kinds of women are those who make their heads as big as a camel’s hump. The smell of Paradise is felt like a thousand year-long road, but these women cannot feel that smell and they cannot enter Paradise.”⁵⁵

The wife should not ask anything from her husband beyond his (physical and financial) capacity so that he would not try to fulfill her desires through illicit ways. If she knows that he goes astray in illicit ways to please her, she will be sharing his sin with him. It is as the wives of previous Muslim scholars are reported to have told their husbands, “We can tolerate hunger, but cannot tolerate hellfire”.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the wife should not give away anything from her husband’s house without his permission. If she does, she sins, while her husband gets the credit for her good deeds. She has the right to give very little, just one or two coins so that the beggar does not leave her door with empty hands, as the tradition requires.⁵⁷

Another obligation that Birgivī mentions is that a wife should tolerate her husband’s shortcomings, and should not praise herself over her husband based on physical, financial, social advantages. For example, she should not brag about looking better than her husband:

One of the scholars narrates, “one day I stopped by a village. I came across a beautiful woman and heard that her husband was an ugly man. I [asked] the woman, ‘How can you be content with such beauty to be married to such an ugly-faced man?’ Hind [the woman] said, ‘You are making mistakes in your words. Perhaps, my husband did a beautiful deed between him and his Lord, and [thus] his Lord gave me to him as a response. It is also possible that perhaps I committed a sin against my Lord and my Lord gave me to him as a result of [my sin]. So now, I am content with the fortune and predestination that my Lord saw appropriate for me’”.⁵⁸

When it comes to the obligations of the husband toward his wife, they are greater than the obligations of the wife toward her husband. Birgivī lists them as follows:

You should feed her with what you eat, you should dress her (provide clothes), you should not beat her on the face, you should not reveal [her defects] and embarrass her [in the presence of other people], and you should not abandon and leave her in a separate house.⁵⁹

In case the wife fails to fulfill her obligations and responsibilities towards her husband, Birgivī states that the husband should try to resolve the issues with her:

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid., p. 420.

57. Ibid., p. 419.

58. Ibid., p. 420.

59. Ibid.

If necessary, you may separate the beds at home and abandon her [within the same house]. It is narrated in the *Eşbāh*⁶⁰ that beating is permissible for four reasons: that she does not attempt to beautify herself for him; she refuses to meet his sexual demands; she leaves the house without his permission or for a legitimate reason; and she neglects her religious duties.⁶¹

In sum, according to Birgivī, the man is the caretaker of his wife and household. He is responsible for all of her affairs. He is responsible for training, educating, and disciplining his wife, if needed. He describes wives who tyrannize and oppose their husbands, and who do not follow the rules of wifehood, as “Calamities”.

It bears noting here that Birgivī and some other early modern scholars are acknowledged for their rich repertoire of the phrases, proverbs, and stories of hagiographical and prophetic figures. Nevertheless, contemporary scholars, among them Hayrettin Karaman, one of the prominent scholars of Islamic law (Shari‘a) in Turkey, have criticized them for quoting false hadith accounts and using concocted tales. Birgivī’s preference for using weak and fabricated hadith accounts shows that some preachers preferred to use their sources selectively to support and spread their opinions. In their teachings and sermons, they saw no harm in relating weak hadiths, or ignoring those that disagreed with their understanding of gender roles (such as the Prophet helping with house chores and laundry). Yet, it should be stated that such texts, canonical or fabricated, were practical and accessible for preaching. The authors preferred to quote the Qur’ānic verses and hadith accounts rather than interpreting them. If there was a conflict, they stated which opinion they took while providing textual evidence to support their reasoning. These early modern texts thus should be read carefully, taking their sources and references into consideration.⁶²

While Birgivī, an anti-mystical mosque preacher, meticulously discussed all aspects of the responsibilities and duties of a wife in marriage along with the rights of the husband, ‘Azīz Maḥmūd Hüdāyī, the founder of the Jalwatiyya Sufi order and also known for his preaching, approached the topic quite differently in his sermons. Hüdāyī was a prolific author and poet. In addition to his poetry collection and treatises, his weekly sermons in both Arabic and Turkish given at his Sufi lodge have also been compiled. Among his approximately thirty books, his *Mecālisü’l-va‘ziyye* (496 folios, in Arabic), *Mecmū‘a-i Huṭab* (4 folios, in Arabic) and *Naşāyih ve Mevā‘iz* (237 folios, in Turkish) are especially important for our purposes.

60. By *Eşbāh*, the author refers to Ibn Nüceym el-Miṣrī’s (d. 1563) *el-Eşbāh ve’n-nezā‘ir*, one of the most popular texts on Islamic jurisprudence.

61. Birgivī, *Ṭarīkatü’l-Muḥammediyye*, p. 420.

62. See, for example, Karaman, Hayrettin (1993), «Vaaz Kaynaklarının Tavsif ve Tenkidi», in *İslam Işığında Günün Meseleleri*, İstanbul: Nesil Yayınları, 2, pp. 484-503. See also, Süt, Abdülnasır (2013), «Klasik Vaaz Kaynaklarının Kelami (İtikadi) Açından Değerlendirilmesi», in *Vaaz ve Vaizlik Sempozyumu* (17-18 Aralık 2011) I, Ankara, Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, pp. 285-299; Kahraman, “Vaizlerin Kaynakları”.

Here, I will look at how the *Naşāyih ve Mevā'iz* relates to gender constructions. The text consists of forty-two *meclis* (chapters) devoted to his forty-two sermons compiled most likely by one of his disciples. The topics of his sermons vary from piety and devotion to generosity and are enriched and supported by short stories, anecdotes, and Qur'anic verses and hadith accounts. As opposed to Birgivî, 'Azîz Maḥmūd Hüdāyî does not appear to have been concerned about either the duties of the wife or the rights of the husband. His occasional anecdotes about men and women emphasize devotion to God and piety as the most important merits. However, even in these anecdotes, a hierarchy is established between men and women (and between husband and wife in marriage) based on piety. For example, in a story that addresses the importance of generosity, 'Azîz Maḥmūd Hüdāyî narrates the story of a man who refuses to give some alms to a beggar. His wife, however, gives what the beggar needs despite her husband's objections and harsh reactions, saying that the beggar has asked for help in the name of God.

Quite upset with his wife, the man asks her to enter a highly heated oven, in the name of God (as the beggar said), to show her how ridiculous her reasoning was. After ritually cleansing and adorning herself, she enters the oven with no opposition, saying "In the name of God". As soon as she enters, he closes the oven lid, cursing her, "Glad, I am released from her face. May she go to Hell!" and walks away. Yet, a divine call is heard, "Would God burn His friend"? Once she hears this divine call, she feels relieved and starts praying in the oven, as if it is not hot in there. Then, 'Azîz Maḥmūd Hüdāyî links this story to the story of Abraham, who is also believed to have been thrown into fire that turned into a rose garden with God's will.⁶³

The story underscores that what matters to 'Azîz Maḥmūd Hüdāyî, a Sufi preacher, is one's piety and complete devotion to God, not his or her gender. While Birgivî stresses that a wife is not allowed to give anything from the home without her husband's permission, Hüdāyî praises the woman who ignores her husband's command when God's name is mentioned. Here, piety and devotion override gendered hierarchies.

In another anecdote Hüdāyî narrates the story of a blacksmith who puts his hand in fire with no fear or damage. When asked about the mystery behind that, he responds that years ago he forced a woman who came to him to ask for food for her children at the time of famine. She rejected his offer a few times, but eventually she agreed to have an illicit relation with him to be able to provide food for her children. Yet, during the relationship, she starts shaking with the fear of God. Having seen how fearful of God she is, the blacksmith regrets having forced her. He says, even as a woman, who lacks in religious commitment and inheritance rights, she fears God, and as a man he should be perfect in obeying God's law. In regret, he gives some

63. Arpağuş, *Sohbetler Aziz Mahmud, Hüdayî*, pp. 131-133. For the reference to Abraham's story in the Qur'an, see Qur'an 21: 69. This story was enriched upon through the narratives of storytellers, preachers, and poets in Islamic tradition. See, for example, the sixteenth century Ottoman poet Hîndî, Maḥmūd (2013), *Kıssa-ı Enbiyâ. Hindî Mahmûd, Kıssa-ı Enbiyâ Peygamber Kıssaları İnceleme-tenkitli Metin Tıpkı Basım*, İstanbul, Türkiye Yazma Eserler Kurumu Başkanlığı, pp. 346-347 and 350-351.

alms to the woman and releases her. While leaving, she prays that God may never burn him.⁶⁴ While Hüdāyī emphasizes the insignificance of gender again through this story, he reflects the perception of women and gender inequality in that society.⁶⁵

5. Conclusion

From the beginning of Islam, preachers have played a crucial role not only in teaching Islamic values and ethical conduct, but also in forming gender identities. Despite some recent studies on the functions of preachers in modern Turkey, the role of preachers in the Ottoman Empire has yet to be thoroughly studied. My current work is looking at how well-known sermon texts that circulated among Ottoman preachers and religious scholars can help us understand early modern Ottoman preachers' contribution to defining gender identities and roles.

As an exemplary text, Birgivī's *Tarīkatü'l-Muhammediyye*, one of the most widespread and cited sources among Ottoman preachers and scholars, demonstrates that some early modern preachers focused on the responsibilities of women to their husbands rather than on women's responsibilities to their children, neighbors, and society. Women are depicted as needing protection from and guidance by their husbands. As can be seen, piety, chastity, loyalty (that is, loyalty to God and her husband) are the wife's main responsibilities. Not only their responsibilities at home, but also their public appearances, were determined and dictated by preachers who had the opportunity to spread their ideas to hundreds of men in the mosques. By contrast, a preeminent Sufi preacher from the same time period, 'Azīz Maḥmūd Hüdāyī, focused on merits and piety, and disregarded gender differences and responsibilities in his sermons. This raises an important question about potentially conflicting messages between Sufi and non-Sufi preachers.

After consulting numerous primary and secondary sources in this topic, my next step will be to explore how popular these sermons/writings were, and how they were used and perceived by successor preachers. The integration of these texts and their teachings into society and the degree to which these ideas were accepted by men (and women) also needs to be studied. Furthermore, the influence of Sufi teachings through Sufi-minded preachers on constructing gender identities and roles deserves a more thorough analysis for a better understanding of the varied roles and influence of preachers within different social and religious groups in early modern Ottoman society.

64. Arpağuş, *Sohbetler Aziz Mahmud, Hüdāyī*, pp. 237-239.

65. For the Sufi perspective on gender and sexuality, see Shaikh, Sa'diyya (2012), *Sufi Narratives of Intimacy: Ibn 'Arabī, Gender, and Sexuality*, Chapel Hill, North Carolina University Press.

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The eleven essays included in this collective volume examine a range of textual genres produced by Christians and Muslims throughout the Mediterranean, including materials from the *Corpus Islamolatinum*, Christian propaganda and polemical works targeting Muslims and Jews, Inquisition records, and Christian and Muslim sermons. Despite the diversity of the works under consideration and the variety of methodological and disciplinary approaches employed in their analysis, the volume is bound together by the common goals of exploring the propaganda strategies premodern authors deployed for specific aims, be it the unification of religious, cultural, and political groups through discourses of self-representation, or the invention of the political, cultural, religious, or gendered other. Many of the essays offer critical re-readings of works that are obscure or have never been studied, while others shed new light on the cultural and textual interactions between Christians, Muslims and Jews.

The volume is divided into four sections, the first of which is comprised of three chapters on the *Corpus Islamolatinum* that furnish new evidence showing the important role this «encyclopedia» played in spreading knowledge about Islam and contributing to the creation of propaganda and polemics against Islam among European intellectual circles. The chapters in section two offer novel interpretations of the hermeneutical strategies underlying the composition of polemical works such as the *lives* of Muhammad and Pedro de la Cavalleria's *Zelus Christi*. The essays in section three identify some common hermeneutical strategies in the use of anti-Jewish and anti-Islamic arguments to polemicize against religious others or edify Christians and illuminate intertextual relations between authors and genres (*disputatio* and *praedicatio*). Finally, section four introduces the gender perspective: the gendered nature of the accusations of Judaizing in the analysis of the transcripts of the inquisitorial court of three sisters who were tried in Barcelona in 1496, on the one hand, and two studies that explore the constructions of identities and gender relations reflected in various Islamic sources from opposite ends of the Mediterranean. They offer glimpses of women as subject (s) and as object (s) of preaching and show how such texts can reify or subvert traditional binary gender roles.