

* THE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN IBERIAN WORLD *

The Book of Disputation

*A Mudejar Religious-Philosophical Treatise
against Christians and Jews*

A STUDY AND ACCOMPANYING TEXT EDITION

Mònica Colominas Aparicio



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BRILL

The Book of Disputation

The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World

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voor Stefan



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Note on Transliteration, Conventions and Abbreviations

Transliteration and Conventions

The Arabic transliterations in the main text follow the system of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*. Solar letters are assimilated into the Arabic article. The system used for the transcription of Aljamiado words generally correspond to that used in the *Colección de Literatura Aljamiado-Morisca* (CLEAM). Dates are indicated in Common Era with the exception of dates of individuals and events in the Muslim territories of the Iberian Peninsula, and manuscripts dated in the Common Era and in the *hiġrī* Era, in which case both dates are provided. Qur'ānic translations are by Marmaduke Pickthall, taken from the website Altafsir (<http://altafsir.com/index.asp>), and biblical translations are taken from the King James Bible Online (<http://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org>). Various members of the Šaraḑī family play a prominent role in this book; in the main text, references keep the variant spellings of the family name in medieval and early-modern sources, however they have been standardized in the Index of Names and Places.

Abbreviations

- CMR *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, 7 vols. Edited by David Thomas, Barbara Roggema, Alex Mallet, John Chesworth. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009—
- EI² *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*. Leiden [etc.]: Brill, 1960—
- EI³ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*. Edited by Keet Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, John Nawas, and Everett Rowson with Roger Allen ... [et al.]. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007—
- EQ *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*. Edited by Jane Dammen McAuliffe. Leiden [etc.]: Brill, 2001–2006.
- EJ *Encyclopaedia Judaica, Second Edition*. Edited by Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik. Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007.

Figures

- 1 *Alborayque*, BNE MS 17567 [Miscellaneous]: Tratado del Alborayque, n.n., n.p., n.d., pp. 4^r–15^r; here at 4^r. Biblioteca Digital Hispánica http://catalogo.bne.es/uhtbin/cgisirsi/x/o/o/57/5/3?searchdata1=4520811{CKEY}&searchfield=GENERAL^SUBJECT^GENERAL^^&user_id=WEBSERVER 50
- 2 *Holtz Drechseln* (*Drechsler; Holzdrechsler; wood turner*), 15th c., Amb. 317b.2^o Folio 47 recto (*Mendel II*). *Germanisches National Museum* 72
- 3 *Holz Drechseln* (*Drechsler; Holzdrechsler; wood turner*), 15th c., Amb. 317b.2^o Folio 83 recto (*Mendel II*), *Germanisches National Museum* 72
- 4 *Harnisch Balirer* (*Harnischpolierer; harness polishing*), 15th c. *Die Hausbücher der Nürnberger Zwölfbrüderstiftungen*, Amb. 279.2^o Folio 47 recto (*Landauer I*). *Germanisches National Museum* 77
- 5 *Solar Eclipse* (*left*), *Lunar Eclipse* (*right*) 86
- 6 *Ġawzahar* (*Draco*). *Vaso Vescovali*, *The British Museum*, second circle counter-clock (number 6) 89
- 7 *New Moon* 90
- 8 *Qur'ān*, *Sūrat az-Zumar*, *Naṣrid period*, 13th/14th c., ink and gold on parchment, *Rogers fund 1942*, *The Met New York* 127

Introduction

These pages are devoted to the study and a new text edition of a treatise on Muslim polemics entitled *Kitāb al-Muġādala ma'a al-Yahūd wa-n-Naṣārā* [The Book of Disputation against the Jews and the Christians, henceforth KM]. Although the KM, a unique testimony to its time, has caught the attention of scholars, it has not yet been the subject of a separate study, nor has the text been edited.¹ The work is representative of a social practice well-established in medieval Muslim societies: the dispute, or *munāẓara*—as it is known among other terms in Arabic. In their written form, disputes were regulated by the theory of the *ādāb al-ġadal* (the method of dispute), which provided the methodological basis and rules for the composition of works in which the arguments were generally presented in the form of questions and answers (*masā'il wa-aġwiba*).² Questions and answers also form the basic pattern of the KM, which stands out as a polemic treatise for a number of reasons. First and foremost, the work provides a powerful example of the cultivation of this genre by Muslim minorities in Christian areas in pre-modern Iberia. It shows their active involvement in the composition of original works against Judaism and Christianity and the subsequent circulation of the fruits of their labour in the territories. Most cogently, it provides a rare example of the use of philosophy in the polemical discourses of their groups. This study will highlight the text of this exceptional testimony to Mudejar thought at the time, and above all the context in which it assumed the meaning of what I would like to call the “Mudejar microcosm” of its author.

Mudejars (from the Arabic *daġn*, or treaty)³ were Muslims allowed to practise Islam under Christian rule in exchange for the payment of taxes agreed upon after the conquest of their territories. Although Mudejar communities

1 See the discussion and literature mentioned in Colominas Aparicio, Mònica. *The Religious Polemics of the Muslims of Late Medieval Iberia: Identity and Religious Authority in Mudejar Islam*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018, particularly Chapter 6, pp. 90–97 and 199–239.

2 *ET*² s.v. “Munāẓara” (Wagner); *ET*² s.v. “Masā'il wa-Adjwiba” (Daiber).

3 In the context of the conquest of Granada, *mudaġġan* also had the meaning of “the one who remains behind, a laggard, and of ‘tributaries’”, *ET*² s.v. “Mudéjar” (Chalmeta). See also, Lapedra Gutiérrez, Eva. “Sobre ahl ad-daġn y mudaġġan en el discurso histórico literario.” *Sharq al-Andalus* 16–17 (1999–2002): 23–43, *passim* and for the use of the term in Castilian, Maíllo Salgado, Felipe. “Acerca del uso, significado y referente del término mudéjar: contribución al estudio del medievo español y al de su léxico.” In Carlos Carrete Parrondo (ed.). *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional Tres Culturas*. Toledo: Ayuntamiento de Toledo, Universidad de Tel-Aviv, 1988, pp. 103–112; pp. 104–107 and *passim*.

or *aljamas* were ultimately dependent on the Christian king, they were nevertheless semi-autonomous social units and, like the other important religious minority in the Peninsula, the Jews, were considered part of the “royal treasure”.⁴ In addition, Mudejars tended to live in open quarters together with Christians and Jews until the fifteenth century,⁵ when their living conditions, as did those of Jews, progressively deteriorated. A series of consecutive edicts in the various peninsular kingdoms increasingly restricted their freedoms. The last one, which marked the end of Mudejarism, was issued by the Crown of Aragon in 1526. The official presence of Jews in the Iberian Peninsula lasted until 1491 in Spain and 1496–1497 in Portugal. Still resident but faced with emigration or conversion, the faith of the Muslims who embraced Christianity and of their descendants, the Moriscos, or “new” Christians, was never fully trusted by the “old” Christian majority society. These suspicions were not completely unfounded as the Moriscos often kept their observance of Islam secret until their final expulsions in 1609–1614.⁶

It was against this background that the only known copy of the KM was made in Pedrola in Aragon.⁷ It is preserved in the Österreichische National-

4 An *aljama* is understood here not only as the physical space occupied by the communities, but also as the communities themselves, as social units. As Nirenberg argues, under the Crown of Aragon, where, as will be noted, the KM was copied, there was a division between the two communities with respect to their place of residence: mostly rural in the case of the Mudejars, and their subsequent dependence on the local lords, but where the Jews were directly dependent on the king. Nirenberg, David. *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996, pp. 26–30.

5 Molénat refers to the disputes over the occupation of houses in Toledo and points out that there was no separate Muslim *morería* (or Muslim quarter) in the city. Until the 15th century, Muslim houses were found among those of the Christians. This situation differs from that of the Jews who did have a Jewish quarter. Molénat, Jean-Pierre. “Quartiers et communautés à Tolède (XI^e–XV^e siècles).” *En la España medieval* 12 (1989): 163–189; p. 169.

6 For the Morisco diaspora see, García-Arenal, Mercedes, and Gerard Wiegers (eds.). *The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain: A Mediterranean Diaspora*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014. For the Moriscos’ strategies of resistance, see Barletta, Vincent. *Covert Gestures: Crypto-Islamic Literature as Cultural Practice in Early Modern Spain*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005, and the fourth volume of Kevin Ingram’s edited series on Conversos y Moriscos, begun in 2009, *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond, Volume Four: Resistance and Reform*. Leiden, Boston, Brill, 2021.

7 I have argued in Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, pp. 121–132 that Piṭrūla, in the reference in the colophon of ÖNB MS AF 58 “bi-balda Piṭrūla”, should probably be identified with Pedrola in Aragon and not with Pétroula in Albacete. Pedrola is very close to Huesca where the oldest Arabic copy of another Mudejar polemic against Judaism, the *Ta’yid al-milla* [Fortification of the Faith, or Community], was completed in 762 H (= 1361 CE). It is also close to Ricla, suggesting the possibility that this was the birthplace of the copyist, ar-Raqili [or, perhaps ar-Raḡili] (in both cases, from Ricla). It was a locality in which, unlike Pétroula, there was an

bibliothek of Vienna (ÖNB MS AF 58, ff. 31^r–62^v) in an early-fifteenth-century large-format, miscellaneous Arabic manuscript, written in Andalūsī script by one hand, and in reasonable condition. It is a copy of an earlier Arabic original of whose authorship we know nothing. My educated guess is that the identity of the author must be sought among the Mudejar groups, more specifically, among the elites with family networks in the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, very probably among the circles close to the Aragonese court.⁸ Some evidence pointing in this direction derives from the information given by the author himself when he says that he will use the Torah, the Gospel (*Inġīl*), the books on philosophy and the treatises of the *qāḍī* aš-Šarafī, a Mudejar judge to whom we shall return.⁹ This internal evidence also places the original KM

important Muslim *aljama* and, also, a Jewish community. For the Jewish community in Pedrola, see Amador de los Ríos, José. *Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España y Portugal*, Vol. 2. Madrid: Imprenta de T. Fortanet, 1875, p. 21. See also Pérez Viñuales, Pilar. “La convivencia de las tres culturas: cristianos, mudéjares y judíos.” In Miguel Hermoso Cuesta and Mónica Vázquez Astorga (coord.). *Comarca de Ribera Alta del Ebro*. Zaragoza: Diputación General de Aragón, 2005, pp. 85–104; Muñoz Jiménez, Isabel. “Juderías de realengo y juderías de señorío: la judería de Calatayud.” In Ana María López Álvarez and Ricardo Izquierdo Benito (coord.). *Juderías y sinagogas de la sefard medieval: XI Curso de cultura hispanojudía y sefardí de la Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha en memoria de José Luis Lacave Riaño*. Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, 2003, pp. 159–188. From some contemporary historical data on Pedrola when the KM is conjectured to have been composed and the time it was copied, see Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa. “Las comunidades mudéjares de la Corona de Aragón en el siglo XV: la población.” In *Actas [del] VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo. De mudéjares a moriscos: una conversión forzada. Teruel, 15–17 de septiembre de 1999*, Vol. 1. Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2002, pp. 27–153 and by the same author, “Documentación sobre mudéjares del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón.” In María Teresa Ferrer i Mallol et al. (eds.). *Fuentes documentales para el estudio de los mudéjares*. Teruel: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 2005, pp. 9–53.

- 8 Hence, I disagree with the opinions of previous scholars like Kassin who, based on a few passages, suggests the KM was authored by an anonymous Jewish convert to Islam, who also wrote the *Taʿyīd*. The evidence discussed both here and in previous studies suggests that Kassin’s views are not defensible and that these two works are by different authors. See Kassin, Leon Jacob. “A Study of a Fourteenth-century Polemical Treatise Adversus Judaeos.” PhD Diss., 2 vols. Columbia University (New York), 1969, Vol. 1, pp. 92–101. Asín Palacios published on the *Taʿyīd* at the beginning of the twentieth century and this work was translated by Kassin in his unpublished dissertation. Asín Palacios, Miguel. “Un tratado morisco contra los judíos. (El código arábigo n. XXXI de la colección Gayangos: تآييد الملة.)” *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg*. Paris: Ernest Léroux Éditeur, 1909, pp. 343–366. See also Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, particularly Chap. 5, pp. 159–181.
- 9 The author takes a Muslim perspective and refers to the Gospels in the singular, ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 31^r. The range of sources is even more diverse and also to references to authors including Galen and Seneca (see Appendix 2. Source Overview). We also find more explanatory narratives, and the author uses among other genres, *hikāya* (story), proverbs (*amṭāl*) and stories

in a Christian area. A number of references in the work are also revealing in this context, for instance, Muslim attacks on Christians, presumably monks, for wearing their robes¹⁰ not “for the sake of God” but “because of Paul, Francis, St. Peter or Augustine”.¹¹ Or the references to the city of Toledo, inhabited by Christians, Muslims and Jews, as part of the author’s claims that “not everyone who lives in Toledo is a Jew; in [the city] live Jews, Christians and Muslims”.¹² Or the lively formulae which introduce the questions of the Christians, such as, “if (they) say ... tell them ...” or “tell them: I shall test you with your Gospel”,¹³ which suggests that the author might have found his inspiration in the public practice of polemics in Christian territories. The language used, particularly

about the prophets (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*) and the Prophet Muḥammad. For the time being, this identification of the *qāḍī* aš-Šarafī is taken as a working hypothesis; an outline of the most important arguments for it is given below. Future discoveries will put this identification to the test. See for the Mudejars in Toledo and, particularly, the members of their elites such as the Šarafīs, the various publications by Molénat, Jean-Pierre. “Les musulmans de Tolède aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles.” *Les Espagnes médiévales: aspects économiques et sociaux. Mélanges offerts à Jean Gautier-Dalché*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1983, pp. 176–186; “Les musulmans dans l’espace urbain tolédan aux XIV^e^{me} et XV^e^{me} siècles.” In Pierre Tucoo-Chala (dir.). *Minorités et marginaux dans la France méridionale et la Péninsule Ibérique (VII^e–XVIII^e siècles) (Actes de Colloque de Pau, 27–29 mai 1984)*. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1986, pp. 129–141; “Une famille de l’élite mudéjare de la Couronne de Castille: les Xarafī de Tolède et d’Alcalá de Henares.” In Abdeljelil Temimi (ed.). *Mélanges Louis Carraillac: tahiyat taqdīr al-ustādh Luwī Kārdayāk*. Vol. 2. Zaghouan: Fondation Temimi pour la Recherche Scientifique et l’Information, 1995, pp. 765–772; “À propos d’Abrahen Xarafī: les *alcaldes mayores de los moros* de Castille au temps des Rois Catholiques.” In *Actas [de] VII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo: Teruel, 19–21 de septiembre de 1996*. Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, 1999, pp. 175–184; “L’élite mudéjare de Tolède aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles: alfaquis, alcaldes et *alcaldes mayores* de moros.” In Dominique Barthélemy and Jean-Marie Martin (eds.). *Liber Largitorius: études d’histoire médiévales offertes à Pierre Toubert par ses élèves*. Paris: Droz, 2003, pp. 563–577; “Alcaldes et *alcaldes mayores* de moros de Castille au XV^e siècle.” In François Géral (ed.). *Regards sur al-Andalus (VIII^e–XV^e siècle)*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, Éditions Rue d’Ulm, 2006, pp. 147–168; “Les noms des mudéjars revisités, à partir de Tolède et de Lisbonne.” *En la España medieval* 35 (2012): 75–98. Also, those by Echevarría Arsuaga, Ana. “De cadí a alcalde mayor: la élite judicial mudéjar en el siglo xv (I).” *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 24, No. 1 (2003a): 139–168, and “De cadí a alcalde mayor: la élite judicial mudéjar en el siglo xv (II).” *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 24, No. 2 (2003b): 273–289.

10 In Aljamiado (Romance in Arabic script), “abitoš”; Cast. habitos.

11 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 55^v.

12 He adds that, “[i]t is for this reason that someone who lives in Toledo calls himself Toledan and, if there are many, they call themselves Toledans”, ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 41^v.

13 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 34^v.

the practice of code-switching between Arabic and Aljamiado (or Romance in Arabic script), is also consistent with this picture.¹⁴ The date of composition of the Arabic original of the KM should be the second half of the 14th century and, certainly no earlier than the oldest sources cited in the work (which are dated around the 13th century),¹⁵ and no later than 808H/1405 CE. It is in this year that the *imām*, Abū Zakariyyā’ Yaḥyà b. Ibrāhīm Muḥammad ar-Raqīlī, completed the copy of the other treatise of polemics in Arabic against the Jews in ÖNB MS AF 58, the *Ta’yīd al-milla* [Fortification of the Faith, or Community].¹⁶

The colophon of the *Ta’yīd* in ÖNB MS AF 58 attests to the circulation among Mudejars and Moriscos of what appears to be the longest known treatise against Jews and Judaism in the Peninsula.¹⁷ The copy was completed while ar-Raqīlī was in charge of prayers in the Aragonese town of Pedrola. (*Ar. bi-balda Piṭrūla*), and he states that he had to work with a defective copy of the text.¹⁸ In the opening words of the KM in the same miscellaneous codex, ar-Raqīlī introduces himself as a *faqīh*, or expert in Islamic jurisprudence, and announces that he is copying (“*intasāḥa*”) a dispute with Jews and Christians, although on this occasion he does not give details about the condition of the manuscript he is using.¹⁹ The KM in ÖNB MS AF 58 is unfinished but the ductus and the mater-

14 Code-switching is a linguistic situation which reflects the progressive changes in which Arabic would function as the dominant or parent language and Romance as the minor or embedded language.

15 On f. 54^v we find a reference to “*al-mantiqī Bīṭr*”, who should perhaps be identified with Peter of Spain (13th c.).

16 ÖNB MS AF 58, ff. 1^r–30^v. The introduction to the oldest known Arabic copy of the *Ta’yīd* places the original composition in Christian territories. The earliest copy of the *Ta’yīd* is kept in the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid as RAH MS Gy. XXXI. The manuscript in the RAH is one of the four Arabic copies of this work known to us. Down the centuries, the work had a wider circulation among Muslims in the Christian territories, as attested by the circulation of its adaptation into Aljamiado until the early-seventeenth-century expulsions of the Moriscos.

17 Including the work of the famous polymath Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba, 384H/994 CE–456H/1064 CE. For Ibn Ḥazm’s work on polemics see Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa’īd /Miguel Asin Palacios (stud. and trans.). *Abenḥázam de Córdoba y su historia crítica de las ideas religiosas*. 5 vols. Tipografía de la “Revista de Archivos”, 1927–1932. Also, Adang, Camilla. *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible: From Ibn Rabban to Ibn Ḥazm*. Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1996; and, Adang, Camilla, Maribel Fierro and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.). *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba: The Life and Works of a Controversial Thinker*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013. More about Ibn Ḥazm is discussed below.

18 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 30^v.

19 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 31^v. See Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, pp. 93, note 81, where it is noted that in addition to the said, in both the *Ta’yīd* and the KM in ÖNB MS AF 58 we find in another ink a number of marginalia with additions to the text but which could

ials (quires, paper, ink, pen) are the same as those used for the *Ta'yīd*.²⁰ We can safely assume that both treatises are in ar-Raqilī's hand and it is very likely that they were written by him in Pedrola in the same year.²¹

The evidence from ar-Raqilī's copy and the conjectured place and date of the original suffice to make the KM a Mudejar polemic. The decision has also

-
- have been made by the same copyist, ar-Raqilī, and which read “*ṣaḥḥ min lām*”, but most likely have to be read as “*ṣaḥḥ min al-umm*” (e.g. *Ta'yīd*, f. 5^v and 7^v; KM, f. 36^r and 60^r).]
- 20 Indubitably, working with ar-Raqilī's copy of the KM does raise many questions. One of the most straightforward is its relationship to the original. The copy is understood here as a coherent unit, meaning that the possibility of changes, adjustments, additions and diminutions with respect to the original will only be paid explicit attention for the sake of the argument. Although the lack of the original is the direct reason for adopting this approach, there is also the important consideration of the use and consumption of the KM by the Mudejars, that is, of its reception. Questions such as what prompted ar-Raqilī to copy the KM are difficult to answer (Did he intend to unite several polemics in one package, beginning with the *Ta'yīd*? It is possible that he wanted to continue copying other works of the same genre but, for unknown reasons, he stopped his work). We must remain in the dark, although the fact that he endeavoured to study and then transmit the KM indicates that, in his eyes, the work was meaningful and, in his role as a religious leader, he found lessons of value for his co-religionists in it.
- 21 As noted in Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, p. 99 and note 93, the KM also seems to have had non-Muslims readers, and was later annotated in Latin, Arabic and Hebrew. I have not been able to decipher the content of an annotation in a different hand at the bottom left of f. 48^v, ÖNB MS AF 58, which seems to be written in both Romance and Hebrew; the latter probably in the Italian style. I thank the Hebraist Irene Zwiép for giving me the information about the style probably used. These annotations suggest that the KM had at least two other readers. One Latin annotation refers to Genesis 49:10 in which it says, “The sceptre shall not depart from Judah”, in the marginalia of the KM, “Non recedet sceptrum Iuda Gen 49”, ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 42^v. This was the most widely used biblical verse in Muslim anti-Jewish polemics to convince the Jews that the promised Messiah had come and that he was Muḥammad (for example, by Samaw'al al-Magribī, see Perlmann, Moshe. “Samau'al al-Maghibī, *Iḥām al-Yahūd*: Silencing the Jews.” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 32 (1964): 5–104 + 1–136, p. 42), and it was often also invoked in Judaeo-Christian confrontations. In a dispute held in Lleida between a Christian preacher and the contemporary Jewish religious leader in Aragon, Rabbi Solomon ben Abraham ben Adret (Rašba, 1235–1310), the preacher's Christological interpretation of this verse was effective in raising doubts among the Jewish community. Ben Shalom, Ram. “Between Official and Private Dispute: The Case of Christian Spain and Provence in the Late Middle Ages.” *Association for Jewish Studies Review* 27, No. 1 (2003): 23–71; p. 41. See for a detailed explanation of its meaning, Kugel, James L. *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as It Was at the Start of the Common Era*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998, pp. 468–469 and *ff.* On the other hand, Cohen argues that, while in Barcelona, on various occasions Adret disputed with a Christian opponent whom he identifies as Ramon Martí, see, Cohen, Jeremy. “The Christian Adversary of Solomon Ibn Adret.” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 71, No. 1 (1980): 48–55. This suggests that the KM was probably later used by a Christian author, possibly a student of Oriental languages.

been made taking account of the characteristics of the text and the polemical discourse advanced by its author. To develop the main aspects of the KM, it is necessary to set the stage by addressing some aspects of the corpus of Muslim polemics in the Iberian Peninsula and the development of the genre in the territories. Especially important are the treatises of three authors linked to Muslim Cordoba: Ibn Ḥazm,²² al-Ḥazraḡī (519AH/1125CE–582AH/1186CE)²³ and al-Qurṭubī (578AH/1182CE–655AH/1258CE);²⁴ and two

- 22 Particularly, his *al-Fiṣal fī l-mīlāl wa-l-ahwā' wa-n-niḥāl* [Book of Decisive Solutions concerning Religions, Sects and Schools]. In addition to the references provided above, see, Ibn Ḥazm, Abū Muḥammad 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd. *Al-Fiṣal fī l-mīlāl wa-l-ahwā' wa-n-niḥāl*, 2nd ed., 5 parts (in 3 vols.). Bayrūt: Dār al-Ma'rifa li-l-Ṭība'a wa-l-Naṣr, 1395H/1975CE, and the very recent publication by Monferrer-Sala, Juan Pedro. *El Nuevo Testamento de Ibn Ḥazm, según al-Fiṣal fī l-mīlāl wa-l-ahwā' wa-l-niḥāl*. Madrid: Sínderesis, 2023 (I was unable to consult it); also, the various publications such as Adang, Camilla. *Islam frente a judaísmo: la polémica de Ibn Ḥazm de Córdoba*. Madrid: Aben Ezra Ediciones, 1994 and by the same author *Muslim Writers on Judaism*. Also, Adang, Fierro and Schmidtke (eds.). *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba*. See also the study of the *al-Fiṣal* by Kaddouri, Samir. "Le livre décisif sur les religions et les sectes d'Ibn Hazm: entre l'histoire du texte et la critique textuelle." PhD Diss., Universiteit van Leiden, 2013 and by the same author, *Tāriḥ naṣṣ al-fiṣal fī l-mīlāl wa-n-niḥāl li-Ibn Ḥazm wa-sabab iḥtilāf nusaḥihi wa-baṣṭ ḥuṭtat taḥqīqihi*. Bayrūt: Maktaba 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ḥalīd b. Ḥamad Āl Ṭānī, 1436H/2015CE. I thank the late Prof. P.S. van Koningsveld for having given me a copy of Kaddouri's dissertation.
- 23 *Kitāb Maqāmi' aṣ-ṣulbān wa marāṭi' (rawāṭi') riyād (rawḍat) ahl al-imān* [Mallets for Crosses and Provender in the Meadows of the Faithful]. See, Monferrer-Sala, Juan-Pedro. "al-Khazraji." In *CMR 3 (1050–1200)*, 2011, pp. 526–528; Ljamai, Abdelilah. *Ibn Ḥazm et la polémique islamo-chrétienne dans l'histoire de l'islam*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003, pp. 145–152; Burman, Thomas E. *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050–1200*. Leiden, New York, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1994; De la Granja Santamaría, Fernando. "Milagros españoles en una obra polémica musulmana (El *Kitāb Maqāmi' al-ṣulbān* del Jazra'ī)." *Al-Andalus* 33, No. 2 (1968): 311–368; pp. 327–328.
- 24 *Al-lām bi-mā fī dīn an-Naṣārā min al-fasād wa-l-awhām wa-izhār maḥāsīn dīn al-Islām wa-ṭbāt nubuwwat nabīnā Muḥammad 'alayhi aṣ-salām* [Demonstration of the Corruptions and Delusions in the Religion of the Christians and an Exposition of the Merits of the Religion of Islam and an Affirmation of the Prophethood of our Prophet Muḥammad, Peace Be upon Him]. Qurṭubī, Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Aḥmad Hiḡāzī as-Saqqā (ed.). *Al-lām bi-mā fī dīn an-Naṣārā min al-fasād wa-l-awhām wa-izhār maḥāsīn dīn al-islām wa-ṭbāt nubuwwa nabīyīnā Muḥammad*. Al-Qāhira [Cairo]: Dār at-Ṭurāṭ al-'Arabī, 1400H/1980CE. Also, the recent edition by Samir Kaddouri: Qurṭubī, Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-/Samir Qaddūrī (ed. and intr.). *Kitāb al-lām bi-mā fī dīn an-naṣārā min al-fasād wa-l-awhām wa-izhār maḥāsīn dīn al-islām wa-ṭbāt nubuwwat nabīnā Muḥammad 'alayhi as-salām*. Tūnis-Bayrūt: ad-Dār al-Mālikiyya, 1441H/2020CE. See, Burman, *Religious Polemic*, pp. 71–84 and 148–151; Ljamai, *Ibn Ḥazm et la polémique islamo-chrétienne dans l'histoire de l'islam*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2003, pp. 153–168; Lazarus-Yafeh, Hava. "Some Neglected Aspects of Medieval Muslim Polemics against Christianity." *The Harvard Theological Review* 89, No. 1 (1996): 61–84, p. 72; Kad-

14th-century treatises from the Christian territories, the works of the Tunisian captive, Muḥammad al-Qaysī,²⁵ and the anti-Jewish polemic of the *Taʿyīd*. Mudejar and Morisco works have a place in this corpus, which also link to the production of polemics outside the territories (especially North African and eastern territories under Islam).²⁶ The corpus also includes a series of writings of an indisputably polemical nature which were widely disseminated among Mudejars and Moriscos, such as the so-called “questions of the Jews to Muḥammad”, the accounts of the conversion of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār and others.²⁷ The κM deals with subjects familiar in these writings (the status of Jesus, his human nature, the Trinity, the corruption of Jesus’ original message by the apostles and, as a rebuttal to the Jews, their disobedience to the prophets and disregard of God’s commandments, among other accusations). However, I argue that, as a treatise, it also displays distinctive features.

The author’s use of philosophy to explain religious questions stands out as a very important characteristic of the κM. As is addressed in more detail later in this study, questions about the congruence between philosophy and God’s Revelation were not unknown to the general community of Muslim scholars, those of the Iberian Peninsula in particular.²⁸ Although philosophy was often the sub-

douri, Samir. “Identificación de “al-Qurṭubī”, autor de *al-Iʿlām bi-mā fi dīn al-Naṣārā min al-faṣād wa-l-awḥām*.” *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 21, No. 1 (2000): 215–219.

25 *Kitāb Miṣṭāḥ ad-dīn* [The Key of Religion], (Arabic) BN Alg. MS 1557, ff. 49–90, (Aljamiado) BNE MS 5302, ff. 79^v to end, *Dispute of al-Qaysī* [*Kitāb Miṣṭāḥ ad-Dīn*], BNE MS 4944, ff. 36^v–82^v, RAH MS 11/9409 (*Olim*. T12), ff. 36–39r, 40r–41v, *Dispute of al-Qaysī* [*Kitāb Miṣṭāḥ ad-dīn*], RAH MS 11/9416 (*Olim*. V6), *Dispute of al-Qaysī* [*Kitāb Miṣṭāḥ ad-dīn*], Van Koningsveld, Pieter Sjoerd, and Gerard Wiegers. “The Polemical Works of Muhammad al-Qaysī (fl. 1309) and Their Circulation in Arabic and Aljamiado Among the Mudejars in the Fourteenth Century.” *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 15, No. 1 (1994): 163–199.

26 One of the main methods of the transmission of knowledge between Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula and those in the eastern parts under Islam was through the intercedence of travellers. We find historical data on them in publications such as that by Zadeh, Travis. *Mapping Frontiers across Medieval Islam: Geography, Translation and the ‘Abbasid Empire*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2011, and Antrim, Layde. *Routes and Realms: The Power of Place in the Early Islamic World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. I thank one of the anonymous reviewers of this book for these references.

27 See Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, pp. 79–82.

28 As it is shown in the *Faṣl al-Maqal* (The Decisive Treatise) by Ibn Ruṣd, an author abundantly quoted in the κM to whom we return below. An early instance of the line drawn between reason and philosophy in religious polemics and the challenges it posed is found in *ar-Radd ‘alā an-Naṣārā* (Reply to the Christians), in which the Christian convert, aṭ-Ṭabarī (c. 223 H/838 CE–c. 256 H/870 CE), advocates reason as the principal tool for understanding Revelation. He does this in his attribution of the misinterpretation of the Gospels by Christians to the use of Greek philosophy by some. Cf. p. 63 (English), p. 62 (Arabic) and

ject of heated discussions in Muslim intra-religious polemics, it was less present in inter-religious polemics.²⁹ When resort was made to reason, in fact dialectics and logic were appealed to.³⁰ The literary corpus of the Muslim religious minor-

p. 125 (English), p. 124 (Arabic) in Ṭabarī, ‘Alī al-/Rifaat Ebied and David Thomas (eds.). *The Polemical Works of ‘Alī al-Ṭabarī*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016.

- 29 For an integrated history of philosophy of both Islam and Judaism in al-Andalus, from the formative period of mystical neo-Platonism (3rd–4th c. H/10th c. CE) to its glory days, about the 5th–6th c. H/12th c. CE, see Stroumsa, Sarah. *Andalus and Sefarad: On Philosophy and Its History in Islamic Spain*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019. Stroumsa highlights the idiosyncratic features of Andalusī philosophical thinking, as well as showing its links and permanent dialogue with currents in the East (op. cit., pp. 1–26, 158–159 and *passim*), not infrequently inspired by travelers’ activities (op. cit., 64). In this same publication, Stroumsa also points out the important drawbacks to defining philosophy in al-Andalus using restrictive terms like “Aristotelianism”. These drawbacks are also visible in the KM, in which its author, as will be seen, draws heavily on philosophy indebted to Aristotle, but was familiar with the thoughts on the grammar of authors such as al-Baṭalyawsī (see Appendix 2. Source Overview), who espoused Neoplatonic thought (444–521 H/1052–1127 CE). However, here we distinguish between philosophy and rational theology, or *kalām*. On more than one occasion, the author of the KM himself takes position against ‘ulamā’, who, as will be argued, were probably the *mutakallimūn*. The charges the latter levelled against philosophy are well known and will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Two. At this point, the consideration that the existence of rational and uniform laws of Nature clashed with the notion of God’s absolute power to decide the fate of His creation suffices. See, Fakhry, Majid. *A Short Introduction to Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Mysticism*. Oxford: Oneworld, 1997, p. 68. The KM does not go into more detail on this so, in what follows, we accept the distinction between theology and philosophy according to the author’s approximate distinction. On the other hand, the distinction between disciplines, including theology and philosophy, often does not reflect the reality of the literature to which they were applied. See Brown, Vahid J., “Andalusī Mysticism: A Recontextualization.” *Journal of Islamic Philosophy* 2 (2006): 69–101, p. 73. It would be fair to say that theology, like legal thought, was in constant interaction with philosophy, and both were constitutive elements of it. See, Fakhry, op. cit., particularly 68–72 and 132 and *ff*, and Stroumsa, *Andalus and Sefarad*, pp. 61–80.
- 30 Logic was part of the academic “division of the sciences” among Muslims, as Nasr and Leaman note, see Nasr, Seyyed Hossein, and Oliver Leaman (eds.). *History of Islamic Philosophy*. London: Routledge, 1996, pp. 102–103. As basis for scientific method and for debate, it has often enjoyed special consideration. In the Iberian territories, Ibn Zuhr (484–7 H/1092–557 H/1162 CE, Avenzoar in the West) seems to have limited himself to teaching logic to his students who wanted to become physicians, as it was deemed requisite knowledge for this discipline. However, he seems to have been much more cautious about the dissemination of other branches of philosophy, as were other scholars knowledgeable in philosophy, see, Stroumsa, *Andalus and Sefarad*, p. 134. In his *al-Fiṣal fī al-milal*, Ibn Ḥazm, for example, rejects philosophy but defends the use of logic as a tool in religious polemics. Eastern authors like the Mu‘tazilī ‘Abd al-Ġabbār (c. 325 H/937 CE–415 H/1025 CE) were also reluctant to make use of Aristotle in polemics and denounce Christians who make use of Aristotelian thought. This view clearly opposes that of other thinkers like al-Fārābī

ities in Christian areas contains very few works of a philosophical or scientific nature. The bulk of Mudejar and Morisco writings consists of copies of the Qurʾān, works on *ḥadīṭ* (or sayings of Muḥammad), narratives about the prophets (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*), works on morals and ethics, Islamic law (*fiqh*), theology and polemics, and treatises on good manners and courtesy (or *ādāb*).³¹ The number of non-religious and scientific works is practically nil, even when we consider the possibility that they might originally have been somewhat higher because some of the production of these communities has been lost.³²

1 The KM in the Production of Religious Polemics of Iberian Muslims

The contours of the production of Muslim polemics in the Iberian Peninsula have been outlined by Van Koningsveld and Wiegers. These two scholars relate the development of the genre to historical and political changes in the territories and the impact of the latter on community relations.³³ It can be conjectured that the first major impetus for the cultivation of polemics would have

(339H/950 CE) and Ibn Sīnā (370H/980 CE–428H/1037 CE). See on ‘Abd al-Ġabbār, Reynolds, Gabriel Said. *A Muslim Theologian in the Sectarian Milieu: ‘Abd al-Jabbār and the Critique of Christian Origins*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2004, pp. 223–224. A similar phenomenon can be seen in other communities. Examples abound, among the best-known Ramon Llull’s (1232/3–1315/6) *Disputa del tres savis* (Dispute of the Three Learned Men) and Judah Halevi’s (1075–1141) *Sefer ha-Kuzari* (Book of Refutation and Proof on Behalf of the Despised Religion).

31 See, *inter alia*, Harvey, Leonard Patrick. “The literary culture of the Moriscos 1492–1609: A study based on the extant manuscripts in Arabic and Aljamía.” PhD Diss., University of Oxford, 1958; Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, Nuria. *Una biblioteca morisca entre dos tapas*. Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo, 2010. Viguera Molins, María Jesús. *Los manuscritos árabes en España: su historia y la historia. Discurso de ingreso en la Real Academia de la Historia de la Excm. Sra. D^a María Jesús Viguera Molins, leído el 28 de febrero de 2016, y contestación a cargo del Excmo. Sr. D. Serafín Fanjul García*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2016. Wiegers, Gerard. *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450). His Antecedents & Successors*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994.

32 Sometimes these were deliberately destroyed as illustrated by the well-known case of the discoveries of Mudejar and Morisco manuscripts in Almonacid de la Sierra (Aragon), thrown into the fire by the town’s youth and partly rescued by Father Fierro from the Escuelas Pías in Zaragoza, but also used during the winters to heat the houses. Gil y Gil, Pablo, Julián Ribera, and Mariano Sánchez. *Colección de textos aljamiados*. Zaragoza: Litogr. de Guerra y Bacque, Tip. de Comas hermanos, 1888, prologue (vi and vi).

33 Here, I summarize the views by Van Koningsveld and Wiegers in “The Polemical Works,” pp. 195–196. As far as I am aware, these two scholars are so far the only ones to have embarked on such an attempt and to have included the Mudejar production.

been the fragmentation of al-Andalus into the kingdoms of the Ṭāʾifas after the decline and fall of the ʿUmayyad Caliphate of Córdoba, and the sharpening of internal divisions among Muslims which increased competition with Jews for social advancement. This vying for position certainly seems to have facilitated the access to positions of power by Jews to the detriment of Muslims. A polemicist such as Ibn Ḥazm saw this as a violation of the proper order of relations between Muslims and non-Muslims, making this an important argument for his harsh attacks on Jews in addition to what he had to say about Christians. A second phase of Muslim polemics would coincide with the advance of what is known as the Christian *Reconquista*, when the antagonism between the Christian and Muslim military blocs intensified. Works such as those of al-Bāḡī and a French monk, the *Sicilian Questions* of Ibn Sabʿīn of Murcia (613–4 H/1217 CE–669 H/1270 CE) and the polemical exchanges between the Christian and Muslim territories (particularly Toledo and Cordoba) recorded in the works of al-Ḥazraḡī and al-Qurṭubī, reveal what Van Koningsveld and Wieggers call the “international dimension” of the contacts between the groups.³⁴ The final phase would be characterized by increased Christian proselytizing among religious minorities, including Muslims. References to monks and priests are not absent from earlier works of Muslim polemics in the Christian territories, such as that of ar-Rašīq (d. after 674 H/1274–1275) while in Murcia, but they acquired special importance in this period. As Van Koningsveld and Wieggers point out, the ramping up of Christian proselytism would explain the composition of polemical works such as that by al-Qaysī. It also would account for the popularity of this work in Aljamiado among Mudejars and Moriscos.³⁵

Muslims benefited from the tools provided by polemical tracts to rebuke Jews and Christians in the territories and to define their identities as Muslims. Al-Qurṭubī is explicit about the function of polemics when he claims that “wounding the enemy by means of proof and words is more effective than wounding them with sword and spearhead, and the King of the Two Worlds expects that we combine the two ways and obtain recompense for both ac-

34 Van Koningsveld and Wieggers. “The Polemical Works,” p. 196. See on al-Bāḡī, Zomeño, Amalia. “al-Bāḡī.” In *CMR 3 (1050–1200)*, 2011, pp. 172–175. On Ibn Sabʿīn, see Akasoy, Anna Ayşe. “Ibn Sabʿīn’s Sicilian Questions: the Text, its Sources, and their historical Context.” *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 29, No. 1 (2008): 115–146.

35 Monks and priests certainly do play an important role in al-Qaysī’s work: in his account of the author’s relationship with the Knights Templar, in the references to his servitude as a prisoner of “the priests and the monks”, in his own polemic with a monk and in the polemic with a monk engaged in by an earlier Muslim polemicist named al-Asīr during his stay in France. Van Koningsveld and Wieggers, “The Polemical Works”, pp. 172–175, 179–183, and 196.

tions".³⁶ This is how he expresses himself in his *al-I'lām* in which he refutes some Arabic-speaking Christians, like a certain Aḡuštīn to whom the *Maṣḥaf al-Ālam al-Kā'in* [The Book of the Existing World] is attributed, and also the anonymous author of the *Tatliṭ al-Waḥdāniyya* (Trinitizing the Oneness (of God)), a work sent to Cordoba from Toledo.³⁷ Surely we are not wrong in saying that wounding with words was also among the aims of al-Ḥazraḡī in his *Maqāmi' aṣ-Ṣulban* [Mallets for Crosses], written on behalf of a group of Muslims from Christian Toledo. After he returned to Cordoba, al-Ḥazraḡī forced Muslims residing among Christians to prepare their response to the arguments of a certain bishop called al-Qūṭī (the Goth). His hope was that the latter might then resort to polemics to counter majority Christian society pressure and public attacks by Christians and Jews. In turn, the *Ta'yīd* upbraids those Jews who "let loose their tongues with lies and calumnies and defame our Prophet Muḥammad, may Allāh bless and keep him, and deny his Sacred Law (*ṣar'ahu*) and prophetic office".³⁸ They were definitely the group with whom the Mudejars competed most directly for social promotion and the favours of their common lords, in their struggle to get their foot on the first rungs of the

36 *al-I'lām*, f. 46, as quoted by Sarrió Cucarella, Diego R. *Muslim-Christian Polemics across the Mediterranean. The Splendid Replies of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfi* (d. 684/1285). Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015, p. 84 note 77.

37 Thomas Burman argues that these works were most probably composed by Arabic-speaking Christians and should be dated no later than the thirteenth century. The *Liber denudationis sive ostensionis aut patefaciens* [The Book of Denuding or Exposing, or the Discloser], of which only an abridged version in Latin has survived, should be included here. Burman proposes an Arabic title for this Christian polemic: (*Kitāb*) *al-Taṣrīf aw al-Izhār aw al-Kaššāf*. In his view, this would be literature representative of "a tradition of Christian kalām in medieval Spain", although there is no unanimity about this among scholars. Burman, *Religious Polemic*, p. 38, and 171. According to Aillet, the designation Mozarab is found not in Andalusi sources to refer to autochthonous Christians but in Christian sources in which it is used to distinguish between the Christians of these kingdoms and those from al-Andalus. Because of these considerations, from now on I refer to them as Arabic-speaking Christians. Aillet, Cyrille and Gabriel Martínez-Gros (intr.). *Les Mozarabes: christianisme, islamisation et arabisation en péninsule Ibérique (IXe–XIIe siècle)*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010, pp. 2–5, particularly 3–4. The *Tatliṭ al-Waḥdāniyya* has recently been translated into English by Clint Hackenburg, see "Tathlith al-waḥdāniyya (The Trebling of the Oneness): Translated from Arabic." In Yasmine Beale Rivaya and Jason Busic (coord.). *A Companion to Medieval Toledo: Reconsidering the Canons*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018, pp. 238–262 and, in the same year appeared a study and edition of the Arabic text by Pedro Monferrer-Sala (ed., stud. and trans.), and Pedro Mantas-España (stud.). *De Toledo a Córdoba "Tathlith al-Waḥdāniyya" ("La Trinidad de la Unidad")*: fragmentos teológicos de un judeoconverso arabizado. Madrid, Porto: Sínderesis, 2018.

38 Kassir, "A Study," Vol. 1, p. 105 (Vol. 2, p. 303 Arabic).

social ladder. As will be revealed below, social competition formed an important backdrop to the polemics in the KM, feeding the vindication of the religious excellence and the nobility of the descendants of Hagar's lineage who are the Muslims.³⁹

A successful defence of a religious hierarchy in polemics in which Muslims occupied the top position required specialized knowledge as well as some training to which often only a few individuals among the elites had access. Al-Qaysī refers to this aspect in passing upon hearing his Christian opponent's proposal to polemicize some verses of the Qur'ān. He recalls a Christian who had asked the same question earlier and ended up converting to Islam. However, as an argument not to discuss the Qur'ān he also adds his opponent's poor command of Arabic and, more importantly, the fact that the ruler, who was to be present at the dispute, does not know the language of scholars.⁴⁰ The settings al-Qaysī describes are those of unofficial polemics (which included disputes held in various private settings, but also those staged before the king, before Christian knights or monks, in a castle or monastery, or in open spaces, to cite a few possibilities).⁴¹ However, crucially, polemics in the Christian territories had a projection into the public sphere through official staging and promotion, albeit participation in these gatherings, was usually limited to educated people. Therefore, from Christian sources we know that Christian polemicists needed special permission to debate with Muslims and Jews.⁴² An important consideration in this decision was that public defeat entailed a risk believers could not run in a society with porous community boundaries. Furthermore, a deeper knowledge of theological arguments and contact with foreign knowledge could shake the foundations of the disputants' beliefs and lead them away from orthodoxy. Indeed, polemical encounters could affect the communities involved, as evidenced by the preserved minutes of the *Disputa-tion of Barcelona* (1263).⁴³ They could also cause social upheavals and be fol-

39 The author is careful to elaborate a discourse which underlines this among a host of other statements. This endeavour was even more important because of the growing Christian interest in lineage, which would fully develop in the fifteenth century into concepts of race and blood purity (*pureza de sangre*), especially of new Christians with a Muslim or Jewish background. This line of thought has aptly been called "genealogical mentalities" by Nirenberg. See, Nirenberg, David. "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth-Century Spain." *Past and Present* 174, No. 1 (2002): 3–41.

40 Van Koningsveld and Wiegers, "The Polemical Works," p. 180.

41 Ben-Shalom, "Between Official and Private Dispute", pp. 23–71.

42 Sadan, Joseph. "Identity and Inimitability. Contexts of Inter-Religious Polemics and Solidarity in Medieval Spain, in the Light of Two Passages by Moše Ibn 'Ezra and Ya'aqov ben El 'Azar." *Israel Oriental Studies* 14 (1971): 325–347.

43 See, Del Valle Rodríguez, Carlos. "La Disputa de Barcelona de 1263." In Carlos del Valle

lowed by attacks (for example, the burning of the Talmud after the *Disputation of Paris* in 1240), and lead to conversion. Although conversion would eventually be imposed, the crossing of religious lines between Christians, Muslims and Jews (even a reversion to a previous faith) was fairly common throughout the Middle Ages. And polemics could play a decisive role in tipping the balance, as was the case with the Jewish conversions to Christianity in the aftermath of the famous *Disputation of Tortosa* (1413–1414). This Disputation was held less than ten years after the copy of the KM was made by ar-Raqīlī, and less than two days' walk from Pedrola. In short, a convincing and reasoned refutation of a religious opponent was a matter of the utmost importance. Among the Mudejars, it was the educated elites responsible for the education of the *aljamas* who assumed the task of composing and copying polemical treatises, mainly with their own community and the reinforcement of group membership in mind.

2 Characteristics of Mudejar Polemics

Mudejar polemics share three fundamental characteristics of Muslim polemics in the Peninsula in all periods: quotations from Jewish and Christian sources, especially the Scriptures; the shifting alliances in the triangular relationship between Muslims, Jews and Christians which strategically served the polemicists' purposes; and the use of languages other than Arabic, such as Hebrew, Latin and Romance. On this first point, it must be said that quoting the Christian and Jewish Scriptures was a generalized practice in polemical writings, already found among Muslims in the Peninsula from Ibn Ḥazm onwards. But, while Ibn Ḥazm was primarily concerned with demonstrating the corruption of the Scriptures and refuting their divine origin,⁴⁴ a later work like the *Ta'yīd* primarily focuses on refuting the Jews and Judaism through their own writings. Scripture also figures in the treatises of al-Ḥazraḡī and al-Qurṭubī, the latter of whom says “[n]otice that I have written down for you in the Hebrew language and the Aramaic language some of the scriptural evidence of the prophets sent by God from the books in their (i.e. the Jews') hands”.⁴⁵ Al-Qaysī devotes an

Rodríguez (ed.). *La controversia judeocristiana en España (Desde los orígenes hasta el siglo XIII)*. *Homenaje a Domingo Muñoz León*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo, 1998, pp. 277–291.

44 Therefore, unlike some of his Muslim peers, particularly Mālikī, who believed that the Torah in the version the Jews held in their hands was of divine origin. See Adang, *Muslim Writers*, p. 221.

45 Hackenburg, “Tathlith al-wahḡāniyya,” p. 253.

important part of his work to the discussion of the reasons for the division of Christianity into various denominations, the dereliction of Christians from the teachings of Jesus and, also, the contradictions between the Gospels. Even so, the biblical quotations in the *Ta'yīd* are the most abundant of those in all the polemics written by Muslims in Christian territories.

Muslim polemicists dealt with non-Muslim scholars in various degrees and forms. Sometimes their renderings reflect the Jewish and Christian sources they quoted, as in the case of the misquotations of the Bible and the errors in Christian doctrine in al-Ḥazraḡī.⁴⁶ On the other hand, Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers note that the “quotations” of a polemicist like al-Qaysi “are unlikely to have been taken literally from a Christian Arabic version of the Gospels.”⁴⁷ His “subtle ‘correction’” of the Arabic Gospels and their Islamization conforms to the common practice of paraphrasing the Scriptures and adapting them to the arguments of the polemicists.⁴⁸ This does not alter the fact that Muslim polemicists were concerned with fidelity to sources. For example, the author of the *Ta'yīd* quotes from the Bible giving chapter numbers to provide arguments which an adversary could hardly deny, so we can assume that he was working from a fragment of a complete copy of the Torah. What emerges is that the polemicists were familiar with the fundamental knowledge of the other communities, but there was a certain freedom in their interpretation of the

46 Which were taken over from al-Qūḡī's tract. As Burman points out, this is not an argument for casting doubt on the authenticity of this Christian work, but a reflection that this form of quoting was a widespread practice among Christians. Burman, *Religious Polemic*, pp. 66–68. Al-Qurṭubī's *al-I'lām* quotes from Christian works which, according to Thomas Burman, might provide an answer to the strict Unitarian doctrine of the Almohads. For example, the *Tatlīt* embarks on an exercise in comparison between religions and refutes Islam, but also includes a polemic against Judaism. The claim of the author is that the revelation given to the Jews had been replaced by Christianity, and therefore Christians must provide evidence of it. Burman, *Religious Polemic*, pp. 78–79. This is followed by a challenge posed to Muslims by this anonymous author, demanding they provide evidence against Christianity from sources, which Christians recognize as valid. Hackenbarg, “Tathlīth al-waḡḡāniyya,” p. 253. Therefore, by the very nature of the source he refutes, this anti-Jewish polemic forms an integral part of the discourse against Christians in al-Qurṭubī.

47 Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, “The Polemical Works,” p. 170. This can be seen in his rendering of the *Pater Noster* which reads “Our Lord Who is in Heaven” (*rabbānā*, instead of our Father and as a “subtle ‘correction’” of the Arabic text of the Gospels, an Islamization of the text, *op. cit.*, loc. cit., note 27 and p. 171).

48 Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, “The Polemical Works,” pp. 171–172. As well as among those in the Iberian Peninsula, this practice is found among Muslim polemicists in general, as in the case of Ibn Ḥazm. See for some examples by this author, Adang, *Muslim Writers*, pp. 160–161.

originals.⁴⁹ Quotations from the Torah and the Gospels served them to support their arguments and, almost as importantly, to enhance their expert status within their own group.

A second characteristic of the Mudejar polemic has to do with the relations between Muslims, Jews and Christians. Viewed from a historical perspective, these groups were dependent on each other, a situation which is also reflected in their written corpus. The mere presence of a third group in the polemics (even on the rhetorical level) was enough to promote resistant alliances between the Muslim polemicist and his religious opponents. Therefore, Muslims, Christians and Jews are mentioned together in many places in both Muslim and Mudejar polemics. In fact, polemicists bring two of the three religious communities closer together by emphasizing the similarities between their members and downplaying points of disagreement. In the remaining group, the reverse is true and the boundaries are narrowed. The groups are strategically recategorized and, to achieve certain goals, opponents are sometimes approached as “partners”. The *Ta’yīd* gives an example of this when its author states that the Jews killed Jesus and failed to show his mother due respect. This claim runs counter the Qur’ānic idea that Jesus did not die on the cross but only appeared to do so. It is, however, consistent with the special respect shown by Muslims to ‘Īsā as prophet and to his mother Maryam. The statement reveals support for Christian views and is reinforced by the quote from the prophecy in Amos 2, where it says, “For three sins I will forgive the children of Israel, but for the fourth I will not forgive them”. Now ask them, “What is the fourth sin [...]?”⁵⁰ According to this polemicist, the rejection of ‘Īsā as a prophet is one of the many transgressions of the Jews against God, which explain why “Allāh destroyed and annihilated them and cast them into Ġālūt [namely: the state of submissiveness] which will endure to the Day of Resurrection”.⁵¹ Here the Mudejars sided here with Christians against Jews, but did not hesitate to switch sides elsewhere if the argument called for it.

Finally, Mudejar works use languages other than Arabic. Here again, Ibn Ḥazm appears to be the first Muslim polemicist in the Peninsula to have

49 Burman shows an example of these dynamics in the case of the Mozarabs. See Burman, *Religious Polemic*, particularly pp. 194–197 and *passim* and by the same author ““The Tathlith al-wahdaniyah” and the Twelfth-Century Andalusian-Christian Approach to Islam.” In John Victor Tolan (ed.). *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*. New York: Garland, 1996, pp. 109–130.

50 Kassin, “A Study,” Vol. 1, p. 271 (Vol. 2, p. 428 Arabic).

51 Kassin, “A Study,” Vol. 1, p. 202 (Vol. 2, p. 365 Arabic). See also Kassin, “A Study,” Vol. 1, pp. 242–244 (Vol. 2, pp. 403–404 Arabic) on the claims that Jews need to accept ‘Īsā’s message.

provided Hebrew names and references from the Torah in Arabic script.⁵² However, this does not prove that Ibn Ḥazm was well versed in these languages or had direct access to them.⁵³ Indirect transmission of sources in their original languages is also found in al-Ḥazraḡī, and in the Torah quotations in Hebrew and Aramaic in the *Tatliṭ* rendered by al-Qurṭubī; in all cases in Arabic script.⁵⁴ The *Taʿyīd* also quotes from the Hebrew Bible in Arabic script, a practice which evidence shows extended into the Morisco period, and included Jewish texts, also in Hebrew, other than the Torah in Arabic script. However, far more frequently, it is the Romance dialects which are written in Arabic script (Aljamiado).⁵⁵ The use of Aljamiado suggests the presence of social strata in the Mudejar communities who had different levels of education, as was with the Aragonese communities among whom Aljamiado was widespread. A different access to knowledge might also explain the almost direct adaptation of al-Qaysī's Arabic treatise into Aljamiado.⁵⁶ The number of Aljamiado manuscripts of the *Taʿyīd* among Muslims in the Christian territories also indicates a wide readership, who, according to David Nirenberg, also possessed translations and adaptations of this work and gradually lost their

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- 52 Adang, *Muslim Writers*, p. 133. Ibn Ḥazm also discusses the similarities between Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic, op. cit., p. 135.
- 53 Camilla Adang claims just the opposite, namely: that Ibn Ḥazm's command of Hebrew would have been insufficient "to study the Bible in its original version", Adang, *Muslim Writers*, p. 136. However, it is more plausible that his knowledge came from Muslim or Jewish sources. See, op. cit. p. 135.
- 54 Colominas Aparicio, Mònica. "Translation and Polemics in the Anti-Jewish Literature of the Muslims of Christian Iberia: The "Conversion of Ka'b al-Aḥbār" or the "Lines of the Torah"." *Medieval Encounters* 26 (2020): 443–476.
- 55 Although the use of Romance among Muslims would increase in the wake of conversions to Christianity, and most manuscripts would be copied in Romance dialects from 1526 onwards, this is a situation, which some scholars date to before 1455. Wiegiers, 1994, *Islamic Literature*, pp. 67–68 and 200. See, among the many studies on the subject, the two recent important contributions by López-Baralt, Luce. *La literatura secreta de los últimos musulmanes de España*. Madrid: Trotta, 2009; and, Barceló, María del Carmen, and Ana Labarta Gómez. *Archivos moriscos: textos árabes de la minoría islámica valenciana 1401–1608*. València: Universitat de València, 2009 and by the same authors (intr., ed. and trans.). *Cancionero morisco: poesía árabe de los siglos xv y xvi*. València: Ángeles Carrillo Baeza, 2016. On the use of Aljamiado by Mudejars and Moriscos and, more particularly, its use in the treatises of Mudejar polemics, see Colominas Aparicio, Mònica. "Spanish Islam in Arabic Script: Language, Identity, and Community Boundaries in the Literature of Religious Polemics of the Muslims of Late Medieval Christian Iberia." *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 7 (2019): 1–27.
- 56 The almost direct adaptation of al-Qaysī's treatise into Aljamiado from the Arabic is noted by Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, "The Polemical Works," p. 179.

command of Arabic.⁵⁷ Copyists, who could be professionals or combine this task with other offices,⁵⁸ not only changed the language but also adapted the contents of the works, sometimes, simplifying them, sometimes, re-Islamizing them (that is, addressing the own community to a greater extent). On occasion, they echoed the anti-Jewish claims made by the majority Christian society.⁵⁹

3 The Contents and Intellectual Milieu of the KM

Going solely by the title, the KM is a refutation of both Christianity and Judaism. Most of the arguments against these two groups are consistent with issues raised in other Muslim polemical treatises in the Iberian Peninsula, and these too include quotations from sources such as the Scriptures.⁶⁰ Actually, most attention is paid to Christian questions or *masā'il* about doctrines such as the incarnation, sonship and the hypostases of God, and to the practices of this group rather than to Jewish beliefs, rituals and practices. The Torah is often quoted, but not nearly as much as in the *Ta'yīd* in which extensive quotations from biblical testimonies predominate. Only twice does the author of the KM quote extensively from the *Book of Kings* and the *Book of Samuel* when he deals with Jewish claims linking the calamities in the world to the

57 Nirenberg, David. *Neighboring Faiths: Christianity, Islam, and Judaism in the Middle Ages and Today*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2014, p. 32 and note 42 in which he refers to his earlier publication, Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, pp. 196–198.

58 Wiegers, *Islamic Literature*, pp. 201–202.

59 Here, I follow Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, pp. 90–91.

60 A good example is the evidence in the Gospel of Jesus as he being the one who had come to take the throne of David, which is mentioned both in the work of an early eastern author like the convert from Christianity to Islam, 'Alī aṭ-Ṭabarī and in the anti-Christian polemics by al-Qaysī. ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 42^v. See for this argument the edition and translation of aṭ-Ṭabarī's *ar-Radd 'alā an-Naṣarā* (The Reply to the Christians), in Ebied and Thomas (eds.). *The Polemical Works*, pp. 129 and 131 (English), and 128 and 130 (Arabic). The issue had already been referred to before aṭ-Ṭabarī by al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm ar-Rassī (168 H/785 CE–245 H/860 CE) in his polemics against Christians (see, Thomas, David. "The Bible in Early Muslim anti-Christian Polemic." *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 7 (1996): 29–38). In aṭ-Ṭabarī's *ar-Radd*, we find the argument, also to be found in the KM (ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 31^r and ff), about Jesus being called "Son of God", an expression which can be used to refer to many others besides Jesus (see Ebied and Thomas, *The Polemical Works*, p. 131 (English) and 130 (Arabic)). For the argument about David's throne in al-Qaysī's polemic in BNE MS 4944 see, Cardaillac, Denise. "La polémique anti-chrétienne du manuscrit aljamiado n° 4944 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Madrid." PhD Diss., 2 vols., Université Paul Valéry (Montpellier), 1972, Vol. 2, pp. 250–251 (f. 97^v).

sins of their forefathers.⁶¹ Moreover, the author's interest in polemicizing with Christians is evident in his references to oral attacks by Christians and discussions with a certain Aġuštīn, which are reminiscent of what is said in the works by Arabic-speaking Christians mentioned above. The author of the KM speaks of a triad of divine attributes—power, knowledge and will (*qudra*, *ilm* and *irāda*)—which he compares to the Trinity. The most decisive indication of the attribution of these quotations to the works of Arabic-speaking Christians is that *qudra*, *ilm* and *irāda* coincide with the triad found in the *Tat-līl*.⁶² However, a closer look into the arguments in the KM shows that the polemical focus fluctuates between interreligious polemics and intra-religious polemics with other Muslims.⁶³ Throughout the KM, the author draws on philosophy, and the natural sciences and especially uses logic as method to inquire into theological questions and gives the forms of religious leadership of most Mudejar traditionalist scholars (*ulamā'*) a rap over the knuckles. As well as the sacred scriptures (the Qur'ān, the Torah and the Gospel), almost a third of this polemic refers to the works of Aristotle (384–322 BC) and of his well-known commentator the Andalusī Ibn Rušd (Averroes in the Latin West, 520 H/1126 CE–595 H/1198 CE).⁶⁴ The question-and-answer format, direct or indirect, not necessarily followed by elaborate answers, is used both to present the arguments and flesh out the polemical claims of non-Muslims and to belittle the inability of other Muslims to understand non-religious sciences.

As noted, the evidence strongly suggests that the composition of the KM should be sought among Muslims in Christian areas. The most compelling evidence is the verbal attacks on Muslims by Christians, including their insults.⁶⁵

61 The Torah is quoted on an exceptional basis as the example of the purity of the Jews shows, see, ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 40^v.

62 Burman notes that it does not coincide with any triad on Oliver Du Roy's list of triads by Augustine. See Burman, *Religious Polemic*, p. 177, note 69 for the reference to Du Roy's work *L'intelligence de la foi en la Trinité selon saint Augustin: genèse de sa théologie trinitaire jusqu'en 391*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1966, pp. 537–540. A broader question emerges asking to what extent the KM provides a response to these works and perhaps, also, to contemporary Christian works of polemics. I have noted elsewhere that there is insufficient evidence to affirm this second possibility, and also that the KM shows closeness to the discourses against Muslims and Jews by the Mendicant orders at the time. See, Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, pp. 119–121.

63 An examination of the content reveals a distinction between these two types of passages (a full summary of the chapters is in the Appendix).

64 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 47^r, where we read: "Abū l-Walīd ibn Rušd el-comendador fī al-maṭīq".

65 For example, those calling them "dogs", see ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 60^{r-v}. Also, the polemical references to monks as in the example of the monk's robes above in ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 55^v.

Other works, such as the *Ta'yīd*, also refer to the presence of groups of Jews in public spaces, the “meetings and dwellings” and attacks by the latter, some of their adaptations in Aljamiado referring to attacks by Christians.⁶⁶ The author of the *Ta'yīd* says “Jews say and argue ... the answer is to tell them ...”;⁶⁷ or, “[n]ow what argument can you [that is, the Jews] produce (to refute this)?”.⁶⁸ He also records the reactions of the Jews after hearing the refutations of their arguments by the Muslims, saying “[t]hey are irked by that and say that ...”, or “[n]othing remains to them save rebuke and silence”.⁶⁹ These are interactions easily understood in the context of Christian territories, where polemics served to provide guidelines for behaviour as a good Muslim among non-Muslims, a context which is also reflected in the language of the KM. The code-switching between Arabic and Aljamiado in the KM can be placed within a tradition of Muslim religious polemics which would have been in their final phase of development in Arabic.⁷⁰ It could be argued that the Aljamiado and the lin-

66 Kassin, “A Study,” Vol. 1, p. 105 (Vol. 2, p. 303 Arabic). In the incipit of the only copy dated in 886 H (= 1481 CE), which retains the chapter division of the Arabic version of the *Ta'yīd* as found in ÖNB MS AF 58 and in RAH MS Gy. XXXI, FDHCA MS L536 (Calanda, Fondo Documental Histórico de las Cortes de Aragón), we read: “hay algunos dias cuando eran presentes conpañas de cristianos i de los judios en las plaças i en os lugares i negaban al-profeta Muḥammad ṣallā-llāhu ‘alayhi wa sallam” [and that on some days, when groups of Christians and Jews were in the squares and public places, they denied the Prophet Muḥammad ṣallā-llāhu ‘alayhi wa-sallam], FDHCA MS L536, f. 123^v.

67 “[L]os judíos dicen y alegan ... la respuesta es que se les diga ...”, BNE MS 4944, ff. 3^v–4^r.

68 Kassin, “A Study,” Vol. 1, p. 202 (Vol. 2, p. 364 Arabic).

69 Kassin, “A Study,” Vol. 1, p. 129 (Vol. 2, p. 315 Arabic), and Vol. 1, p. 157 (Vol. 2, p. 330 Arabic).

70 Here I am taking the periodization given by Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers in “The Polemical Works,” pp. 193–197. Arabic Mudejar manuscripts, many of them still undiscovered, served as models for the literary corpus of the Moriscos studied by the important scholar Leonard Patrick Harvey, “The literary culture,” *passim*. In Aragon, Arabic manuscripts were relatively scarce compared to manuscripts in Romance; the latter both in Arabic script (Aljamiado) or in Latin script, and scholars agree on the Moriscos’ gradual loss of their command of Arabic. However, the claim that the members of their communities were no longer able to read and write the Arabic language should be qualified. There is growing evidence that, after the late-15th century, Mudejars and Moriscos continued to use Arabic until a late date. Recent discoveries provide evidence that, although Arabic was comparatively more widespread and its use lasted longer among the Mudejars of Valencia and Granada, their Aragonese (and Castilian) co-religionists also engaged in the production and consumption of Arabic manuscripts. Among the Calanda (Aragon) discoveries are Arabic copies, including a Qur’ān dated to the Mudejar period. See, Cervera Frás, María José. “Un tratado jurídico musulmán copiado por mudéjares aragoneses: descripción de los manuscritos del Muhtasar de al-Tulaytuli.” *Aragón en la Edad Media* 8 (1989): 175–184; especially pp. 167–169. Further evidence of the circulation of Arabic manuscripts is provided by the studies just mentioned by Harvey and by García-Arenal, Mercedes. “Los

guistic alternation were the work of the copyist in an Aragonese context.⁷¹ Yet, there are arguments of polemics in the KM which *depend* on the dominance of Romance, so we must assume that they were already in the original in the form found here.⁷²

moros de Navarra en la baja edad media." In Mercedes García-Arenal and Béatrice Leroy (eds.), *Moros y judíos en Navarra en la Baja Edad Media*. Madrid: Hiperión, 1984, pp. 11–139; Wiegers, *Islamic Literature*; Barceló, and Labarta. *Archivos moriscos*; Miller, Kathryn. *Guardians of Islam*. Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2008; Hofman Vannus, Iris. "Historias religiosas musulmanas en el manuscrito mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña." PhD Diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2001; Jones, Linda G. "Witnesses of God: Exhortatory Preachers in Medieval al-Andalus and the Magreb." *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 28, No. 1 (2007): 73–100, especially pp. 79–85. A review of important publications on the topic is provided by García-Arenal, Mercedes. "Musulmanes arabófonos y musulmanes aljamiados." *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 31, No. 1 (2010): 295–310.

71 As I argue in Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, pp. 95, and 129–130, the hybrid Arabic-Aljamiado in the sentences and the constant interspersions of Aljamiado words in the Arabic text make the language used to be an intermediary version between Arabic and Romance. In the KM the grammatical structure resembles modern Castilian (as for example in "wa-llāḍī lā ya'ūdu de-laš condiçioneš (Cast. de las condiciones) al-aḥar laysa yašbihahu ilā al-aḥar" [the one who does not possess the same status as the other, does not resemble the other]). In turn, Aljamiado expressions seem to show influences from the Navarrese-Aragonese dialects. For example, on ff. 60^{r-v}, the first letters of the possessive pronoun "lures" (Eng. theirs) are distinguished. By the time the KM was copied (808H/ = 1405 CE), "lur/lurs" had been increasingly replaced in the Navarro-Aragonese dialect by the Castilian pronouns "su/sus", but its use had been retained in the Occitan and Catalan dialects. Pato Maldonado, Enrique. "Algo más sobre la historia del posesivo lur." *Archivo de filología Aragonesa* 66 (2010): 13–32. Often Aljamiado words are intended to clarify meanings in translations from Arabic. What is referred to as "Latin" is Romance, as when we read that "in Latīn potency is 'en potencia.'" ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 52^r. As Szpiech rightly notes, *laṭīnī* or *laṭīniyya* could refer to spoken and written forms of Latinate language, namely: Romance or Latin, as was the case of *ladino* from the twelfth century onwards, although in most cases Romance was meant. Ambiguity also characterizes the uses of this word by Muslims in the Iberian Muslim territories such as Ibn Ḥazm, who, when referring to a tribe in Cordoba says that they "cannot speak *laṭīniyya* well, but only Arabic." This is also evidenced in his dispute with the Jew Moses b. 'Ezra. See Szpiech, Ryan. "Latin as Language of Authoritative Tradition." In Ralph J. Hexter and David Townsend (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2012, pp. 70–71.

72 As noted in Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, pp. 114–116, this is the case when Christians claim that, in the verses about the birth of Immanuel to a virgin, "el" is one of the names of God. The arguments given by the polemicist, among which is that "el" is commonly used to express ownership, and that "señoría" presupposes knowledge of the meaning and uses of the definite article in one of its Romance variants. This can only be feasible if we assume that it originated in Christian territories, where Romance was spoken, and therefore that the original KM was already a hybrid.

The treatises (*maqālāt*) of the *qāḍī* Abū l-‘Abbās al-Laḥmī aš-Šarafī add to the evidence that the original composition of the $\kappa\mu$ should be place in the Christian territories.⁷³ The identity of this *qāḍī* is unknown, but possibly he belonged to the well-known family of the Šarafīs.⁷⁴ Following a suggestion by Van Koningsveld, Wiegiers has noted the possibility that Abū l-‘Abbās al-Laḥmī aš-Šarafī was one of these *qāḍīs* or *alcaldes*, particularly, the mid-fourteenth-century Toledan *alcalde* “Hamete” (or Aḥmad Šarafī). He also remarks that the works of Hamete could have been slightly adapted later by an anonymous author.⁷⁵ I myself have adduced several arguments in favour of this identification and suggested the possibility that this Hamete *alcalde* could have been a court physician to King Peter the Ceremonious (r. 1336–1387).⁷⁶ This claim is based on the mention in 1354 of a certain *maestre* Hamet Xarafi, or Šarafī,

73 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 31^v.

74 Wiegiers, Gerard. “Biographical elements in Arabic and Spanish anti-Christian and anti-Jewish Mudejar writings.” In Ana Echeverría Arsuaga (ed.). *Biografías Mudéjares o La experiencia de ser minoría: biografías islámicas en la España cristiana*, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008, pp. 497–515; p. 507. There could have been various branches of the same family, one living in Toledo and its surrounding area like Valladolid and the another settled in Huesca. Unfortunately, the author of the $\kappa\mu$ is not explicit about which passages belong to these treatises.

75 Wiegiers, “Biographical elements,” pp. 506–507, note 28.

76 Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, pp. 107–109. There are indeed several arguments, among the most suggestive the mention in a letter of 1351 to a certain Hamete Xarafi, or Šarafī, “moro allcall de los moros” [Moor, *alcalde* of the Moors], with houses in Alcalá (most likely, Alcalá de Henares, in Madrid) which bordered the Jewish quarter [“el aldarve de la judería”]. Fernández y González, Francisco. *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla considerados en sí mismos y respecto de la civilización española*. Madrid: Joaquín Muñóz, 1866, p. 383. In Alcalá, the Muslim neighbourhood, the Jewish neighbourhood and the houses of the “Cabildo”, or Chapter, of the Cathedral of Toledo were adjacent to each other. Cf. with the urban geography of Alcalá de Henares in the fifteenth century as described in Román Pastor, Carmen. “Alcalá de Henares medieval, aspectos de su geografía urbana.” *Estudios geográficos* 65, No. 256 (2004): 497–539; pp. 526, 532 and map on 518, where an *alcalde* named Hamete is also mentioned. Also, the signatories to the minutes of meetings of a Muslim brotherhood in Toledo in the years 1402–1414 contain references to the *faqīh* and *imām* Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad aš-Šarafī and to Aḥmad b. Abrāhīm b. Muḥammad [al-Laḥmī] aš-Šarafī. The name is transcribed in Arabic as Abrāhīm with a *hamza* by Echeverría Arsuaga and Mayor. “Las actas de reunión de una cofradía islámica de Toledo: una fuente para el estudio de los mudéjares toledanos. Años 1402–1414.” *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 207, No. 2 (2010): 257–293, pp. 285 and 288, pp. 268, and 272, corresponding to the respective translations. See also, Mayor, Rafael, and Echeverría Arsuaga, Ana. “Hermanos y cofrades en la aljama de Toledo a principios del siglo xv.” *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 26 (2015): 163–185, p. 179 and Echeverría Arsuaga, Ana. “La autoridad de los cadíes y sus circunscripciones territoriales: un estudio comparativo entre Castilla y Granada.” In Ana Echeverría Arsuaga, and Adela Fábregas

“moro habitador d'alcala e fisich del senyor Rey” [Moorish inhabitant of Alcala and physician to the king], found in the book of the treasurer of the Aragonese King Peter the Ceremonious, Bernat d'Olzinelles.⁷⁷ The document suggest that Hamete provided his services, perhaps as a consequence of the displacements of human capital caused by the outbreak of the Castilian civil war between Peter I and Enrique II from 1351 onwards, and the depredations of the Black Death in Castile from 1348–1351.⁷⁸ It is my understanding that the mention of the treatises of the *qāḍī* aš-Šarafi invests the polemical arguments in the KM with religious authority helpful to the Mudejars who, after all, differentiated themselves from Muslims elsewhere because of their submission to Christians. Ar-Raqīlī, and perhaps other Mudejar religious leaders like him, might have found the perfect match between knowledge of the fundamentals of religion, the Christians and Jewish sources and the requirements for a *qāḍī*.

The overall impression of the KM is that, although it builds a compelling discourse, it displays an unfinished character.⁷⁹ This suggests that the copy of the KM and, I would argue, also the original composition, might well have been composed in an educational setting (between teacher-student). It might

García (coords). *De la alquería a la aljama*. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2016, pp. 297–320; p. 311.

77 The king is paying Hamet the amount of 400 “sous barcelonesos” [i.e. a type of coin from Barcelona] “an ayuda dalgunes despeses per ell fetes” [in recompense for some expenses incurred by him] as registered on a receipt, “albara”, which the king “mana segellar ab lo segell del seu anellet” [ordered to be sealed with the seal of his small ring]. Archivo de las Cortes de Aragón, Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. serie general (libros ordinarios de la tesorería del rey) 336, f. 93^r. As noted in Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, pp. 107 note 114, the references to the content of this document by Asunción Blasco Martínez are correct, but the folio number has to be rectified, cf. Blasco Martínez, Asunción. “Médicos y pacientes de las tres religiones (Zaragoza siglo XIV y comienzos del XV).” *Aragón en la Edad Media* 12 (1995): 153–182, p. 165 and note 66. This Hamet, physician to the king, has so far not been included in the most exhaustive studies carried out about this family. Hence there is a possibility that these two “Hametes” were one and the same person. If future discoveries confirm the identity of the *qāḍī* aš-Šarafi, his work will need to be placed close to the courtly circles of the time. Hamete will be the first Mudejar *alcalde* whom we know to have participated in polemical activities. See, Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, p. 131. It is also possible that Hamet or Hamete had been the first *alcalde* of the *aljamas* of Castile, although this supposition cannot be confirmed at the moment. Torres Fontes, Juan. “El alcalde mayor de las aljamas de moros en Castilla.” *Anuario de historia de derecho español* 32 (1962): 131–182; p. 157 n. 25.

78 See, Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, p. 108.

79 This is seen, for example, in that the topics are treated in chapters (*bāb*), but following no particular order, and with some repetitions (see the Annex for a full overview of the chapters).

represent an initial phase, composed from memory or oral notes, of the composition of a more extensive polemical work. The attribution of a pedagogical purpose to this treatise would also explain the educational and undoubtedly polemical tone of expressions like “if (they) say ... tell them ...”, the clarifications of arguments of the type “this means” or the illustrative examples provided by the author. Adopting this stance, we could conjecture two main types of audiences for this treatise, of which the Mudejar communities would be the principal addressees and would have provided most of the arguments. The audience would have been primarily a scholarly one, or composed of those among the elites who were in the process of studying to achieve this status; the rest made up of the ordinary believers. A mixed audience of individuals with different levels of education can also be assumed for the Christians and Jews whom the KM also mentions as its explicit audience. Cogently, an educational context could also explain the fact that only one copy has been preserved. This would be apposite for the kind of Arabic manuscripts owned by the Mudejars and the Moriscos; as Van Koningsveld has convincingly shown, most Arabic manuscripts owned by these communities were devoted to jurisprudence and religious matters. However, the Arabic manuscripts owned by Jews covered philosophy, the natural sciences or medicine.⁸⁰ Looking at the later circulation of the work, it is very tempting to make a reference to a certain *Libro de la disputa contra los judíos y cristianos* [Book of Disputation with the Jews and the Christians] in the inventory of Arabic books found in the Morisco town of Pastrana, as an indication of the possibility that it was also adapted into Aljamiado.⁸¹ However, in the absence of concrete evidence, we cannot know for certain whether this now lost “Book of Disputation” was the KM. Nor can we exclude the possibility of a later Morisco ownership of the text. Among the books handed over to the Inquisition in 1526 by two *faqīhs* of Borja after their conversion to Christianity, we find a “quitebul mucedala”, which probably does not correspond to the *Kitāb al-Muğādala* by Abū Hanīfa.⁸² The striking correspondence between the titles suggests that we might be dealing with the KM.

80 See Van Koningsveld, Pieter Sjoerd. “Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts from Christian Spain. A Comparative Intercultural Approach.” In Joel L. Kraemer (ed.). *Israel Oriental Studies* 12. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992, pp. 75–110; pp. 87, 93 and *passim*. See also, Van Koningsveld, Pieter Sjoerd. “Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts from Medieval Christian Spain: Some Supplementary Notes.” In Martin Forstner (ed.). *Festgabe für Hans-Rudolf Singer zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. April 1990 überreicht von seinen Freunden und Kollegen*, 2 vols. Frankfurt am Main, Bern [etc.]: Peter Lang, 1991, Vol. 2., pp. 811–823.

81 See Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, pp. 75–76.

82 As noted by Labarta Gómez, Ana and Carlos Escribano. “Las bibliotecas de dos alfaquíes

4 The Author's Defence of Philosophy

Philosophy is the backbone of the author's discourse in the $\kappa\mu$. It required an advanced intellectual training which only an individual from the upper echelons with access to an education beyond that of traditional institutions could have acquired.⁸³ Pertinently, a love of knowledge is dependent on leisure.⁸⁴ These two conditions could only have been enjoyed by the wealthiest members of the *aljamas*. Consequently, we are likely dealing with a religious leader well-grounded in the sciences of the ancients, who felt he had sufficient mastery of both subjects to integrate them into a coherent whole. To assume this task a solid background would have been needed; not to mention the intellectual courage required to challenge the foundations of Christianity and Judaism in such a singular undertaking. The latter observation is probably also a very apposite description of ar-Raqili, because he had the specialist intellectual background and training essential to undertake making a copy of the text.

The author of the $\kappa\mu$ shows that he was familiar with Muslim philosophy and with the practice of philosophy among Christians. The remark that Christians commonly refer to Ibn Rušd as the "commentator", that is, "Aristotle's commentator", betrays awareness of a well-known fact about philosophy and of "the sciences of the ancients" in the Christian territories, namely: that for the translations of Arabic originals, particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the commentaries on the works of Aristotle by Ibn Rušd formed their most important basis. With the incorporation of a full new body of knowledge into a Christian framework thanks to these translations, the task of applying the dictum of Anselm of Canterbury's (d. 1009) alternative title to his famous *Proslogion*, "faith seeking understanding" (*fides quaerens intellectum*), raised questions about the relationship of natural philosophy to Revelation among Christians. While acknowledging these challenges can be traced back to the history of the so-called Latin Averroism between the thirteenth and sixteenth century, this evolution does not concern us here. There are, none-the-less, two aspects which seem of particular importance to our discussion and should be mentioned. One is that, despite the passionate controversy aroused by the

borjanos." *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 11 (2000): 355–367, pp. 358 and 365. See, Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, p. 97.

83 See for the case of al-Andalus, Stroumsa, *Andalus and Sefarad*, particularly pp. 81–101.

84 As noted by Aristotle, who claims that leisure should be properly promoted when those who occupy privileged positions acquire knowledge. Aristotle/Carnes Lord (trans. and intr.) *The Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984, Book VII, 15, 1334a, particularly pp. 16–18 and p. 23.

introduction of the logic, philosophy and the works of Ibn Rušd, this knowledge did eventually become part of the curriculum of the universities and was therefore part and parcel of the intellectual baggage of the learned Christian elites.⁸⁵ The other is the destabilization of classical understandings of authority which involved the incorporation of sources other than the Scriptures; a destabilization noted in the field of religious controversy, which Ryan Szpiech has called the “crisis of *auctoritas*”.⁸⁶ This crisis, which was particularly marked in the fourteenth century (the period in which the KM could have been composed), occurred simultaneously with another trend—that of conversion, above all the conversion of Jews to Christianity, but also affected Muslims. Therefore, the notions of authority imbued in Christianity were challenged not only by the growing use of philosophy, but also by other knowledge external to their communities. Among these the extra-biblical sources of the Talmud, the Mishna, in Judaism and the *ḥadīṭ*, the *sunna* of Prophet Muḥammad plus the Jewish traditions (*Isrāʾīlyyāt*) in Islam, were some of the most influential.

One might wonder whether, when composing the KM, the author was grappling with a sense of being at disadvantage vis-à-vis Christians, not only because of the exceptional conditions in their groups, but also because of the privileged place of philosophy in the Christians’ training. One should bear in mind that the Mudejars valued the adherence to the guidelines on the practice of Islam of their co-religionists in Muslim lands, in which philosophy did not figure in their educational models, a fact reflected in the curriculum of the institutions of higher education (*madrāsas*).⁸⁷ Reading between the lines, we can

85 It is true that there was a disciplinary separation between philosophy and its related disciplines and theology (which by that time had also acquired the character of a discipline in itself) and that they were taught in different faculties. Preserving such a separation was understood to be important by authors who advocated the motto of “faith seeking understanding” and had a profound impact on Christian thought, among them, that of Thomas Aquinas. But it should also be noted that students of theology had previously also enjoyed several years’ training in philosophy, logic in particular. This requirement was key to the increasing influence of philosophy on theology, a deep influence so profound that, as Edward Grant notes, “theology was often more natural philosophy than it was theology”. Grant, Edward. *A History of Natural Philosophy: From the Ancient World to the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 248, 249, and 272–273.

86 Szpiech, Ryan. *Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemics*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

87 In the case of al-Andalus, even at the dawn and later the full development of philosophy, it remained a private activity. See, Stroumsa, *Andalus and Sefarad*, pp. 127, 134 and up to p. 155 for philosophy under Almohad rule. A concise but useful overview on the subject of learning and its institutions in Islamic societies is provided by Brentjes, Sonja. *Teaching and Learning the Sciences in Islamicate Societies (800–1700)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

see that the author of the *KM* considers this type of knowledge, particularly of natural philosophy, as an attribute which places communities on an equal footing. However, while he seems to follow Alain de Lille in thinking that authority (that is, Revelation and tradition) had a “wax nose” and that reason was the ultimate arbiter and judge of evidence,⁸⁸ he seems to go a step further in his understanding that philosophy was not just the servant of Revelation: it was also the touchstone for ultimately proving the true faith. Faith and philosophy are not only in harmony, their authority as sources of knowledge is pretty much the same. This was perhaps accompanied by the hope that the strengthening of his own community could be more easily achieved by focusing his discourse on authority at a time when *auctoritas* was being contested in the polemical arena of society in which Christians were the majority.

5 Chapter Overview

The present book is divided into two main parts. Although the edition of the text is a completely new undertaking, the content of the *KM* has already been partly addressed in previous studies. The results of the existing literature will be accepted and only be drawn into the discussion when deemed necessary or to provide new data on specific issues.

The first part, “A Mudejar Microcosmos”, is the title in which the two aforementioned aspects of excellence and knowledge systems are framed and elaborated. The first chapter examines both the author’s approach to the claims to nobility and lineage which would become dominant in the Christian territories and investigates his focus on religious excellence. Christian and Jewish attacks on Islam cited in the *KM* are often directed at the most sensitive issues of faith. It is easy to see that demonstrating the superiority of one’s own group and the nobility of one’s own lineage, and effectively refuting the attacks of religious adversaries (Christians and Jews), if only rhetorically, overturned the social hierarchy which punctuated the Mudejars’ day-to-day lives. Hierarchies of religious excellence served as an important reminder that, in the end, what would matter would be the place each group would occupy before God. When read bearing in mind the increasing restrictions on the religious freedoms of the Mudejars, we are certainly not too far wrong when we assert that, as a

88 I am quoting Alain de Lille’s approach as found in Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative*, pp. 67 and 187.

religious leader, someone like ar-Raqilī would have been exposed to questions of authority among the elites and had a sound understanding of the needs of the Mudejar communities, particularly of having the upper hand in the competition for religious excellence with the other two communities. The KM's defence of Islam ensured that this was the case. Pertinently it also places particular emphasis on lineage, a notion which, I argue, is key to understanding the author's overall discourse.

In addition to paying attention to the KM's ultimate goal of upholding the honour of Hagar's lineage, the second chapter also addresses the author's construction of a discourse on authority in Islam. This is important as I also suggest that notions of religious excellence and lineage might have served not only to keep the faith of the group alive, but might also have had a particular significance for individuals who, like the author of the KM, or the copyist ar-Raqilī, needed to move up a notch or two and forge ahead of other non-Muslim members of the elite. The Mudejar intelligentsia, as noted, took on the task of educating their co-religionists in the faith, but the example of the KM and its use of both revealed sources and philosophy strongly suggests that they might also have had their own ideas about how to make Islamic normativity fit the local contexts in which they lived. This difference is relevant to the argument made here: that the KM was a product of (or was produced in the milieu of) educated Mudejar elites. Bearing in mind this difference allows us to appreciate the genuine effort of the elites to define frameworks of religious ethics and practice tailored to the needs of the members of their community. Cogently, this is an exercise, which helps us to move away from an understanding of Mudejar Islam as a deviation and a consequence of decadence.

A *second issue* to be addressed is how people like the author of KM set to work at this time, and how this way of working, which relied heavily on certain kinds of knowledge, language and philosophical tools, allows us to glimpse the contours of his conception of the universe or his cosmology. No attempt will be made to discuss the KM in the context of the Islamic tradition. Instead, an attempt will be made to flesh out what is taken to be its own epistemology; an exercise which might be especially valuable in illustrating the configurations of Islamic knowledge in Christian territories. On the other hand, the analysis will also include references to the sources used by the author of the KM, but the citations will not be sought in the corresponding original sources. Priority will be given to the author's method and approach, insofar as these are the aspects which help to reveal the active agency of Mudejars in formulating their own views on Islamic normativity and practice. This way forward is intended to avoid what seems to be an even greater difficulty in the KM, one which is linked

to the ways authorities and works are cited. By and large, a general correspondence can be seen between the ideas as presented in the κM and the ideas for which the authors cited are widely known in the surviving originals. However, it is an arduous, if not impossible, task to retrace the exact fragments as they are too brief and the author's rephrasing of them was often very liberal. The differences with the originals are substantial enough to suggest that a more appropriate question to ask is probably not a discussion of their *authenticity* or origin but what function these quotations have in the discourse. In other words, what we are interested in is discovering what the knowledge systems behind the κM are. This line of thought also follows the guiding consideration of trying to avoid falling into the trap in the study of Muslim communities in Christian areas, that is, of looking for shortcomings in comparison to what are seen to be "models" of knowledge; looking for what is missing from the latter and, from this perspective, forever remaining at a disadvantage, rather than trying to show what they contributed to the groups who used them and for whom they were originally intended.

The second part includes the diplomatic transcription of ar-Raqilī's copy in which an attempt is made to capture its linguistic usages as accurately as possible. The κM is an excellent source from which to learn about the characteristics of the Arabic of the Mudejars in Aragon. Moreover, it offers enough material for the potential enrichment of our knowledge of Andalusī Arabic; a dialect-bundle which, as the editors of a recent grammar note, is very close to Old Arabic and is among the earliest of which we have quite a few records.⁸⁹ The Mudejars' geographical proximity to al-Andalus meant that the linguistic practices of their religious minorities often followed the path of their co-religionists there, although the same caveats apply here as those stated previously with regard to knowledge of Islam. Therefore, it is worth asking how did the Arabic, a language deeply revered by Muslims because of its intimate connection with the Revelation of Islam, in the κM , relate to Andalusī patterns. All the signs point in the direction that this is a specimen of Andalusī Arabic, but a deeper analysis also reveals a number of interesting linguistic features. Details will be provided in due course but here it suffices to say that *maṣdar* is used quite regularly in the κM . In Andalusī Arabic (and in Neo-Arabic dialects, in general), this usage tends to disappear in the lower registers, although it can be

89 Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza (ed.). *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar of Andalusī Arabic*. Edited by Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013, xii.

found with some regularity in the upper register. The KM has turned out to be an example of a remarkable dialectal variant in which different registers seem to converge and overlap.

Overall, the KM is a challenging work and one which often resists an easy interpretation. Lacking the original, it is impossible to determine why the author deployed his discourse the way he did (that is, assess whether it reflects his skills or does perhaps the text owe its present form to transmission?), but a closer look clearly reveals that its readers also sometimes had difficulty penetrating its obscurity. Translating a text which presents such challenges runs the risk of over-interpretation for the sake of achieving fluency in English; a temptation which might cause it to stray too far from the original meaning intended by the author and, at the very least, strip the text of its most salient linguistic features. The same can be said of an edition in which the Arabic would be corrected both grammatically and in word diacritics (*i'jām* and *taškīl*), for these would force substantial changes which, given their abundance, would make it a different text. Instead, this new diplomatic edition of the manuscript copy from Pedrola renders the text as faithfully as possible to the copy, and from it appears a text with some notorious linguistic features which will surely attract the attention of both Arabic speakers and scholars of Arabic. However, they can also raise eyebrows at times, because of the challenges they pose, therefore this edition is provided with an introductory study with a reasoned explanation of the author's understanding of the created world, of his cosmology, and how this is put to work in the polemical arguments against Christians and Jews. This task unquestionably also involves a certain degree of deciphering but, since the reader has the Arabic text at his disposal, consulting it might serve to compare and contrast it and ultimately offer him an alternative understanding.

This introduction closes by noting that a work of the nature of the KM would once have run the risk of being considered of secondary, even of insignificant interest, as it would have been counted among the productions of the educated, yet subaltern-elite, in a Christian majority society.⁹⁰ But the critique of micro-history warns us of how skewed it is to approach the culture of ordinary people as crumbling and a degradation of the dominant. Ginzburg's scholarship also sets a precedent for how enquiry into a single individual, one whose

90 Here I use the term subaltern-elite in the sense in which various studies on subalterity do, that is, to refer to those who have a privileged or powerful position within subaltern groups, e.g. Pandey, Gyanendra (ed.). *Subaltern Citizens and Their Histories: Investigations from India and the USA*. London: Routledge, 2010, p. 1.

life and deeds had often been ignored, can offer a privileged vantage point from which to examine the modes of thought and society of an era. This appeal to a historical awareness of the past brings with it an important reminder of current considerations about religious minorities. Cases such as the KM attest to their sustained presence in the West and pose the researcher challenges comparable to Menocchio's in seeking to integrate evidence of these groups into historiographical accounts which traditionally assign them a marginal role in the formation of western modes of thought. After all, the author, date and place of composition of the KM are unknown and this Muslim attack on Christians and Jews opens a door into the microcosm of an individual who "articulated the language that history put at his disposal";⁹¹ a language which unfolded within the flexible but finite confines of the cultural framework of the time. The singular voice of the author echoes throughout what would prove to be an exceptional composition, whose study leads the modern reader into the cosmos and the ways of thinking about others of those who shared his social conditions. The Pedrola copy reveals this in a discourse which straddles different fields of knowledge and addresses different types of audiences (Christians, Jews, Muslim intellectuals and ordinary believers). It also suggests possible challenges affecting the understandings of Mudejar authority in a context characterized by change in which the blind adherence to tradition proposed by the traditionalists within Islam could have been checked. This question (whether or not to adhere to tradition) occupies much of the author's arguments and, judging by the copy, it seems to have remained relevant even in the time of ar-Raqilī. Hence, we can argue that, although the lack of certainty about its authorship makes analysis difficult, the copy of ar-Raqilī opens important avenues of research into the negotiation of Mudejar identities and their ways of understanding Islamic beliefs and practices.

91 Ginzburg, Carlo. *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller (Il formaggio e i vermi: Il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500)*, (trans. from the Italian by John and Anne Tedeschi). Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980, XXI. As Lazarus-Yahfeh perceptively notes, the language which history put at the service of someone like Menocchio sometimes drew on notions which had their origins in Islam. Lazarus-Yahfeh. "Some Neglected Aspects," p. 66.

PART 1

A Mudejar Microcosmos



A Scholarly Defence of Religious Excellence

The present study is informed by the understanding that the polemical discourse of the *κμ* is a product of learned Mudejar elites.¹ To substantiate this claim, this chapter will closely examine a key rhetorical thread in the *κμ*: religious excellence. As were nobility and lineage, religious excellence was of importance to the Mudejar elites. It is my contention that the discussion of these notions in the *κμ* would have had an especial appeal to the educated elites in a courtly environment such as that of King Peter the Ceremonious, in whose vicinity both the composition of his original and the treatises, or *maqālāt*, of the *qādī* aš-Šarafī would have seen the light of day. As will emerge, hierarchies based on religious pre-eminence, nobility and lineage are stressed here and in other polemics such as the *Ta'yīd*. This theme struck a chord in a Christian society which was increasingly concerned with these issues and in which groups were competing for social mobility. The aim is to shed light on the author's claims as being part and parcel of the discourses of the leaders in his groups. I argue that, in view of these considerations, placing one's own community at the apex of a hierarchy before God was in all likelihood a driving force behind the composition of the *κμ*. There are sound reasons for reading the discourse in the *κμ* against an environment which can be regarded as a small-scale laboratory for the dynamics of exclusion and inclusion of communities. Various examples attest to the close collaboration and participation of Mudejars in intellectual ventures with educated Christians and Jews, incontestably showing they cultivated various fields of knowledge through networks, which included their own Mudejar communities as well as Muslims in Muslim lands. An outstanding example of a Muslim-Christian collaborative enterprise is the elaboration of a now lost trilingual (Castilian, Latin, Arabic) Qurʾān by the *faqīh* Yça Gidelli, (fl. 1450), composed conjointly with the Christian theologian Juan de Segovia, (d. 1458).² Other data show that a number of Castilian Jews commissioned copies from Muslims in Granada, and they even established friendly relations with each other, for instance, that between Yūsuf b. Waqqār of Toledo

1 An early version of this chapter was presented at the Frankel Institute Symposium (Session 3: Identity through the Lens of Polemics), University of Michigan, 27 March, 2019. I thank the organizers and the participants for their comments and suggestions.

2 This is discussed at length by Wiegers, *Islamic Literature, passim*.

(fl. 14th c.) and Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb, (714–776 H/1317–1374 CE).³ Close relationships were also cemented between Jews and Muslims in the Christian territories as evidenced among other sources by a copy of Ptolemy's, *Almagest* dedicated to the Jewish astronomer Jacob Corsonno, or Corsino, in 1381. Corsonno, is famous for having collaborated for fifteen years with Pere Gilbert, and Dalmau Sesplanes on the astronomical tables commissioned by Peter the Ceremonious.⁴ The colophon of this manuscript copy of the *Almagest* has rarely been discussed by scholars, who have more often been concerned with language issues and with the filiation of the manuscripts of this work. A close examination, however, does provide evidence that among Corsonno's, collaborators were Jews, Christians and Muslims.⁵

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- 3 García-Ballester, Luis. "A marginal learned medical world: Jewish, Muslim and Christian medical practitioners, and the use of Arabic medical sources in late medieval Spain." In Luis García-Ballester et al. (eds.). *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 353–394; p. 373 and note 64. Baer notes that this Yūsuf, or Joseph, should not be identified with the well-known philosopher and mystic who was his contemporary, but claims that this Joseph was active in and undertook his journey to Granada, in the reign of Henry II of Castile, (1366–1367) and not of Peter the Cruel (1350–1369), as Melchor M. Antuña has stated in an earlier publication, see "Una versión árabe compendiada de la "Estoria de España" de Alfonso el Sabio." *Al-Andalus* 1, No. 1, 1933: 105–154. However, his argument supporting this assertion is not compelling. See Baer, Yitzhak Fritz. *A History of Jews in Christian Spain* (trans. from the Hebrew by Louis Schoffman), 2 vols. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1992; Vol. 1, p. 367 note 53. The dates given by García-Ballester are specific and even earlier (fl. 1312–1340), which would place Joseph in the reign of Alfonso XI (r. 1312–1350), which does not tally with Antuña's claim that the encounter with Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb, took place after 749 H/1348–1349 CE, nor with the date of the copying of a manuscript by Yūsuf b. Waqqār b. Mūsà from Toledo or Seville in 1358 (MSS Munich 230); see Antuña, "Una versión árabe", pp. 114–115.
- 4 In the introduction to the astronomical tables (in Hebrew and Catalan, respectively), Corsonno, is called 'Ya'aquv Corsino, yehudi mi-Sefarad' and 'Maestre Jacob Corsono, jueu d'Espanya'. See Feliu, Eduard. "Cataluña no era Sefarad. Precisiones metodológicas." In Museu d'Història de Catalunya (Barcelona) and Museu d'Història De Catalunya (Barcelona), Companys, Mariona (coord.). *La Cataluña Judía: [Exposición]*. Museu d'història De Catalunya (Barcelona). Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 2002, pp. 24–35; p. 29 and note 22, *apud* Pere IV/José María Millás Vallicrosa (ed.). *Las tablas astronómicas del Rey Don Pedro el Ceremonioso: Edición crítica de los textos hebraico, catalán y latino, con estudio y notas por José M^a Millás Vallicrosa*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1962, pp. 103 and 124; notes which "'obviously' do not 'refer to any territory of the Catalan-Aragonese crown' but to the place of origin of Corsino, that is, 'Andalusia'" (my translation of Feliu, *La Cataluña Judía*, p. 29: "Ni España ni su equivalente hebreo Sefarad, se referían obviamente a ningún territorio de la Corona catalanoaragonesa para indicar el lugar de origen de este maestro judío, que era según parece, Andalucía").
- 5 An exception is Paul Kunitzsch, who provides a free but abbreviated English translation of its remarkable contents. Here, I provide my own transcription of the Arabic based on the digit-

In this colophon, a certain Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Salāma aṣ-Ṣinhāğī⁶ al-Muḥāğīrī, refers to Corsonno, as his “master” and “teacher”. We do not know the identity or exact origins of this Muslim, but we do know that, at that time, it was not uncommon for Muslim scribes who worked for Jews to use either the Creation date or double dating (Creation-Ḥiğrī), as al-Muḥāğīrī, did.⁷ Al-Muḥāğīrī, could have been a Muslim slave or a redeemed slave,⁸ but he might also have been a free Muslim or Mudejar.⁹ If we go by the dates, we could say

alization of the Lawrence J. Schoenberg Collection of the University of Pennsylvania. UPenn LJS 268, f. 185^r (= 174^r):

تمت المقالة الثالثة عشر من كتاب المجسطي لبطليموس * المنسوب إلى التعاليم وبتمامها تم جميع التأليف بحمد الله وحسن عونه وتأيدته ونصره وصلى الله على سيدنا ومولانا محمد الكريم وعلى آله تسليما وكتبه النادم على ذنوبه المرتجي رحمة ربه أحمد بن أحمد بن سلامة الصن... أي (الصنهاجي) المهاجري لأستاذه ومعلمه العالم العلامة أبو إسحق يعقوب بن إسحق بن يعقوب المعروف بن القرسنه الإسرائيلي منجم مولانا السلطان دون بطروه ملك أرغون ووالي برجيلونه... الله..... منه عشية يوم الإثنين وارتفاع الشمس ثلثين درجة على الأفق الغربي من مدينة سرقسطة الأندلس.. ثاني عشر خلون من شهر جمادى الآخر الذي من سنة ثلثة وثمانين وسبعمائة لتاريخ الهجرة موافقه ثالثا عشر الال الذي من سنة خمسة الألف ومائة وأربعين ووافق لتاريخ الخليفة عواقفة ثاني لشهر شتبر الذي من سنة الفا وثلثمائة وثمانين وواحد لتاريخ المسيح عليه السلام *

The *nisba* of the Muslim scribe, al-Ḥāğīrī, should be amended to al-Muḥāğīrī, cf. Kunitzsch, Paul. “A Hitherto Unknown Arabic Manuscript of the *Almagest*.” *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften* 14 (2001): 31–37; p. 32.

- 6 The manuscript is damaged at this point, but most likely it should read as Ṣinhāğī. On the other hand, al-Muḥāğīrī is clear.
- 7 Van Koningsveld, “Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts from Christian Spain. A Comparative Intercultural Approach,” pp. 89–90.
- 8 See, for example, the cases mentioned by Jean-Pierre Molénat following Pascal Buresi in “L’élite mudéjare dans la péninsule Ibérique médiévale.” In Filipe Themudo Barata (ed.). *Actas do coloquio Elites e redes clientelares na Idade Média. Problemas metodológicos*. Lisboa: Edições Colibri; Centro Interdisciplinar de História, Culturas e Sociedades da Universidade de Évora: Évora, 2001, pp. 45–53; p. 12 and note 22.
- 9 It is my assumption that he might have lived among Christians long enough to have adopted some of their usages. Although I do not have any conclusive proof, it is remarkable that the scribe (who would have needed some mathematical knowledge to complete the task before him) could have been mistaken in one place, confusing the 7 for the 8, and that the date is provided using a mixture of Christian and Arabic numerals. UPenn LJS 268, f. 132^v (= 98^v): 883; the date was, indeed, 783. Those who have learned Arabic as a second language know that this is a common mistake among students and in this instance strongly suggests the influence of a Christian environment. On the other hand, the scribe of UPenn LJS 268 did not give any hint that he was, or ever had been, a slave. Furthermore, a Christian environment might account for the spelling Baṭlamyūs instead of Baṭlamyūs in certain places. See the remarks on the latter use are given by Kunitzsch, “A Hitherto,” p. 33 and note 12.

that al-Muḥāğiri's, mindset was Islamic and, even though he was working in Christian Zaragoza ("Saraqusta"), he places the city in "al-Andalus".¹⁰ Whatever al-Muḥāğiri's, origins might have been, we can safely assume that he belonged to the circle of Corsonno's, collaborators on account of his claims that he was under the orders of "their common lord" ("mawlānā"), the "sulṭān", Don Pedro, king ("malik") of Aragon, and "wālī" of Barcelona. It is highly suggestive to think that al-Muḥāğiri would have known Hamete (perhaps our Hamete), who was working as the king's physician around the same time, and that they exchanged views on science, for example, on astronomy, a subject the κM touches on. Conjecture aside, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility to assume that someone like Hamete had a pretty direct knowledge of Christian and Jewish thought and practice, not to mention contact with Christians and Jews as possible collaborators and interlocutors, not just as religious adversaries and professional competitors.

However, just as collaboration insinuated itself under the patronage of the Christian "sulṭān" of al-Muḥāğiri, so did its antithesis, competition. Ordinary Mudejar families,¹¹ as were their wealthier compatriots, were in competition with each other to maintain and increase their power and prestige.¹² This competition could occur in different social spheres if we take into account the profiles of individuals such as Hamete, who exemplified the widespread custom of pursuing multiple occupations in the Middle Ages. In Hamete's case, his two professions do not seem to have been foreign either to the Mudejars or to the Šarafis. Another member of this family, Abraham Xarafi, had a very similar profile, as he was not only an *alcalde* but also an *alfaquí* (*faqīh*), physician and servant of the archbishop of Toledo, Alfonso Carrillo.¹³ Such dual positions

10 As a counterpoint to the previous example discussed by Feliu above, and without disparaging what Corsonno's origins might have had, the present example shows that references to al-Andalus here could designate divergent geographical realities.

11 Catlos, Brian. "The de Reys (1220–1501): The Evolution of a "Middle-Class" Muslim Family in Christian Aragón." *Viator* 40, No. 2 (2009): 197–219.

12 Well known here are the cases of the Šarafis and the Bellvis. Echevarría Arsuaga, "De cadí a alcalde mayor," No. 1 (2003a) and No. 2 (2003b). See also among other sources the publications of Jean-Pierre Molénat, "Une famille de l'élite mudéjare". Mudejars established in-group networks of power and collaboration with the Christians from whom they received privileges which were customarily transmitted from one generation to the next. See, Ortego Rico, Pablo. "Élites y conflictividad en el seno de las aljamas mudéjares castellanias a fines de la Edad Media: exención tributaria y redes clientelares." *Hispania* 75, No. 250 (2015): 505–536.

13 We have also noted a *faqīh* from Pedrola who travelled around the Mediterranean, on the first occasion to visit Alexandria and Jerusalem in 1350, and on the second in 1362 on pilgrimage to Mecca with his wife; both times with a royal safe-conduct from Peter

were also found among the well-to-do Mudejar family of the Bellvís. A striking example is that of Faraig de Bellvís (fl. 1339–1387). Faraig was a contemporary of the copyist of the *KM* and, like Hamete, was linked to the court of Peter the Ceremonious, as a *menescal* (or veterinary surgeon),¹⁴ but also holding the position of *qāḍī*, or judge¹⁵ of the various *aljamas* in the kingdom in 1365.¹⁶

Mudejars also competed directly with the Christian and Jewish elites. In the case of Aragon which concerns us, competition with the Jews should be understood by taking into consideration two important differences between these two religious minorities in the region. The first is the stratification in the representative bodies of the groups which, in the case of the Mudejar *aljamas*, seems to have been applied to a lesser degree than in the Jewish communities (at least in terms of the functions entailing formal recognition, for example, the Jewish *mayores*, *mediocres* and *menores*). Importantly, in Aragon the Muslim military nobility “had vanished without a trace”,¹⁷ something that cannot be said of Castile, where the Mudejar royal knights appear to have been a short-lived, *ad hoc* phenomenon.¹⁸ The second important difference between the groups was wealth.¹⁹ Various Jewish families of noble status lived in regions like 14th-

the Ceremonious. His name was Abulfaquen/m Abenamir and he was a vassal of the count of Luna, who interceded on his behalf. The documents are in Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA), Cancillería, reg. 890, f. 156^r and reg. 1183, f. 127 v. See Ferrer i Mallol, Maria Teresa. *Els sarraïns de la corona catalano-aragonesa en el segle XIV: segregació i discriminació*. Barcelona: Consell Superior d'Investigacions Científiques, 1987, pp. 141 and 145. I thank Ana Echevarría Arsuaga for the reference to an individual whose background and social position make him a suitable candidate to have composed a work of religious polemics. Only future discoveries will be able to confirm this interesting possibility.

- 14 Cifuentes, Lluís and Carmel Ferragud (coord.). *MedCat: Corpus Medicorum Catalanorum*, University of Barcelona and University of Valencia, 2020—<https://medcat.sciencia.cat/MedCat-nom3154> [17 January 2021].
- 15 Harvey, Leonard Patrick. *Islamic Spain, 1250 to 1500*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990, p. 127.
- 16 Catlos, Brian. *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c. 1050–1614*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 185.
- 17 Boswell, John. *The Royal Treasure: Muslim Communities under the Crown of Aragon in the Fourteenth Century*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1977, p. 42.
- 18 For the process of disappearance or assimilation of the Muslim knights in the service of the Castilian kings in the 15th century, see Echevarría Arsuaga, Ana. *Knights on the Frontier: The Moorish Guard of the Kings of Castile (1410–1467)*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009, p. 201 and *ff.*
- 19 Lourie, Elena. *Crusade and Colonization: Muslim, Christians, and Jews in Medieval Aragon*. Aldershot: Variorum, 1990, pp. 35–36. There was a judicial branch which operated on the local level but can also be seen to have been in charge of administering justice in various

century Aragon,²⁰ where there were undoubtedly also Mudejar families who enjoyed wealth similar to that of the Jews and later Conversos (Jewish converts to Christianity). This prosperity is illustrated, for example, by the case of Yanina and her daughters, members of the Serrano family and inhabitants of Palencia in Castile, who, in 1496, sold some land (or *caballerías*) to the Converso Calatrava family for a significant sum of money.²¹ In general, however, it would be safe to say that the percentage of Jews mixing in the upper echelons of Christian society was higher than that of the Mudejars.

The author of the $\kappa\mu$ might have been both a physician and a religious leader of the Mudejars, as were Hamete and other Mudejars, but we cannot say this for certain.²² He does show a familiarity with medical matters, or at least displays an interest in matters related to this profession, as evinced by a number of statements derived from the Hellenistic tradition about foetal growth and phlebotomy.²³ These and other references are, however, too general to allow us to draw firm conclusions about the author's profession, especially because medical knowledge was widespread at that time.²⁴ However, I do want to point out something to which I return later: the remarkable coincidence of sources which deal with medical knowledge, natural philosophy and physics in the $\kappa\mu$, and mentions of tools such as the polishing-wheel (*tābūt min aṣ-ṣaqīl*) or of materials (such as metals, *ameṭales*). I would like to argue that these latter references

communities throughout larger areas of the territory plus an executive branch in charge of implementing judicial decisions.

- 20 Baer, *A History of Jews in Christian Spain*, Vol. 1, p. 92 and p. 105. Among the references provided on p. 92 n. 38, those to documents 65, 66 in his earlier publication are particularly relevant to the period under discussion here. See Vol. 1 of Baer, Yitzhak Fritz. *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien. Erster Teil. Urkunden und Regesten: Band 1—Aragonien und Navarra; Band 11—Kastilien/Inquisitionsakten*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag; Berlin: im Schocken Verlag, 1929–1936.
- 21 Archivo de la Catedral de Palencia, Leg. 3, Doc. 22, ff. 1^r–3^v.
- 22 For the knowledge and the practice of medicine among the Moriscos, see the various publications by Luis García-Ballester, *Historia social de la medicina en la España de los siglos 13 al 16. Vol. 1: La minoría musulmana y morisca*. Madrid: Akal, 1976; and by the same author, “El sanador morisco entre el empirismo y la ciencia médica escolástica”. In Camilo Álvarez de Morales (coords.), *La medicina en al-Andalus*. Granada: Fundación Legado Andalusi, 1999, pp. 277–302; and “The Inquisition and minority medical practitioners in Counter-Reformation Spain. Judaizing and Morisco practitioners, 1560–1610.” In Luis García-Ballester. *Medicine in a multicultural society*. Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2001, pp. 156–191, and his other contributions in this publication.
- 23 See, for example, the passages on phlebotomy quoting Galen on f. 48^r, and f. 57^r for Aristotle's views on the foetus' development.
- 24 See, for example, Lindberg, David C. (ed.) *Science in the Middle Ages*. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

could also have had a particular meaning among the elite, as well as appealing to the communities whose members were often in direct contact with manual trades. It should be noted that the profession of veterinarian shared a guild with that of blacksmith and, as Nirenberg recalls, blacksmithing was one of the most prominent trades among the Mudejars of Aragon. In Daroca (less than a day's walk from Pedrola), the Mudejars had a monopoly on blacksmithing, a situation which led to disputes about greater welfare in Christian society at large.²⁵ So, in using them the author of the KM might have had certain goals in mind, such as facilitating the understanding of arguments in polemics for a middle class who lacked the specific training of the *faqih*s but was not necessarily illiterate.

The appeal of the KM to the authority of a judge, aš-Šarafī, a possessor and himself the embodiment of authority in Muslim groups, could have been intended to confer extra authority on the KM author's endeavour and indirectly sanction his sources, including the philosophical ones discussed below. If we add to this the identification of this judge with the Castilian *alcalde*, Hamete, it is possible to argue that the author might also have been appealing to those in the elites with whom he might have shared views. His strategy to achieve his goal would therefore have consisted of appealing to the *auctoritas* of an individual of special relevance in the community who, in the present case, also enjoyed great respect and esteem among his co-religionists. The respect and esteem the author of the KM shows aš-Šarafī is crystal clear from the beginning of the KM when he heaps praise of this judge, addressing him as “the most distinguished” (*al-aḡal*) and “noble” (*al-ḡasīb*).²⁶ It does not seem too speculative to say that KM readers would not have missed the author's play on words, in particular between the *nisba* of the *qāḍī* aš-Šarafī (indicating his origin in al-Jarafe, aš-Šaraf) followed immediately by the Arabic title, *šarif*, which means noble, but also singles out a descendant of Muḡammad. His words undoubtedly betray a desire to reinforce the Mudejar feeling of superiority over other communities. Consequently, in the following sections attempts are made to contextualize these concepts as part of broader discourses on religious excellence, nobility and descent which forged their meaning at the intersection of Mudejar thought with Jewish and Christian views on the same subjects. With a view to shedding light on these dynamics, Section 1.1. analyses contested views on nobility and

25 Nirenberg, David. “Muslims in Christian Iberia, 1000–1526: varieties of Mudejar experience.” In Peter Linehan, Janet L. Nelson (eds.). *The Medieval World*. New York: Routledge, 2001, pp. 60–76; pp. 64–65.

26 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 31^v.

lineage among the elites and Section (1.2.) deals with lineage and nobility as a subject in religious polemics.

1 Contested Claims to Noble Descent in Christian Iberia

Let us now take a brief look at nobility and descent as notions contested by the various communities in Christian territories. This entails an examination of three aspects: a) claims to noble descent among Muslims; b) the noble origins of and the competition between the Mudejars and Jews for religious excellence; c) the increasing prominence given nobility and lineage in Christian discourses about those newly converted from Islam and Judaism, and about the latter's full acceptance by the Christian community.

a) Reviewing the first aspect, ancestry was important to Muslims, with descent in Muḥammad's family, or *ahl al-bayt*, as the element that shaped the social configurations of the community. The force of *šarifism* in the Muslim West can be seen in celebrations such as the birthday of Prophet Muḥammad (*mawlid an-nabī*), which was introduced into Ceuta by Abū l-'Abbās al-'Azafī (557–633 H/1162–1236 CE),²⁷ and in a Muslim rhetoric laden with references to noble origins which maintained a currency until a late period, and even intertwined with the eschatological perspectives of the Moriscos.²⁸ An example of the importance of nobility is given by the 16th-century Castilian Morisco known as Mancebo de Arévalo, who informs us that he served on a "committee 'of the nobility of this kingdom of Aragon' (meaning of course, the Muslim nobility)", which he assisted in the elaboration of a law code in the vernacular.²⁹

27 For a monograph on this celebration in the Muslim West, see Kaptein, Nico. *Muḥammad's Birthday Festival: Early History in the Central Muslim Lands and Development in the Muslim West Until the 10th/16th Century*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1993, particularly pp. 76–96 for its beginnings in Ceuta. I thank one of the anonymous reviewers of this book for this reference.

28 These claims were sometimes connected to messianism. See, García-Arenal, Mercedes. *Messianism and Puritanical Reform: Mahdīs of the Muslim West*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006, particularly Chapter 8. Also, Powers, David S. *Law, Society and Culture in the Maghrib 1300–1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 13–14 and Chap. 5 (pp. 167–205). García-Arenal, Mercedes. "Shurafā in the Last Times of al-Andalus and in the Morisco Period: *Laylat al-mawlid* and Genealogies of the Prophet Muḥammad." In Kazuo Morimoto (ed.). *Sayyids and Sharifs in Muslim Societies: The Living Links to the Prophet*. London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2012, pp. 161–185.

29 Harvey, *Islamic Spain*, p. 107.

Nobility therefore served as a criterion to configure Muslim identities in a comprehensive sense and to promote the maintenance of roles reserved for certain members of the community. Furthermore, it also played a role in delineating differences between individuals within Christian society. Membership of certain Muslim lineages for generations could facilitate integration into Christian structures or improve the conditions of converts from Islam, the so-called *conversos de moro* (or *conversos de judío*, when they were of Jewish origin). The Muslim aristocratic families, particularly those of the kingdom of Granada, could be admitted to the rank of knighthood (*hidalguía*), either by proof of their conversion before the conquest of the kingdom or by their descent from noble Muslim lineages proving their service to the Crown.³⁰ The Venegas family is an example.³¹ Especially after the expulsions in 1609–1614, their status as a *šarīf* family was sometimes extremely important to peninsular Muslims who landed on the North African coast.³² Take, for instance, the Murcian Morisco of *šarīf* descent, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd ar-Raḥīḥ, who devoted a treatise to the discussion of the *šarīf* lineages of the Andalusī as a refugee in Tunisia.³³ The example of Ibn ‘Abd ar-Raḥīḥ is similar to those of other Moriscos (or Andalusī) who had to contend with the opposition of the local *šarafā* elite—for example, in places like Fez, where local Jews who had converted to Islam a long time ago were still not accepted as fully fledged Muslims (the *bildiyyūn*)—showing that, although origin could enhance social integration, it could also be a source of conflict within the Muslim community itself and serve to highlight in-group boundaries.³⁴

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- 30 García-Arenal, Mercedes, and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano. *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (trans. from the Spanish by Consuelo López-Morillas). Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013, p. 67 and, more generally, Chapter 3 about the noble families, pp. 65–94.
- 31 Harvey, Leonard Patrick. “Yuse Benegas, un moro noble en Granada bajo los Reyes Católicos.” *Al-Andalus* 21 (1956): 297–302. Terry, Elisabeth Ashcroft. “The Granada Venegas Family, 1431–1643: Nobility, Renaissance and Morisco Identity.” PhD Diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2015. See also, Soria Mesa, Enrique. “Falsificadores, usurpadores y herejes. La familia Baños de Granada, de moriscos islamizantes a marqueses.” *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies* 40 (2018): 296–315.
- 32 Matar, Nabil. *Europe Through Arab Eyes, 1578–1727*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009, pp. 182–184.
- 33 Aïssa, Lofti, Mouhamed Aouini, and Houssein Eddine Chachia (coord.). *Entre las orillas de dos mundos. El itinerario del jerife morisco Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥīḥ: de Murcia a Túnez*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2017.
- 34 García-Arenal, Mercedes. “Les Bildiyyīn de Fès, un groupe de néo-musulmans d’origine juive.” *Studia Islamica* 66 (1987): 113–143. For a 18th-century polemic, see Fenton, Paul. *Rašf al-Ḍarab fī faḍl banī Isrā’īl wa-l-‘arab (On the Eminence of Israelites and Arabs): A Neo-Muslim Apology in Defence of the Israelites*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones

b) Nobility was a characteristic called upon to sharpen the boundaries between Muslims and non-Muslims and eagerly resorted to in the competition for religious excellence between communities, particularly between Muslims and Jews. Claims of direct descent from Prophet Muḥammad's family were paralleled by Jewish claims of belonging to the house of David. In some eastern sources, Davidic descendants, or *nesi'im*, are called "*šarīf al-milla al-yahūdīyya wa sayyid al-ṭā'ifa ad-dāwūdīyya*", a designation which "unmistakably casts the House of David as the Jewish counterpart to the *ahl albayt*".³⁵ While 9th-century Iberian Jews made similar claims, which eventually caused friction with their eastern co-religionists,³⁶ their integration into the Andalusī culture³⁷ accounts for their use of the term *šarīf* in a broader meaning, as shown by the reference of Moses b. 'Ezra (1057–after 1138) to his countrymen in which he calls them "descendants of *ahl al-manbar al-šarīf*".³⁸ It also accounts for some Jewish narratives with polemical undertones about the origins of the Iberian Jews in which the claim to nobility was also fielded. Some foregrounded the noble ancestry, excellent aesthetic skills and unprecedented intellectual achievements of the native-born Jews of Sefarad—which is the biblical reference to the dwelling-place of the exiles from Jerusalem identified with the Iberian Peninsula. One of these alludes to a group of Jews from Jerusalem who arrived in the Peninsula among the legions of the Babylonian king, Nebuchadnezzar. The earliest accounts of this legend have been traced to Jews in al-Andalus, and appear to have been a reaction to the well-known accusation of *taḥrīf* by Muslims, that is, the claim—uttered by a staunch polemicist like Ibn Ḥazm—

Científicas, 2016. There was a similar factionalism among Andalusī Muslims and Christians in the Christian territories. Ray, Jonathan. "The Jews of Medieval Spain: Community, Marginality and the Notion of a Mediterranean Society." In Federica Francesconi, Stanley Mirvis and Brian Smollett (eds.). *From Catalonia to the Caribbean: The Sephardic Orbit from Medieval to Modern Times*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018, pp. 60–80; p. 62.

35 Franklin, Arnold E. *This Noble House: Jewish Descendants of King David in the Medieval Islamic East*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013, pp. 60 and 61.

36 Beaver, Adam. "Nebuchadnezzar's Jewish Legions: Sephardic Legends' Journey from Biblical Polemic to Humanist History." In Mercedes García-Arenal (ed.). *After Conversion: Iberia and the Emergence of Modernity*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2016, pp. 21–65; p. 7.

37 It is worth noting that in such a context "a whole variety of alternatives are open between total cultural isolation, which in reality is pretty much a fiction, and complete cultural eradication". See, Glick, Thomas F. and Oriol Pi-Sunyer. "Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 11, No. 2 (1969): 136–154; p. 141.

38 Fenton, *Rašf al-Darab*, p. 92 note 110 (*apud* Ibn Ezra, Mozes/Abraham Solomon Halkin (ed.). *Kitāb al-muḥāḍara wa-l-mudākara*. Jerusalem: Meqīsey nirdamīm, 1975, p. 54).

that Jews and Christians had distorted God's true Revelation to mankind.³⁹ Responding convincingly to this accusation was the most powerful reason for Ibn 'Ezra to integrate—within a single narrative about the Jewish legions which came to the Iberian Peninsula—the reference to Sefarad in Obadiah with the Babylonian exile (586 BCE) and an uncorrupted version of the Torah said to have been spared destruction during Jewish captivity in Babylon. This version corresponded to God's original Revelation (and therefore the argument refuted the Muslim allegations of the alteration and corruption of the text, for which they sometimes held a Jewish scribe called 'Ezrā' responsible). Relevant to this research is the fact that the plot does not focus solely on textual criticism but, above all, on excellence derived from origins.⁴⁰ It is a theory which, at some point, entered the Christian territories where it was transformed in Christian humanist historiographies “from a figure of Jewish-Muslim polemic into the figure of Judaeo-Christian interaction, negotiation, and filiation”.⁴¹ Most recent studies, such as that by Beaver, show how Nebuchadnezzar's Jewish legions became part of the shared intellectual legacy of Jews, Christians and Muslims. In this narrative, we see the importance shared notions of nobility played as well as the possibility of negotiating this status through polemical claims about lineage.

c) The importance which claims to nobility and lineage might have carried in Mudejar polemics are more easily understood by considering the growing importance of these issues in Christian thought. Sources show that the conversion of large numbers of Jews and Muslims to Christianity had heightened the anxiety of the majority about the former minorities with whom they had once been in competition and had now in all respects become their fellows. There are several theological considerations which heightened this anxiety, among them the perceived risk of neophytes introducing unorthodox views and practices into mainstream Christianity. Moreover, as in the case of the Moriscos mentioned above, lineage and nobility also seem to have played a role beyond the genre of polemical writings in fueling such anxiety. As was to be expected, the incorporation of newly baptized Jews and Muslims into mainstream society had practical consequences and also raised, in effect, the question of whether those of noble birth were entitled to retain their titles after becoming Christians. This apprehension arose because the Old Christians

39 See Beaver, “Nebuchadnezzar's Jewish Legions,” particularly pp. 8–12.

40 Beaver, “Nebuchadnezzar's Jewish Legions,” pp. 15–16.

41 Beaver, “Nebuchadnezzar's Jewish Legions”, p. 17.

were now concerned about losing their former privileges;⁴² whereas New Christians had been counting on the possibility of social advancement. In fact, it seems that they could did take advantage of the opportunity if we are guided by examples such as the growing opposition which Jewish converts encountered from the end of the 14th century from a new urban nobility coming from abroad.⁴³

Suspicion was also kindled by the cultural modes which the three communities shared, which, in many respects, blurred the differences between the groups. Acculturation was widespread in the Peninsula. One good example from the Muslim territories is the first ruler of the Naşrid dynasty, Muḥammad I, or Ibn al-Aḥmar (r. 629H–671H/1232CE–1273CE), who was not only dubbed a knight and became a vassal of Ferdinand III, “but also made fashionable among his people the dress and weapons used at the court of the conqueror of Seville (that is, Fernando).”⁴⁴ Unquestionably, wealthy Muslims did resemble the Christian nobles in many aspects; a resemblance which, in time, eventually permeated the imagination, hence we encounter expressions such as “although I am Moor, I am hidalgo” (“aunque soy Moro, soy hidalgo”), here referring to the noble character of an individual who is Muslim.⁴⁵ Cultural assimilation also took place among Jews, for example, among those who held high positions in Christian society such as physicians (one example of many would be Isaac Benveniste (d. c. 1224) who worked in the service of James I of Aragon).⁴⁶ They were often accorded the same “legal status of the highest nobility of the realm”

42 Penna, Mario (ed. and prel. stud.), and P. Fernando Rubio. *Prosistas castellanos del siglo xv*. 2 vols. Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1959–1964, Vol. 1, p. 102.

43 Roth, Norman. *Conversos, Inquisition, and the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2002, pp. 51 and 163 for the case of the Converso Diego de Valera who discusses the issue of whether nobility can be retained. For Moriscos entering the nobility, see Childers, William. “An Extensive Network of Morisco Merchants.” In Kevin Ingram (ed.). *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond, Volume Two: The Morisco Issue*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012, pp. 135–160.

44 Fernández y González, Francisco. *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla*, p. 139 (my translation): “sino también poner de moda entre los suyos los vestidos y armas que tenían uso en la córte del conquistador de Sevilla”. See also op. cit., p. 96.

45 Fuchs, Barbara. *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009, p. 105. The quote is from *Guerras civiles* [Civil Wars] (1595) by Ginés Pérez de Hita; see, Pérez de Hita, Ginés/Paula Blanchard-Demouge (ed. and intr.). *Guerras civiles de Granada*, 2 vols. Madrid: Imp. de Bailly-Baillière, 1913–1915; Vol. 1, p. 74.

46 Roth, Cecil. “Benveniste, Isaac ben Joseph”. *EJ*, In Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik (eds.). *EJ*, 2nd ed., Vol. 3, Macmillan Reference USA, 2007, p. 383. *Gale eBooks*, link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX2587502559/GVRL?u=groning&sid=bookmark-GVRL&xid=c042e4d2. Accessed 27 Jan. 2022.

and were addressed by the “florid Arabic titles usually reserved for prelates and knights, an indication of the esteem in which they were held”.⁴⁷ Certainly, a number bore the title of “don”, as we read in the will of Don Judá, a Jew from the Castilian city Alba de Tormes, drawn up in 1410.⁴⁸ The exact meaning of “don” is unclear,⁴⁹ as are the words in an official record about the conversion of seventeen Jews in Zaragoza in 1414 in which a reference is made to “the most noble Jews of the whole community, both by scientific achievement and by birth, namely: those of the military race called De la Cavalleria”.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the title of *nasi* was granted to successful Jewish courtiers,⁵¹ the Aragonese Alconstantini being among those families in the Christian territories aspiring to such prerogatives. Although the practice was widespread, it was not uncontested. At the time at which it appears in the opinions of Abraham, son of Maimonides “[t]he office of *nasi* (in the sense of tracing descent from the Davidic dynasty) had already lost its splendor”,⁵² we encounter Nahmanides (1194–1270) advising James I against granting the title to the Alconstantini family.⁵³ Elka Klein’s scholarship suggests a similar situation among the Jews of Barcelona, whose example seems to support the idea that the *nesi'im* were not exclusively descendants of the Davidic house. Perhaps more importantly, it suggests that they should not be considered aristocrats or nobles in the sense of an internally cohesive group, but were instead distinguished individuals from the urban elites (who to some extent could be compared to and compete with the *probi homines*, or good or “upright” men among Christians). Their tasks were bound up with community leadership, although they were not the only persons who

47 Baer, *A History of the Jews*; Vol. 1, p. 92, respectively and p. 91 for other members of the Beneviste family acting as physicians.

48 The discussion of José Somoza about the interpretation of this will is revealing of the challenges faced by scholars and the debate about such references. See Somoza, José. “Costumbres Españolas del siglo xv. Testamento público de un rico judío vecino de la Villa de Alva de Tormes, llamado D. Judá, y que está otorgado en el año de 1410.” *Semanario pintoresco español* 22 (Vol. 2, Nueva época, 30-05-1847), pp. 173–174. in particular p. 191.

49 Robert Burns, following Nina Mechelen, notes that, for example, it is routinely used as a designation for all Jews in Toledo in the 13th century. See Burns, Robert I., *Jews in the Notarial Culture: Latinate Wills in Mediterranean Spain, 1250–1350*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1996, p. 7.

50 Baron, Salo Wittmayer. *Social and Religious History of the Jews: Late Middle Ages and Era of European Expansion, 1200–1650*, 2nd rev. ed., 19 vols. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1965; Vol. 9, p. 92.

51 Franklin, *This Noble House*, 2013, pp. 45–46.

52 Baer, *A History of Jews in Christian Spain*, Vol. 1, p. 106.

53 Baer, *A History of the Jews*, Vol. 1, pp. 105–106 and 143–144.

held authority within the Jewish *aljamas*.⁵⁴ These data beg the question of the evolution of the use of *šarīf* among Muslims in Christian territories, a question so far not systematically addressed but which would be very beneficial to illuminating the issues discussed here. Knowledge of the course of such an evolution would certainly allow us to assess whether the term underwent transformations like those in Jewish notions of nobility.

Cultural assimilation and the adoption of the customs of others did not pass unnoticed by Christians who, in their sources, portrayed Muslims of noble rank using Christian images and language. This was certainly the case of the Mudejar nobility of the 13th century in Valencia, sometimes accompanied by “Moorish knights”, or *cavallers de moros*. The figure of the lord of Alcalá, al-Azraq (d. 674H/1276 CE), left a deep impression on James I and the Catalan chronicle of Desclot provides us with a description of the Mudejar grandee Ibn ‘Īsā (fl. 1280) in which it is said that, “he looked in truth to be a noble, for he came riding upon a splendid horse and his saddle and breast leather were inlaid with foil of gold”.⁵⁵ Regulations such as that of the Cortes del Madrigal of 1476 provide evidence which allows us to say that Christians were deeply concerned that Jews and Muslims would become their “look-alikes” in ostentatious displays of wealth. Hence, we read

both [that is, Jews and Muslims] walk about dressed in fine clothes, tailored in such a way that it is impossible to know if Jews are Jews or if they are clerics, or lawyers of great state or authority; or if Moors are Moors, or gentlemen of the palace; and they use silver and gold [inlay] in chairs, spurs, bridles, stirrups as well as on belts and swords.⁵⁶

One element already discussed reappears here: namely, that the richest among the members of the Jewish and Muslim minorities could, in fact, have been

54 Klein, Elka. *Jews, Christian Society, and Royal Power in Medieval Barcelona*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2009, pp. 52–69.

55 Burns, Robert I. *Islam under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth-Century Kingdom of Valencia*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973, p. 301 and *ff.* Bernat Desclot’s *Crònica* is quoted on p. 304 and note 13. For the case of Castile, see Echevarría Arsuaga, *Knights on the Frontier*.

56 “[A]ndan los vnos e los otros vestidos de rropas de pannos finos e de rropas de tal fechura, que no se pueden conosçer si los judíos son los judíos o si son clérigos, o letrados de grande estado o autoridad, o si los moros son moros, o gentiles hombres de palacio; e traen plata e oro en las sillas e en las espuelas e frenos e estriuos e en los çintos e espadas”. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1882, Vol. 4, pp. 34, 101 <http://bibliotecadigital.jcyl.es/es/consulta/registro.cmd?id=16930>

indistinguishable from the Christian nobles in their outward appearance. These similarities were something that worried Christians even more after the conversions. Many and varied examples can serve to trace the evolution of Christian concern about converts of Jewish or Muslim origin. I would like to take a late example, of which we can say that it represents the epitome of such an evolution as far as this thinking about Jews,⁵⁷ especially Conversos, is concerned. It also casts strong light on the Muslims with whom they are compared: the Alborayque. Alborayque was a fantastical horse whose name calls to mind the steed ridden by Muḥammad on his ascension to Heaven (*al-Burāq*). As the same name is borne by the protagonist of a polemical pamphlet (probably dated to the 15th century) addressed to the Converso groups of Castile, it exemplifies the contempt in which the Conversos were held. The deformities of this horse, which represents the Jews and Judaism, are glaringly obvious in representations of this beast (Figure 1), and they are starkly present in what the pamphlet says about the connection between the stirrups of Alborayque and the lineages of Converso Jews:

[...] the stirrups are a composite of many metals. This is because the Alboraycos (i.e. Conversos) are composed of many metals, not only because of [their] conversion [...] but also the conclusion that they resemble the metal of which the stirrups of Alborayque are made; because the Jews of Jerusalem are also of composed of many metals since they all returned to Jerusalem from the captivity in Babylon and married women from Edom, Moab, Amon and Egypt and, finally, from all the nations of the gentiles, and from Babylon, and that both today and in the past they have introduced (into their nation) many metals. And, after the destruction of Jerusalem [...], when they again became captives, they married women of all nations, hence, they are immeasurably alloyed: that their nation, which was once righteous—from the tribe of Judah—became wicked and reprobate [...], even more so after other mixtures with Mahomedan gentiles occurred.⁵⁸

57 See, for example, the various contributions in the recent volume edited by Ingram, Kevin (ed.). *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, 2021.

58 “[...] los estribos son de muchos metales. Esto es que los alboraycos son de muchos metales, no solo en la conversion [...] mas la conclusión de que son los metales, de que son fechos los estribos del alborayque que son de metales que los judios de Ierusalem que vinieron todos de captiverio de Babilonia a Ierusalem avian casado con mugeres de Edon e Moab e Amon e Egipto, e en conclusión de todos los linajes de los gentiles, e de Babilonia e de hay e de antes trayan otros metales de muchos dias. E despues de la destruycion de Ier-

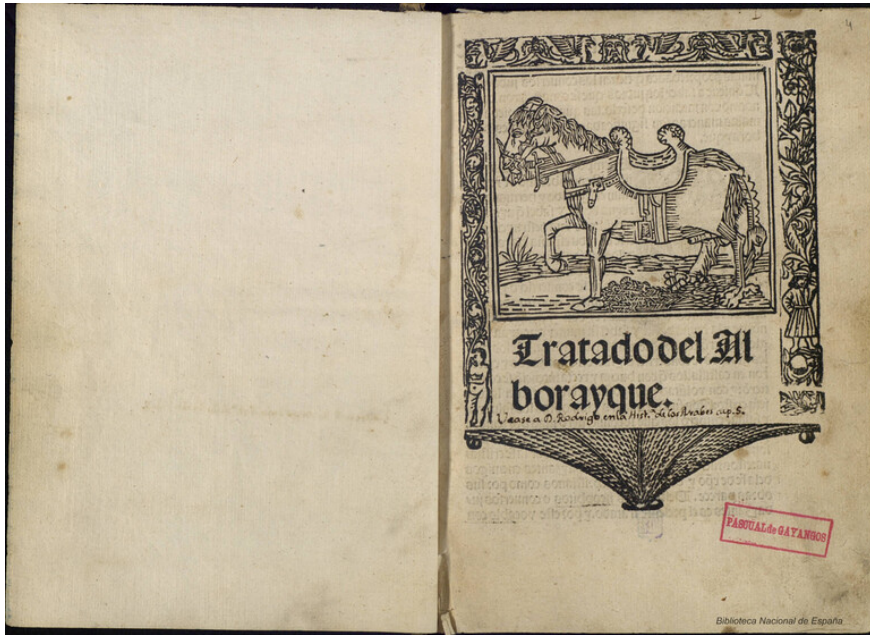


FIGURE 1 Alborayque

The fragment leaves little doubt about the Old Christians' perception of the Jewish Conversos of their time. The Jews are claimed to have been reduced to a mixture or alloy (this seems to be the meaning of "metals")—a reference which makes sense when one takes into account that, at that time, an alloy was probably one of the few materials with a homogeneous external appearance which could hide its intrinsic nature composed of different primary elements.

This and other mixtures in the text underline the notion of an aberration of nature and, as Nirenberg points out, serve to demonstrate through recourse to what he calls "natural histories" the weakness of Jews and the idea that, "the reproduction of Jewish cultural attributes should be understood as embedded in the reproduction of the flesh".⁵⁹ Furthermore, the image of the stirrups we are given is also relevant to the argument of the weakness of the Jews

usalem [...] quando venieron captivos se casaron con mugeres de todas las generaciones, ya son sin cuento metalados, que la su generación que de antes era buena del tribu de Juda fue mala e reprovada [...] quanto mas despues de las otras mixtiones gentlicas maometicas." Bravo Lledó, Pilar, and Miguel Fernando Gómez Vozmediano. "El Alborayque. Un impreso panfletario contra los conversos fingidos de la Castilla tardomedieval." *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos* 26 (1999): 57–83; pp. 80–81. I thank Ryan Szpiech for his help unpacking some elements in the text.

59 Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion," p. 27.

attributable to other reasons: this debility is linked not only to the “natural” reproduction of their errors of the flesh; it is also visible in the very ostentation of nobility. The stirrups (and by analogy, the Conversos and their Jewish forefathers) are composed of metallic alloy, an important detail when one bears in mind that the stirrups are precisely that part of the horse’s saddle which allows the rider to mount the animal’s back to “become” a knight, or to “ascend” to knighthood and, therefore, also on the social ladder. The example of Alborayque serves among other purposes to advance a Christian polemical figure of thought about Conversos: the idea that it is their alloyed nature, which prevents them from achieving knighthood, that is, from accessing high-level positions in society, including nobility. Their lineage is an alloy (or “metales”), a mixture which is the result of the continuous intermixing of Jews with non-Jewish nations. Considering the whole passage as one reads through it, the many heresies which existed within their communities made them alloyed (or “metalados”), a characteristic which also extended to belief. The example of Alborayque gives us a clear idea of the exacerbation with the question of origins consuming the Christian mind. This matter would acquire greater weight in the relations between communities as we enter the Modern period. One can only conjecture about whether the insistence on the issue in society is related to the use of images in the KM which might have been familiar to the author and his audiences, such as the reference, which will be taken up later, of the dual nature of Jesus, strongly rejected from the Muslim perspective, but which is addressed here by resorting to the example of metals (*ametales*) already mentioned, and their mixtures. It is certainly not a question of the greater or lesser suitability of metallurgical mixtures, especially because steel-making was a famed industry in Castile, particularly, in places like Toledo.⁶⁰ Figuratively the analogy in polemics, pointing out that the alloy and the unadulterated raw material are indistinguishable at first sight, elicits an image which would have been palpable not only when applied to converts of Jewish but also of Muslim descent. The metaphor is powerful in its illustration of concerns which also evoked responses among Muslims themselves, as shown by some early-16th-century evidence, such as the “appearance and allegation of Mohamed

60 References to this industry in Castile and the production of cutlery and weaponry in Toledo is so commonplace in literature that is even echoed in novels such as *The Jewess of Toledo* in which Feuchtwanger has the Muslim merchant, Ibrahim of Seville, say to King Don Alfonso, about Castile, “I see the iron which grows in the bowels of your mountains, iron of great quality in infinite quantities”. My translation of Feuchtwanger, Lion. *The Jewess of Toledo* (trans. from the German by Ana Tortajada). Madrid: Editorial EDAF, 1992, p. 26: “Y veo el hierro que crece en las entrañas de tus montañas, hierro de gran calidad en cantidades infinitas”.

de Múmen before Ibrahim Alexkar, *qāḍī* of the Muslims of the suburb of Calatayub, against Ismail, son of Farach Almojader, for having told him that he came from a Jewish lineage”.⁶¹ These are concerns which gained force at a particular moment but had already been brewing in different forms and measures in the earlier period, that in which the *KM* was composed and, in particular, copied.

2 “Generational Discontinuation” in the *KM*

Nobility and lineage are notions clearly present in the *KM*, which the author addresses by providing an important nuance. Namely, both concepts should be disentangled from each other and that the merit of the faithful should take precedence. This is connected to his assertion about “generational discontinuation” which will be discussed later in this section. This claim has implications for the place accorded religious excellence in the negotiation for pre-eminence among the Mudejars. The arguments in the *KM* provide a powerful discursive tool for genuinely placing Mudejar religious minorities at the top of a religious hierarchy ahead of Christians and Jews. On the other hand, the concern with the nature of nobility is consistent with a discursive tradition among Muslims in which community membership was negotiated. Its seed also fell on fertile ground at the time the *KM* was written, when, as we shall see, Muslims and non-Muslims in Christian areas were trying to circumvent discourses on genealogy as a criterion for distinguishing between believers.

In any discussion about the relationship between nobility and lineage in Muslim discourses, it should be noted that, besides their role in the dispute with Jews and Christians, these ideas played a role in the negotiation of membership in the community of Muslims. As early as the 9th century, the Muslim scholar of Persian descent, Ibn Qutayba (d. 276H/889 CE), was warning that anyone who sought to make a distinction on account of being descendant of Isaac (and by extension, Sarah) should be aware that Isaac and Ishmael are “the offspring (*durriya*) of one another’ (v. 34), thereby informing us that Arabs and Israelites are one in relation to their lineage”.⁶² Prophecy is the touchstone which makes the difference, he claims, and the prophecy was given to

61 See, Biblioteca Nacional de España, BNE MS 5452, No. 17: “Comparecencia y querrela de Mohamed de Mumen ante Ibrahim Alexkar, kadí de los musulmanes del arrabal de Calatayud, contra Ismail, hijo de Farach al Mojader”.

62 Fenton, *Rašf al-Darab*, p. 83, here the reference is to Q. 3:34.

Muḥammad.⁶³ Three hundred years later, the champion of the non-Arabs, al-Ġazzālī (d. 505 H/1111 CE), provides us with a second example in which prophecy is just one of the criteria used to argue about lineage, and piety is emphasized as the criterion of group differentiation.⁶⁴ The latter seems to be found in a discourse that distinguishes on the basis of ethical criteria, not on the basis of hereditary, natural phenomena or prophecy.⁶⁵ A similar stance seems to have been taken in regard to interreligious polemics in the Mudejar treatise of the *Ta'yīd*, which also devotes a goodly amount of attention to descent and nobility. Indeed, the entire first section of this attack on Judaism deals with the pre-eminence which, according to the Jews, the lineage of Isaac enjoys over that of Ishmael. Jews claim that Isaac was more noble because he was the son of Sarah, Abraham's wife, while Ishmael would have to be content with second place as the son of Hagar, Abraham's concubine. This polemicist provides a straightforward rebuttal of this. We read that God had truly spoken to Abraham and, more importantly, blessed Ishmael when He said that "twelve nobles (*itnā 'ašara šarīfan*) will be begotten by him, and I will make of him a great nation".⁶⁶ *Sarīfan* has here the meaning of an eminent descendant of noble ancestry, however, it is not blood ties but God's favour which is the most decisive fact in the pre-eminence of Muslims. One could argue that the strength of the response in the *Ta'yīd* is greatly enhanced by the ambivalence of the Jewish element in the schema which ties with the considerations just outlined. In these arguments we see that, when drawing the internal and external boundaries of the community, Muslim thinkers explored various possibilities for detaching a person from the biological implications of lineage, without having to discard the argument altogether. It is safe to say that the author of the KM embarks on a similar enterprise.

63 Referring to Hagar, Ibn Qutayba says that, "Allāh [...] chose her as a spouse for Abraham, and as a mother for the two felicitous individuals, Isma'īl and Muḥammad, making them her offspring". Fenton, *Rašf al-Ḍarab*, p. 82 quoting Ibn Qutayba, Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Muslim/Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī (ed.), *Kitāb al-'arab aw ar-radd 'alā aš-šū'ūbiyya*, 2nd ed. al-Qāhira: Maṭba'at lağnat al-ta'līf, 1361 H/1942 CE, pp. 344–377; p. 352.

64 Fenton, *Rašf al-Ḍarab*, pp. 83 and 84 *apud* Ġazzālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-. *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, 4 vols. Bayrūt: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1402 H/1982 CE; Vol. 3, book 8, pp. 375–376.

65 Here, I can only relate to David Nirenberg's talk at the Frankel Institute (University of Michigan) on 19 March, 2019 ("Race" in Christianity and Islam: The Case of Converts from Judaism), <https://events.umich.edu/event/57443>, and point out the importance of ethical conceptualizations of nobility at the time and their functions as a bridge between the "ideal" and the "real" in relation to lineage or genealogy. I am thinking of Ross Brann's comments on this subject put on the table during the seminars at the same Institute.

66 Kassir, "A Study," Vol. 1, p. 119 (Vol. 2, p. 310 Arabic).

The author's approach to the question of nobility does not stray far from that of other contemporaries of his who also questioned ancestry as the main criterion of nobility in Christian society. This can be seen when we look briefly at another work by a convert from Judaism, Alonso de Cartagena (1384–1456). Alonso, son of the famous Converso Pablo de Santamaría,⁶⁷ penned a defence of the Conversos *Defensorium unitatis christianae* [In Defence of Christian Unity] in the wake of attacks on their groups in Toledo in 1449. The work is particularly enlightening about perspectives on nobility.⁶⁸ Cartagena makes a distinction between flesh and blood Jews and biblical Jews, before focusing on the latter. He refers to three types of nobility—civil nobility (in part linked to lineage), theological and natural nobility (by virtue)⁶⁹—and claims that “biblical Jews [...] were distinguished by all three classes, in the priesthood, kings, and judges and other heroes”.⁷⁰ As a new Christian, he claims that Jews are neither condemned nor are they in a condition of servitude because of their lineage; their fault lies in their unwillingness to accept Christ as the “true eternal King (Christ)”.⁷¹ Such a discourse controverts the concerns of Old Christians about purity of blood, including the purity of blood of Conversos like Cartagena.⁷²

Some basic assumptions underlying the defence of Cartagena resonate with the polemical arguments wielded in the *KM*; here undoubtedly put to work not to defend an inclusive Christianity, but Islam. Let us take the triple axis of Cartagena as a guide for this. On the one hand, the Jews tend to be presented

67 For Cartagena's life, see Fernández Gallardo, Luis. *Alonso de Cartagena (1385–1456): una biografía política en la Castilla del siglo xv*. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2002.

68 The similarities to the much later work by Ibn Zikrī (d. 1143H/1731CE), inhabitant of Fez (edited by Fenton, *Rašf al-Darab*) noted by Nirenberg might not be a coincidence but, putting this question to one side, I would argue that Cartagena's ideas acquire a particular relevance when placed side by side with those of the Muslims in the Christian territories.

69 Vidal Doval, Rosa. *Misera Hispania: Jews and Conversos in Alonso de Espina's Fortalitium Fidei*. Oxford: The Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2015, p. 48. See also, Ellis, James M. “Chivalry and Crisis at the Court of Juan II of Castile: The Chivalric Writing of Alonso de Cartagena and his Contemporaries.” PhD Diss., University of Cambridge, 2016, and Fallows, Noel. *The Chivalric Vision of Alfonso de Cartagena: Study and Edition of the “Doctrinal de los Caualleros”*. Newark, Dela.: Juan de la Cuesta-Hispanic Monographs, 1995. I did not consult this last work.

70 Roth, *Conversos*, p. 195.

71 Roth, *Conversos*, p. 195.

72 For example, it is revealing that writing about him, another Converso, Fernando del Pulgar, insists that Cartagena was pure (*limpio*), both in his outward appearance and in his inner self. Op. cit., p. 145.

as biblical Jews in the Mudejar polemical works.⁷³ On the other hand, Jewish nobility is contested by lineage (as has been seen) as well as by theological and moral considerations, as, for example, in the *Ta'yīd*. Here it is claimed that the Jews have altered God's Revelation and both *historical* and *literary* falsifications of the text are alluded to. Discussing the *historical* falsification, the author wonders whether the Torah of the contemporary Jews did in fact correspond to the tablets destroyed in anger by Moses when he found his people worshipping the golden calf. If the latter assertion were true, he replies, "only the minimal part of it has reached you".⁷⁴ Furthermore, it was the ancestors of the Jews who were in charge of collecting and compiling the remaining parts and, subsequently, selecting what they wanted from Revelation.⁷⁵ The *Ta'yīd* mentions both the captivity of the Jews in Nebuchadnezzar's time and the character of 'Ezrā', although remarkably the captivity is not related to the destruction of the revealed text, and 'Ezrā' is erroneously presented as a contemporary of Nebuchadnezzar.⁷⁶ Turning to *literary* forgery, one of the strongest claims levelled against the Jews centres on the postulation that poetry is used in the Torah in passages such as the following:

You (the Jews) know that the words of Allah are eternal and sempiternal, and that the words of the bards are created. How then do you say that in it (that is, the Torah) there are the sayings of the bards and traditions from the 'Book of the Conquests of Allah'; and in it also is (mentioned) the journeys of the children of Israel?⁷⁷

The message is clear and is none other than that the corruption of God's message (the alteration of the "words from their (proper) meanings")⁷⁸ had been instrumental in leading Jews into errors of thought and doctrine; one of the most central being the belief that Revelation was given only to them and them alone, and that consequently Jews are somehow superior to other peoples. Based on this latter assertion, the *Ta'yīd* explicitly addresses prestige and lineage which it tackles by offering a series of arguments which serve to refute the alleged Jewish claims that they were created and placed by God "in praise and renown and glory, (high above all the nations)"; that is, that they have been

73 This is one of my arguments in *The Religious Polemics*, p. 260.

74 Kassin, "A Study," Vol. 1, p. 197 (Vol. 2, p. 360 Arabic).

75 Kassin, "A Study," Vol. 1, p. 197 (Vol. 2, p. 360 Arabic).

76 As noted by Kassin, cf. Kassin, "A Study," Vol. 1, p. 132, note 5.

77 Kassin, "A Study," Vol. 1, p. 200 (Vol. 2, p. 362 Arabic).

78 Kassin, "A Study," Vol. 1, p. 107 (Vol. 2, p. 304 Arabic).

“singled out (*umma ḥaṣṣa*)”⁷⁹ by Him. This seems to echo the stance of another author on polemics, the famous convert from Judaism, Samaw’al al-Mağribī. The latter author is very critical of adherence to the tenets of religion because of mere acceptance of the tradition handed down by the forefathers (*taqlīd*) and, with respect to the Jews states that, “his fathers (that is, those of the Jews) are equal to the forefathers of other people”⁸⁰ and are therefore neither more reliable nor more trustworthy. The caricature Samaw’al draws of the Jews is vitriolic, for example, when he states, not without a hint of cynicism, that they “picture themselves as clusters of grapes, and the other nations as the thorns that surrounds the top of the vineyard walls.”⁸¹ As noted, the *Ta’yīd* adduces the claim that God has singled out the Muslim community from among the others. Rubbing salt into the wound, it also alleges that the Jews have also deviated from proper religious practice. This deviation is not so much related to the greater burden which the Jewish leaders might have placed on the shoulders of their communities (as al-Mağribī polemically claims),⁸² but far more so because of the changes which had occurred in their communities during their forced residence outside Israel. This last point is also raised by the author of the *κM* in his attack on the Jews for their laxity about ritual purity; a lapse which, it is said, they undoubtedly tolerated on the grounds that purity was obligatory only in the land of Canaan.⁸³

The *κM* elaborates at considerable length on a point which also appears more briefly in the *Ta’yīd*. This is none other than the assertion that kings among the sons of Edom (i.e. the Romans and the Christians) predate those of Israel and still existed, while among the Jews there had been none for a long time. This hiatus means that there has been an irrefutable break in the transmission of God’s blessing⁸⁴ and, hence, of nobility. To flesh out this claim, the author of the *κM* takes the stories of two kings of Israel (Solomon and his son, Rehoboam, and David and his son, Absalom) and offers an alternative reading of the biblical text, one in which divine punishment is not bound up with descent and lineage. In one possible reading of the punishment which, through their sons, God inflicts on these two fathers (Solomon and David) who have

79 Kassin, “A Study,” Vol. 1, p. 159 and p. 158 (Vol. 2, p. 331 Arabic).

80 Perlmann, Moshe. “Samau’al”, pp. 37–38.

81 Perlmann, “Samau’al”, p. 50.

82 Perlmann, “Samau’al”, p. 64 and *ff.*

83 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 40^v. I have dealt with this issue at greater length in Colominas Aparicio, Mònica. “Disputes about Purity in Late Medieval Iberia. Interreligious Contacts and the Polemical Language of the Mudejars.” *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 1, No. 1 (2014): 117–141.

84 Kassin, “A Study,” Vol. 1, p. 128 (Vol. 2, p. 314 Arabic).

gravely offended Him, is that the suffering is transmitted from father to son. Contesting this, the author of the *KM* strives to show that Rehoboam and Absalom were in fact punished for their own sins. God's decree was indubitably fulfilled, and the retaliation followed a direct vertical pattern (connecting God and men) and not a triangular one (that is, involving a horizontal link through kinship).

In pursuit of this basic idea, the author of the *KM* looks first at the sin committed by Solomon: allowing his wives (in the present copy, called slaves, or *ǧawār*) to worship idols. God announces that He will save Solomon from punishment because of the benevolence He bears to his father, David. It will be Solomon's son, Rehoboam, who loses control of the tribes in his stead.⁸⁵ The author of the *KM* argues that the reason Rehoboam lost control of the tribes was not because he was Solomon's son but because, when the chiefs of the tribes approached him to negotiate their mutual relationships, Rehoboam disregarded the (wise) counsel of the elders of the community. In the ensuing turmoil, Solomon's captain, Jeroboam, took control of all but one of the tribes (according to the *KM*, the one occupying the land of Judah). The fact that, in his search for guidance, Rehoboam accedes to the advice of the young men, he claims, is the reason God put an end to the kingdom of Israel followed by the subsequent emergence of two separate kingdoms.

This polemicist advances the same argument in another example, that of King David who took the wife of his captain, Uriah. As punishment, God decreed that the sons of his loins would one day act in the same way towards him and, indeed, David's son Absalom fornicates with his father's female slaves. However—we read in the *KM*—he does so on the advice of Ahitophel (in the text, Yusāfār, knight, or *fāris*, of the hosts). Yusāfār wants to prevent a reconciliation between Absalom and David because he fears that this might be disadvantageous to him and other knights like him.⁸⁶ Punishment, again, originates in Divine Will but, importantly, it is effectuated through the actions of men, or “albedrío” (free will), a subject about which, the reader of the *KM* is informed, the Jews have a few books.⁸⁷ In fact, after Absalom is killed by the hosts of David, at the hands of Joab (Ayyüb, Yüb in the text), David's grief is so overwhelming⁸⁸

85 The author of the *KM* seems to follow 1 Kings 11:1–13. It is also reminiscent of Ahijah's prophecy to Jeroboam in 1 Kings 11:29–39, however, there the “prophet of the living beings, or the humans” (*an-nabī an-nasam*), as he is called, addresses Solomon. The association of Ahijah with this prophet is not certain, although he is considered one of those who led a lonely existence. It is not clear to me where this passage comes from.

86 Cf. 2 Samuel 16:21.

87 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 40^v.

88 Cf. 2 Samuel 18 and 2 Samuel 19.

he orders Joab's death.⁸⁹ In a twist of Arabic rhetoric, this scene, with which the chapter also closes, ends with a reference to David who felt the urge to kill Joab when "his beard touched the ground because of sadness".⁹⁰

Awareness that suffering (in particular, that accruing from an offence against God) is not hereditary is fundamental to the *KM*. Its corollary is that there is a discontinuation between generations: that is to say, each generation begins afresh. We have seen how the ideas of the Converso Alonso de Cartagena were apparently moving in a similar direction, especially in his concept of neophytes applied to "every generation of Christians",⁹¹ a notion he uses to claim that those who have recently entered the Christian community through baptism are detached from their genealogical past. In Cartagena's eyes, whenever there is conversion to Christianity, the theological nobility of the Jews is restored: he understands it as a "latent nobility", that is to say, as a nobility which comes with social rank and virtue and can recoup its strength because it was never lost.⁹² This reasoning served to counter some contemporary views which linked biology to religious belief and practice. Its practitioners propagated the idea that nobility should be approached from an ethical perspective, very aptly illustrated by a work contemporary with the *KM* which enjoyed a wide resonance, also beyond Jewish circles, the *Moral Proverbs* of Santob of Carrion (14th century).⁹³ Like Cartagena, the *KM* opposes the idea that there is a link between belief and descent yet, unsurprisingly for this author, there is no such "latent nobility" in Jews: they no longer enjoy nobility by lineage and they have none by virtue. The contrary is true, the error in faith made by and the moral degeneracy of the Jews are incontestable facts from which there is no escape.⁹⁴

This argument, otherwise all too familiar, has the innovative element of being built on the notion of "generational discontinuation" rather than "generational continuity". By this I mean that the working perspective of the author is that each generation of Jews has had the opportunity to choose the right path, to make amends, but again and again they have failed to see the error of

89 According to the present narrative; however, the biblical text provides other reasons.

90 1 Kings 2:1–9 for Absalom's death and David's grief. *ÖNB MS AF 58*, f. 41^{r-v}:

لأنه قد نزل شيبتي بحسرة إلى الثرى

91 Vidal Doval, *Misera Hispania*, p. 47.

92 Vidal Doval, *Misera Hispania*, p. 48.

93 See, for example, pp. 34–35 and 140–141 in Perry, Theodore Anthony. *The Moral Proverbs of Santob de Carrion: Jewish Wisdom in Christian Spain*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014.

94 The *Ta'yid* deals with these aspects, providing lengthy biblical quotations to illustrate them, whereas although the *KM* upholds the same claims, it goes into much less detail on their development.

their ways and repeat their history of disobedience to God and commission of offences before Him. The stubbornness and rebelliousness of the Jews are the main reasons they are the object of God's condemnation; ancestry or lineage are relegated to second place. This argument makes sense when we consider that the question of Abraham's ancestry which, although it carried a specific theological weight, might have been mobilized by the desire of Muslims to ascend socially. Nevertheless, it is surprising that a Muslim would raise the question of predestination in the way this author has done. To be sure, in the *Chapter on Predestination* in the *KM*, the Jews are those who claim that all the suffering and calamities which befall people occur because of the sins and omissions of their parents and grandparents.⁹⁵ After all, it was the Muslims, not Jews, who were often accused of holding predestinarian views; the latter's greatest challenge in the context of the territories was dealing with the arguments being presented there by Christians. Why does he not address them? Is he perhaps not pushing in a less obvious direction on a sensitive topic in polemics which could have prompted attacks by the majority, in which Jews might eventually have joined? Turning the question around: what is the point of presenting Jews claiming the transmission of sin between generations in their answer to the question of predestination if, after all, mainstream Judaism understood these issues differently from the way this Muslim author presents them? Where is the real polemic against Judaism?

One possibility to be considered is that these efforts to buttress this competition also sought in their turn to reinforce the internal cohesion of Muslim communities faced with increasing difficulties in observing Islam, while having to contend with a Christian discourse against minorities in which the argument of blood and nobility was gaining more and more strength. As noted, the *KM* was composed about the time directly prior to the expansion and full entrenchment of these ideas in Christian society, therefore this course of events might already have been of concern to Muslim elites.

I want to suggest that the growing persistence of ideas about genealogy allied to the Christian attack on well-known Muslim fatalism might have lurked behind the author's interest in including Jewish ideas about predestination in the treatise before refuting them in the terms he does. Although the attack on the Jews might seem counter-intuitive, the predestination suggested by the statements quoted is a predestination which understands that individuals have a present prefixed by the past and, therefore, are deprived of free will. The author seems to foreground the notion that, although God's punishment

95 ÖNB MS AF 58, ff. 40^v–41^v.

pre-exists from generation to generation, this does not mean that ethical considerations can be cast by the wayside. Here it is apposite to recall that the most widespread position on predestination in the Sunnī Islam dominant in the region was that elaborated by al-Aš‘arī who, through his doctrine of the *kasb*, arrives at an elegant compromise between divine will and human agency. According to his solution, all the good and bad things which can happen to man are foreordained by God but, in the final decision, each individual has the freedom to choose which action will be undertaken: therefore, at the end of the day, its appropriation (*kasb*) is up to the individual.⁹⁶ This approach to the question was opposed to the Jewish view of the matter which purportedly claimed that there is a continuity in the transmission of divine punishment via genealogy, an assertion which the author of the *KM* disputes. Such a statement could have served Jews to excuse responsibility for their actions too easily and hence distance themselves from any commitment to ethics in their relationship with God. It might also have assisted Jews to counter the attacks on their communities made by Christians, and also by Muslims, who reminded them that God had included mention of their transgressions in the Jewish Scriptures. No doubt the author of the *KM* did not want them to have the opportunity to defend themselves by fielding this kind of counter-argument. Hence, before he puts these claims into the mouths of the latter, he aligns himself with the claims made by Christians that Jews cannot escape their lineage nor can they pass on any nobility. However, we gradually become aware that this is baseless argument and all it does is hide the Jews’ own inability to discern between right and wrong.

In fact, the crux of the matter is ethics; each new generation has the possibility to change its relationship with God. Exhibiting ethical behaviour in perfect harmony with God’s commandments is precisely the trump card to be played against the Jews to refute their arguments and, at the same time, to pre-empt any possible Christian claims against them. Taking ethics into consideration opens the door to a reasoning derived from religious excellence, in which the competition for the prestige of the community is based on its perfection, offering the Muslims an opportunity to stand out. As we shall see, it also leaves room to bring knowledge that is not strictly religious, for instance, natural philosophy, logic and the rational sciences, into play. This is because, according to the author of the *KM*, these tools are robust enough to strengthen faith when whomsoever chooses to resort to them follows the religion with a better ethical compass, which, in his view, is undoubtedly that offered by Islam. Among the various examples which show how these ideas are put to work using

96 See *ET*² s.v. “kasb” (Cahen/Gardet).

non-religious sources, he cites Aristotle's claims that, "a good man is known by his deeds, not by his origin (*lā bi-nasbahu*, read *bi-nisbihi*). The same is true of birds, dogs and all the things we have shown in which the name of an animal appears".⁹⁷ This way of understanding the issue was undoubtedly very attractive to Muslim communities whose members had not always been able to follow Islam in the way they would have been able to do in the countries located in the heartland of Islam. The argument built throughout the KM drawing on these sources (philosophical–religious)—and whose method of exposition is fleshed out in the next chapter—was for them a cogent reminder that it was possible for a good Muslim to live among Christians, that within the Muslim community, or *umma*, their Islam was as valid as that of anyone else, and that, in the realm of polemics, their religion and lineage are far nobler and their religious excellence superior to those of others.

97 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 46^v.

A Fourteenth-Century Mudejar Cosmology

The specific vision of the world of the author of the KM, his microcosm, and how it was tailored to the needs of his communities in the Christian territories is inextricably linked to the place he gives philosophy in his understanding of the world. Therefore, the time has come to move the discussion to the ways in which he used the tools at his disposal to construct a convincing defence of Islam. In this, of particular interest is his position in relation to natural philosophy, logic and the rational sciences, which, as noted, figure prominently in the KM and are integral to the arguments and framework of Muslim ethics which the author envisions. When investigating this question, some introductory notes about his choice of philosophy as part of Muslim practice are essential. As has been mentioned, the production of Mudejar manuscripts followed the models found in other Muslim lands, and there are sound grounds for arguing that the education of the members of their minority religious communities also followed the teaching models used in these regions. It is crucial to remember that, if natural philosophy did not figure in the curriculum of the *madrasas*, it did not disappear altogether, as was claimed in academic circles in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹ In recent decades, this dominant picture, which followed the consensus that this decline and disappearance dated from approximately the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and thereafter, has been gradually challenged by scholars in the field of Islamic scholarship.² A turning point has now been reached, and the most recent publications increasingly stress the need to revise them in the light of new data about the con-

1 Grant is one of the advocates of these ideas, reasoning that these policies reduced philosophy to a peripheral activity and that Ibn Rušd and his commentaries on Aristotle appear to have had minimal influence on Islam. Grant. *A History of Natural Philosophy*, p. 80.

2 Brentjes, Sonja. “Orthodoxy”, Ancient Sciences, Power, and the Madrasa (“College”) in Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Times. Its Historical Descriptions and Historiographical Interpretations.” Pre-print, *Max Planck Institute for the History of Science/Max Planck Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1997, 52pp (at 1). An important contribution to the field is Brentjes, Sonja (ed.). *Routledge Handbook on Science in the Islamicate World. Practices from the 2nd/8th to the 13th/19th Centuries*. New York: Routledge, 2023. For a recent publication on issues regarding the historiography of science in Islamicate societies, see by this same author, *Historiography of the History of Science in Islamicate Societies: Practices, Concepts, Questions*. London: Routledge, 2023. This publication appeared during the completion of this book and its contents have not been incorporated.

tinuing presence of philosophy and its intertwining with science, which was undeniably widespread and found in different Muslim regions.

In the eastern Mediterranean, we come across relatively early examples such as the well-known 'Abbāsid patronage of the sciences, and speculative reasoning under al-Ma'mūn (170 H/786 CE–218 H/833 CE). We also have later examples, such as that of the Iraqī scholar Ibn Ṭāwūs (589 H/1193 CE–672 H/1273 CE), who devoted his attentions not only to religious sciences but also to astronomy and history,³ or the Jew Ibn Kammūna (d. 683 H/1284 CE), who we know undertook an enquiry into the three faiths (*Tanqīḥ al-abḥāt li-milal al-ṭalāt*) but, as recent studies have emphasized, also delved into the study of philosophy.⁴ In the Islamic West, research such as that into the impact in al-Andalus of eastern works like those produced by the well-known group of scholars, the *Iḥwān aṣ-Ṣafā'* (Brethren of Purity), has provided evidence of the presence of philosophy as an intellectual exercise in the region before the eleventh and twelfth centuries, calling into question the time frames accepted so-far.⁵ More generally, studies on al-Andalus point in the same direction, for instance, those on the dialectic which seems to have existed between philosophy and the rational sciences in the work of Ibn Bāḡḡa (Avempace in the West, d. 533 H/1139 CE).⁶ Another scholar, al-Biṭrūḡī (known in the West as Alpetragius, fl. c. 600 H/1200 CE) reformulated Ptolemy's astronomical system in his *Kitāb fī al-Hay'a* and sought to harmonize it with Aristotle's physics.⁷ However, it is undoubtedly Ibn Rušd who has had the most profound impact on Andalusī thought and

3 See the entry by Matar, Zeina. "Ibn Ṭāwūs." In Helaine Selin (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures*. Dordrecht: Springer Science + Business Media, 1997, p. 436. Also, the monograph by Kohlberg, Etan. *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and His Library*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992.

4 Pourjavady, Reza and Sabine Schmidtke. *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad: 'Izz al-Dawla ibn Kammūna (d. 683/1284) and his writings*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006.

5 This is part of the Advanced ERC project "The origin and early development of philosophy in tenth-century al-Andalus: the impact of ill-defined materials and channels of transmission", led by PI Godefroid de Callatay at the Université Catholique de Louvain (Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium). A very recent contribution which adds to the knowledge of the Muslim West is in *Arabica* 68, Nr. 5–6 (Dec 2021), pp. 457–661: *Special Issue: Occult Sciences and the Transmission of Knowledge in al-Andalus: A Collection of Essays from the PhilAnd Project. Dossier thématique coordonné par Godefroid de Callatay*.

6 See, Forcada, Miquel. "Síntesis y contexto de las ciencias de los antiguos en época almohade." In Patrice Cressier, Maribel Fierro, and Luís Molina (eds.), *Los almohades: problemas y perspectivas*. 2 vols. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005, Vol. 1, pp. 189–222.

7 Samsó, Julio. "Biṭrūḡī: Nūr al-Dīn Abū Ishāq [Abū Ja'far] Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf al-Biṭrūḡī." In Thomas Hockey et al. (eds.), *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*. New York: Springer, 2007, pp. 133–134. See, Sabra, Abdelhamid. "The Andalusian revolt against Ptole-

he is also directly relevant to the *KM*, as shown in the abundance of quotations from him. Works such as his *Faṣl al-Maqal* (The Decisive Treatise) or the *Ḥayy ibn Yaḡẓān* (Philosophus Autodidactus) by one of his teachers, Ibn Ṭufayl (Abubacer in the West, d. 581H/1185–1186 CE), are just two of the best-known examples of the important development which was taking place at that time. In the case of Ibn Rušd, scholars have also widely argued that his adherence to philosophy was what set him at loggerheads with the *ṭalaba*, or group of religious scholars influential under the Almohad regime, and ultimately caused his fall from grace with the sultān and his subsequent exile to Lucena.⁸ Nevertheless, recent research, such as that carried out by Fierro, has lent substance to the argument that, the opposite was true and Ibn Rušd actually belonged to the *ṭalaba* and that the reasons for his expulsion were not related to his practice of philosophy.⁹ This argument has a corollary of indubitably great importance, namely: that philosophy was an integral part, or at least, was not mired in an insurmountable disagreement, with the official thought and policy in the period.

What has just been said shows that the presence of philosophy seems to have endured much longer and been much more ubiquitous in the Muslim West than hitherto assumed. It was certainly more imbricated in the scientific production of al-Andalus and in the range of branches of knowledge of which scholars with different religions and profiles (including the religious) were part. This does not detract from the fact that philosophy was seen as problematic knowledge; even as a form of knowledge best avoided when dealing with religious matters. One of the most important reasons for this mistrust was the challenge which philosophy, in particular natural philosophy, posed to Muslim theologians.¹⁰ One need only look at the vicissitudes of Ibn Rušd's life to understand that approval or disapproval of philosophy, particularly among

maic astronomy: Averroes and al-Biṭrūjī." In Everett Mendelsohn (ed.). *Transformation and Tradition in the Sciences*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 133–153.

8 See for the *ṭalaba*, Fricaud, Émile. "Les *ṭalaba* dans la société almohade (Le temps d'Averroès)." *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 18, No. 2 (1997): 331–387.

9 Fierro, Maribel. "Ibn Rušd's (Averroes) 'Disgrace' and his Relation with the Almohads." In Abdelkader al-Ghouz (ed.). *Islamic Philosophy from the 12th to the 14th Century*. Göttingen: V&R Unipress, Bonn University Press, 2018, pp. 73–116.

10 The divisions unleashed among Muslims by philosophical knowledge could already be detected at an early stage of its introduction, as Fakhry notes. It began to happen when this knowledge was systematically introduced among intellectuals and the elite during the 'Abbasid caliphate (8th century). Fakhry, Majid. *A History of Islamic Philosophy* (3rd ed.; 1st ed. 1970). New York: Columbia University Press, 2004, Introduction. See also the Introduction to this study or further references, note 30.

those in power, could quickly shift from admiration to harsh rejection, even banishment.¹¹ The rebuttal posed by al-Ġazzālī appropriately summarizes the challenges posed by philosophical knowledge under three headings: 1) the philosophers' belief in the eternity of the world; 2) their denial that God can know the particulars; and 3) their rejection of the doctrine of the corporeal resurrection of bodies.¹² These considerations suggest that it would not be unreasonable to think that the combination of theological and philosophical enquiry was not an obvious choice for a Muslim scholar like the author of the *KM*, nor was it an uncontested one. If they are to be properly understood, the questions this raises about the configurations of religious authority among Mudejars require consideration of both the embedding of the *KM* in Muslim tradition and of equal importance, of the Christian environment in which it circulated. This is no doubt that the author's basic ideas about the natural world around him seem to be based on Greek and Hellenistic models of the cosmos which were first known, interpreted, and commented on by scholars with divergent religious affiliations in Muslim territories. These models eventually entered the wider Iberian Peninsula through al-Andalus and, from there, were later passed into Latin Christianity and northern Europe. Bearing this in mind provides grounds to argue that neither the language nor the philosophical concepts used in the *KM* can be considered Muslim in the sense of being used exclusively by Muslims; a supposition reinforced by the fact that each community would have shown a particular predilection for or understandings of some issues.

Besides this consideration, we must also take into account the common contemporary cultural practice at the time of enhancing the authority of the ideas

11 Therefore, although he flourished under the patronage of Caliph Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, Ibn Rušd's works fell out of favour with his successor under whom he was persecuted, forced into exile and saw his work burned at the stake. Grant, *A History of Natural Philosophy*, pp. 78–79. An even earlier example in al-Andalus is the work by al-Ḥakam II (d. 366H/976CE), who promoted the diffusion of the philosophy and sciences of the ancients through his immense library. The powerful vizier, al-Manšūr (d. 392H/1002CE), launched a persecution against the practitioners of philosophy and the rational sciences, during which the books on these subjects in al-Ḥakam's library were destroyed. See Fierro, Maribel and Julio Samsó. *The Formation of al-Andalus*, 2nd ed. (1st ed. 1998), 2 vols. New York: Routledge, 2017, Vol. 2, xxvi–xxvii and the bibliographical references here. See also Camilla Adang's most recent survey of the religious sciences, pp. 371–397 (p. 380 for this historical event) in Fierro, Maribel (ed.). *The Routledge Handbook of Muslim Iberia*. New York: Routledge, 2020.

12 Griffel, Frank, "al-Ghazali." In Edward N. Zalta (ed.). *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2020 Edition), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/sum2020/entries/al-ghazali/>.

and statements presented by attributing to them an authorship which was not necessarily theirs to claim. In the present case, on multiple occasions that of Aristotle. This practice might account for the idiosyncratic way of understanding Aristotle's philosophy displayed by the author of the *KM*. However, it is also not beyond the bounds of possibility that the author's quotations could have been a transmission from intermediate sources. Bearing this in mind, it is important to remember that Ibn Rušd's commentaries on Aristotle's works also do not always quote directly from the work of this philosopher as the major commentaries do, and the medium and short commentaries consist of interpretations of the text and paraphrases. This is just one example to illustrate how the sources used by the author could have been affected by changes that crept in during transmission,¹³ producing quotations such as those in the *KM*, which, as argued here, do essentially pick up the main ideas of the authors but do not adhere strictly to their texts. If we add to this what has already been pointed out, namely: that these quotations are often brief and fragmentary, the task of tracing the originals would seem to be rather pointless.

Having set out the problems and pitfalls encountered, in this chapter I want to sketch the basic contours of the author's philosophical thought and his ways of selecting, organizing and presenting philosophical knowledge as part of his broader discourse on religious polemics. The hypothesis which underpins this effort is that there was a co-productive relationship between the organization and epistemic configurations in a society—observable in artefacts, scientific advances and forms of exercising power. Bearing this relationship in mind emerges as particularly relevant when examining a work like the *KM*, composed in the milieu of the Christian territories which already possessed their own material and cultural resources. In turn, pre-existing notions influenced the author's ways of thinking about tradition and also set limits on the possibilities for change. The author quite clearly appeals to the religious and the philosophical traditions in communities with different religious origins which were shared on many levels, but articulated on the local level.¹⁴ Hence, gaining a better understanding of the ways in which the author of the *KM* set epistemic boundaries for his claims can help to gain a sense of how society was organized and, in particular, offer us an idea of some of the more sensitive issues affecting intergroup relationships. One indication in this can be extrapolated by addressing the question of whether the author's reflections on philosophy

13 Other possibilities are, for example, the well-known production of spurious Aristotelian works. Grant, *A History of Natural Philosophy*, p. 79, and p. 140 and *ff.*

14 For the relevance of context of philosophy in al-Andalus, see Stroumsa, *Andalus and Sefarad*, p. 2 and *passim*.

were common currency among those who had acquired an understanding of religious polemics. Admittedly, a systematic study of the philosophical production contemporaneous with the KM would be necessary to give a detailed answer to this question, but this is beyond the present objectives and, furthermore, it also suffers from the important disadvantage of the lack of comparative data on the philosophy produced by Mudejars and Moriscos. All in all, my conviction is that the analysis of the different ways in which the author constructed his discourse, the text, and handled the materials, particularly the philosophical content, will already contribute to our knowledge of his working methods and his approach to philosophy, constituting a necessary first step for future studies on the question which will hopefully be expedited by the discovery of new sources.

It has been a real struggle to decide how to present the discussion of philosophy in the KM to the reader. Each approach has its own particular drawbacks because, as noted above, although philosophy the work is permeated by, its distribution and importance to the author's arguments is unevenly spread. This should be remembered especially when reading the first section of this chapter (1), in which the most recurrent philosophical ideas in the KM are discussed. What we see emerge is that philosophy in the KM is structured on the basis of a double distinction: the first is that between physical conditions of the sublunary and supra-lunar regions (the latter, the main object of study of natural philosophy) and the second, the epistemic distinction of the possibility of knowledge, in which we discover knowledge about the perceptible (physical) reality of the world, on the one hand, and knowledge about God (in particular, the essence of God) which is ineffable, beyond the reach of man, on the other. This double distinction constitutes the axis of the author's thoughts on philosophy, religion and the relationship between the two, and is expressed in several of the themes discussed in the work. As well as being important to religious polemics, some themes also occupy a prominent position in the works on Hellenistic natural philosophy. As these carry a greater weight in the KM, they will be treated in greater detail: (1.1) the createdness of the world and the order of Creation; (1.2) the limits of the cosmos and the possibility of emptiness; (1.3) the Earth at the centre (Geocentrism); (1.4) the division between the supra-lunar and sublunary regions; (1.5) the sky and its natural phenomena; (1.6) the elements of the sublunary region, (1.7) man.

Section 2 will examine the distribution of material in the KM, and the different place occupied by philosophy in each section. This will involve an examination of some of the modes employed by the author to deal with these sources as well as his attempt to harmonize them with Revelation.

1 Natural Philosophy in the $\kappa\mathbf{M}$

The discussion of the contours of Islamic cosmology presented below is restricted to the central notions with which the author has worked. These notions will be presented indicatively, not ordinally, and are highlighted according to the extent to which they assist in grasping a better understanding of the author's approach to non-religious knowledge and the function of philosophical knowledge in a framework of religious thought. Therefore, the grouping and consecutive order in which the ideas and themes are presented is intended to facilitate understanding, but no hierarchy is intended. Nor does the order correspond to what we actually find in the text, throughout which they are scattered at random.

1.1 *The Createdness of the World and the Order of Creation*

The creation of the world has been a major issue for believers and, in Islamic societies, it has triggered a heated debate from the nascent beginnings of the religion. Its main protagonists have been the Muslim theologians (*mutakal-limūn*), who believed in a world created in time. They have been opposed by Muslim philosophers (*falāsifa*), who endorsed Aristotle's idea of an eternal world. Some notes on this well-known debate, in particular on the position taken by Ibn Rušd, are a necessary preface to the references to the creation of the world in the $\kappa\mathbf{M}$. It is important to remember that Ibn Rušd is frequently quoted in the $\kappa\mathbf{M}$ and that it is through him that the statement denying a possible disagreement on this question between the factions of Muslim theologians and philosophers is known. His opinion was that their views were in fact in harmony and that the crux of the disagreement was the different ways in which "time" and "creation" were understood.¹⁵ Ibn Rušd argued that, if time were considered the result of movement as theologians claimed, Creation should not be understood in relation to time. To understand Creation in these terms would presuppose the existence of a previous world which had once been in contact with the present world: the contact between the two worlds would have produced motion, which would have brought time into existence. Although this idea might be impossible to comprehend, nevertheless, he argues, theologians understand Creation to have occurred within time and see time as a linear process. To solve this dilemma, he proposed an idea of time which was not linear but circular, in which "[t]he totality of created things,

¹⁵ The ideas expressed in what follows are a summary of those on pages 4–7 of Ibn Rušd, Abū l-Walīd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad/Helen Tunik Goldstein (ed. and trans.). *Averroes' Questions in Physics*. Dordrecht, Boston, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1991.

therefore, has no beginning although each of its parts is in time, just as each part of the circle is in the circle and has both a beginning and an end." Following this logic, it could be said that time contains both a beginning and an end and therefore resembles creation, which is also circular. "Created" must therefore be a notion reserved for what is affected by change, hence, "if the world is created in the true sense of the term, it can be called created only because its existence is forever subject to change".¹⁶ However, most people interpret "created" to mean created in time¹⁷ and, no doubt it is, in his opinion, this loose use of language which created the confusion.

The refinement of the argument which Ibn Rušd used to demonstrate that the positions of the *mutakallimūn* and the *falāsifa* fitted into the same explanatory framework is completely alien to a work of polemics like the *κμ*. In fact, the example of Ibn Rušd is relevant precisely because it is an illustrative counterpoint to the manner in which the *κμ* treats the arguments of philosophy. The *κμ* is conspicuous for the simplicity with which philosophy is presented in it (either because of the author's lack of interest in the subject or his inability to explain the difficulties presented by some ideas) and, at times, for the inconsistency with which arguments are articulated. Although the author of the *κμ* makes no reference to time, his work does include some quotations from Aristotle's works in which he puts words into the philosopher's mouth, stating that the world can be compared to a full rotation (*ad-dawra*) and has no beginning.¹⁸ Comparing the world with rotation is an assertion which is at the very least an unclear, if not an abstruse, statement and one wonders if perhaps it was prompted by Aristotle's idea that a sphere, like a circle, has no specific point to serve as its beginning in space, unless, of course, it is the central point which, as we shall see later, was understood to have existed before the circumference. Be that as it may, having used the simile of rotation, the author turns his attention to a line which, according to geometers, has two points and therefore a beginning

16 Ibn Rušd/Goldstein (ed. and trans.). *Averroes' Questions in Physics*, pp. 6–7; p. 7 for the quotation.

17 They attribute the same meaning to the term in the Qur'ān, even though Ibn Rušd notes that the only references to creation in the Qur'ān are indirect and, when these references contradict philosophy, they should be interpreted allegorically. Ibn Rušd/Goldstein (ed. and trans.). *Averroes' Questions in Physics*, p. 7. See in regard to how Ibn Rušd approaches such an allegorical interpretation, Belo, Catarina. *Averroes and Hegel on Philosophy and Religion*. London, New York: Routledge, 2016, pp. 28 and *ff.* Ibn Rušd also claimed that there was a possibility that God had never been alone but that there was something with Him before the world was created (for example, His throne), or simply that an eternal world would imply an eternal creation. *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

18 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 58^v.

and an end and hence resembles the religious law given to mankind (*aš-šarī'a li-ādam*). The probable implication is that the *šarī'a* also has a beginning in the Revelation given first to Adam and passed to other prophets until it reached its apotheosis in the Revelation given to Muḥammad.¹⁹

In the *KM*, the ideas of rotation and motion seem to be related to the author's belief in the necessity of there being a Creator or, in other words, in his determination to show the existence of a providential order which provides evidence of the existence of such a Creator. The corollary of this is the rejection of the possibility of a world coming into existence on the basis of purely natural laws.²⁰ To clarify the situation, it is worth giving a brief illustration of how he approaches these questions from the basic Aristotelian ideas of motion as any kind of change and of motion and time as neither generated nor destroyed (*Metaphysics* Book XII, 6, 1071b). This explanation accounts for the existence of an eternal, immutable something (the latter being an idea also adopted by Ibn Rušd); that is, the need of an unmoved mover (*Metaphysics* Book XII, 6, 1072a), or God. One example of this would be the rotation of the Heavens (*as-samā'*)—to which we shall return—which agrees with Ibn Rušd's claims in this folio that everything which is in motion needs to be moved by something else, and that what moves is in direct contact (or together) with another body which also moves (*mutaḥarrikun ma'a mutaḥarrikun en que-se* (Cast. in that it) *mutaḥarrikun*).²¹ As just noted, the theologians (*mutakallimūn*) endorsed this conception of motion and Ibn Rušd's refutation of their views was based on how they had proceeded to elaborate motion, time and Creation. In his exposition of these ideas, the author of the *KM* resorts to the well-known analogy of carpentry given by Aristotle. In Aristotle, this example works in several contexts, for example, in *Metaphysics* Book I, 6, 988a1–10, which addresses the

19 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 58^v.

20 Cf. the same views on Ibn Rušd in Leaman, Oliver. "Islam." In Charles Taliaferro, Victoria S. Harrison and Stewart Goetz (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Theism*. New York, London: Routledge, 2013, pp. 66–77; pp. 69–70. Belo, Catarina. *Chance and Determinism in Avicenna and Averroës*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007, pp. 205–224.

21 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 58^v. This, despite the difficulty in understanding the sentence because of the switch between Arabic and Aljamiado. When read together with the examples provided in this folio, it undoubtedly follows Aristotle's principle enunciated in *Physics* Book VII, 1, 241b24, in Latin expressed as *omne quod movetur ab aliquo movetur* "whatever is moved is moved by another" and VII, 2, 243a3–6, *movens et motum sunt simul* "mover and moved are simultaneous". See, Aristotle/Philip Henry Wicksteed, and Francis M. Cornford (trans.). *Physics, Volume II: Books 5–8*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934. For Aristotle's *Physics*, see also Volume I: Books 1–4 by the same authors. The author of the *KM* uses *as-samā'* and *as-samāwāt* indiscriminately. We shall return to this question below. Here the plural Heavens will be used as a translation unless indicated otherwise.

question of the relationship between matter and form (giving the example of human reproduction), and again in the discussion of potentiality and actuality in the *Generation of Animals* Book I, 21 (729a–730a) and in 22, 730b:14–19 (the latter quoted here):

It is the shape and form which pass from the carpenter, and they come into being by means of the movement in the material. It is his soul, wherein is the “form,” and his knowledge, which cause his hands ... to move in a particular way ...; his hands move his tools and his tools move the material.²²

This simile serves to explain the generation of man on the basis of what is said in *Metaphysics* Book VII, 9, 1034a33–1034b1, namely: the seed already contains the form and, in *Metaphysics* Book XII, 6, 1071b:28–31, in which a comparison is made between the craft of the carpenter and semen: “Wood will not move itself—carpentry must act upon it; nor will the menses or the Earth move themselves—the seeds must act upon the Earth, and the semen on the menses.” The KM does seem to pick up the latter idea for, on f. 58^v, we find the example of the carpenter who moves his hand wielding a tool (called a *kairūma*, probably a kind of chisel) on something which is mobile (*mutaḥarrika*), a skill (*ya’anī ‘amal*) which is part and parcel of his trade. This tool which moves, the author explains, is placed on something which is heavily weighted (*mutaqilun*) and neither stop moving nor does it budge unless it is moved. When the craftsman has finished his work, movement stops. The same can be said about a newly built construction which is devoid of movement when it is finished. In contrast, as we learned earlier elsewhere again in connection with Ibn Rušd’s claims,²³ celestial spheres (*al-aflāk as-samāwiyya*) are in continual motion and, by God’s command (*amr*), never age as a consequence of the movement, for God is the One Who never grows old. Returning to f. 58^v, we find Ibn Rušd’s claim that things created from the eternal do not weaken or deteriorate because they resemble the eternal and the eternal is not assailed by weakness.

22 Sprague, Rosamond Kent. “Metaphysics and Multiple Births.” *Apeiron* 20, No. 1 (Spring, 1987): 97–102; pp. 99–100. See also Aristotle/Arthur Leslie Peck (trans.). *Generation of Animals*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942, and Aristotle/Hugh Tredennick (trans.). *Metaphysics, Volume 1: Books 1–9*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1933 & *Volume 11: Books 10–14. Oeconomica. Magna Moralia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935.

23 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 39^v.



FIGURE 2

Holtz Drehsell (Drechsler; Holzdrechsler; wood turner), 15th c. *Die Hausbücher der Nürnberger Zwölfbrüderstiftungen*, Amb. 317b.2° Folio 47 recto (Mendel II)

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FIGURE 3

Holtzdrexel (Drechsler; Holzdrechsler; wood turner), 15th c. *Die Hausbücher der Nürnberger Zwölfbrüderstiftungen*, Amb. 317b.2° Folio 83 recto (Mendel II)

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From an Aristotelian perspective, the human species is eternal (because it is generated eternally, corresponding to the “eternal that is in the world”), nevertheless, each of its concrete instances (each individual) is affected by change.²⁴ There is not enough evidence in the text to make any firm decision about whether the claim that the celestial spheres and bodies are eternal takes up the argument put forward by Ibn Rušd that “eternal” does not necessarily mean “uncaused”, and that “eternal” also has a different meaning when applied to the world or to its cause (God).²⁵ What the author of the KM states in a straightforward and simple way is that what is eternal in the animal world (*al-ašyā’ al-ḥayawāniyya*), for example, animals and men, is mobility which is never without motion (*al-mutaḥarrrik allāḍī lā yuḡaz ‘an at-taḥarruk huwal-azalīyyu*).²⁶ This seems to echo the views expounded by Ibn Rušd in his *Questions in Physics* about the dynamics of Creation (that is, of a circular creation in which *the totality of things ... has no beginning although each of its parts is in time*). In turn these are heavily indebted to Aristotle’s Unmoved Mover.

If we now return to the question of the creation of the world and place ourselves in the framework just been outlined, the question which naturally arises is which was created first, the Heavens or the Earth. The author of the KM approaches the subject by passing three different perspectives in review: 1) the claims of the logicians; 2) the claims of the geometers; and 3) God’s Revelation in the Qur’ān. Pertinently, God’s Revelation in the Qur’ān is not discussed separately but is an integral part of the discussion of the other two.

1) Logicians claim that the vault of Heaven (*as-samā’*) was constructed (*mabniyyu*) before the Earth because the heavenly rotations (*ad-dawār as-samāwīyya*) are indispensable to the Earth and the living world (*ma’mūra fī d-dunyā*) cannot exist without them.²⁷ In this same folio, the possibility that the heavenly rotations might exist without the Earth is compared to the foundations of a wall. The obvious consequence of this comparison be that the Heavens were prior to the Earth. However in contradiction to this, he notes, the Qur’ān says that “Disbelieve ye verily in Him Who created the earth in two Days”

24 It is impossible not to note the remarkable parallelism which does not imply a relationship between this argument and the idea discussed in the previous chapter about predestination from the Jewish perspective and the author’s idea that each generation is offered the possibility of renewal or change (in this case, by adhering assiduously to Divine Law).

25 Ibn Rušd/Goldstein, Helen Tunik (ed. and trans.). *Averroes’ Questions in Physics*, xix and question 5, pp. 10–11.

26 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 58^v.

27 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 44^v.

(Q. 41:9) and that “Then turned He to the heaven” (Q. 41:11).²⁸ This would imply that the Earth was created before the Heavens. At this point, the author does not opt for either position, displaying an example of ambiguity. He gives no hint that he will speak about and elaborate on this subject more extensively, as we see below.²⁹ At this point in his argument, he remains on the descriptive level and notes that, according to az-Zağğāğī’s *Kitāb al-Ġumal (bāb al-‘atf)*, knowledge is divided into two parts: knowledge of learning from demonstration and knowledge grasped by men as it is told to them. The latter is the religious law (*šarī‘a*).³⁰ Az-Zağğāğī explicitly mentions Greek philosophy for the first time in a grammatical work³¹ and in it its branch of logic is used as a grammatical tool, which was probably a sound reason for his views to be quoted. Nevertheless, one cannot discount the possibility that the author was also exposed to logical arguments in Christian works, as the reference to a certain Peter, who could well have been Peter of Spain (13th c.), on f. 54^v seems to indicate.³²

2) In opposition to this, on the assumption that the Earth is the point (*nuqṭa*) of the heavenly sphere, geometricians claimed that its unavoidable corollary had to be that the Earth existed prior to the Heaven.³³ The reason they gave was that a sphere cannot exist without this point (*nuqṭa*). This claim was also supported by logic, because it is not possible to have two without one which existed before two. However, one can exist without being two. In the same fashion, a sphere cannot exist without the point, but the point can exist without the sphere; likewise, the day (*al-yawm*) cannot exist without the sun, but the sun can exist without the daytime (*an-nahār*). Instead, the sun and the day work

28 The same expression is found in Q. 2:29, on f. 47^v, but here the author claims to be quoting *sūra Fuṣṣilat*.

29 For the notion of ambiguity, see, Bauer, Thomas. *A Culture of Ambiguity: An Alternative History of Islam* (orig. *Kultur der Ambiguität* trans. Hinrich Biesterfeldt and Tricia Tunstall). New York: Columbia University Press, 2021.

30 A similar claim is repeated by Ibn Rušd in a later folio (f. 45^r), in which he says that knowledge is divided into two parts: knowledge *as-sam‘iyya*, which is the *šarī‘a*, people accept what is imparted to them and knowledge derived from demonstration.

31 Young, Michael J.L., John Derek Latham, and Robert Bertram Serjeant. *Religion, Learning and Science in the Abbasid Period*. Cambridge [etc]: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 128–129.

32 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 54^v. Indeed, one wonders whether here the reference is to Peter of Spain (13th c.) and his *Tractatus on logic or Summulae logicales*. The example of the man who runs is found in the sixth tract called *De suppositionibus* (On Suppositions), at the very end. See, Spruyt, Joke, “Peter of Spain”. In Edward N. Zalta (ed.). *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2019 Edition), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2019/entries/peter-spain/>.

33 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 47^v.

in unison to produce the daytime. The claims of the geometricians, the author adds, are supported by Qur'ānic views similar to those just quoted under (1).³⁴ The exception is—and here the author offers his view which is opposed to that in the Qur'ān—that God created the Heaven before He created living things (*al-ḥalā'iq*). He argues that there cannot be any structure in the world without the Heaven (*fī d-dunyā lā 'imāra lahā*), because the rotations of the spheres, for instance, of the sun (*dawrat aš-šams*) and the moon, can exist without creatures but the creatures cannot exist without the existence of the former.

This gives us the grounds to argue that the author's efforts seem to be directed towards emphasizing that there was an organized plan for Creation. This hypothesis gives a reason to argue that the Heaven was created first. It is interesting to see that, to demonstrate the points in his argument, the author does not hesitate to borrow perspectives which we might call scientific or rational as a starting point. However, he also supports both arguments with quotations from the Qur'ān, to opt finally (without giving too many explanations) for the claims of the logicians.

1.2 *The Limits of the Cosmos and the Possibility of Void*

It seems only natural that someone as interested in the study of the natural world as the author of the KM should be concerned with both the createdness of the world and with the question of the limits of it as an object of study (in the sense of Creation as a whole). In a digression on the cosmos (which like other questions is scattered throughout the KM), the author propounds the view, beyond the outermost sphere of the fixed stars, there is a void. In this huge void (*ḥālīyya kabīra*), which must be placed at the limits of the cosmos, is found the afterlife Paradise promised the believers (*al-ǧanna*) by God.³⁵ He adduces two important reasons to prove that such a void must exist. The first is the size of Paradise itself, which is wider and bigger than the vault of Heaven and of the Earth, which precludes it being confined within their limits. Although the idea of a Paradise and, by extension, of a cosmos that extends beyond the limits of the Heavens exceeds the scope of Aristotelian thought, the author states that this idea is affirmed in all Revealed Books.³⁶ To have some idea of how the author was probably approaching "heaven" (in the text rendered as *as-samā'*), it is necessary to recall Aristotle's claims in *De Caelo et Mundo* [On the Heaven and the World] in which he says that "heaven" can have different

34 At this point, he quotes Q. 2:29: "He created from you all of that which is on the earth. Then He directed Himself to the Heaven", ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 47^v.

35 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 42^v.

36 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 44^r.

meanings. Of these, Aristotle singles out three: “the outermost circumference of the whole world, [...] the whole celestial region, including the moon, sun and the other celestial bodies; and, [...] as equivalent to the entire world”.³⁷ In the KM, heaven (*as-samāʿ*) seems to be approached as a compound physical reality which involves all beyond the sphere of the moon (or the supra-lunary world), both the celestial spheres and the fixed stars.³⁸ A second proof of the necessity of the existence of a void is the consideration that the orbits of the heavenly bodies (*ad-dawra as-samāʿ*) must be in motion. In his analogy he says that they must move in a way which resembles the workings of a polishing-wheel (*tābūt min aṣ-ṣaqīl*), which only can rotate when its extremities are left free (*yanbağī an yakūn al-aṭrāf min tābūt ḥālīyya*), f. 42^v.³⁹

The views in the KM are definitely opposed to Aristotle’s well-known denial of the existence of emptiness, a view also familiar to the author, as illustrated by his quote attributed to Aristotle that, “in between heaven is filled and not a void” (*mā bayna as-samāʿ malāʾ wa lā ḥalāʾ*). This quotation from Aristotle is followed by some verses from the Torah, which refer to the existence of water above the sky.⁴⁰ Interestingly, he does not quote Genesis 1:2, which says that in the beginning there was *tohu* and *bohu* (chaos and a void). To have taken recourse to a scriptural source like this quotation from the Torah to argue for the existence of void should not come as a real surprise if the author of the KM was adhering to the perspective of the *mutakallimūn*. True, as Ibn Ruṣd reminds us in his *Physics*, the *mutakallimūn* held the view of a created world that had been preceded by a vacuum.⁴¹ However, in several places the author of the KM makes clear his rejection of the positions of those

37 Grant, Edward. *Science and Religion, 400 B.C. to A.D. 1550: From Aristotle to Copernicus*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004, p. 51. Also, Simplicius/R.J. Harkinson (trans.). *Simplicius: On Aristotle on the Heavens 1.1–4*. London, New York: Bloomsbury, 2003, p. 19 and Aristotle/William Keith Chambers Guthrie (trans.). *On the Heavens*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939.

38 A similar understanding is suggested by the title which Ibn Ruṣd gave his commentary on Aristotle’s work (the *Kitāb as-samāʿ wa-l-ʿālam* [On the Heavens and the World]). Aristotle’s use of the term in this work has been subject to different interpretations by modern and pre-modern scholars alike. Grant, therefore, claims that Aristotle had opted for the meaning of Heaven as the entire world (op. cit., loc. cit.), a view also held by Alexander of Afrodisias (200) but opposed by Simplicius of Cilicia (c. 490–c. 560). See Simplicius/Harkinson, *Simplicius*, particularly pp. 20–21. The KM does not mention this work by Ibn Ruṣd even though he does take a similar view that Heaven covers the entire supra-lunary region.

39 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 42^v.

40 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 56^r.

41 Grant, Edward. *Much Ado about Nothing: Theories of Space and Vacuum from the Middle Ages to the Scientific Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 110, and note 34 for the references to Ibn Ruṣd’s work. The *mutakallimūn* also believed in the exist-



FIGURE 4
Harnisch Balirer (Harnischpolierer; harness polishing), 15th c. *Die Hausbücher der Nürnberger Zwölfbrüderstiftungen*, Amb. 279.2^o Folio 47 recto (Landauer 1).
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whom he loosely calls “ulamā” and who certainly seem to correspond to these theologians. This rejection underlines the fact his disquisition on the void has been reasoned from a different perspective; one in which the philosophical perspective plays a relevant role. Although, when it is all said and done, one may wonder whether what really mattered to the author was the question of the pre-created void (a question that was hotly debated by Christians in the thirteenth century, on the grounds that, by its very existence, the void would have been in competition with God Himself). This criticism is particularly apt for those fourteenth-century Christian scholastics who, having accepted the idea of an extra-cosmic void, pre-created and eternal under the condition of being associated with God, now debated the spatial relationship between the void and God, that is, the problem of God’s location, especially before Creation.⁴² Philosophical discussion of the void was not entirely alien to the tra-

ence of the vacuum between the atoms, which, they claimed, composed nature. This is what allowed them to move, as Maimonides explains in detail. See for these Maimonides’ views Duhem, Pierre Maurice Marie/Roger Ariew (ed.). *Medieval Cosmology: Theories of Infinity, Place, Time, Void, and the Plurality of Worlds*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985, p. 371.

42 Grant, *Much Ado about Nothing*, pp. 110–112, particularly the latter, and Chapter 6, pp. 116–147.

ditions of thought in Islam, among which is the outstanding example of the free thinker ar-Rāzī (c. 250 H/854 CE–313 H/925 CE or 323 H/935 CE, Rhazes in the West),⁴³ but I want to argue that, for an author like that of the KM, who should probably be placed in a largely Christian milieu, the question seems to have gained strength under the influence of discussions like those just mentioned. A note relating to, among other discussions, the possibility of the existence of different worlds, is that Aristotle's views on the impossibility of the existence of other worlds had been condemned in Paris as early as 1277 (Article 34). The claim to the existence of an independent void prior to Creation (Article 201) had also been condemned. The condemnation of the impossibility of other worlds followed the reasoning that, from the point of view of the believer, here the Christian, Aristotle's perspective placed restrictions on the absolute power of God.⁴⁴ In the KM, the Earth is one, but there are some hints that the author could have been exposed to questions about the existence of other worlds. For instance, in one passage we read, "another question: What Earth is above the Heavens (*as-samawāt*)? That is 'Īsā b. Maryam and all prophets".⁴⁵ This claim ties in well with the idea just mentioned of a heavenly Paradise beyond the limits of the cosmos, underlining again the religious dimension which the discussion of these issues seems to have assumed in the eyes of the author of the KM, so much so he placed it alongside the philosophical one. At the time the KM was probably composed, the different positions taken by scholars such as Albert of Saxony (c. 1316–1390), Jean Buridan (c. 1301–1359/62) or Nicole Oresme (c. 1320/5–1382), show that the plurality of worlds was a hotly debated topic, taking its place alongside the question of the void.⁴⁶ Fourteenth-century Jews in Provence, such as Gersonides and Yedaiah ha-Penini, also seem to have moved away from Aristotle's views on the void.⁴⁷ More interesting for the present discussion are ideas such as those offered by Thomas Bradwardine (c. 1300–1349) in *De causa Dei contra Pelagium* (*In Defence of God against the Pelagians*), in which he postulates the existence of an infinite void, which is identified with the immensity of God⁴⁸ and, in the second corollary, he argues

43 Grant, *A History of Natural Philosophy*, p. 86.

44 Grant, *A History of Natural Philosophy*, p. 202 and *ff.*

45 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 49^v.

46 *Ibid.*, pp. 203–205.

47 Glasner, Ruth. "Yeda'aya ha-Penini's Unusual Conception of Void." *Science in Context* 10 (1997), pp. 453–470; "Gersonides' Theory of Natural Motion." *Early Science and Medicine* 1 (1996), pp. 151–203. See also by this author in Hebrew, *A Fourteenth-century Scientific Philosophic Controversy*. Jerusalem: World Organization of Jewish Studies, 1988.

48 Grant, Edward. *Planets, Stars, and Orbs: The Medieval Cosmos, 1200–1687*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 176.

that, “God is everywhere outside the finite world in an infinite void”.⁴⁹ Although it is not necessary to assume that the author had contact with these particular ideas, the possibility should not be completely ruled that—as an individual accustomed to moving in an entourage marked by the exchange of intellectual knowledge—he was exposed to them in some form or another, which would explain why the question arises in the KM, albeit the author touches on it only briefly.

1.3 *The Earth at the Centre*

It seems that the author endorses the view that the Earth is the centre of the cosmos and he presents this idea to the reader in the most direct way. His didactic method is to use a number of metaphors like that of an apple around which revolve the Heavens within which it is contained (*li-anna al-arḍ hiya mudawwara maṭl at-tufāḥ wa-s-samā’ yaḥtaṣirhā*).⁵⁰ He then also takes recourse to another little more striking piece of symbolism, that of the Earth nestling in the Heavens like the yolk of the egg in the albumen. The idea of a world or cosmic egg as a metaphor for the cosmos is widespread in many cultures and has been the subject of different interpretations since ancient times.⁵¹ The most straightforward idea conveyed by the egg metaphor is that of one thing contained within another. This is an image which was not confined to texts but was also used in the construction of astronomical instruments, for example, the mixed device for star measurement devised by al-Battānī (b. before 244 H/858 CE),⁵² a well-known practitioner of Ptolemaic astronomy, which he actually called *al-bayḍa* (“the egg”). The image seems to have had a wider currency in Muslim circles in the Iberian Peninsula and in the Magrib. Al-Idrīsī (d. 560 H/1165 CE) provides some variants of it in his treatise on geography, *Kitāb Nuzhat al-muṣṭāq fī ’ḥtirāq al-āfāq* [The Pleasure of He Who

49 Grant, Edward. *Much Ado about Nothing*, p. 136. Bradwardine’s ideas allow some leeway for interreligious discussion and, in his fourth corollary, he rebukes the claims of heretics and Gentiles, precisely by affirming the existence of God “omnipresent in an infinite, imaginary void space”, op. cit., p. 141.

50 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 47^v. In the manuscript vocalized as *yḥṣrahā*.

51 For example, it is found in relation to Brahmā in the Vedic-Sanskrit cosmogony (c. 1500 BCE), the Brahmāṇḍa (cosmic egg of Brahmā), and in Chinese cosmogony it is known as *Huntian* [Celestial Sphere] in China (c. 100 BC) which “likens the heavens to an egg with the Earth at its yolk”. See, Thurston, Hugh. *Early Astronomy*. New York: Springer-Verlag, 1996, p. 90.

52 See *ET*² s.v. “al-Battānī” (Nallino).

Longs to Cross the Horizons (or “climates”)], produced under the auspices of the Norman king of Sicily, Roger II.⁵³ The work was known in the West, as evidenced for instance, by its late use by a Tunisian Muslim author from Sfax, ‘Alī b. Aḥmad aš-Šarafi, the same *nisba* as that of the author of the KM. However, there is no evidence of family ties between them.⁵⁴ The *al-bayda* was probably

53 See *EI*² vs. “al-Idrīsī” (Oman).

54 See the *Portolan Atlas* by ‘Alī b. Aḥmad Šarafi aš-Šifāqsi (fl. c. 1570) (copy undated of a work compiled in 1571), Bodleian Library MS. Marsh 294, f. 2b, in which we read: “the Earth and the water are in the centre of the sphere, just as the yolk is in the centre of the egg”:

والأرض والماء مستقرآن في جوف الفلك كالحبة في وسط البيضة

and, on the same folio, and also on f. 2a (here quoted), we also read: “and according to the wise, it (that is, the Earth) resembles an egg which floats in a bowl of water.”

وهي عند الحكماء كبيضة مغرفة في الماء

The latter metaphor is also included in an earlier *Portolan* of his, of 958H/1551CE, on f. 3^v (BNF MS 2278). Aš-Šarafi is quoting Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Idrīsī, who says in his *Kitāb Nuzhat al-muštāq fi ḥtirāq al-āfāq*, 2 vols. al-Qāhira: Maktaba al-Ṭāqāfa ad-Dīniyya, 1422H/2002CE (here Vol. 1, p. 7 and pp. 8–9, respectively):

والأرض والماء مستقرآن في جوف الفلك كالحبة في جوف البيضة

والأرض في ذاتها مستديرة لكنها غير صادقة الاستدارة فمنا منخفض ومرتفع والماء يجري فيها من أرفعها إلى أخفضها والبحر المحيط يحيط بنصف الأرض إحاطة متصلة دائرتها كالمنطقة لا يظهر منها إلا نصفها فكأنها عند الصفة بيضة مغرفة في الماء

The work by al-Idrīsī is also quoted by Ibn Faḍlallāh al-‘Umārī’s (d. 749H/1349CE) *Mas-ālik al-absār fi mamālik al-amṣār* [Paths of Discernment into the Kingdoms of the Lands], see Ibn Faḍlallāh al-‘Umārī/Kāmil Salmān al-Ġubūrī (ed.). *Masālik al-absār fi mamālik al-amṣār* [Paths of Discernment into the Kingdoms of the Lands], ašrafa ‘alā taḥqīq al-mawsū‘a Kāmil Salmān al-Ġubūrī, 1st ed., 27 Vols (in 15). Bayrūt: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1431H/2010CE; Vol. 1, p. 134:

قال الشريف: “ومع كون الأرض كرة، هي غير صادقة الاستدارة. منها منخفض ومرتفع. ولهذا قيل فيما انكشف: إنه تضاريس. والبحر يحيط بنصف الأرض إحاطة متصلة، دائرها كالمنطقة. لا يظهر منها إلا نصفها، وهو ما دارت عليه الشمس في قوس النهار. مثل بيضة مغرفة في ماء انكشف منها ما انكشف، وانغم ما انغم”

I thank Sonja Bretjes from the Max Planck Institute of the History of Science for these references. See the previous studies by Nallino, Carlo Alfonso. “Un mappamondo arabo disegnato nel 1579 da ‘Alī ibn Aḥmad ash-Sharafi di Sfax.” *Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica italiana* 5 (series v) (1916): 721–736; also, the more recent publications by Mónica Herrera-Casais, “The Nautical Atlases of ‘Alī aš-Šarafi.” *Suḥayl* 8 (2008): 223–263 and also by the same author “El atlas de 1571 de Ali Al-Sharafi de Sfax: estudio parcial, edición crítica y traducción anotada.” PhD Diss., Universidad de La Laguna, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 2017.

known to Christians and Jews at a very early date; perhaps as early as the end of the tenth century in places like Catalonia, thanks to the dissemination in the Latin West of the works of Maslama al-Mağrīṭī (d. 398H/1007CE), who was familiar with al-Battānī's astronomical tables, or *zīğ*.⁵⁵ Among other denominations, *al-bayḍa* appears to have become popularized in the ninth and tenth centuries as the common name for the celestial globe, by, among other authors, al-Ḥwārizmī (c. 163H/780CE/235H–850CE).⁵⁶ Returning to the metaphor, in his *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* [The Book of Roads and Kingdoms], the Persian geographer Ibn Ḥordādbeh (fl. 3rd c. H/9th c. CE)⁵⁷ puts forward the claim that the Earth “is placed in the cosmos like the yolk in the white of an egg” (*mawḍūʿa fī ḡawf al-falk ka-l-muḥḥa fī ḡawf al-bayḍa*).⁵⁸ In the KM, the expression used is formulated in a very similar way, namely: *ka-mitli ṣafri-l-bayḍa fī ʿl-bayḍa* (f. 44^r, here connected to Aristotle) or *mitlu faṣṣi-l-bayḍa fī ʿl-bayḍa* (f. 47^v, here connected to the geometricians), loosely translated both as “like the yolk or the core in the egg”). Although in this case we do not know the author's sources in this case, we would probably not be mistaken were we jump to the conclusion that he is using a piece of well-established imagery, a figure of thought current not only among Muslims and among the author's possible Mudejar audiences, but also more widespread in a Christian environment. Hence, we hear the character of the Philosopher in the *Dragmaticon* by William of Conches (c. 1090–d. after 1154) reasoning that:

As corroborated by [natural] philosophers, the configuration of our world resembles that of an egg. As in the middle of the egg is the yolk and on every side of it the white, around the white the skin, around which is the shell, outside of which there is nothing more of the egg; so, in the middle of the world there is the earth, all around it from every part water flows, around the water there is air, around which is fire, outside which there is nothing.⁵⁹

55 Glick, Thomas F., Steven John Livesey, and Faith Wallis (eds.). *Medieval Science, Technology and Medicine: An Encyclopedia*. New York, London: Routledge, 2005, pp. 79–80.

56 Savage-Smith, Emilie. *Islamicate Celestial Globes: Their History, Construction, and Use*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985, p. 62 and note 4. On this Muslim scholar, see also Brentjes, Sonja. “Khwārizmī: Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwārizmī.” In Thomas Hockey et al. (eds.). *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*. Springer: New York, 2007, pp. 631–633. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-30400-7_763.

57 See *ET*³ s.v. “Ibn Khordādhbih” (Zadeh).

58 Ibn Ḥordādbeh, Abū l-Qāsim ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh/Charles Barbier de Meynard (ed., trans. and annot.). “Le livre des routes et des provinces, par Ibn Khordadbeh.” *Journal asiatique* 5 (series VI), No. 1 (1865): 5–127, 227–296, 446–532; p. 26.

59 Book 2, Ch. 2, para. 8, p. 25. In Grant, *A History of Natural Philosophy*, p. 126, note 121.

In the κM , this sort of example is given in conjunction with the argument that the Earth is the point of the celestial sphere and that the sphere could only exist if the place in which the sphere was made had previously existed. The reason is that the Heavens rotate in a sphere (*yadūru fī d-dā'ira*) and the centre of the sphere (*markaz ad-dā'ira*) must be located on the Earth: that is, the centre of the point is the hemisphere (*markaz an-nuqṭa nuṣf ad-dā'ira*), f. 47^v. The author could have borrowed these similes from the geometricians, because it is to these scholars he refers in the passage in which the allusions appear. It is also here that he chooses to oppose the claim by these geometricians that the Earth was created before the Heaven. Hence, as far as he is concerned, these are comparisons which show that, although the Earth does lie at the centre, it was created after the Heaven.

1.4 *The Division between Supra-lunary and Sublunary Regions*

The author also follows the Aristotelian division between Heaven and Earth which affirms a fundamental difference between the supra-lunary and the sublunary regions, each of which is subject to different natural laws. The celestial bodies (*al-ašyā' as-samāwiyya*), like the sun and the moon, the stars (*nuqūm*) and the planets (*kawākib*), are eternal (*muḥalada, abadiyya*) and they are not subject to change, corruption or decay. The distinct intellects (*ʿuqūl al-mufarriqa*), whom the author also calls angels (*al-malā'ika*),⁶⁰ do not move and lack for nothing, unlike the animals who are assailed by deficiencies and weakness. For example, the sun, when it rises in the East, makes the day, without the sun there is no day. However, the sun lacks for nothing since it is a celestial body. For things in the sublunary sphere, natural things, the opposite is true. They move and fall victim to deficiencies and weakness.⁶¹ In contrast, heavenly bodies do not need to maintain themselves because they are not subject to corruption, decay, deficiencies, defects or ageing (*taṭīb, taḍīb*,⁶² *ʿadam*,

60 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 58^v.

61 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 58^v–59^r.

62 These two terms are mentioned together most often in the example, albeit with different spellings and forms: *at-taṭaybu wa at-taṭīb*; *at-taṭayyub wa-t-taḍayyab*, both on f. 31^r; *taḍbīb* f. 38^v, to give just two examples. In Michael Scot's translation of al-Bītrūḡī's *De Motibus Celorum. Critical Edition of the Latin translation of Michael Scot* (Frank Carmody, ed.). Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952, pp. 163, 171, 176: *affirmare = it̄bāt* (becoming stable); *permanetia = tabāt*. In the κM , the author seems to seek a phonetic parallelism by twice providing a *maṣdar* of the second form of the Arabic verb. My guess is that here we are dealing with the roots *tbt* (where *taṭbīt* has to be read in Kazimirski as "immobilite, qui ne peut remuer ni bras ni jambes (de maladie)"), and *twb* (where *taṭwīb* means dissolution). Kazimirski, A. de Biberstein. *Dictionnaire arabe-français: contenant toutes les racines*

naqā'is, 'uyūb, harm). This is because they are not subject to time in the way in which earthly, temporal, things are (*al-ašyā' al-arḍiyya*; *al-ašyā' az-zamāniyya*). Accordingly, the sun does not need to generate. We have already noted that, in the author's view, the sun is a unique phenomenon and does not need to be classified as a species (*naw'*); it is eternal (*dā'imān*),⁶³ and it moves.⁶⁴ Among the arguments provided by the author to sustain this claim, we find the insight that, if the sun were to generate and beget a son, the sun would quarrel (*yakūnu at-tanāza'*)⁶⁵ with his son and, in time, this would precipitate a difference. The upshot would be that they would be corrupted (*yafsid al-azmana*), and people would be unable to distinguish day from night, time and the hours, and life on Earth would be laid waste (*yaḥribu al-ma'mūra fī 'l-arḍ*).⁶⁶ In fact, the author makes a blunt assertion and points out: if men already suffer from the heat of a single sun, what would happen if they had to endure the heat of several suns!⁶⁷

The sublunary things (*muğmala* (read *ğumla*) *al-maḥlūqāt*)⁶⁸ include the sum of man and of animals (*ğamī'a-n-nās* and *ğamī'a-l-ḥayawān*) and all what is on Earth (*wa mā yaḍubu 'alā wağh al-arḍ*).⁶⁹ All animals (including man) need to procreate their species so that the world will endure. Should they fail to do so, it will be destroyed. Sublunary things are inextricably tied to (*yalqā*) which brings immobility, decay, lack, deficiencies, defects and ageing (*taṭbīt*, *taṭwīb*, 'adam, *naqā'is*, 'uyūb, harm). The same cycle (*tarkīb*) of growing then diminishing is found in all trees and plants, which are inexorably subject to change, transformation, nourishment and growth. Men are affected by (*ya'tariḍu*) pain, illness, want and death (*awğā'a*, *asqām*, 'adam, *mawt*), because these afflictions are the lot of all humankind (*daḥala fī ğumla-l-ādamiyyīn*) and are an inherent part of their nature (*tabā'ī' al-insān*). Man is composed of flesh (*luḥmaniyya*)⁷⁰ and a soul (*rūḥ*), and human flesh (*al-laḥm min al-insān*) grows by absorbing food and drink (following Aristotelian

de la lengua arabe/A. de Biberstein Kazimirski (new ed.). Paris: Maisonneuve, 1960, pp. 216, 241. The sense is that men and animals become immobile [are immobilized] because of sickness and decay, an approach which also seems correspond to the notion that, in contrast to sublunary counterparts, supra-lunar beings are in eternal motion.

63 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 38^v, f. 59^v.

64 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 60^r.

65 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 40^r. In the manuscript written as *yakūnu at-tanāza'*.

66 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 31^v, 33^v, 40^r.

67 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 31^v.

68 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 33^v.

69 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 31^v.

70 I could not find this word in the standard dictionaries, but it is undoubtedly an adjective related to flesh, or *laḥm*.

thought, moist, dry and hot food).⁷¹ However, unless they have a soul, they are unable to perform certain activities, such as speaking, (f. 31^v). Mankind is made of clay, like a piece of pottery, and, in this connection, f. 58^v recalls Q. 55:14: “He created man of clay like the potters”, to propound the argument that to make a potter’s jug requires all the four elements (*al-ustuqusāt*) of which nature is composed, as listed by Aristotle. He makes the point that whenever a potter makes the jug, he places it in the air so it can dry. He then bakes it in a kiln because it is constituted of dust mixed with water. After a man dies, he decomposes into dust and water, a fate which befalls all Creation except that fire and air do not dissolve in dust.⁷² Men have temporal elements (fire, air, water, dust) in their grasp, because they were created from them, but heavenly bodies, such as the sun, the moon, as well as the souls when they leave the human body, are beyond the grasp of humans, because these are spiritual entities (*al-ašyā’ ar-rawḥāniyya*).⁷³ In the *Inḡīl* (Gospel), ʿĪsā b. Maryam says that those things in men which are from God return to God and those which are from dust return to dust. The soul is from God and human flesh is from dust.⁷⁴ All things in the world which belong to the animal genus are afflicted by weakness because, unlike heavenly bodies, they work through time and grow weak so that inevitably corruption, decay, lack, deficiencies, defects and ageing are their lot.

1.5 *The Heavens and Their Natural Phenomena*

We have just seen the distinction made between the supra-lunary and sub-lunary regions. Writing about the particular characteristics of the supra-lunary region, the author of the *KM* does more than just mention them in passing, he shows a real interest in understanding how the Heavens work. In fact, he shows a particular interest in the Heavens, astronomical phenomena like the new moon (which provides the basis of the Muslim calendar) and solar and lunar eclipses. He claims that each craft (*šināʿa*) is linked to a particular people.⁷⁵ He

71 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 38^r.

72 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 58^v.

73 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 59^v.

74 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 59^v. The ideas recalled here are reminiscent of John 16:28, Eccles. 12:7 and Gen. 3:19.

75 These words are not directly attributed to Muḥammad, but come very close to one of his sayings, for instance, that of seeking help for the practitioners of each craft (that is, to the people most suited to it):

استعينوا على كل صناعة باهلها

The sources quoting this *hadīṭ* are various, for example, aṣ-Ṣafadī (696H/1296CE–764H/1363CE) in his biographical dictionary, Ṣafadī, Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn Ḥalīl b. Aybak al-Aḥ-

claims that Muḥammad said that he and all Muslims came from a community (*umma*) which had no knowledge of writing and counting. Therefore, people of this community broke the Fast by referring to sighting the new moon and, if the new moon was obscured (and hence could not be seen), they supplemented the number (of days) by two days (*akmalū 'idda li-ṭnayn yawman*).⁷⁶ To strengthen his argument, the author goes on to say that Muḥammad himself said that the anyone who lends credence to the learned on the observation of the stars (*man ṣaddaqa munağğiman*) does not believe in what was revealed to Muḥammad.⁷⁷ These claims attributed to Muḥammad contrast sharply with the views the polemicist himself has stated just a few lines earlier, namely: that the Qur'ān contains indications of a divine command to have a knowledge of the stars (*'ilm an-nağğāma*). The verse on which he relies for such a claim is Q. 7:185 "Have they not considered the dominion of the Heavens and the earth [...]?" He argues that this verse should not be understood to mean that people should stare unthinkingly at the Heavens as dogs and all other animals do, but should acquire knowledge of the stars. At a later juncture, after a quotation of Ibn Rušd's views, we read that ignorant people perceive sunlight or the darkness of the night, but it would never enter their heads to ask where they come from, because their intellects are incapable of comprehending the answer.⁷⁸

The author undoubtedly has a clear interest in understanding celestial phenomena. Therefore, he does his best to explain them, for example, by recourse to an authority such as Aristotle. Aristotle said on the sighting of the new crescent moon (*al-hilāl al-ğadīd*) when it appears in the directions that: if it appears in the direction of the south (probably: of the ecliptic), on the right, then the sun's rays come to it from below and it resembles a place where the foot has passed, a footprint (*mawṭi'*); but when it appears in the direction of the north (probably: of the eliptic), then the sun's rays come to it from above

mad Arnā'ūṭ and Turkī Muṣṭafā (eds.). *Kitāb al-Wāfi wa-l-wafayāt*, 1st ed., 29 vols. Bayrūt: Dār al-Ihyā' li-ṭ-Turāṭ al-'Arabī li-ṭ-Ṭibā'a wa-n-Naṣr wa-t-Tawzī', 1420 H/2000 CE; Vol. 22, p. 93.

76 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 50^r.

77 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 50^r. The sentence which follows is partly broken but it seems to be making a reference to the importance of being able to err. Therefore, Muḥammad compares a person who does not commit sin to which a branch which sprouts from the palm but does not bear fruits for a hundred years. One possibility is that this is an oblique reference to those who are proficient in the science of the stars, whom the author is trying to defend by arguing that it is normal for them to be wrong sometimes. Such a reading, however, is only guesswork.

78 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 53^r.

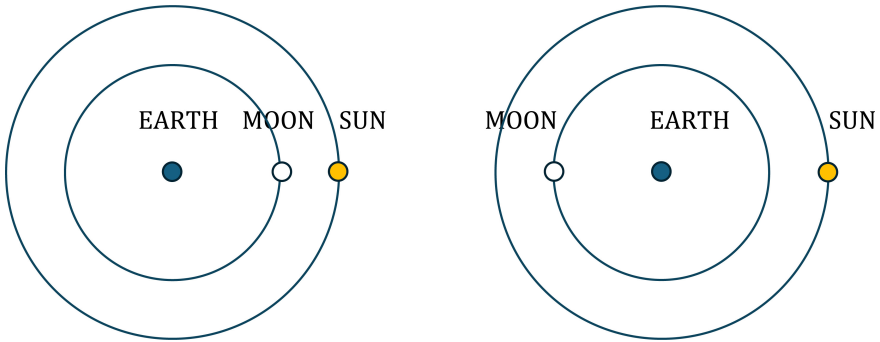


FIGURE 5 Solar Eclipse (left), Lunar Eclipse (Right)

and the moon appears having higher ends (Figure 7).⁷⁹ A solar eclipse is produced by the conjunction of the sun and the moon and only in this instance, that is, when the moon passes in front of the sun for the people viewing it and the moon has covered one-third or one-half of the sun. A lunar eclipse occurs when the Earth passes in front of the moon and covers it, and people see a third or half of it covered. This discussion about eclipses obviously takes place in the framework of the inter-religious controversy. According to the author, Christians believe that eclipses occur because of the death of “sulṭān Awšab (that is, Eusebius)”. This is a contradictory statement. It pits knowledge by observation of the physical reality because of which such phenomena occur against the erroneous knowledge of the Christians, which is derived from their belief.⁸⁰

Hartner is right when he notes that, given their exceptional nature, the occurrence of eclipses is often connected to extraordinary events (for example, that just noted, the death of someone referred to as a “sulṭān”) and with the depredations of demons and monsters. These millenary beliefs often retain their force, even when knowledge of these phenomena is scientifically explained. Hence, instead of being discarded, they are adapted to the new insights. This is what happened with the pseudo-planet known as al-Ġawhazar

79 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 44^r.

80 ÖNB MS AF 58, ff. 43^v–44^r. The reference to Awšab is interesting because, when they used this name, the Christians were most likely referring to Eusebius of Caesarea (263–339), a Roman bishop of Greek origin, who was also a historian and polemicist. In his *Chronicle*, he presents Jesus apologetically and argues that different prophecies predicted Jesus’ death, one of them being a total solar eclipse. See, Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, p. 208.

(which by metathesis is spelled az-Zawğahar in the KM) or the Dragon.⁸¹ The Dragon makes its appearance in the discussion which follows on solar and lunar eclipses. The alignments of the sun, moon and Earth which are necessary for an eclipse to occur depend on what is known as the ascending and descending nodes of the moon. These nodes are the points of intersection between the moon's orbit and the orbit of the ecliptic (which would be the sun's orbit in a geocentric model like those contemporaneous to the KM), and would have a distance between them of 180° , although the precise location of intersection with the ecliptic is variable.⁸² Their variability as well as the importance of the lunar nodes in the occurrence of eclipses explains why they are compared to the planets and, therefore, their ascent and descent are known respectively as the "head and tail of the Ğawzahar".⁸³ Consequently, the head and tail refer neither to the ascending and descending nodes of the lunar orbit nor to the ends of the line of nodes. They are features of the Dragon which seem to indicate the shadow of the Earth.

The author of the KM claims that al-Ğawhazar cannot be seen by geometricians (*al-handasiyyūn*) or by astronomers but can, nevertheless, be apprehended by proof. He explains that this is an arc (*qusīyyun*) which stands (*waqafa*) within the half circle of the sun (*fī nuṣf aš-šams*) or in the half circle of the moon (*fī nuṣf dawrat al-qamar*) and, when this coincidence occurs, it produces a solar or a lunar eclipse. The author notes that Christians call "az-Zawğahar", the Dragon, and, indeed, the sources do show that knowledge about this astronomical phenomenon (derived mainly from Arabic sources) was widespread among them at an early date. One early example is that of the well-known Petrus Alphonsi (1062?–1140?), born in Huesca (Aragon), a convert from Judaism to Christianity, and physician to Alfonso I of Aragon and Henry I of England. His intellectual approach to science and religion in his oeuvre shares various common points with that of the author of the KM but here suffice it to note that his teachings provided the basis for an opusculum written by his student Walcher of Malvern entitled *Sententia Petri Ebrei, cognomento Anphus, de Dracone, quam Dominus Walcerus prior Maluernensis ecclesie in latinam transtulit linguam* (Thoughts of Peter the Jew, alias Anphus, on the Dragon, translated

81 ÖNB MS AF 58, ff. 47^v–48^r.

82 The line of the nodes runs in the opposite direction to the movement of the moon in a cycle of roughly every 18.6 years. I thank Ido Yavetz from Tel Aviv University for insightful and lively conversations, and useful information on this.

83 See, Hartner, Willy. "The Vaso Vescovali in The British Museum: A Study on Islamic Astrological Iconography." *Kunst des Orients* 9, No. 1/2 (1973/74): 99–130; pp. 106–108 and 121.

into Latin by the Lord Walcherus, Prior of Malvern Abbey).⁸⁴ Intriguingly, the author of the KM also makes an obscure reference to the relationship between “az-Zawğahar” and the equinox.⁸⁵ Perhaps even more importantly, he mentions three nodes, in the head, in the middle and in the tail (*fī ra’sihi aw fī nuşfihi aw fī danbihi wa huwa fī tultīhi ‘uqūdun*).

The author also touches very briefly on some meteorological phenomena, which he does by endorsing the Aristotelian perspective. He says that, according to Aristotle, rain originates in the clouds and not in the Heavens.⁸⁶ The proof of this, he argues, is the fact that rain falls only in places where there are clouds. Muslim scholars (*ulamā’*) give an erroneous interpretation of Q. 25:48 “We send down purifying water from the sky”: water does not come down from Heavens, but from the cloudy Heavens (*as-samā’ as-siḥāb*, “the cloud-sky”, literally). The reasoning of these *ulamā’* is compared to when people refer to the roof of a house or everything above it *samā’*. Verily, he goes on to say relying on Aristotle’s *Kitāb Atār al-‘uhwiyya*, thunder is generated in the vapours of the Earth (*buhār al-arḍ ya’anī bafus* ((Cat.) bafs, (Cast.) vapores vapor)).⁸⁷ When the weather is about to change and these vapours burn (*yataḥariqu*) from the clouds, people hear the sound produced, which is thunder. Out of the vapours comes something resembling fire and this is the lightning. Thunder follows lightning, which is actually visible before the sound of thunder because the sound of the thunder comes from far away. This also what happens when a blacksmith fashions a utensil: first the sparks (*ḍaw’ an-nār*) fly and then the sound of the hammer is heard. It resembles those stars which have a tail of

84 Millás Vallicrosa, José María. “Pedro Alfonso’s Contribution to Astronomy.” *Aleph: Historical Studies in Science and Judaism* 10, No. 1 (2010), pp. 137–168 (trans. into English of the 1943 original “La aportación astronómica de Pedro Alfonso”), p. 144. Alphonsi is also relevant, because of his polemical activities as a convert. See Alfonsi, Petrus/Irven M. Resnick (trans.). *Dialogue Against the Jews*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2006 and Tolan, John Victor. *Petrus Alfonsi and His Medieval Readers*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993.

85 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 48^r:

الساعات الزمانية الساعات المعتدلة أيضا عام الكبيسة عام البسطي يعني البسطي إذا لم يكن فيه
كبيسة سمت الرأس إذا كان الإنسان موقف وجاز الشمس من قامته

The meaning of this passage is truly obscure. I can only make some sense of it if I understand it as follows: “The hours, the equinoctial hours, also the full covering of the head, the full covering of the trunk. That is to say, when the trunk (*bustī*, Cast. busto) has no head (*cabīça*, Cast. cabeza) at the zenith in it, in that case, people are standing (*mawqifun*) and the sun has passed its vertical.”

86 Here, most likely *samā’* means the supra-lunar world for this author.

87 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 43^v.

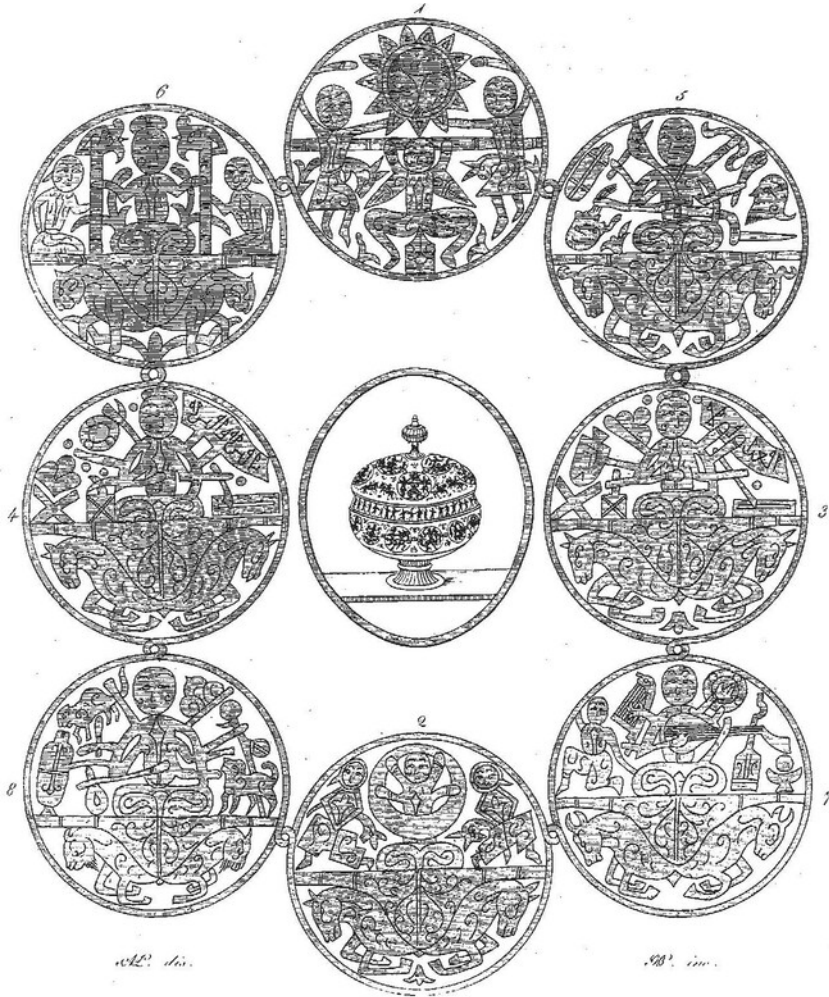
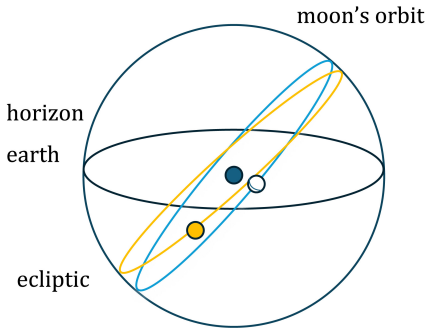


FIGURE 6 Ġawzahar (Draco)
 VASO VESCOVALI, THE BRITISH MUSEUM, SECOND CIRCLE COUNTER-
 CLOCK (NUMBER 6)⁸⁸

fire (that is, the comets), which are the vapour generated from the Earth by the Heavens [which is] similar to fire. People think that these stars move, but they do not. An analogy of this is fire. If the fire burns some straw, commencing at

88 Lanci, Michelangelo. *Trattato delle simboliche rappresentanze arabiche e della varia generazione de' Musulmani caratteri sopra differenti materie operati*. 3 vols. Parigi: Dondey-Dupré, 1845–1846, Vol. 3, T. III.

South of the ecliptic



North of the ecliptic

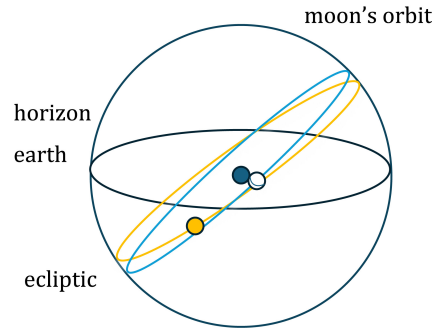


FIGURE 7 New Moon

one end and reaching the other end, it will seem to people that the fire is “running”. However, the fire does not run, because when fire occurs in a place to which it is confined, it does not run, but is immobile in the still place (*ṣāmīṭun fī mawḍī’i aṣ-ṣāmīṭi ya’anī quedo* (Cast. quedo, quieto, that is, still)).⁸⁹

Reviewing what has been said, it is possible to postulate that the author situates the discussion of celestial phenomena within a Muslim religious framework, citing, for example, the Qur’ān and the sayings of Muḥammad. However, he does not ignore the perspectives of other religious communities. In the supra-lunary region, the movement of the stars and natural celestial phenomena take centre stage, and it seems that it was the observation of such phenomena which served as a guideline for their interpretation and consequently for their exegesis. That is to say, the author did not hesitate to distance himself from his co-religionists if the latter did not follow the method of observation he proposed and subsequently made erroneous interpretations because of their lack of knowledge. This reveals that, at that time, there were different approaches to these questions, even within the Muslim communities themselves, and likely among Mudejars as well.

1.6 *The Elements in the Sublunary Sphere*

Turning our focus on the sublunary region, we see that, when speaking about Creation, the author of the KM uses the simile of things adding to one another (*aṣyā’ al-muḍāfāt*). He also claims that created things (*al-ḥalā’iq*) cannot exist without a Creator (*al-ḥāliq*) and, perhaps notably, nor can the Creator exist

89 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 43^r.

without them.⁹⁰ God, he tells us on f. 56^v, created seven things without which the world would not be complete, which are: 1. the celestial orbits (such as those of the sun and moon), 2. humankind, 3. the elements (*‘anāṣir*), 4. air, 5. water, 6. fire and 7. dust. The geometrician says that something is complete when it lacks nothing and the philosopher says that all things which have been created by the Lord (*ar-rabb*) are complete. This is coupled with the statement that something is complete when it could not have been made more complete than it is now. The four elements (*al-ustuqusāt*)—water, fire, air and dust—are in the Earth and come from it,⁹¹ *ergo* all created things grow from them, including all plants and trees. They can be found on the Earth and in every created being (trees, plants and in the constitutions of the four temperaments, *tabā‘i al-aḥlāt*). A tree is indeed planted in the Earth and its roots are under it and it grows with water, the heat of the sun and the air. If one of these elements is missing, no growth takes place: they are also called the soul of nourishment and growth (*rūḥ al-aḡdiyya (sic) wa-n-namū*).⁹² Likewise, the author of the KM endorses Aristotle’s view that matter cannot be transformed into a different matter (contesting the claim of the alchemists, *alcamīṣtas*),⁹³ just as esparto cannot be made into a silken wrap nor can silk be made into a linen wrap until it is absorbed into the source (*umm*) from which first it came. Nor can a person who cuts off another person’s ear make it grow back and although philosophers say that a foetus which has had one of its fingers cut off can grow another, after it leaves its mother’s womb this is no longer the case.⁹⁴ Conversely, when a branch is cut off a tree a new one grows in another place, something which does not happen among men and women, saddle animals (*dawābb*) and animals in general.⁹⁵ Why, he wonders, do corpses not stink at first but only after the sun shines on them? Because the sun heats up moisture within it and putrefies it

90 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 51^r.

91 We read that the fire is present in the stones, but not in the sense it is found as bodily matter (*bi-māddatin ḡawharin*) (ff. 46^v–47^r). Here, *ḡawhar* is rendered as “bodily” and not as “substance”, according to the understanding in Spanish, which provides the author with some lines below, that is, of *ḡawhar* as “corporeal”.

92 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 46^r.

93 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 50^r.

94 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 50^r.

95 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 50^v. We also encounter the claims of Ibn Ruṣd (ff. 57^v–58^r) who says that only things which have colour can be destroyed (Cast. exterminar), because when there is no colour there is no physicality (*ḡasadiyya*). The wind has a physicality, yet, in terms of colour, it has no corporeality in it to be destroyed. Therefore, all things that do not exhibit physicality and colour do not occupy a place (Cast. non-enbarga; no embarga).

قال أبو الوليد بن رشد ليس يقدر أحدٌ اشتار من الأشياء إن لم يكن لها لونٌ * وإذا لم يكن لها لونٌ

so that it rots, and the wind comes and carries that stench; this happens much earlier in summer than in winter because the heat in summer dissolves them earlier. Something similar happens when a corpse falls into a fire and disintegrates.⁹⁶ In short, although there seem to be some differences between plant and animal species, all things in the sublunary region, unlike celestial things, are subject to corruption and afflicted by decay. As the work of God, Creation could not have been in any way more complete than it is.⁹⁷

1.7 *Man*

Man is counted among the animal species, but here we shall treat humankind separately because of their particularities. When the author addresses this question, he does so sporadically, raising it in various places scattered here and there in the work, often in brief sentences and interspersed with other arguments and references. Therefore, in what follows are just some of the most recurrent. For example, we read human beings, subsunder under the name of human and animal, are all one (*an-nās fī ism al-insāniyya wa-l-ḥayawāniyya kulluhum wāḥidun*), and also that the logician (*al-mantiqī*) said that all human beings are man-animals (*kullu-n-nās insān ḥayawān*).⁹⁸ Men are only set apart from the rest of Creation by rationality and knowledge. However, people also share the animal species (*al-ḥayawāniyya*) with cattle and other animals; what separates them is speech (*ifrāz baynahumā fī nuṭqin*).⁹⁹ On the other hand, on f. 47^r, he quotes the questions (*masʾala*) posed in Ibn Rušd's *Kitāb al-Mantiq* in which we read that a human occupies an animal body (*insānun ḥayawānun ḡawharun*);¹⁰⁰ hence, as an animal body (he argues in a passage about the possibility of God resembling man), he needs to generate (*wāḡib lahu an yatraka min naslahi, sic*).¹⁰¹ Aristotle states that the term animal (*al-ḥayawān*) is com-

لَيْسَ لَهَا جَسَدِيَّةٌ * وَالرَّيْحُ يَكُنْ لَهُ جَسَدٌ وَلَا جَسَدٌ بِهِ بَأْنَءٌ أَشْتَارُ مِنَّا بَلَوْنَ كَمَثَلِ شَيْءٍ مَبْنِيِّ كَاشَأْءَ أَشْتَارِ مَنَ
بِجَسَدٍ وَبَلَوْنَ وَجَمِيعِ الْأَشْيَاءِ الَّتِي لَمْ يَتَبَيَّنْ بِجَسَدِيَّةٍ وَبَلَوْنَ نَنْءَ أَنْبَغَ مَوْضِعٌ

96 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 59^v.

97 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 56^v.

98 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 46^v. This designation is found in other works by peninsular Muslims, sometimes used with specific meanings, for example, in the case of Ibn al-ʿArabī, who employs the expression *al-insān al-ḥayawān* ("animal men") to refer to the imperfect individual in contrast to the one who is perfect (*al-insān al-kāmil*). See, Ebstein, Michael. *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus: Ibn Masarra, Ibn al-ʿArabī and the Ismāʿīlī Tradition*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014, p. 187.

99 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 46^v.

100 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 47^r.

101 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 33^v.

mon to all animals, but when a separation between them has to be established, there are three species: 1. animals (*ḥayawān*), 2. rational animals (*ḥayawān nāṭiq*) who are mortal (literally dead, *mayyit*); and 3. celestial animals (*ḥayawān samāwiyya*), that is to say—he notes—angels (*yaʿanī malāʾika*)¹⁰² as noted above, also called the distinct intellects (*ʿuqūl al-mufarriqa*).¹⁰³ Angels, we read on f. 56^r, share in intellect (*ʿuqūl*) according to Aristotle. Earlier, on f. 57^r, in this regard we read that, according to Aristotle’s natural philosophy, the intellect (*al-ʿaql*) is twofold (*ʿaqlayn*): there is the general intellect (*ʿaql maʾmūm*) and the specific intellect (*ʿaql maḥṣūṣ*). The general intellect benefits all creatures and all do have some degree of it. For example, all men guard themselves against fire, falling into water and falling off roofs, because their general intellect understands that they must avoid what is harmful. The specific intellect corresponds to men studying the philosophy, especially its branch known as logic, because people desire to distinguish between truth and falsehood, and they have an innate sense about truths and lies. On f. 58^v, these ideas are developed a little by recourse to Ibn Rušd who says that the intellect is that part of the knowledge which enables man to recognize proximate and distant causes. Proximate causes (*al-asbāb al-qarība*) resemble the four mixtures (*al-iḥlāṭ al-arbaʿa*), and distant causes (*al-asbāb al-bāʿida*) are (questions such as): from what is the human being created, a drop of sperm? When we refer to the four elements (*al-ʿanāṣir al-arbaʿa*), where did this idea originate? On f. 56^r, we read the same statement, namely: that men share intellect (*al-ʿuqūl*) with the angels, and “animality” (*fī ʿl-ḥayawāniyya*) and the senses (*al-ḥawāss*) with animals.¹⁰⁴ With the trees he shares the nourishment of dates (which, according to the author, are said to have *quwwa aḡdiyya* (the “power” or faculty of feeding; a nourishing power);¹⁰⁵ yet translated by him into Romance as “power

102 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 57^v.

103 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 58^v.

104 The text renders *al-ḥarās* literally in at least three places not as “guards” but “senses”, a better reading.

105 The term *al-quwwa-l-ḡdiyya* figures among the faculties, or *qiwā* (power), of the psyche in the anonymous and unnamed epistle circulating in al-Andalus attributed to the Persian scholar Sahl at-Tustarī (c. 203 H/818 CE–283 H/896 CE) as well as in what is known as the *Risālat al-ḥurūf* (*Epistle of Letters*). This epistle has been discussed among other scholars by Ebstein and Sviri in connection with the formation of an Andalūsī “Tustarī tradition” and with mystical currents in al-Andalus which arose in conjunction with the circulation of Shīʿī–Ismāʿīlī, neo-platonic–hermetic and occultist sensibilities. These are present in works such as the *Ġāyat al-ḥakīm* (*The Goal of the Sage*), about the (2nd–3rd c. H/10th–11th c. CE) and the epistles of the *Iḥwān aṣ-Ṣafāʾ* (2nd c. H/10th c. CE). Ebstein, Michael and Sara Sviri. “The So-called *Risālat al-ḥurūf* (Epistle on Letters) ascribed to Sahl al-Tustarī

of governance (or steering)” (Cast. *en potencia de gobernación*),¹⁰⁶ which, it is explained, governs the trees in the same way it governs men). Turning to the generation of man it has no beginning and no end,¹⁰⁷ just as time has no beginning and no end.¹⁰⁸ The elements (*al-ustuqusāt*), which are water, fire, wind and dust have no beginning and no end. Men’s growth depends on the four elements (*al-ustuqusāt*);¹⁰⁹ all created things grow from them, including all plants and trees. Because the chain of generation in the sublunary sphere is infinite, in Aristotle’s natural philosophy (*al-falsafa at-ṭabīʿiyya*) we read that the animal species resemble celestial things because they always remain within their own species (*yabqā fī nawʿ dāʿīman*).¹¹⁰ This notwithstanding, the author points out, that those learned in philosophy give man a father (*abb*), even though men have

and Letter Mysticism in al-Andalus.” *Journal Asiatique* 299, No. 1 (2001): 213–270; pp. 215, 237, 252–253. See also, De Callataj, Godefroid. “Magia en al-Andalus: *Rasāʾil Ijwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, *Rutbat al-Ḥakīm* y *Ġāyat al-Ḥakīm* (Picatrix).” *Al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 34, No. 2 (2013): 297–344. It is also a faculty which appears in the epistles of the *Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafāʾ*, Ebstein, *Mysticism and Philosophy in al-Andalus*, p. 193. In the epistle of at-Tustarī we also encounter the adjective *ṭabīʿiyya* with reference to fourteen faculties (*qiwā*) of the Arabic alphabet; the other fourteen are referred to as *naḥsāniyya*. The use of *ṭabīʿiyya* as an adjective following the noun *al-falsafa* is an oft-repeated one in the KM, frequently to refer to Aristotle’s natural philosophy (*al-falsafa at-ṭabīʿiyya*). Ebstein and Sviri, “The So-called *Risālat al-hurūf*”, p. 216. *Al-quwwa al-ḡaḍiyya* also appears in the correspondence of another Persian astronomer and mathematician, Naṣīr ad-Dīn at-Ṭūsī (597 H/1201 CE–672 H/1274) in *Ṣadr ad-Dīn al-Qunāwī*, in relation to how the body is guided by the soul with unconscious forces we read on p. 117:

بقوى خالية عن الشعور، كالغاذية

Qūnawī, Muḥammad b. Iṣḥāq al-, and Naṣīr ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūḥammad at-Ṭūsī/Gudrun Schubert (ed. and comm.). *al-Murāsālat bayna Ṣadr ad-Dīn al-Qūnawī wa Naṣīr ad-Dīn at-Ṭūsī*, 1st ed. Beirut: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1995; see also p. 35.

106 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 56^r.

107 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 46^v.

108 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 34^r.

109 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 46^v.

110 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 38^v. At another place, on f. 57^r, the author of the KM states that in his philosophy Aristotle claims that a woman resembles her offspring more closely than does a man, because the embryo grows in her belly from menstrual blood and sucks the mother’s blood for nine months and, after birth, is breast-fed for two full years. An example of this is the jug filled with milk containing a vetch which diffuses its smell and permeates the jug with it; this resembles the sperm of men because the woman’s “receptacle” (*inā*; likely meaning womb) is larger. See, Kraut, Richard, “Plato.” In Edward N. Zalta (ed.). *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2022 Edition), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2022/entries/plato/>

no father in religious law (*fī šarī'a*).¹¹¹ This is because a father is necessary, just as a wall needs to be supported by foundations; the foundations of man are the elements.

One frequently recurring notion in the text is the Aristotelean claim that men need all created things in order to live.¹¹² This is connected to the constitutions of the four humours (blood, phlegm, black bile (gall), yellow bile), which are also found in physical nature (*tabī'a*), for example, in the nature of the elements (*tabī'at al-'anāšir*).¹¹³ Blood, we are told, is hot-wet resembling the nature of air, phlegm is cold-wet resembling the nature of water, black bile is cold-dry resembling the nature of dust and yellow bile is hot-dry resembling the nature of fire. Why is it that a man cannot see during the day but can at night? wonders the author.¹¹⁴ The answer is because he is choleric (*šafrawī*), and the nature of this humour is hot and dry just as the sun is hot and dry. At night, he can see because the night is humid and humidity decreases the heat because it is heavy and heat is light. A man who sees in the daytime and not at night is phlegmatic. This is because phlegm is moist and prevails over the heat of the sun. This lowers the heat and prevails over it, so he can see. But he cannot see at night because the night is of its very nature moist as is phlegm. Something heavy adheres to what is heavy and so he cannot see.

In addition to what has been said, we also discover that men have eight intellects (*'uqūl*), four of which are external—1. the soul (*an-nafs*), 2. the eyes (*al-'aynayn*), 3. the nose (*al-anf*) and 4. the mouth (*al-famm*)—and other four are internal—1. common sense (*al-ḥiss al-muštarak*), which is located in the forehead (*ḡabha*), 2. imagination (*at-taḥīl*), 3. reflection or the cognitive faculty (*al-fikra*), 4. memory (*ad-dākira al-ḡāfiẓa*), which is found within the skull (*qihf*), in the brain (*dimāġ*).¹¹⁵ The author of the KM argues that, according to Aristotle, God created three things in man: 1. the soul (*nafs*), 2. the body (*ḡasad*) and 3. the accidents (*i'tirād*), good and bad. There are men with a good soul and

111 ÖNB MS AF 58, ff. 34^{r-v}.

112 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 56^r.

113 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 46^v.

114 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 59^v.

115 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 50^r. The order in which the internal faculties are listed corresponds to that in Ibn Rušd's *Long Commentary on De anima*. See Ibn Rušd, Abū l-Walid Muḡammad b. Aḡmad/Richard C. Taylor (trans.). *Long Commentary on the De Anima of Aristotle*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009, pp. 331–332. The number of faculties, both internal and external, has varied among Muslim scholars, for example, Ibn Rušd considered the internal to be only three. Inati, Shams and Elsayed Omran. "Literature." In Seyyed Hossein Nasr and Oliver Leaman (eds.). *History of Islamic Philosophy* (1st ed. 1996). New York: Routledge, 2007, pp. 886–897; p. 887 and ff.

body but bad accidents and there are men in whom all of these things are bad. Consequently, some human beings have a good body and soul and bad accidents, and some have a bad body, soul and accidents. Other combinations are possible, but human beings are not endowed with the capacity to have a good body, a good soul and good accidents.¹¹⁶ None of these three things created by God is in the power of man. What is beyond the scope of the hands of men, for example, are accidents. Man cannot avoid them because they come from God.¹¹⁷ The soul is one part of the whole in the body and it is the form in matter (*qālib fi mādda*), which means that the form is the soul and the matter is the body.¹¹⁸ Man has a rational-animal soul (*nafs ḥayawān nāṭiq*) and belongs to the animal species (*ǧīns al-ḥayawān*) to which other animals such as dogs and pigs also belong.¹¹⁹ The way we know that there is a soul in their bodies is that men, as they grow old, become more knowledgable. This is because the soul in them is stronger (more so than in younger men), but the physical apparatus (*ālat al-ǧasad*) weakens in older men, decay and deficiencies appear, leading to weakness of the body, in turn entailing weakness of the soul. Hence, the soul can be afflicted by deficiency because the soul is the mould and the body the matter.¹²⁰ This is very like the example of the carpenter's tool (the *kairūma*, a kind of chisel) given by Aristotle mentioned above. However, here it used in the sense that, when this tool is kept in good repair and the carpenter can use it to do all the work he wants to with it, we read, it is said that the *kairūma* is made of good iron and, if it has a physicality (*ǧasidiyya*), it will be said that it has a keen "soul". However, if it lacks this physicality; it can be used to make a fence (*rešah*, (Cat.) reixa, (Cast.) reja), a knife or some other object, so one says: How sharp this *kairūma* is!¹²¹ These ideas are very reminiscent to those in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, in which we read that "a good thing of a certain kind is that which has the virtues which enable it to carry out its *function* properly", a claim which is followed by the example of the knife,¹²² a utensil which, to a certain extent, can be compared to the *kairūma*.

The soul is also connected to food and, even though it is quite remarkable that a Muslim believer would endorse the position that comes next. In it, the author of the KM claims that, in his natural philosophy Aristotle says that it is

116 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 50^v.

117 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 51^v.

118 ÖNB MS AF 58, ff. 31^v–32^f.

119 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 33^v.

120 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 59^f.

121 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 59^f.

122 Pakaluk, Michael. *Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 6.

better for men to eat to excess than to fast. This is because when men fast nature consumes the excess and, when there is no nature to be consumed, the natural flesh is consumed instead. It is what happens when a lamp is so filled to overflowing with oil the wick is consumed as it burns away little by little. But, when there is no oil for the wick, the whole wick is consumed by fire: this is what happens with a person who fasts.¹²³ Aristotle also says, if people eat good food (for example, mutton, chicken and partridge), good blood is generated from it and, if people eat bad food (for example, garlic and raw onions), bad blood is generated instead.¹²⁴ For example, the Bedouin, who eat bad food, generate bad blood and, hence, even though the efficient cause (*al-fā'il*) is one in all people, in their souls and bodies, they are deficient in understanding and are ignorant (*mağhūlīn*). This is like the sound of air which ranges over the whole gamut of strengths: nevertheless, it is one wind. However, the sound of the small-calibre cannon is thinner than that of one larger. The heavier the calibre of the canon the bigger sound, far louder than the smaller version but both are cast from lead (*raṣāṣ*).¹²⁵ Or, take fire which burns from the wood of the oak tree or from that of the fig tree, both are one, but the heat in the fire which burns from the oak tree is greater than the one which burns from the fig tree.¹²⁶ As a consequence of what has been said, the soul which grows in men's bodies through the consumption of good food, hence generating good blood, consequently desires to study the sciences and it will do so to a greater degree than the soul grown from bad blood: this soul exists in misery.

2 Sections and Distribution of Sources on Philosophy in the KM

After having presented some of the philosophical ideas which recur in the work and are of particular importance to the articulation of the discourse of its author, it is now time to raise the question of how they are raised in the KM. As noted above, philosophy permeates the whole of the KM but it is presented and used in different ways in it. The most important differences lie in the

123 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 59^r.

124 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 59^v.

125 This could not have been correct as cannon have never been made from lead, as this would and would get too hot too soon and melted easily. The earliest cannons were made of bronze. Cannon balls, however, were made of lead. It is possible that the author had no personal experience of cannon as they would have still been relatively rare at his time. I thank Rosemary Robson for making me aware of these facts.

126 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 59^v.

proportions between philosophical and religious sources, forming combinations which seem to reflect the author's goals at any given time. The latter are mainly summed up in both and alternate with each other: on the one occasion to ensure victory in religious polemics (here, according to the author, philosophy is in harmony with Revelation and can help Muslims convince Christians and Jews). On another occasion it is his clear desire to explain philosophy for the greater benefit of the believer (that is, not strictly within the framework of inter-religious polemics, even though we have seen that some lines of intra-religious polemics with other Muslims have indeed been drawn). On the basis of these two considerations, it is possible to distinguish five sections in the KM which will be considered here, but it should be noted that the points taken to mark the passage from one another are a heuristic tool.

2.1 *First Section*

The content of the first section corresponds to what would be expected in a work entitled "polemics with the Jews and the Christians". The author first addresses a number of commonplaces in Muslim religious points of dispute with Christians and Jews, although the arguments against Christianity seem to carry much greater weight than those against Judaism. These arguments are primarily directed towards refuting Christian claims about Jesus' status as the son of God—his dual nature, human and divine—and Jesus' redemption of man's sins. He also addresses Jesus' role in divine history (the question of whether he brought change to God's original Revelation)¹²⁷ and other controversial issues such as the Trinity, the proofs of prophecy, Paradise, physical resurrection on the Day of Judgement and God's decree and determination (*al-qaḍā' wa-l-qadar*). In his arguments, the author frequently returns to the subject of God's creation of man. The issues are discussed with reference to Revelation, the Bible and the Qur'ān but, in this section, the author also presents the fundamentals of his philosophical views, despite the fact the details of this philosophy have not yet been fully worked out. He advances two important notions: one is that of the Aristotelian division of the cosmos to which we have referred, which distinguishes a sublunar and a supra-lunar region, in which bodies and natural phenomena are subject to distinct laws; the other notion is the awareness that the observation and study of nature, that is, of the phenomena of the sublunar sphere, is what makes it truly possible properly to understand God's Creation and His message to men from a philosophical perspective.

¹²⁷ As for example stated in Luke 22:20.

At first glance, these two notions fall outside the most common framework of inter-religious polemics and therefore offer a new perspective from which to explore how some Christian claims are addressed. For example, if we pause briefly before the strict separation between the sublunary or terrestrial sphere and the supra-lunary or celestial sphere, it is easy to see that this separation is a particularly powerful tool to refute arguments which support the dual nature of Jesus; the crux being that the bodies in the sublunar region do not share characteristics with those of the supra-lunar region. It is also possible to refute the claim that Jesus' death was necessary for the redemption of man's sin. Insofar as the distinction between the two disparate regions applies, it would not be possible for Jesus, in the sublunar region (that is, being alive in the world), could redeem men from sins which will be judged beyond the supra-lunar region (where, for example, the Afterlife Paradise is located—which as noted above extends beyond the limits of the cosmos).¹²⁸ Jesus is in no way a mediator between the two regions.

Here, we take as our starting point the KM claim that the paradise of Adam and Eve was located in the sublunar region and hence it does not correspond to the one God has promised the faithful.¹²⁹ This claim, we shall see, is also connected to the polemics on Jesus and stresses his human nature. To shed light on how this works, it should be noted that, as Fierro points out, the place of Adam and Eve's paradise was debated among Muslims, and she provides us with a peninsular testimony from the 'Umayyad period, from Mundir b. Sa'id al-Ballūṭī (273 H/886–7 CE–355 H/966 CE), transmitted by Ibn Ḥazm. This *qāḍī* was a prominent Mu'tazilī, as Ibn Ḥazm also notes,¹³⁰ and argued that the paradise of Adam and Eve was on earth. Among the reasons he provides, he argued that, if this were not so (that is, if Adam and Eve dwelled in an eternal paradise), they would not have needed to eat from the tree of immortality.¹³¹ Besides, a certain "Ibn Masarra", whom Fierro identifies with the well-known Andalusī philosopher and mystic died in 319 H/931 CE, also seems to have held views similar to those of Mundir.¹³² As noted, the author of the KM also distances himself from

128 ÖNB MS AF 58, ff. 42^v–43^r.

129 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 35^r. For an overview of the topic, see Lange, Christian. *Paradise and Hell in Islamic Traditions*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

130 As noted by Adang, Fierro and Schmidtke (eds.), *Ibn Ḥazm of Cordoba*, p. 381.

131 Referred to as *šağarat al-huld* in Q. 20:120 and simply as "tree" in other places.

132 See Fierro, Maribel. *La heterodoxia en al-Ándalus durante el periodo omeya*. Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, 1987, pp. 141–142 for the account of Mundir and 139, note 52 for the claims by Ibn Masarra. It should be noted, although, Mu'tazilī views are also subject to some variation, and, for example, that the teacher of al-Aṣ'arī, al-Ġubbā'ī, placed Adam's paradise in the seventh Heaven. See *EI*² "Djanna" s.v. (Gardet).

mainstream Sunnī views, according to which both paradises are one and the same. Interestingly he does so in his own way. He claims that learned Muslims (*‘ulamā’*) have reached such a conclusion because of their ignorance in understanding the Qur’ān properly. They interpret Q. 2:36 too literally, particularly, *ihbiṭū* in God’s command to Adam, when He says: “Descend from the Heavens to the earth”. The author argues that *ihbiṭū* should not be interpreted as to “descend from Heaven”, in the same way as *ihbiṭū* did not have this meaning when Moses told to his people that they should “descend”, *ihbiṭū*, or go down to, a city in Q. 2:61, but to “go down from glory to humiliation”.¹³³ In his reasoning, he not only opposes the views of some of his Muslim co-religionists, he also rejects those of Christians. In his polemics with the latter, he quotes the verses from the Bible relevant to these events and the Christians’ claim that Adam would not have died if he had not eaten from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. He refutes this by saying that Adam would not have been spared death if he had not eaten from the tree of good and evil. The reason given is that Adam lived in an earthly Paradise (*kāna maskūnun fī ḡanna arḍiyya ya’anī terrenal* (i.e. earthly)) and could only have become immortal by eating from the tree of life (in the KM referred to as *šaḡarat al-ḥayā*).¹³⁴ To this, he adds, Adam and Eve unfortunately had no access to this tree because it was guarded by cherubim.¹³⁵

Beyond the question of the exact location of Adam and Eve’s paradise, separating the argument of immortality from the argument of what Adam and Eve ate places man’s disobedience to God in the foreground in absolute terms. This emphasis is attuned to Muslim interpretations of these events; the approach in this Mudejar polemic is nonetheless remarkable. First and foremost, his reading of Gen. 3:24, in which it says that God “placed at the east of the garden of Eden cherubim, and a flaming sword turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life”, does not stop to consider that, in the biblical account, the cher-

133 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 42^v:

اهبطوا مصر فان لكم ما سألتم وتفسير اهبطوا معناه اهبطوا من عز الى ذل

134 Written according to the Qur’anic spelling in ÖNB MS AF 58 ff. 35^{r-v}.

135 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 35^r:

بن يظهر بطبيعة حقيقة عاد لا يأكل آدم من شجرة العلم والخير والشرا انه يموت بسبب ان الشجرة الحيوّة محروزة يملك من الكاروبيم كما قال في كتاب التوراة في هذه المسئلة لقدام لا يسلم آدم ان ليس أكل من الشجرة العلم والخير والشرا من الموت إذ لم يأكل من شجرة الحيوّة وتفسير يعني غلوش تموت موتاً ان آدم كان مسكون في جنة ارضية يعني تارائل ولم يعلم خيراً ولا شراً فاليوم الذي يأكل من شجرة العلم والخير والشرا يدري خيراً وشراً ويعلم انه يموت

ubim guard the tree of life only after Adam and Eve are expelled from paradise. Of greater importance is that his claim that Adam and Eve did not eat from the tree of life represents a complete departure from the Qurʾānic narrative and Muslim interpretations of it. This comment also includes the approaches of minority currents in the Iberian Peninsula, such as those of the Muʿtazila just referred to. In fact, the author of the KM seems to oscillate between Muslim and Christian interpretations of the events.¹³⁶ On the one hand, his discussion of the place of paradise (and of Paradise) does agree with that of other Muslims. On the other hand, he does not explicitly mention that Adam and Eve ate from the tree of knowledge of good and evil, but there is no other possibility left if they also did not eat from the tree of life. All in all, the author's take on the Qurʾānic and Biblical narratives is unclear since, from his perspective of a division between the sublunar and supra-lunar regions, he asks the Christians to which species these two trees belong. He points out that these are designated only by these two generic names, whereas in nature each tree sort has its own species.¹³⁷ Therefore, he exclaims: "So tell me of what species each of these two trees is?"¹³⁸ Posing such a question seems to tie in with the Muslim preoccupation with the sin of Adam and Eve. Some exegetes argued that Adam mistook God's command not to eat from a specific tree, not understanding that God was referring to tree in the sense of species ("nawʿ"), encompassing all trees in paradise.¹³⁹ Remarkably, here the author goes off in the opposite direction by pointing out that every tree has a "nawʿ", or species, in a restricted sense. Whereas his understanding of the tree or trees of paradise is puzzling to say the least, Adam and Eve's punishment remains unquestioned. It is precisely the punishment on Earth for men's disobedience to God, which gives him more material to underpin his claim that Jesus had only a human nature. Here, again working from a division between the sublunar and the supra-lunar regions, the author of the KM claims that Jesus could have only absolved sins in the former. And even in the sublunar region, Jesus' death did not take away God's punishment, as the Christians claim, he retorts, for instance, women continue to suffer the same pangs of childbirth as in Adam's time.¹⁴⁰

136 He might be using Christian biblical exegesis for his approach to these events, and also to the Qurʾānic narrative. I thank Gerard Wieggers from the University of Amsterdam for this suggestion.

137 ÖNB MS AF 58, ff. 35^{r-v}.

138 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 35^r:

فَأَخْبِرُونِي أَيُّ نَوْعٍ مِنْ كُلِّ وَاحِدَةٍ مِنَ هَذَيْنِ الشَّجَرَتَيْنِ

139 See EQ "Adam and Eve" s.v. (Schöck).

140 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 35^r:

In this section, philosophy is, therefore, present but serves as a sub-text to the religious polemic. Consequently, it is used as a tool backed up by a little background explanation. This begs the question of whether the author assumed that his Muslim audience had some familiarity with these ideas or, was the goal he was pursuing perhaps that of fostering such a familiarity stealthily, by introducing bits of philosophy into a discourse of religious polemic, with which the communities in Christian territories would probably already have been familiar. Indeed, the polemic with the Christians is represented to the readers in such direct and vivid terms, it could have sparked a face-to-face encounter between the two communities. The Christians are often presented as taking the initiative—their claims are introduced by “*qāla*”, “the Christians say”, or “*za’amū*”, “the Christians argue”—hence, they seem to have set the polemical agenda and reveal the issues which are central to the *KM*, in which they are subsequently taken up and discussed. Although subsidiary to the discourse of religious polemics, the introduction of philosophical ideas at this early stage attracts the reader’s attention because of the emphasis put on their importance to the discourse. At one point, references to philosophical authorities (in particular the names of Aristotle and Ibn Rušd) become more numerous and, on folio 39^r to f. 44^r, it is possible to identify a transition which leads to what I want to call the second section of the *KM*. As he approaches this transition, the *KM* author cites the views of Aristotle and Ibn Rušd on the distinction between what is in the here-and-now and what is absent. These authors also claim that what should be investigated is above all what is perceived through the senses or what can be observed with the eyes.

The investigation of the world through sensory, positive and rational experience is undoubtedly the central pillar of the *KM*’s approach to the cosmos. Hence, although the spirit and soul, which are not accessible to the senses, are mentioned occasionally, the author does not plunge into a very detailed discussion of them (the aspects discussed in the previous section of this chapter cover the principal ones addressed). Moving forward to some of the arguments in the next section, his position closely follows the statement we find on f. 47^r that man knows nothing when he is born and acquires knowledge of the external (*aḡ-zāhir*) through the senses (*bi-l-ḡawāss*).¹⁴¹ God alone is the Knower of the

وقد علمتُمْ أيضاً ان هَذَا الْعُقُوبَةَ الَّتِي عُوِقِبَ بِهَ الرَّبُّ لِأَدَمَ وَأَمْرَاتِهِ لَمْ يَذْهَبَ مِنْ الْأَرْضِ بِمَوْتِ عَيْسَى
 أَنْ الْأَوْجَاعَ فِي النِّسَاءِ فِي تَوَالِدِهَا وَمَسْخَرَاتِ النِّسَاءِ لِأَزْوَاجِهِنَّ هَذَا الْيَوْمَ * وَلَا سِيمَا فِي أَزْوَاجِكُمْ وَالشُّوَاكِ
 وَالشَّقَاءِ الَّتِي عَهْدَ الرَّبُّ لِأَدَمَ وَأَمْرَاتِهِ وَعُقُوبَتُهُمَا هَذَا الْيَوْمَ كَمَا كَانَ فِي زَمَانِ أَدَمَ

141 Here, too, mistakenly written as *al-ḡarās*.

Hidden (*al-ġāyib*)¹⁴² and, although he warns that the senses can also lead to deception, the author turns to Aristotle to criticize the weak-minded who think that what is understood by one who has not grasped what has been argued is right, ignorant of the fact it is false. In their ignorance, they resemble bats or birds of the night which think that the day is dark because they do not see the light of day and judge it by the darkness. In his philosophy, Aristotle says that a wise man knows all things in the world and has a sense perception of everything, even of the “small world”, or the philosophy of the microcosm (*wa lahu ḥiss fī kulli šay’ ḥattā al-falsafa al-‘ālam aṣ-ṣagīr*).¹⁴³ We read that, in this same sense, the Lord said in the Torah: “We will make man after Our image”, which should be read as man does indeed resemble God, in that God created Adam and his authority over all things in the world and taught him all things. This is the only reference to the microcosm and the author does not develop or contextualize it. This point would have been of interest in light of the various sources available at the time, including those Andalusī ones in which it appears.¹⁴⁴ It is also striking how little attention he pays to the occult, consid-

142 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 43’.

143 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 43’.

144 Notions of the microcosm are rooted in a long tradition and, if we focus on the Middle Ages, we can say that they have been subject to different elaborations within Islam, Christianity and Judaism. See, Allers, Rudolf. “Microcosmus: From Anaximandros to Paracelsus”. *Traditio* 2 (1944): 319–407 for a detailed overview of approaches to the notion. Also, Conger, George Perrigo. *Theories of macrocosms and microcosms in the history of philosophy*. (1st. ed. 1922, Columbia University Press). New York: Russell & Russell, 1967, particularly, Chapter 2, pp. 29–52 and, for Islam, pp. 46–52—in which special attention is paid to its place in the *Iḥwān aṣ-Ṣafā*’s epistles. Indeed, this brotherhood was among those Muslims who developed the idea of the microcosmos most extensively. It recurs prolifically in their epistles which, we have seen, found an echo in al-Andalus. Examples are various, for instance, that of the Persian cosmographer al-Qazwīnī’s (600H/1203 CE) *‘Aġā’ib al-maḥluqāt wa ġarā’ib al-mawġūdāt* (Wonders of the Creation and Unique [Phenomena] of Existence), closer to the KM in time but not geographically, whose works rely, among other references, on Andalusī sources. References to the microcosm are likewise provided by his pupil, Šams ad-Dīn Muḥammad ad-Dimašqī (654H/1256 CE–725–8H/1325–1328 CE). See for the latter, Scott Meisami, Julie and Starkey, Paul (eds.). *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, 2 vols. London and New York: Routledge, 1998, Vol. 1, pp. 194–195. Furthermore, and on account of its ties to Neoplatonism, the microcosm also appears in sources such as the Arabic translation of Plotinus’ *Enneads*, known as *Theology of Aristotle* as well as in philosophical tracts by scholars such as al-Kindī, al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. Adamson, Peter. *The Arabic Plotinus: A Philosophical Study of the Theology of Aristotle*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2002. Wildberg, Christian. “Neoplatonism”. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2021 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2021/entries/neoplatonism/>. For a discussion of the relationship between the microcosm and the macrocosm in the Ismā’īlī tradition in al-Andalus, see Ebstein, *Mysticism*

ering that Aristotle dedicated *Metaphysics* to the investigation of those things supposedly unattainable because they are beyond the realm of the senses and the fact that the author does refer to some concepts which appear in this work, such as the Unmovable Mover. These two elements—the focus on man eventually epitomized in him being a mirror of the Universe or microcosmos and the omission of metaphysics—are a distinguishing characteristic of the philosophy in the *KM* in which the essence of God is not discussed but the natural world takes centre stage instead; an approach which in the eyes of its author leads to knowledge which was valid for understanding Islam and improved it.

2.2 Second Section

The second section begins with what the author calls “the treatises (*maqālāt*) of Aristotle and Ibn Rušd”, on ff. 44^r–47^v. These “*maqālāt*” can be understood either as “treatises” or as “sayings”. Cogently, they give us a good indication of the author’s philosophy of knowledge. As has been said, as subject for investigation, philosophy acquires greater importance towards the end of the first section. We could even go so far as to say that it clearly supplants polemics in the second section. The principal goal of the author is to deal with various aspects related to knowledge, and he does so by relying on the authority of Aristotle and Ibn Rušd, although of the latter’s works the only source he mentions is the *Kitāb al-Mantiq*.¹⁴⁵ On ff. 47^{r-v} begins the chapter on Ibn Rušd’s treatises or sayings (*bāb fī maqālāt Ibn Rušd*). The author of the *KM* endorses the ideas of this scholar who distinguishes between knowledge based on rational proof (*al-‘ilm al-‘aqlīyya*, that is, knowledge acquired by learning *‘ilm at-ta‘līm*) and evidence accepted for what it is (*al-‘ilm as-sam‘īyya*, which is the *šarī‘a*, knowledge absorbed by custom or imitation, *‘ilm at-taqlīd*).¹⁴⁶ The order of the creation of the Heavens and the Earth, or in the language of the philosophers, of

and Philosophy in al-Andalus, Chapter 5, pp. 189–229. Without the text before us providing greater detail, it is both difficult and risky to essay any conjecture about the possible sources of this idea used by the author. It is mentioned as part of a quotation from Aristotle, which does perhaps suggest it was derived from his theology.

145 There are fifteen references to the *Kitāb al-Mantiq*, *al-Mantiq* and the *Kitāb aḍ-Ḍarūra* in the *KM* (see the summary of sources of the *KM* at the end of this book). Ten times the work is attributed to Ibn Rušd and four times to Aristotle. The title seems to indicate that the author might have been referring to one of the first short commentaries (epitome) on Ibn Rušd’s *Logic of Aristotle*. See, Endress, Gerhard. “Averrois Opera: A Bibliography of Editions and Contributions to the Text.” In Gerhard Endress and Jan A. Aertsen (eds.), *Averroes and the Aristotelian Tradition: Sources, Constitution and Reception of the Philosophy of Ibn Rušd (1126–1198)*. *Proceedings of the Fourth Symposium Averroicum (Cologne, 1996)*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 1999, pp. 339–381.

146 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 44^v–45^r.

the sublunary and supra-lunary regions (as well as the types of bodies found in each region), provides us with a good example of these two types of knowledge. Therefore, the author produces both proofs based on rational knowledge and logical reasoning and proofs based on divine Revelation. Not for one moment does he question the validity of the latter, but nevertheless opts for rational evidence as the guiding principle for enquiring into divine Creation and Revelation, despite a dissonance between the two. His view about the acquisition of knowledge is clear on f. 47^r mentioned earlier, where it is stated that men know nothing when they are born and acquire knowledge of the external through the senses.

Also discussed in this section are the types of Revelation (*wahy*), of which there are two: the Revelation God puts in the hearts of the prophets (*ḡa'ala Allāh fi qulūb al-anbiyā'*) and that which resides in the intellect (*'aql*) and is the result of training (*hiya at-ta'ālim*).¹⁴⁷ The *ḥadīṭ* of Muḥammad are also quoted, for example, one in which the Prophet says that whosoever honours a learned man acts as if he honours seventy prophets: the learned man is superior to the prophet because of his independent knowledge and study of science.¹⁴⁸ It is also here that we first come across a usage employed by the author which will appear frequently in the rest of the work, namely: the tool of classification into categories, and the enumeration of those concepts which pertain to philosophy. For example, in the *Kitāb al-Manṭiq* he distinguishes between four categories: 1. the intelligibles (*al-ma'aqulāt*), 2. the sensible things (*al-maḥsūs*), 3. the things which are common knowledge (*al-mašhūr*) and that which is inscrutable, impossible (*al-mumtana'*).¹⁴⁹ The author also includes some reflections on learned men, expresses his thoughts about how confusion in human understanding occurs, about the growth in knowledge with age, about the idea that man follows nature and not custom, learning from not just one but a range of [practical] lessons, and about the need to develop the ability to understand. These are issues that can only be known from philosophy (such as the *ism al-muštarak* (homonym), *ism al-musta'ar* (metaphor),¹⁵⁰ *al-muṭwiyy*

147 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 44^v.

148 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 44^v:

وذلك قال النبي عليه السلام من أكرم علما فكأنما أكرم سبعين نبيا فضل العالم على النبي واجتهاده

ودراسته في العلم

149 In the manuscript erroneously referred to throughout as *al-muntanā'*, e.g. f. 45^r, where the author explains the term and says is that which someone believes to be impossible until it has been accomplished.

150 Written in f. 46^r as *al-musta'ara*.

(diminished)¹⁵¹ and *al-mumtanaʿ* (inscrutable, impossible)).¹⁵² Besides these benefits, knowledge derived from rational evidence, provides us with data about natural phenomena such as the Dragon, which cannot be observed with the naked eye.¹⁵³ This is the first of the references to an astronomical phenomenon and is followed by more allusions to medical concepts such as phlebotomy as proposed by Galen, which is given the author's seal of approval. The section includes a scene in which, in opposition to the caliph, Ibn Rušd defends the use of philosophy, a happening which al-Marrakūšī does not cite in his account of Ibn Rušd's presentation to the *sultān* by Ibn Ṭufayl) nor is mentioned in other sources on Ibn Rušd.¹⁵⁴ The difficulties which Ibn Rušd encountered throughout his career because of his adherence to philosophy have already been alluded to above and this scene, which is recounted in great detail, undoubtedly condenses the KM author's position on this issue, which is consolidated throughout the work.

2.3 *Third Section*

The third section returns to interreligious subjects and its beginning can be set under the heading "Stories of the Prophets, and of the Prophet".¹⁵⁵ These stories (which focus on the marriage of Abraham and Hagar and that of Jacob to his slaves (Bilha and Zilpa)) are introduced by some questions (*masʿala*) in which the author claims, for example, that the law (*šarīʿa*) cannot exist without unity (*tawḥīd*), and also quotes the Qurʾān and commentaries on it by some scholars such as as-Siġistānī.¹⁵⁶ The stories end with the author's assertion that, after reading the KM, the reader should strive to understand the lessons contained in the work because they are the same as those in the revealed books

151 This is the most likely reading, to be understood in prosody, as in Kazimirski asserts, that which has undergone a curtailment or diminishment, "retranchement (pied d'un mètre)", Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, p. 126. In the manuscript written as *al-muṭawāt*.

152 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 46^r.

153 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 47^v–48^r.

154 See, for example Morata, Nemesio. "La presentación de Averroes en la corte almohade." *La ciudad de Dios* 153 (1941): 101–122; here p. 105 quoting the translation of al-Marrakūšī's *al-Muʿjib* by Edmond Fagnan and the edition by Reinhart Dozy. See, Fagnan, Edmond. *Kitāb al-Muʿjib = Histoire des Almohades d'Abd el-Wahid Merrakechi*. Alger: A. Jourdan, 1893, pp. 209–210; Dozy, Reinhart. *The History of the Almohads*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1881, pp. 174–176.

155 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 48^v.

156 Q. 44:54 "[a]nd We will marry them to fair women with large, [beautiful] eyes" or Q. 37:22 "[The angels will be ordered], "Gather those who committed wrong, their kinds []". As-Siġistānī claims that this marriage is different to marriage on Earth.

(the Torah, the Gospel, the Psalms and the Qur'ān).¹⁵⁷ Broadly speaking, we could say that one of the main goal in the KM is teaching with the principal objective of disseminating knowledge but, in this section, this purpose is set out even more plainly to the reader, since the text is structured by a common thread which appears here for the first time: the question (or *mas'ala*). In this part the arguments in polemics (here again primarily against Christianity and less against Judaism) are not direct attacks like those found in the first section. Now it is not the religious adversary who has the floor and has his questions reformulated. The arguments now seem to be the result of a reflection on what has gone before and the author seems to want to offer a didactic guide for Muslim thought, paying attention to certain questions (*mas'ala*) raised by polemical contact with Christians and Jews. As stated, these are religious questions. Among the most prominent is the discussion of the meaning of the saying "God has created men in His image and likeness" found in the Christian and Jewish scriptures and in the Muslim *ḥadīṭ*. Figuring prominently among them are: After death does man sees another world different to this world, containing both good and bad things? Why are Christians called what they are called? What is the basis of their belief and why have they made changes to God's commands (for example, the introduction of baptism and the possibility of redemption of sins through it. He also scrutinizes the power of the popes and the priests, marriage, the Trinity, the incarnation of God in man); the sending of a religious law (or *ṣarī'a*) to the different communities by God;¹⁵⁸ and God's decree and determination.

Although he is heavily engaged in more theological arguments, the author's deep interest in philosophy is again very evident in this section in which he lists the senses and the various capacities of the soul (which seem to coincide with the views of Ibn Rušd),¹⁵⁹ or in which the need to understand the workings of Heaven in order to understand Revelation is openly discussed, opposing Muḥammad's perspective mentioned in Section 1.5. Finally, it should also be noted that the repetition of arguments in slightly different wordings characteristic of the KM is most obvious in this and in the last two sections. One example is found on f. 50^v, on which Aristotle's claim that God has created three things in man (the soul, the body and the accidents) is quoted. The same statement appears again on f. 51^v, but now God has created three things: good, bad, strong and weak men; good and bad souls in men's bodies; and accidents. He also often switches from one topic to another.

157 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 49^v.

158 E.g. ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 54^r, here introduced under the heading *bāb*, or chapter.

159 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 50^r.

2.4 *Fourth Section*

The fourth section elaborates one of the pillars of this work: the idea that philosophy is not just compatible with but is also necessary to Islam. It consists of a chapter on the sayings of Aristotle, the Philosopher (*bāb fī maqālāt Arīstutālis, al-fīlusūf*),¹⁶⁰ in which the author of the KM addresses many topics derived from natural philosophy attributed to Aristotle (with just a few attributed to Ibn Rušd). The principal objective seems to be a reflection on God and the question of knowledge in Islam, which has already been discussed in the previous sections. The polemic with other religious communities is given short shrift in this section (some of the few points of discord with Christians which are mentioned are the refutation of the possibility of God begetting a son and the rejection of some sayings of Jesus, the sources of authority of Islam, in particular, the prophecy of Muḥammad and the Qurʾān, and their questioning by Christians, garnished by some of their insults against Muslims). To give an example of the kind of issues addressed in it, the section begins with Aristotle's assertion that "Heaven is filled and not empty" (*as-samā' malā' wa lā ḥalā'*). This is accompanied by the statement in the Torah that in the beginning there was water above the Heavens (*an fawq as-samā' māʾun*)—a clear reference to Gen. 1:7 (which is not quoted). This statement and the philosophical assertions which follow focus on teaching the reader to understand how the world works and how it conforms to the religious perspective of the Muslim believer. The questions raised include the nature of man, which is between that of angels and animals, and which, like all Creation, depends on God; the nurture of man and the differences between men and women; the four elements and temperaments of Aristotelian philosophy; kinds of intellects and kinds of animals. It also contains geometrical questions; questions of ethics (such as the duties of the sulṭān and good and evil actions) as well as questions of logic, for example, those concerning the logical connections, or relatives (*al-ašyā' al-muḍāfāt*, which are ten and, of which, the author confesses he does not know the sixth).¹⁶¹ The essence of God, he states, remains unknown to man and is beyond the scope of philosophy, which is concerned only with what is perceptible through the senses and can be understood by reason.

Two main issues are raised in this section. The first is the idea that there is a difference between the heavenly and the terrestrial things (men are subject to movement and change) and the other is that there are two types of knowledge: that acquired by Revelation and (empirical) knowledge derived from

160 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 56^r.

161 See ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 51^r and 56^v for this claim.

evidence; but both dependent on God.¹⁶² As we have seen, both these claims recur in various places of the KM, even in the first section. However, now it is not enough for the author to mention them, the time has come for him to explain them. Here, too, they are used alongside arguments of religious polemics which could have been intertwined with disputes provoked by the day-to-day encounters between communities. For example, the insults Christians have heaped on Muslims who are compared to dogs are quoted on ff. 60^{r-v}. As a first response, the author states that it is the Christians who should be reprimanded for not being circumcised and for eating blood and carrion. Therefore, they are not in a state of ritual purity (hence, resemble dogs). However, he adds that, if Christians insist on the comparison, the argument to be made is that, “when one person says to another that he is very like so-and-so it is because he possesses the same “state” as the other [“ya‘ūdu de las condiciones al-aḥar”; in modern English “to partake of the same condition as the other”]. The person who does not have the same “state” as the other [“lā ya‘ūdu de las condiciones al-aḥar”] does not resemble the other. In that case, people will not vilify him”. Humans, like dogs—and like Christians too—eat, drink and have sex. In short, his argument rests on the cosmology he has just set out and acquires a particular force thanks to the distinction made between the “conditions” (eating blood and carrion, walking around without being circumcised and hence without being in a state of ritual purity) and that some of their actions are inherent in the animal species. The “conditions-perspective” offers decisive proof in defence of Muslims and Islam based on logic and an understanding of the world based on natural philosophy.¹⁶³

In this section the format of question (*mas’ala*) disappears and is replaced by *qāla* (he said), followed by the authority from whom the quotations have been taken. We can place the end of the section at the point at which the “chapter about the book of sentences” by an eastern author very well-known in the Maḡrib, az-Zaḡḡāḡī (*bāb fī Kitāb al-Ġumal*), begins. At this point, reference is also made to the views of one of az-Zaḡḡāḡī’s most famous commentators in the Iberian Peninsula (one not exactly uncritical of his work), al-Baṭalyawsī (444 H/1052 CE–521 H/1127 CE).¹⁶⁴ As already noted, the *Kitāb al-Ġumal* is one of the first examples in which logic is explicitly used as a grammatical tool and Greek philosophy is mentioned. The reference to this author is not surprising,

162 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 58^r.

163 Colominas Aparicio, “Spanish Islam in Arabic Script,” especially p. 119.

164 Carter, Michael G. “A Twelfth Century League of Arab Grammarians.” In Georgine Ayoub and Kees Versteegh (eds.), *The Foundations of Arabic Linguistics III: The Development of a Tradition, Continuity and Change*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2018, pp. 76–95, p. 79.

not only because of the wide diffusion of this work of logic in the Peninsula (also among Mudejars and Moriscos). Evidence of the latter is attested to by the annotations in one of the copies of the *Kitāb al-Ğumal* by az-Zağğāğī, in which we find that the name of one of its owners was Mohammad ben Ahmed ben Alī al-Laḥmi aš-Šerifi, or Šarafī, dated to 987H/1579–1580CE.¹⁶⁵ This piece of evidence could be relevant to the present study in view of the fact that knowledge was traditionally preserved and transmitted within families. But to find an answer to the question of why the author of the KM cites this author, we must ask ourselves if one of the important reasons was that the views of az-Zağğāğī in the “chapter (*bāb*) *al-‘atf*” echo one of the main claims in the KM, namely: that knowledge is divided into two: knowledge of learning by proofs and knowledge grasped by men as it is told to him, which is the religious law (*šarī‘a*).¹⁶⁶

2.5 *Fifth Section*

The fifth and last section into which it is possible to divide the KM consists of a couple of exemplars on pious behaviour given on the authority of al-Ğazzālī, followed by stories also of pious nature, from another source (which some believe to be about the historical background of al-Andalus—for example, the campaigns of al-Manšūr).¹⁶⁷ These are introduced as “one more story” (*hikāya uḥrā*) and end with the “chapter on the proverbs (*bāb fi ‘l-amtāl*)”. After this is a one-folio fragment of polemics with the Christians and the Jews about the revelation of the law to each community. The KM is probably an incomplete work as the last sentence reads: “and when ‘Īsā b. Maryam said” (*wa-id qāla ‘Īsā bn. Maryam*).

The discussion above gives the impression that we are not dealing with an author who had structured the discourse he wanted to convey in advance. This

165 Harvey, Leonard Patrick. *Muslims in Spain, 1500–1614*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005, p. 181 referring to Guillén Robles, *Catálogo*, num. 80, p. 33. As observed in Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, p. 107 n. 113, Harvey notes the circulation of five copies of the work among Moriscos on this spot. The *Catálogo* by Guillén Robles mentions that, as well as the name and signature of Mohammad ben Ahmed ben Alī al-Laḥmi al-Šerifi (transcribed by this scholar as Allajmī Axserifi) in Mağribī script in the folds at the end of this manuscript, we also find the names of other members of the Šarafī family, such as Aḥmad ben ‘Alī ben Yūsuf and Muḥammad ben ‘Alī. Guillén Robles, Francisco. *Catálogo de los manuscritos árabes existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*. Madrid: Manuel Tello, 1889.

166 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 44^v.

167 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 61^r.

probably explains why he does not present the contents of the KM systematically. On the contrary, it seems that, although he personally did seem certain of the ideas he wanted to convey, he failed to offer a route or plan that would help the reader to follow the arguments. If he did have such a plan, it is not made explicit. He limited himself to mentioning the sources he would use in the Introduction. Consequently, none of the different sections to which we have referred are announced, despite the fact their contents are sometimes disparate. Nor does the author give details of the order in which he will present the material. Transitions between sections coincide with boldface headings, but not all boldface headings indicate the beginning of a new section. On the other hand, we have observed that the use of certain rhetorical tools, such as *qāla* and *mas'ala*, does seem to give some consistency to each section and imbue them with meaning so that they can stand alone as separate units. This relative coherence of formal tools in the presentation of the text does not always imply that the contents of each section are homogeneous. Despite these problems, it is possible to trace the general lines of the author's thought by paying careful attention to how the concepts that sustain his arguments in the religious polemic with Christianity and Judaism are related to his fundamental notions of philosophy. It is this task on which we shall embark in the last section.

Harmony between Revelation and Philosophy: Towards an Identification of the Author of the $\kappa\mu$

The time has come to address if the author has made good his claim that there is harmony between Revelation and philosophy and how such a claim ultimately helps to support the argument of the superior religious excellence of Muslims to Christians and Jews, adding weight to the polemics against these two groups. The cultural background and skills necessary to work from this perspective are invaluable clues to the possible identity of the author of the work, to which we will return. The analysis has revealed that perhaps the author's intellectual accomplishments fall rather short in expounding the main ideas of the authorities he quotes, including those of a leading figure in the subtlety of philosophical thought like Ibn Rušd. If nothing else, we have discovered that, in the task of reproducing the sources, it is precisely the nuances and sophistications of the originals which the author lets fall by the wayside and that his understanding does not conform to the standard readings of the Commentator and Aristotle. It is, of course, impossible to rule out completely that these discrepancies are the result of errors creeping in at various stages in the transmission of the text, or of the copyist(s)' own agency. However, these explanations seem rather unlikely considering that they seem to be connected to the deep structure of the discourse, that is, to how the ideas have been conceived, not just to their expression. At this point, it seems instructive to look to the example of Menocchio with which we began this enquiry into the $\kappa\mu$ and, by analogy, to compare the reading of his sources with the path followed in the latter, namely: "isolating words and phrases, sometimes distorting them, juxtaposing different passages, firing off rapid analogies".¹ Menocchio, Ginzburg says, "mulled over and elaborated on his readings outside any preexistent framework",² as did our author. Keeping to this analogy, although the claim to a harmony between faith and reason comes close to that of some Muslim scholars who preceded the author, it is not the "what" but the "how" which makes his initiative interesting. Therefore, a brief digression into how this has worked seems a meaningful way to conclude this study.

¹ Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worms*, p. 51.

² *Ibid.*, p. 49.

Perhaps the first thing to note is that, as far as function is concerned, the achievement of harmony does not imply the subordination of one source (revealed and philosophical) to another. We cannot say that religion is systematically the servant of philosophy or, conversely, philosophy that of religion. However, when one or the other can be taken as a starting point for investigation depends on the particular objectives for which an argument has been constructed. Sometimes it is the Qurʾān, for instance, the example discussed in 55:14, “He created men of clay like [that of] pottery”,³ which is explained by recourse to the four elements of Aristotelian philosophy but, on other occasions, as is the case with Creation, the discussion is approached from the position of the practitioners of logic and the geometricians, in which case confirmation is sought in the Qurʾān (finding it in both cases). The Qurʾān is never questioned and, in any hierarchy, it represents the ultimate truth. It is unsurprisingly the source in which the author is most thoroughly versed and his quotations are quite literal, probably taken from a copy he would have had before him. In contrast, those from the Bible tend to be much freer in their presentation of the text; even giving the impression of being either paraphrases or summaries (see Appendixes 3 and 4). There is no need to insist on the same point when discussing any particular reading he makes of non-religious sources (including philosophical ones) and their whys and wherefores. All with all, we can say that harmony is sought on the conceptual level and that philosophy and reason are placed under the same epistemic umbrella to explain the world and defend Muslim beliefs and practices. However, just as this does not seem to imply any functional subordination, it does not imply the same level of authorial knowledge of and access to the sources.

An added tool in the elaboration of a discourse whose purpose is to show the harmony of sources of different natures is the use of a standard repertoire of polemic arguments, or *topoi*. These are central to both polemics about both Christianity and Judaism and to an imagery which, I argue, was significant to Muslim communities in Christian territories. When the author gives voice to the claims of Christians, to their polemical arguments and to their accusations against Muslims and when he refers to the *sultān* Eusebius (who was said to be responsible for eclipses from the Christian perspective), the author does genuinely seem to be echoing what would have been the interactions between the communities and their knowledge of their respective systems of thought and views on certain issues. When he unpacks his notions about natural philosophy, he opts for a well-known simile such Aristotle’s on carpentry, but the vivid

3 ÖNB MS AF 58, f. 58^v.

image of the polishing wheel also serves to illustrate a contested notion like the void. He digs into philosophy from a set of common references, but the plasticity with which his examples illustrate the ideas he expounds also suggests a possible awareness of debates current within society as well as a determination to get his message across to fellow Muslims as cogently as possible. Following this clue, the image of the polishing wheel could be seen as a well-thought-out choice among the many possible metaphors. It is one which follows the logic of the appeal to the daily life in communities whose members, as we have said, often worked as builders and blacksmiths. An appeal to experiences familiar to the Mudejars could have been seen by the author as an eloquent strategy to facilitate the understanding of complex arguments.

It is quite possible that the same can be said of the use of straightforward arguments and plain language, because these, even if such uses were partly attributable to the acculturation processes within Muslim communities in Christian territories, were still the most appropriate means of disseminating the message to a wider audience in this particular social context. It should never be lost sight of the fact that the author is not just addressing Christians and Jews but importantly, a community which, he was convinced, needed to reform its current approach to religious polemics, and perhaps also to embed lesser-known sources in individuals with varying degrees of literacy and access to education. Even if he does not seem to have mastered the intricacies of philosophy, we are surely not wrong to claim that the knowledge of the subject among the vast majority of the Muslims who benefited from his work was far more basic. This perhaps accounts for the author's preference for simplicity, as he would have constructed his discourse using tools suited to his own abilities and knowledge, adapted to the type of audience whom he was addressing. Even if they did not produce answers in scholastic debates profound enough to satisfy a knowledgeable Christian, at the very least the members of his audience could have benefited from having practical and effective rebuttals to attacks against them and, therefore, it is imperative never to lose sight of the core of the idea.

The juxtaposition of the evidence from the Qur'an, the Bible and from natural philosophy and logic is the main strategy the author chose for the defence of the harmony between religion and reason. More than once, this is wielded in a way which, after having gone through the argument from beginning to end, the reader is left on his or her own to make the connection between these sources explicit. "Adding" and "repeating" ideas seems to be the strategy most heavily leaned on in the work. Concepts such as corruption and decadence in the sublunary sphere appear in the text *ad nauseam*, invariably presented in the same order and argued using a limited, and not always precise, vocabu-

lary (for example, the full or partial sequence consisting of *tatbīt*, *tatwīb*, *‘adam*, *naqā’iṣ*, *‘ayūb*, *harm*). Whatever its shortcomings, this technique undoubtedly facilitated memorization among a semi-literate or virtually illiterate audience. Therefore, the fact that the resources and vocabulary are limited does not mean that they would have been ineffectual in attaining the objectives pursued by the author. He manages to convey his message by relying on a continuous emphasis on a few main ideas, indubitably simple but nonetheless powerful.

This is one good reason to assert that the KM fits smoothly into the Mudejars’ forms of knowledge. It does provide answers to their most pressing needs and shows that the author was probably close to this context. As this kind of knowledge is under-represented in the written production of the Mudejar communities, it inevitably raises the question of the identity of the author, above all whether he was a Mudejar himself. This possibility is closely related to some of the key issues raised by Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers in their periodization of Muslim works of polemics in Christian areas, including their relationship to cognate Andalusī ones, the Christian works of polemics against Islam and the role of captives as agents in the production of a corpus in Arabic which was passed down to Mudejars and later to Moriscos. Later it was also adapted into Romance. Muslim prisoners, slaves and temporary residents in the Christian kingdoms are certainly among the candidates for the possible routes of transmission of this specialized knowledge, which the author of the KM might have come across in some of his sources. Known examples do suggest the fact that, sometimes, they were the people who either took upon themselves the task of writing religious polemics against Christians and Jews or were approached by the Mudejar communities to do so, eventually acceding to such demands once they returned home.⁴ Despite this possibility, there is nothing to suggest that this was the case with the KM, nor do we find any indication in the work which would back this up. Instead, the analysis gives good cause to argue that it is in the sense just outlined that the work is connected to the Muslim tradition of polemics, and therefore also to the Andalusī tradition. Consequently, for the moment, I would like to posit that it was the communities themselves who were the most likely environment in which we should look for the author. The author could have been an intellectual close to the Šarafī family and to the elite of his time. He might have been close to Hamete, Castilian *alcalde* and possibly also physician to Peter the Ceremonious. There is even a possibility that he could have been Hamete himself. In conjunction with the body of evidence which

4 Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, “The Polemical Works”, 195. Sometimes only the adaptations in Aljamiado are known, which begs the question of what were the Arabic originals of these works and their authorship. Van Koningsveld and Wiegiers, “The Polemical Works”, 196–197.

narrows the circle of the composition of the KM to a particular time, place and Christian milieu, the references to the works of the *qāḍī* aš-Šarafī lend specific weight to this last identification. In fact, they add to it because they are so conspicuous. As has been noted, the KM does not disclose which parts belonged to this *qāḍī* (his name is dropped only once in the introduction), a striking omission. Cogently, if we are dealing with an authority outside the Mudejar communities, we might have expected their members to have been more eager to know the details of the source of what appear to be important materials for the arsenal of their polemics with the Christians and the Jews, and to unravel them and to highlight them among the other sources. In view of the situation, the lack of adequate attention paid to these specifics makes much more sense if we assume that either it was aš-Šarafī himself who composed the work (which would have made references to himself redundant for an audience who was well acquainted with him) or that the copy we now have is close to the original despite not necessarily having the same exact form.⁵

To grasp this and feel the force which a discourse elaborated in the way the author chose to do so could have had among the Mudejars, it is necessary to entertain the possibility already noted that this copy was connected to an educational setting; perhaps it is the fruit of gatherings (or *maǧlis*) which, we know, were being held in the Muslim communities up to a later date.⁶ Hence, it is impossible to rule out the likelihood that this work, in the *Vorlage* of the copy which has come down to us, is the result of notes jotted down by a student, as we know that, in Islamic societies, memorization was by tradition essential to acquiring the authorization (known as *iǧāza*) to transmit a religious work. An integral part of the oral process linked to memorization was the comprehension and reproduction of arguments, a method very closely bound up with the possibility of errors creeping into the text. Although this is just an educated guess, what we do know is that the copy of ar-Raqīlī was circulated among the Mudejars as the fruits of the efforts of this Muslim scholar, who also thought it significant to copy the anti-Jewish polemic of the *Ta'yīd* in the same codex.

In a distillation of our conclusions, we can safely say that the KM offers an exceptional view of Muslim polemics and the Islamic perspective from an advocate of harmony between faith and reason. This theme is representat-

5 The copy itself has few repetitions and these suggest that ar-Raqīlī was copying from a text he had in front of him.

6 See Colominas Aparicio, Mònica. "An Arabic Missing Link to the Aljamiado Literature: Muslim Gatherings (*Majālis*) and the Circulation of Andalusī and Mashriqī Writings among the Mudejars and the Moriscos (MS Árabe 1668, Royal Library of El Escorial, Madrid)." *Al-Qantara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 41, No. 1 (2020): 95–147.

ive of both the great difficulties faced by the Muslim inhabitants of Christian Iberia and of the intellectual ambitions and perseverance in Islam of the leaders and of these communities themselves. Like Menocchio, the author of the KM was a man of his time and his work reveals the struggles of a religious leader with broad intellectual interests, whose thinking was embedded in and therefore subsequently reflected ideas which were current in the society in which he lived and who personally faced the specific difficulties endured by Muslim communities in Christian territories. His overall aim was to demonstrate the excellence of Islam and Muslims; a purpose facilitated by the demonstration of the harmony between reason and faith because mastery of knowledge, both religious and temporal, was essential. Perhaps most importantly, this harmony would have underlined that Islam is a religion based on logic and reason, that it best follows the ethical compass set by God and therefore places the Muslim community at the top of the hierarchy of religious faith.

It is the hope of the present writer that the ideas revealed in what has been said will facilitate the reading of a work that is so challenging in so many ways. The Arabic text presented in the Second Part might leave both the professional practitioner of philosophy and the scholar of traditional Islamic thought dissatisfied. Their objections will certainly be justified, but they do not detract one iota from the value of the KM as an exceptional testimony to the thought of its author's time or to his sincere but idiosyncratically articulated compass of belief in Islam.

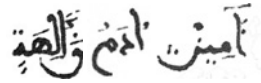
PART 2

*The Book of Disputation:
A Diplomatic Text Edition*



General Remarks

- The edition does not prioritize the normative spelling of words. Efforts have been made to limit the number of footnotes. Because of the spelling inconsistencies in the copy corrections are given only when this is necessary to understand the text and avoided in cases of minor variations or differences. This means that words can be recognized without too much effort.
- The general decay of initial *hamza* is therefore not amended or indicated in footnotes.
- The copyist does not use a vertical *alif* for the word Allāh, but *fatha* with *tašdīd*.
- With a few exceptions, Aristotle is referred to throughout as Arsaṭū.
- Often *hamza* is written before *alif* and not on top of it, particularly in Romance words, but sometimes also in Arabic ones. E.g. f. 31^r (*āmīn*, *ādam*, *āliha*)¹



- ^{سبِّحْنَهُ} is (almost) always written in this way instead of ^{سَبِّحَانَهُ}
- The verses of the Qurʾān and the Bible have been placed between {}.

¹ This is a practice we find in Aljamiado manuscripts, e.g. MS 11 Olim. D (este. p. Tab v, No. 26), ff. 371^v–385^v (Recontamiento de Waṣil de Dimasco); f. 374^r. It does not appear in Arabic manuscripts of Muslims in Christian territories, at least not in those which the present author has consulted.

Language and Its Use in the Copy by ar-Raqilī

The discussion on language in the KM is mainly addressed to some aspects of grammar, such as syntax (the relationships between words), morphology (the form of words) and spelling (the graphic representation of words). The aim is not to carry out an exhaustive study but to shed light on the text's most outstanding elements. The data indicate that we are dealing with a specimen of Andalusī Arabic, but also reveal a number of interesting linguistic characteristics. For this purpose, I resort to the important, relatively recent reworking of Corriente's work edited by the Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza, a publication which builds on the standard references to the subject and advances this scholarship.

The first aspect to be covered briefly is syntax. The syntax of the KM certainly does attract the attention of the reader, because it constantly resorts to code-switching or mixing Arabic with Romance (in Aljamiado). The appendices include two lists of these terms. In one list they are set out in alphabetical order to facilitate a search for them. In the second list, they are provided in sentences per folio. This allows an appreciation not only of the Romance terms which are used but also of where and how they are used in the sentences, including their relative frequency. We see, for example, that Romance is used in each and every folio (with only a very few exceptions) and the number of instances in which it occurs can be high (for example, in f. 53^v and f. 54^r we have twelve and thirteen occasions, respectively). Although repetitions undoubtedly occur in this second list, a careful reading also shows variations in repetitions which might be of interest to the linguist. We could say that the KM's syntax reveals innovative uses present in Andalusī Arabic, for example, the negative particle *iš*.¹ We also find in it "boš" and "baš" (f. 35^v) which is probably *biš* in Andalusī, Western, Arabic to express final subordination.² Over and above this, traces of the Romance substrate and the Christian environment translate into an abundant number of Romance terms (sometimes referred to explicitly as "Latin" ("bi-latīn" (in Latin)), e.g. f. 52^r) and expressions code-switching with Romance.

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- 1 The Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza, does indeed note that Andalusī Arabic had two new negative particles of its own, *a/iš* and *is*. See Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza (ed.), *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar*, pp. 126–127 (3.4.1.5). See also, Corriente, Federico. *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle*. Madrid: Instituto Hispano-Árabe de Cultura, Dirección de Relaciones Culturales, 1977.
 - 2 Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza (ed.), *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar*, pp. 117–118 (3.3.2.3.).

The combination of Arabic and Romance is particularly striking because of the rapid language alternation between the two, as in “tan kāmīl kamā kāna” (as perfect as it was, f. 43^r), “que-enbargue mawḍī‘un wa cabe mawḍī‘un” (which seizes a place and fits a place, f. 32^v), “quanto aktar ya‘īš aktar yu‘alimu” (the longer it lives, the more it learns, f. 46^v), but also in more complex examples, such as “a do sexto al-yawm de hoy tilka al-‘uqūba laysa la tiro dios” (until the day of today this condemnation has not been revoked by God, f. 38^v), “que estan fī n-nār innanā somos ahl taṅā‘uk” (who are in Hell, that we are people of Your praise, f. 39^r), “tuerto ninguno ni-mereçe širran” (that no wrong (is done) and does not deserve evil, f. 52^v), “cual minhā abese yakūn qabl” (which one of them would have been first, f. 54^r), “tanto zamān es-seydo ma‘akum wa laysa ta‘arafūnī” (I have been with you so long and you do not know me, f. 54^v), “los-patriarcas al-kabīra” (the great Patriarchs, f. 55^r), “de las condiçiones min al-aḥar” (of the conditions of the other, f. 60^v). An outstanding example of this combination is found in the literary figure of the epithet “aš-šahāda de fe”.

f. 54^v

الشهادة نأجا

Furthermore, verb declension with *kāna* is not consistently applied according to the grammar of Classical Arabic (e.g.: f. 31^v in *kāna li-llāh waladan*, and in *kāna li-llāh waladun*). He very often uses *laysa yakūn* instead of *lā yakūn* and, more generally, *laysa* + verb, to negate the verb in the present tense (e.g. f. 31^r: فليس يكون الله كَامِلٌ, or f. 31^v ليس يقدر الناس and يلحقها). Moreover, as Fierro et al. note, *lām* is invariably a classicism which is found on some occasions in Andalusī Arabic, but not always used correctly. The KM is not an exception to this (the declension in the apocopate does not follow the negation of the verb, for example, f. 31^v: لم يموت instead of لم يمِت), but it has to be noted that *lām* is very often used here.³

Most of the Romance words in the KM are nouns. Here, the use of “Dios” (God, especially because Mudejar and Morisco works often leave Allāh untranslated) is conspicuous. Also noteworthy is the use of *Yasū‘* to refer to Jesus, a name which often appears in texts belonging to Arabized Christians. Other grammatical categories rendered in Romance are adjectives, the indefinite adjective “çertus” (ciertos, f. 48^r) and also “singular, particular, suluto [absoluto]” (single, particular, absolute, f. 56^v) and “decimo” (tenth, f. 42^v). We find

3 Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza (ed.), *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar*, p. 126.

some adverbs, such as “menos” (f. 50^v) and “maguer” (from Old Castilian and Old Portuguese), in Andalusī Arabic “makkár” (even), which is rendered in the KM according to the Romance pronunciation (“maguer/a”).⁴ However, these are relatively few. Romance verbs are also very infrequent, the most common being “ser”/“estar” (to be), “haber” (to have), “embargar” (to seize), “caber” (to fit) “exterminar” (to exterminate) and, on a few occasions, “defender” (to defend), “respetar” (to respect), “correr” (to run), “socorrer” (to help).

Turning to form, code-switching between Arabic and Romance also occurs within one single word, producing what can be called a “compound term” such as “tiralhumā” (he threw them both, f. 38^v)—which combines “tirar” (to throw) with “li-humā”, or perhaps “tiraló” and “humā”; “bi-es”—consisting of the Arabic particle “bi” and the verb “es” (to be); “li-dios”, consisting of the Arabic particle “li” and “dios” (God); or “fa-vosetroç”, consisting of the Arabic particle “fa” and the Romance pronoun “vosotros” (you). However, just as the KM comes close to the Andalusī dialect-bundle in a number of aspects, it also moves away from it in other aspects which are, in fact, favoured in Andalusī Arabic. An example is the almost total absence in the KM of broken plurals (with some exceptions like “aṭibbā” (physicians), on f. 48^r). Perhaps an even more telling characteristic of how the KM relates to Andalusī Arabic is the use of verbal names, or *mašdars*. In Andalusī Arabic (and in Neo-Arabic dialects, more generally), this use tends to disappear in the lower registers, but can be found with some regularity in the upper register.⁵ In the KM, *mašdars* from the derived verbal forms are relatively abundant and we encounter *intizāʿ* (f. 53^v), *istiʿabād* (f. 61^r), *istiqrār* (f. 33^v), *ist-awāʿ* (f. 34^r), *istiḥrāḡ* (f. 37^v), *istiʿārah* (f. 40^r), *istiḥqāq* (f. 42^v), *istiḥālāh* (f. 45^r). Consequently, the KM seems to be an example of a dialect variant in which different registers converge and overlap each other.

The copyist’s hand can be qualified as very unstable and insecure as far as spelling is concerned. The same term appears written in very different ways, sometimes in places in the text which are very close to each other. As there is no consistent word spelling, it is not possible to draw general rules about phonetics. This inconsistency can be observed throughout; one example being the different renderings of the word “Israel”, the three most recurring provided here:

4 Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza (ed.), *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar*, pp. 97 and 139. For the uses of this conjunction, as well as of *maguer* (see below), in medieval Castilian, up to the fifteenth century, see Rivarola, José Luis. *Las conjunciones concesivas en español medieval y clásico: contribución a la sintaxis histórica española*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2015, pp. 18–28 and 69–72.

5 Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza (ed.), *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar*, pp. 90–91.

f. 52^v

إِسْرَائِيلَ مَرَّ إِسْرَائِيلَ حَتَّى

f. 53^v

إِسْرَائِيلَ الْخَيْرِ

Another example is that of the proper name Absalom, which on f. 41^r is rendered differently each time:

And we find it again on f. 52^v with yet another different spelling:

إِسْلَمُ

Ḥarakāt (vowel marks) and *taškīl* are especially abundant in the first folia but then decrease considerably; word vocalization is also unclear in a number of places. In the example on f. 31^r it seems as if *hamza* is written twice and therefore the word can be read as either *annahu* or *innahu*:

وَإِنَّهُ

One frustration is that the spelling sometimes cannot be rendered with the technical means at my disposal, as for example on f. 33^v بَأَخْرَ where *fatha* should be written on top of hamza and not on top of *alif*, or with *hamza* under *alif*.

To help understanding of some phenomena in the KM, some images are provided.⁶ Illustrative of the difficulties which we encounter when dealing with this text is the loss of the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the KM. As a general rule, this mark decays in initial positions (*Inǧīl*, *akbar*, *akṭar*) in Andalusī Arabic.⁷ In intermediate positions (e.g. “ḥāyyit” (*ḥāʾit*, wall), on f. 46^r), and after a long vowel, or its replacement by /y/ or /w/ in inter-vowel position when one of the vowels is /i/

6 In a moment, it will be suggested that the KM could follow some Qurʾānic ways of writing. One example is the way in which *samāwiyāt* in Q. 2:255, السَّمَوَاتِ with an alif of elongation placed after *mīm*, unconnected above, or ٱ with *tašdīd* on the first consonant.

7 Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza (ed.), *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar*, p. 34.

or /u/ (e.g. “riyya” (lung)). These are also characteristic phenomena of Andalusī Arabic⁸ but we also find cases in the same line of one word written with and without glottal stop, as is the case on f. 46^r:

حَايِكِ الْعَايِكِ

f. 48^v (“riyya”)

الْبُوَيْتَةِ

f. 51^r (ya’mur)

يَاْمُرُ

As noted in General Remarks, the *hamza* is often written before *alif* and not on top of it, in both Arabic and in Romance words:

f. 31^v

السَّلَامُ بِأَسْمَاءِ خُرَيْتَةَ

The most remarkable aspect of the use of diacritics (*i’ḡām*) is that, whereas gemination (*tašdīd*) in word-initial positions seems to be rare in Arabic dialects and only found in a number of examples in Moroccan Arabic,⁹ gemination of the first consonant of a word is very frequent in the KM (particularly when preceded by the particle *an(na)*, *in(na)*, *li-anna*, etc. or by *min*: e.g. on f. 42^r “min yyahd”).

f. 42^r

مَنْ يَضُرُّ اللَّهَ

8 Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza (ed.), *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar*, pp. 34–36.

9 Davis, Stuart and Marwa Ragheb. “Geminate representation in Arabic.” In Samira Farwaneh and Hamid Ouali (eds.). *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics xxiv–xxv: Papers from the annual symposia on Arabic Linguistics Texas, 2010 and Arizona, 2011*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2014, pp. 3–20; p. 3. Noamane, Ayoub. “Consonant Gemination in Moroccan Arabic: A Constraint-Based Analysis.” *Journal of Applied Language and Culture Studies, Applied Language and Culture Studies Lab (ALCS), Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Chouaib Doukkali University in El.Jadida* 3 (2020): 37–68; p. 41.



FIGURE 8
 Qurʾān, Sūrat az-Zumar, Naṣrīd
 period, 13th/14th c., ink and gold on
 parchment
 ROGERS FUND 1942, THE MET
 NEW YORK. [HTTPS://WWW.MET-
 MUSEUM.ORG/ART/COLLEC-
 TION/SEARCH/450486](https://www.met-museum.org/art/collec-tion/search/450486)


Ṣadda is employed to indicate gemination or *tašdīd*, but some preliminary remarks about its use are in place. Van Koningsveld’s scholarship has taught us about what he calls the “old” oriental system of representation of the *ṣadda* in al-Andalus, and the “new” system, developed at the end of the petty kingdoms (Tāʾifa). In the “old” system, the *tašdīd* was always placed above the letters (regardless of the vowel which followed); in the “new” system, vowels were placed between the dots of the letter and the letter itself and the *tašdīd* was placed above or under the letter depending on the vowel which follows and also the *sukūn*. The *tašdīd* is indicated in the new system with a “v” according to the following rules: a) v above the letter when the double letter is followed by *fatha* (e.g.: “ṭumma”); ^ above the letter when the double letter is followed by *ḍamma* (e.g.: “tawakkul”); ^ under the letter when the double letter is followed by *kasra* (e.g.: “mufassir”). The mix of the “old” and “new” systems was just one of the possible ways of writing in al-Andalus, as Van Koningsveld has pointed out.¹⁰ We do find a number of Andalusī manuscripts in which *tašdīd* is written above the diacritics and, in most cases, the vowels are placed between the letters and the diacritics. A good example of this system is the following Qurʾān, perhaps from Granada, copied pretty close to the period of composition of the KM (see Figure 8).

10 See, for example, Van Koningsveld, Pieter Sjoerd. *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library: A Contribution to the Study of Mozarabic Manuscripts and Literature*. Leiden: New Rhine Publishers, 1977, p. 28 and *passim*.

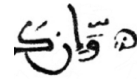
Like in this Qurʾān, in the KM *šadda* is written under the consonant when it comes with *kasra* (integrated into a curl). For example, on f. 33^r, *lā tusammihā* and, in the same folio, *al-ādamiyyīn*:



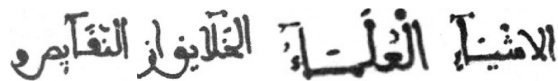
The KM also seems to follow the new system by placing *fatha* below *šadda*, not above it, (e.g. *Zakariyyā*, on f. 31^r). However, again the spelling is not consistent. The word “ḥaṣṣa”, is written with *fatha* above *ṣād*, either integrated into a curl (f. 37^v) or with *šadda*, and then with *fatha* above (f. 31^r), or below (f. 38^r):




This raises the question if gemination perhaps reflects some oral registers of language. However, this does not seem to be a satisfactory explanation for the various occurrences of *tašdīd* at the beginning of the sentence, for example, f. 31^r:



I would like to suggest the possibility that the scribe, and maybe the author as well, is following Qurʾānic modes of writing, for example, Q. 2:255, where “lahu” is written with *tašdīd* on top of *lām*. He seems to do this in the rendering of words such as *subḥānahu* or *ḥayā* (see edition below). However, there is some room for doubt about this when it comes to *tašdīd*, and another use in the KM is even more suggestive. This is the *alif madda* (sometimes in combination with dagger *alif*) which is added to a number of words. We often find it above an *alif* of elongation following *fatha*, but not only there, as can be seen in the following examples on f. 33^v:



Alif madda is used for both Arabic and Romance words, for example, on f. 31^v, “de la deʾidat” (of the deity):

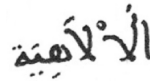


Besides these characteristics, the KM displays a particular phenomenon which I would like to call “inverted vocalization” in the writing of *li-an*, *li-anna* as well as words which commence with hamza and are preceded by the article “al”. These words are vocalized as if this were the mirror image of their most common rendering. Therefore, *hamza* with *fatḥa* is placed above the first *lām*, whereas *kasra* is written under the *alif* which immediately follows. This seems to follow Qur’ānic usage and, we also find other examples in the manuscript production in Mağribī script.¹¹ Unfortunately, the current technical means for transcribing Arabic do not allow for the rendering of *hamza* and *fatḥa* on the first *lām*, for example, f. 31^r, *li-anna*:



The solution has been to render these words with *hamza* preceding *alif* instead as on top of it, for example, لَانَّ

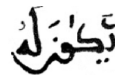
f. 31^v: “al-ilāhiyya” (another example in which *sukūn* and *hamza* invert their positions)



Frequently, initial *alif* is connected to *lām*, so it looks like as if *alif* is the particle *li-* (that is, *للشمس* instead of *الشمس*), as on f. 31^v:



Other sounds which are diverge from the normative spelling also appear together in the KM, often the *wāw*, e.g. f. 31^r:



There are some indications that the text might have been re-read and/or amended. We see, for example, that *kāf* has been rewritten in a number of places, probably as a means of clarification (we do not know if this was done by

11 A case in point of what appears to graphically represent a phonetic practice is found in the miscellaneous manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc, MS 209 ق, f. 106.

the same copyist or by another person, although the first seems more likely), e.g. f. 32^r:

f. 31^r (shows that *kāf* could have been there in the first place but not written clearly):

The addition of an *alif* of elongation, which is loosely written above and between the consonants in some words, sometimes using the same *qalam*, other times with a thinner one, points in a similar direction and also suggests a subsequent revision of the text, for example, f. 31^v:

f. 36^v (with no elongation)

Differences—mainly in *ḥarakāt* and *taškīl*—are probably not the result of later (hyper)correction, but were indeed executed by the hand of the main copyist. The edition merges these and adds a footnote in which additional elements which cannot be represented graphically are also indicated, for instance, the presence of *fatha* with *alif ḥanḡariyya* followed by another *alif ḥanḡariyya*, and *tašdīd* with *kasra* above the consonant, in the following example on f. 31^r:

Finally, the use of a stroke which seems to come out of *lām* should be noted. In some words, this stroke seems to work as an *alif* of elongation, but on other occasions this does not seem to be the explanation, as can be seen in the examples on f. 31^r (*ta'āla* and *ḥublā*):

This diplomatic text edition does not standardize all these phenomena but indicates them all in footnotes. I have tried to confine them to the main text in many instances. However, I have indicated them in footnotes when this helps to make the text more comprehensible. To give an example. In the main text, I

have not kept a deviant spelling of Eve's name, but have indicated this in a footnote. In the main text I have retained *ḥayā*, which seems to match the Qur'ān spelling but is written in different ways in other contexts. The same can be said of grammatical errors, for example in the inflection of nouns and adjectives, or verb conjugation (e.g. ff. 38r, 47v), and the use of *ḥā'* instead of *tā' marbūṭa* for the feminine, which with few exceptions have been retained as in the original. When changes are introduced, the text as it appears in the manuscript ÖNB MS AF 58 is given in the notes, without any further indication. This way of working could help facilitate the task of future studies of language in the work.

Diplomatic Text Edition

f. 31^r بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ صَلَّى عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَىٰ آلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا ٥٥ [2] كِتَابُ الْمَجَادِلَةِ مَعَ
الْيَهُودِ وَالنَّصَارَى ٥ [3] أَنْتَسَخَهُ الْفَقِيهُ أَبُو زَكْرِيَاءَ يَحْيَى بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ الرَّقْلِيِّ مِنْ كِتَابِ التَّوْرَةِ وَالْإِنْجِيلِ
وَمِنْ مَقَالَاتِ الْقَاضِي الْأَجَلِيِّ [4] الْحَسِيبِ أَبُو الْعَبَّاسِ أَحْمَدُ اللَّخْمِيُّ الشَّرْفِيُّ شَرَّفَ اللَّهُ ذِكْرَهُ ءَأَمِينُ
* لِيَعْلَمَ كُلُّ مَنْ وَقَفَ عَلَى هَذَا الْكِتَابِ [5] أَنَّهُ حَقٌّ يَقِينٌ كَمَا وَجَدَ فِي كِتَابِ التَّوْرَةِ وَالْإِنْجِيلِ وَفِي
كِتَابِ الْفَلَسَفَةِ وَالْمَنْطِقِ وَأَنَّهُ لَا شَكَّ فِيهِ وَلَا ارْتِيَابَ [6] فَتَدَبَّرْهُ وَاجْتَهِدْ فِي دِرَاسَتِهِ فَإِنَّهُ مِنْ أَكْبَرِ
الْحُجَجِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَاللَّهُ الْمُوَافِقُ لِلصَّوَابِ وَالرَّشَادِ ٥ * [7] وَهَذَا ابْتِدَاؤُهُ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى قَالَ الْمَوْلِفُ

1 صلى A stroke is written as it comes out *lām*. Sometimes, the copyist uses this stroke to indicate the elongation of a letter which clearly is not the case here and hence one reads *ṣallā*. 2 كِتَابُ] The *ḥarakāt* seems to have been added later with a finer *qalam* and *faṭḥa* is often placed between the letter and the dots. The present-day technical means for the rendering of the Arabic script make it impossible for me to transcribe the original. 3 زَكْرِيَاءَ Hamza seems to be written after *yā*. An additional *kāf* is written above, unconnected, as a means of clarification. Alif [إِبْرَاهِيمَ] of elongation is placed a little bit higher, being unclear whether it is a later addition. A [التَّوْرَةِ] *sukūn* is written under *tā*' in the original: التَّوْرَةِ The spelling of the word is varied throughout the text, which is not amended from here on. 4 هَذَا Using finer *qalam* an *alif* of elongation has been added to the word, after *hā*', which would be rendered as follows: هَذَا [الْكِتَابِ] The *alif* of elongation between *tā*' and *bā*' is in a finer *qalam*. 5 التَّوْرَةِ Alif of elongation likely in thick *qalam*. 6 فَإِنَّهُ اجْتَهَدَ [وَأَجْتَهَدَ] فَتَدَبَّرْهُ [فَتَدَبَّرْهُ] It seems to be written, with a *hamza* both on top and under the *alif*, *annahu* and *innahu*. 7 وَهَذَا Alif of elongation seems to be a later addition but written the same thick *qalam* as the main text. Alif [تَعَالَى] of elongation after '*ayn* is written as if connected to *lām*. The present-day technical devices for Arabic writing make it impossible for me to transcribe the original. Henceforth I write *ta'āla* without adding any footnote.

زَعَمَ النَّصَارَى أَنَّ يَسُوعَ هُوَ وُلْدُ اللَّهِ [8] تَعَلَّى اللَّهُ عَنْ ذَلِكَ {عُلُوًّا كَبِيرًا} * a وَذَلِكَ سَبَبٌ أَنْ يَسُوعَ
 رُوحَ اللَّهِ * قُلْ لَهُمْ حَقُّ أَنْ يَسُوعَ رُوحُ اللَّهِ [9] وَلَيْسَ هُوَ وُلْدُ اللَّهِ * وَكَذَلِكَ أَدَمَ رُوحَ اللَّهِ نَفَخَ
 فِيهِ الرَّبُّ {نَسَمَةَ الْحَيَاةِ} * b كَمَا قَالَ فِي كِتَابِ التَّوْرَةِ يَعْنِي [10] بِيْرِيَهٗ ○ وَقَالَ أَيْضًا فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ
 حَيْثُ قَالَ الْمَلِكُ جَبْرِيْلُ لِمَرْيَمَ {حِينَ بَشَّرَهَا بِحَمْلِ الرَّحْمَةِ الرَّبِّ عَطَطَكَ الرَّحْمَةَ [11] يَعْنِي لِعَرْسِيَهٗ وَمِنْ
 رُوحِ الْقُدْسِ تَكُونُ حُبْلَى كَمَا كَانَ صَهْرَتُكَ غَشْبَالُ حُبْلَى مِنْ رُوحِ الْقُدْسِ} لَأَنَّ الَّذِينَ [12] كَانُوا
 يَسْمُونَ أَرْوَاحَ اللَّهِ كَانُوا أَوْلَادَ اللَّهِ فَكَثِيرٌ مِنَ ءَالِهَةِ فِي الْعَالَمِ ءَالِهَةٌ يَعْنِي دِيُوشَاشُ ○ وَقَالَ أَيْضًا [13]
 فِي التَّوْرَةِ حِينَ أَرْسَلَ الرَّبُّ مُوسَى إِلَى فِرْعَوْنَ بِالرَّسَالَةِ قَالَ لَهُ {قُلْ لِفِرْعَوْنَ أَنْ يُطْلَقَ ابْنِي بَكْرِي

7 *Alif* of elongation [وَذَلِكْ] A stroke is written as it comes out *lām*. 8 *Alif* of elongation [تَعَلَّى] A stroke is written as it comes out *lām*. 9 *Alif* of elongation [الحَيَاةِ] In the present manuscript copy it is written as: *Alif* of elongation seems to be written using the same thick *qalam*. 10 *Alif* of elongation [التَّوْرَةِ] A stroke is written as it comes out *lām*. 11 *Alif* of elongation [حُبْلَى] A stroke is written as it comes out *lām*. 12 *Alif* of elongation [دِيُوشَاشُ] This word and the previous two are a later addition inscribed with a finer *qalam*. 13 *Alif* of elongation [مُوسَى] Dagger *alif* seems to have been written with finer *qalam*.

7 [يَسُوعَ] Yasū', see Jesus. 9 [أَدَمَ] See Adam. 10 [بِيْرِيَهٗ] bibirya, biblia, i.e. Bible. [لِمَرْيَمَ] Maryam, see Mary. 11 [لِعَرْسِيَهٗ] la garçia, la gracia, i.e. the grace. [غَشْبَالُ] Gisabel, Isabel, see Elizabeth. 12 [دِيُوشَاشُ] dioses, i.e. gods. 13 [مُوسَى] Mūsà, see Moses. [فِرْعَوْنَ] Far'ūn, see Pharaoh.

- a We find a similar expression in Q. 17:43: سَبَحْنَهُ وَتَعَلَّى عَمَّا يَقُولُونَ عُلُوًّا كَبِيرًا
- b Cf. Gen. 2:7. The following is found in the corresponding verse in the Arabic translation of the Samaritan Pentateuch: *وفنخ في انفه نسمة الحياة* by Fayyūmī Sa'adyā Abū Sa'īd b. Yūsuf al-(Saadya Gaon)/Abraham Kuenen (ed.). *Specimen e literis orientalibus exhibens librum geneleos, secundum arabicam pentateuchi samaritani versionem, ab Abū-Sa'īdo conscriptam/quod auspice ... T.G. Junybolll ... ex tribus codicibus editit Abrahamus Kuenen*. Tarğamat al-Tawrāt al-muqaddasa/li-Abī Sa'īd b. Abī al-Ḥusayn b. Abī Sa'īd as-Sāmarrī. Lugduni Batavorum: Apud E.J. Brill, 1851. <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/22200728.html>; p. 12.
- c Compare the corresponding passage in Luke 1, particularly Verses 26–38 and 35. In Verse 35, Elisabeth is introduced as Mary's relative and not specifically as her sister-in-law (*šihra*). See, Arabic (New International Version), <https://www.biblica.com/bible/nav/1/لوقا/1/الإنجيل-لوقا/1/>

إِسْرَائِيلَ يُذَبِّحُ [14] لِي^a وَقَالَ أَيضًا فِي مَوْضِعٍ آخَرَ مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ {أَبْنَاءُ الْإِمَانَةِ لَكُمْ} ◉ وَقَالَ أَيضًا يُسَوِّعُ
 حِينَ أَرْسَلَ الرَّبُّ بِالرَّسَالَةِ [15] إِلَى إِسْرَائِيلَ {أَسْمِعْ يَا إِسْرَائِيلَ أَنَّ الْإِلَهَكَ وَاحِدٌ} ◉ b وَلَيْسَ يَفْهَمُ
 إِلَى النَّاسِ بِأَنَّهُ هُوَ رُوحُ اللَّهِ لَا يَتَّبِعُ بِذَلِكَ أَنَّهُ [16] وَلَدُ اللَّهِ لِأَنَّ جَمِيعَ الْأَرْوَاحِ كُلَّهَا مِنَ اللَّهِ ◉ وَأَمَّا
 خَاصَهُ اللَّهُ بِكِرَامَةٍ هَذِهِ الْكِرَامَةِ مَخْصُوصَةً لَهُ ◉ كَمَنْ [17] يَقُولُ بَيْتُ اللَّهِ وَرَجُلٌ سُلْطَنٌ * لِأَنَّ جَمِيعَ
 بِيُوتِ الدُّنْيَا وَرِجَالَهَا كُلَّهَا لِلَّهِ تَعَالَى ◉ وَقَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى [18] فِي كِتَابِهِ الْعَزِيزِ {وَكَذَلِكَ أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ رُوحًا
 مِنْ أَمْرِنَا} ◉ وَسَمِيَ رُوحًا الْقُرْآنَ ◉ وَقَالَ أَيضًا فِي مَوْضِعٍ [19] آخَرَ {وَأَيَّدَهُمْ بِرُوحٍ مِنْهُ} ◉ d وَبِنَصِّ
 هَذِهِ الْآيَةِ عَلَّمَ الرَّبُّ سُبْحَنَهُ إِلَى النَّاسِ أَنَّ جَمِيعَ الْأَرْوَاحِ كُلَّهَا مِنَ [20] اللَّهِ تَعَالَى * وَلَيْسَ يَنْبَغِي
 لِلَّهِ تَعَالَى {أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُ وَلَدٌ} ◉ e بِأَنَّهُ الْإِزْبِيُّ الْأَوَّلُ وَالْآخِرُ وَالظَّاهِرُ وَالْبَاطِنُ [21] وَهُوَ بِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ عَلِيمٌ ◉
 وَإِنْ كَانَ لَهُ وَلَدٌ وَجَبَ لَهُ شَيْئَيْنِ * الْأَوَّلُ يَنْقَسِمُ مُلْكُهُ مَعَ وَلَدِهِ فَالَّذِي يُعْطِي [22] لَوْلَدِهِ مِنَ الْمُلْكِ
 عُدَمَ مِنْ مُلْكِهِ وَقُدْرَتَهُ ◉ وَالثَّانِيَةُ يَكُونُ الْأَشْيَاءُ مُخْتَلِفَةً [23] إِذَا أَرَادَ الْوَاحِدُ مِنْهُمَا شَيْءًا لَمْ يُرِدْ الْآخَرَ
 كَمَا نَرَى بِطَبِيعَةِ حَقِيقَةِ أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ مِنَ نَفْسَيْنِ | مُخْتَلِفَةً ◉ * وَإِنْ كَانَ لِلَّهِ وَلَدًا يَكُونُ لَهُ عُدَمٌ وَيَتْرَكَ مُلْكَهُ
 f. 31^v

14 {أَبْنَاءُ الْإِمَانَةِ لَكُمْ} ◉ This punctuation mark I have been unable to find this expression: أَبْنَاءُ الْإِمَانَةِ [أَبْنَاءُ 14] Alif of elongation written using the same thick *qalam*. 16 هَذِهِ [هَذِهِ 16] A stroke is written as it comes out *lām*. 17 تَعَالَى [تَعَالَى 17] A stroke is written as it comes out *lām*. 18 {وَكَذَلِكَ} [وَكَذَلِكَ 18] Written with an *alif* of elongation after *dāl*, but placed higher and seems to be a later addition. 19 هَذِهِ [هَذِهِ 19] Alif of elongation is written using a finer *qalam*. 20 {سُبْحَنَهُ} [سُبْحَنَهُ 20] In this word there is a dot under *mīm* which seems to be a *sukūn*. 21 {سُبْحَانَهُ} [سُبْحَانَهُ 21] Probably following Qur'anic modes of writing (e.g. Q. 9:31), this word is (almost) always written in this way instead of سُبْحَانَهُ. 22 تَعَالَى [تَعَالَى 22] A stroke is written as it comes out *lām*. 23 {يُرِيدُ} [يُرِيدُ 23] A stroke is written as it comes out *lām*. 22 {يَكُونُ} [يَكُونُ 22] *Yā'* is written also as *tā'*. 23 {يُرِيدُ} [يُرِيدُ 23] I read *nūn* and not *tā'*. Alif of elongation written with thin *qalam*.

a Cf. Ex. 4:22–23. Here, however, a part of these verses is omitted.

b Cf. Deut. 6:4, Mark 12:29.

c Q. 42:52.

d Q. 58:22.

e Q. 4:171.

لَوْلَدِهِ ○ وَأَنَّ جَمِيعَ النَّاسِ وَجَمِيعَ الْحَيَّوَانِ [2] وَكُلُّ مَا يَدْبُ عَلَى وَجْهِ الْأَرْضِ يَنْبَغِي لَهَا عَدَمٌ وَيَبْقَى
 مِنْ أَنْوَاعِهَا ○ بِسَبَبِ أَنَّ لَهَا الْإِلْحَاقُ التَّثْبِيتُ [3] وَتَدْوِيبُ ○ وَأَنَّ الْأَشْيَاءَ السَّمَاوِيَّةَ لَيْسَ يَلْحَقُهَا
 التَّثْبِيتُ وَتَدْوِيبُ * وَبِسَبَبِ ذَلِكَ لَيْسَ لَهَا [4] عَدَمٌ فَلَيْسَ يَنْبَغِي لَهَا أَنْ يَبْقَى مِنْ أَنْوَاعِهَا ○ مِثَالُ
 ذَلِكَ الشَّمْسِ لِأَنَّ الشَّمْسَ لَا يَنْبَغِي لَهَا وَلَدًا [5] وَبِسَبَبِ ذَلِكَ لَا يُحْتَاجُ أَنْ يَبْقَا مِنْ نَوْعِهَا شَيْءٌ
 لِأَنَّهَا مِنَ الْأَشْيَاءِ السَّمَاوِيَّةِ وَإِنْ كَانَ لِلشَّمْسِ [6] وَلَدًا يَنْبَغِي لَهَا عَدَمٌ وَالتَّثْبِيتُ وَتَدْوِيبُ كَالْأَشْيَاءِ
 الزَّمَانِيَّةِ ○ وَالْآنَ لَيْسَ يَقْدِرُ النَّاسُ [7] أَنْ يَعِيشَ مِنَ الْحَرَارَةِ بِشَمْسٍ وَاحِدٍ كَيْفَ بَعْدَ بِشُمُوسًا
 كَثِيرَةً ○ وَاخْتَلَفَ الْأَرْمَنَةُ وَلَا يَكُونُ مَعْمُورَةً [8] فِي الْأَرْضِ ○ كَذَلِكَ إِنْ كَانَ لِلَّهِ وَلَدٌ يَنْبَغِي لَهُ
 مِنَ النَّقَائِصِ * ○ وَالْعُيُوبُ الَّذِي يَتَعَرَّضُ لِلْأَدْمِينَ [9] مِنَ الْأَوْجَاعِ وَالْإِسْقَامِ وَالْعَدَمِ وَالْمَوْتِ لِأَنَّهُ
 يَدْخُلُ فِي جُمْلَةِ الْأَدْمِينَ * كَذَلِكَ نَرَى بِطَبِيعَةٍ [10] حَقِيقَةً أَنَّ السُّلْطَانَ بِأَشْءٍ أَمَلَ ذُرِّيَّةً إِلَّا بِسَبَبِ

3 [وَتَدْوِيبُ] As noted in the text above, these two words are rendered in multiple and defective ways throughout the text. The author seems to seek a phonetic parallelism by twice providing a *maṣḍar* of the second form of the Arabic verb. My guess is that we are dealing here with the roots *tbt* (where *taṭbit* has to be read as in Kazimirski “immobilité, qui ne peut remuer ni bras ni jambes (de maladie)”, and *twb* (where *taṭwib* means dissolution)). Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, pp. 216, 241. The sense is that men and animals become immobile as a result of sickness and decay. See also the footnote on these terms on Chapter Two. [يَلْحَقُهَا] The form *laysa* + verb is very often used in the KM to negate the present tense. [وَتَدْوِيبُ] In the original written as: ^{تَدْوِيبُ} التَّثْبِيبُ وَالتَّدْوِيبُ [لِكَ] *Alif* of elongation in thin *qalam*. 4 [لِكَ] *Alif* of elongation in thin *qalam*. [الشَّمْسِ] The copyist often connects the first *alif* to *lām* as it were a *lām* itself as is here the case: ^{لِلشَّمْسِ} لِلشَّمْسِ [لِكَ] *Alif* of elongation written with thick *qalam*. 6 [وَتَدْوِيبُ] In the original *at-taṭayyub* is written with both *ḍamma* and with *šadda* and *kasra*; here the author seems to be using the *maṣḍar* of the fifth form of the Arabic verb: ^{تَدْوِيبُ} التَّثْبِيبُ وَالتَّدْوِيبُ [لِكَ] *Alif* of elongation in thick *qalam*. *Kāf* is rewritten above as a means of clarification. 9 [لِكَ] *Alif* of elongation written with a finer *qalam*. [نَرَى] *Alif* of elongation written with thin *qalam*. 10 [السُّلْطَانَ] *Alif* of elongation written with a finer *qalam*.

10 [بِأَشْءٍ] bi-es, i.e. that is.

أَنْ يَتْرُكَ وَلَدًا يَتَسَلَطَ عَلَى مُلْكِهِ * وَكَذَلِكَ جَمِيعَ [11] النَّاسِ * وَالرَّبُّ سَبِّحْنَهُ هُوَ الْأَزَلِيُّ فَلَا يَنْبَغِي
 لَهُ وَلَدٌ وَزَعَمَ النَّصْرِيُّ أَيْضًا أَنَّ عِيسَى [12] بْنُ مَرْيَمَ هُوَ إِلَهُ وَرَجُلٌ وَمَيُوتُ كَمَا إِلَهُ وَرَجُلٌ وَاللَّحْمَانِيَّةُ
 مَاتَتْ وَأَلَّا لَاهِيَّةً لَمْ يَمُوتْ يَعْنِي [13] الْإِلَاهِيَّةَ لِذَاتِهَا * قُلْ لَهُمْ أَنْتُمْ تُرَعَمُونَ أَنَّ عِيسَى الْإِلَهُ وَرَجُلٌ
 وَهَذَا أَبِيأَشْ أَنْ تُصَدِّقُوا [14] أَنْتُمْ بِطَبِيعَةِ حَقِيقَةٍ مِنْ أِبْتِدَاءٍ حَتَّى الْأَوْتَامُ يَكُونُ الْإِلَهُ وَرَجُلٌ مِنَ
 الْيَوْمِ الَّذِي يَكْتَسِي مِنَ اللَّحْمِ [15] وَإِنْ أَقْرُوا أَنَّهُ كَذَلِكَ الْإِلَهُ وَرَجُلٌ مِنَ الْيَوْمِ الَّذِي اِكْتَسَى اللَّحْمَ
 حَتَّى الْأَوْتَامُ * قُلْ لَهُمُ الْوَقْتُ [16] الَّذِي صُلِبَ بِهِ الْيَهُودُ فِي الصَّلِيبِ يَقُولُ {الْإِلَهِ الْإِلَهِ لَمْ تَسْلُبْنِي} ^a
 وَإِنْ كَانَ وَرَبِّمَا هَذَا [17] الْكَأْسِ لَيْسَ نَشْرَبُهُ {يُظْهِرُ أَنَّهُ دَعَا إِلَهُ أَنْ يَعُونَهُ يَعْنِي أَقْرَارٌ ◉ وَأَجَابُوا

10 ^{لِكَ} *Alif* of elongation written with a finer *qalam*. 11 ^{سَبِّحْنَهُ} *Alif* of elongation written with thick *qalam*. [النَّصْرِيُّ] *Alif* of elongation written with a finer *qalam*. 13 ^{لِذَاتِهَا} *Yā'* written both with *hamza* (with *kasra*) under the letter and dots. عِيسَى *Alif* of elongation written with finer *qalam*. [وَهَذَا] *Alif* of elongation after *hā'* has been written unconnected using a finer *qalam*. 15 ^{لِكَ} *Alif* of elongation after *hā'* is written with a finer *qalam*. [الْأَوْتَامُ] With *hamza* and *fatha* above the first *lām* (it is not possible to render it). Al-antemo, el extremo (final), i.e. the extreme, end. 16 ^{هَذَا} *Alif* of elongation is written using a finer *qalam*. 17 ^{دَعَا} [دَعَا] Written also with *alif* of elongation above the *alif maqṣūra* using a thinner *qalam*. [إِلَهُ] ^{أَقْرَارٌ} This word and the previous one are an addition inscribed using a finer *qalam*.

12 ^{مَرْيَمَ} [مَرْيَمَ] Isā b. Maryam, see Jesus. [وَاللَّحْمَانِيَّةَ] I have been unable to find this word of which the meaning (related to flesh *lahm*) should probably be understood as “that what comes out of the flesh”; the fleshy (i.e. corporal being)). 13 ^{لِذَاتِهَا} [لِذَاتِهَا] la deidat, i.e. the deity. أَبِيأَشْ [أَبِيأَشْ] abeyes, (h)abeyes, i.e. you have to (acknowledge). 14 ^{الْأَوْتَامُ} [الْأَوْتَامُ] al-etemo, el extremo (extremo, final), i.e. until the end. The term here and elsewhere in the text where it appears could be connected to or derived from the Arabic root *tmm* which among other things meanings could be “to complete, to come to an end”. [مِنْ] *Alif* of elongation after *sīn* written with thin *qalam*. *Min* is an addition of mine: [أَقْرَارٌ] ^{أَقْرَارٌ} 17 [أَقْرَارٌ] a correr, most likely to be read as “a socorrer”, i.e. to help.

a Cf. Matt. 27:46.

b Cf. Luke 22:42.

أَنَّهُ هُوَ الْإِلَهُ فَقُلْ لَهُمْ [18] إِنْ كَانَ هُوَ الْإِلَهَ كَمَا تَزْعُمُونَ يَظْهَرُ أَنَّهُ دَعَا بَاطِلٌ ۝ وَإِنْ قَالُوا النَّصْرَى
 إِنَّ الْخُمَْانِيَةَ مَاتَتْ [19] وَقَالَتْ هَذِهِ الْإِلَهِةُ فَلْهُمْ لَيْسَ يَكُونُ تَقْدِيرُ الْخُمَْانِيَةَ تَكَلَّمَ دُونَ رُوحِ
 ذَا لَدَائِدَتْ [20] تَرَاهَا ذَلِكَ بِطَبِيعَةِ حَقِيقَةِ أَنَّ اللَّحْمَ مِنَ الْإِنْسَانِ لَمْ تَقْدَرِ تَكَلَّمَ دُونَ الرُّوحِ ۝
 قَالَ [21] أَرَسَطُوا فِي فَلْسَفَةِ الطَّبِيعَةِ أَنَّ الرُّوحَ فِي الْجَسَدِ لَيْسَ كَمِثْلِ الْمَاءِ وَالزَّيْتِ فِي الْكُوزِ يَقْدِرُ
 يَفْرَزُ [22] أَنَّ الزَّيْتِ مِنَ الْمَاءِ إِلَّا كَمِثْلِ الشَّرَابِ سَكَنْجِيبِ الَّذِي عَمِلَ مِنْ عَسَلٍ وَخَلٍّ لَيْسَ يَقْدِرُ
 أَحَدٌ أَنْ يَفْرَزَ [23] بَيْنَ الْعَسَلِ وَالْخَلِّ كَذَلِكَ الرُّوحُ فِي الْجَسَدِ شَيْءٌ وَاحِدٌ بَعْضُ جَمِيعٍ ۝ وَقَالَ
 فِي مَادَةٍ | فَالْقَالَِبُ هُوَ الرُّوحُ وَالْمَادَةُ هُوَ الْجَسَدُ وَلَا سِيمَا أَنَّ الرُّوحَ إِذَا خَرَجَ عَنِ الْجَسَدِ لَيْسَ لِلْجَسَدِ
 حَوَاسٌ [2] شَيْءٌ ۝ وَلَوْ كَانَ عَيْسَى رُوحَ الْإِلَهِةِ كَمَا تَزْعُمُونَ لَمْ يَقْدِرِ الْخُمَْانِيَةَ تَكَلَّمَ دُونَ الرُّوحِ
 ذَا لَدَائِدَتْ ۝ [3] وَزَعَمَ أَيضًا النَّصْرَى أَنَّ اللَّهَ دَخَلَ فِي بَطْنِ مَرْيَمَ وَيَكْتَسِي مِنَ اللَّحْمِ وَيَكُونُ فِي
 مَوْضِعٍ وَبَجَرُورًا تَسْعَةُ أَشْهُرٍ [4] يَمُصُ الدَّمَ وَيُرْبِيهِ وَيَكُونُ فِي مَوْضِعٍ كَدْرٍ* تَعَالَى اللَّهُ عَنِ ذَلِكَ

17 [هو] *Huwa* is a later addition in the same thick *qalam*. 18 دعاى دعاى [دعا 18] Written also with *alif* of elongation above the *alif maqṣūra* using a finer *qalam*. 19 [النصرى] *Alif* of elongation with the same *qalam*. 19 [الالهية] *Alif* of elongation with finer *qalam*. 20 [لك] *Alif* of elongation written with a finer *qalam*. 21 [أرسطوا] With few exceptions, Aristotle is referred to as *Arsatū* throughout, see Aristotle. 23 [لك] *Alif* of elongation written with a finer *qalam*. 3 [النصرى] Probably to be read as: *أن تكلم*. 2 [مائدة مادة] 2 [مائدة مادة] *Alif* of elongation written using a thick *qalam*. 4 [لك] *Alif* of elongation with thick *qalam*.

19 [لدائدت] *de la deidat*, i.e. of the deity. 22 [سكنجيب] *Sakanğābī* is a metathesis of the term *sakandğib* or *sikandğib*, which means oxymel or syrup of vinegar. It is a medicinal drink used, for example, by the Greek doctor Asclepiades of Bithynia (probably 70 BCE). See for Asclepiades, Degani, Enzo, Klaus Döring, Frank Pressler, Vivian Nutton, and Franco Montanari. "Asclepiades." In Hubert Cancik and Helmut Schneider (eds.). *Brill's New Pauly*. Antiquity volumes, 2012. Brill Online. Universiteit Amsterdam. 10 February 2012 http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=bnp_e203620 2 [سكنجيب] *de la deidat*, i.e. of the deity. 3 [وبجرورا] From *ğarra*, in Kazimirski: "porter le fœtus au-delà du temps ordinaire", *Dictionnaire*, p. 271: جريد

علوا كبيرا * وقد علمتم أيضا أنتم بحق يقين [5] كما قال في جميع الكتب إن الله ليس بجا موضع
 ولا انبرغا موضع * وإن كان الله انبرغشا موضع إكاشا [6] موضع * فليس يعلم هو إلا الذي
 حضر فيه أو سمعه بإذنه وأما في الأشياء الغاية ولا يعلم [7] شيئا ويكون مثل الإنس كما انبرغا
 موضع وبجا موضع ○ وبسبب ذلك لا يعلم إلا الذي عمل في حضرته [8] وأما في الأشياء الغاية
 فلا يعلم شيئا ويكون علمه كعلم الناس لا يعلم في الكل ولا يقدر في الكل ولا يكون [9] إرادته
 في الكل ○ فإن علم الله وقدرته وإرادته في الكل لا يعدم أن يكون أبدا لأنه أزلي ○ وعلم
 الناس [10] وقدرتهم وإرادتهم هي أماطاش فيهم لأن الإنسان لا يقدر في الكل ولا أراد في الكل
 ولا يعلم في الكل ○ ○ [11] وقل لهم أيضا إن كان الله كامل هل الذي تزعمون أنتم يدخل في
 بطن مريم أو بعضه ○ وإن أجابوا أنه بعضه [12] قل لهم ذات الله يعني لئشأنسي من الله ليس وإن
 كان يقدر ينقسم ليس [13] يكون الله كامل ○ وهذه مسألة شديدة قوية فتدبرها فهي من أكبر
 الحجج عليهم لتصدقهم أن عيسى [14] هو رجل وليس إله كما يزعمون وزعم أيضا النصرى بسبب

7 [لك] *Alif* of elongation written with thick *qalam*. *Kāf* rewritten as unconnected letter above
 the word as a means of clarification. 9 أبد لا بد [الأبد] 11 [هل] My addition to make the
 sentence understandable. 12 حابوا [أجابوا] Probably it should be read as: أن ذات
 ليس ○ Followed by strikethrough sentence: ينقسم وإن كان ليس ينقسم 13 [لتصدقهم] Probably to be read
 as: لتصدقهم ○ 14 [النصرى] *Alif* of elongation written with thick *qalam*.

5 [بجا] *cabe*, i.e. fits (a place). [انبرغا] *embargue*, i.e. to occupy (a place). [انبرغشا] *embargase*, i.e.
 would occupy (a place). [إكاشا] *i cabese*, i.e. and it would fit (a place). 7 [موضع] *que embargo*
mawḍi'un wa cabe mawḍi'un. 10 [أماطاش] *ametales*, i.e. metals. 12 [لئشأنسي] *la-nsençia*, i.e.
 the essence.

الثالثة التي يزعمون وجلبوا [15] بأجل التجريبِ الثلاثة خلةً أغشتين وهي حجة ضعيفة ○ أنه قال وجه في الله ثلاثة أشياء تشبهه [16] لثالتيه * الاولُ القدرة والثانية العلم والثالثة الارادة ○ فالجواب في ذلك أن تقول [17] لهم ذات الله يعني انساني نكبا يكون ثالثيه لأنه لم يكبا في موض انبارغ موضع كما رجل [18] كاكبا موضع اين برغ موضع ○ وقل لهم أيضا حتى يقين ان في الله قدرة وعلم وارادة [19] وان ذات الله لم يفترق القدرة من العلم ولا العلم من الارادة * وان قالوا انه افترق ○ قل لهم [20] أعلموني اين تسكن القدرة واين يسكن العلم واين تسكن الارادة ○ وقل لهم أيضا ان العلم والارادة [21] لم يكن يقدر الا بالقدرة ○ فان لم يكن القدرة لم ينفع العلم والارادة ○ مثال ذلك أن رجلا يكون له علم [22] وارادة ولم يكون له قدرة لم ينفعه العلم والارادة ○ وان كان له قدرة فيتحرك من مكانه يحل به العلم والارادة ○ [23] وقد علمتم أيضا ان في رجل يجد فيه قدرة وعلم وارادة فانظروا كم من الهة في الدنيا ○ ○ | وزعم النصرى أيضا الثالثة لمستلة التي سألها فالب حوارى لعيسى ابن مريم حين قال له {ارنا الآب [2] ويكفينا ○ أجاب له عيسى تنت الزمان نعيش

15 يشبه [تشبهه] kāf is rewritten above, unconnected, to clarify. وللادة و الارادة 20 يشبه [تشبهه] 15
 22 أورينا الأب وتكفينا [الأب] سأل [سألها] 1 للادة [والارادة] fā' is an addition of mine. [فيتحرك] 22

14 [الثالثة] at-tāliṭiyya, at-tālaṭiyya, undoubtedly with the meaning of the Trinity. This is an unusual form and yet we know of other non-standard usages of the term, as, for example, the *Taṭlīt al-wahdanīyya* by al-Qurṭubī, see the Introduction to this study. 15 [خلة] It is unlikely that Aḡuštīn is referred to in the feminine as "aunt": خالة. I chose for property *halla* "property (i.e. of the divine)" called upon by Aḡuštīn but it is still possible to think that he is referring to the *ḥiyāla* "phantasy" or "chimera" of Aḡuštīn. [أغشتين] Aḡuštīn, i.e. Agustín, maybe and Arabized Christian. See the study for a discussion of the identification of this individual. 17 [نكبا] ensençia no cabe, i.e. essence, it doesn't fit. [كبا] cabe, i.e. fits. [انبارغ] i-ni-nebarga, y ni embarga, i.e. and it even doesn't seize. [رجل] This may be read as "come", "como", i.e. like. 18 [كاكبا] que cabe, i.e. that fits. [برغ] i-(y)embarga, y embarga, i.e. and it seizes. 1 [فالب] Felibu, Felipe, see Philip. 2 [تنت] tanto, i.e. so much (time).

معكم ولا تعرفوني الآب في وأنا في الاب والكلام التي أقولها [3] لكم ليس قلتها عني^a ○ قل لهم هذا القول لا يفهم الآ عن نفسين * فأخبروني أين الثالث وبهذا الوجه [4] يزعمون مثل الثالثي ○ قل لهم أيضا أكثر من ثالثيه ○ وقد علمت ما قال في الانجيل لقدام في هذه المسئلة [5] يعني ءاشترته ○ قال عيسى للحوارين {أنكم في وأني فيكم} ^b فانظروا كم من الهة اليكم ○ وأما التفسير [6] يعني غلوش {الآب في وأنا في الآب} ○ معناه كلام {الآب في} يلهمني ما أقول وكلام التي كلمت [7] من ذاته ليس من ذاتي ○ وكذلك تفسير الحوارين حين قال عيسى لهم {أنكم في وأنا فيكم} ^d فأفهمه فهذا [8] من أكبر الحجج عليهم ○ وزعم النصرى أيضا لثالثية أشياء ضعيفة ممتثلة ياخذون ثيابهم [9] ويعملون فيها ثلاث طبقات وذلك في جسد ثوب واحد ○ قل لهم كما تعملون في جسد ثوب واحد [10] ثلث طبقات كذلك تقدرون ان تعملون خمسة أو ستة ءاش ما تريدون ○ وأما طبقات ان كانت معمولة [11] في غير جسد ثوب واحد صحيح في ثياب كثيرة كل طبقة في ثوب واحد وبعد ذلك الصقهي معا فكل [12] واحد منهم يكون بجزئه وكذلك شبهوا النصرى الثلاثية لتفاحه قائلون انها ثلاثة أشياء ألوان ودقت [13] وريح ○ قل لهم إن فيها أكثر من خمسة أشياء لون ولذة وفوحة وزريعة ودود وجلد * فهذه حجة ضعيفة [14] وزعم أيضا النصرى {ان يسوع يسمى نفسه ولد الله} ^e وبسبب ذلك كان ولد الله ○ قل لهم [15] أني نجربكم بانجيلكم حيث سيل ليسوع في أخوة السبعة

الاب {في} 6 ^{Bā} misses the diacritic. وبهذا ليس قلتها عني {عني} 3 نقول أقولها لم تعرفوني [الاب] 2 وذلك 9 ^{kāf} is rewritten above as an unconnected letter, to clarify. وكذلك 7 نقول أقول في ^{kāf} is rewritten above as an unconnected letter, to clarify. 11 الصقوها [الصقهي] 12 بجزئه [بجزئه] 13 فيج [فج] وفوحة 15 نجرب [نجربكم] [النصرى] *Alif* of elongation using a thick *qalam*.

5 [ءاشترته] *estoria*, i.e. story (account). 6 [غلوش] *glosa*, i.e. gloss. 10 [ءاش] *es*, i.e. is.

a Cf. John 14:8–11.

b Cf. John 17:21.

c Cf. John 14:11.

d Cf. John 17:21.

e Cf. Matt. 16:15–17.

يَتَزَوَّجُونَ مَعَ امْرَأَةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ لِمَنْ تَكُونُ [16] تِلْكَ الْمَرْأَةُ مِنْهُمْ فَاجَابَ يَسُوعُ فِي الْجَنَّةِ لَا يَنْكَحُونَ وَلَا يَتَنَاكَحُونَ وَيَكُونُونَ كَامِثَالِ الْمَلِيكَةِ [17] وَيَسَمَّوْنَ الصَّالِحِينَ أَوْلَادَ اللَّهِ^a ○ وَقَدْ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَبْرَكَ وَتَعَلَى فِي تُورَةٍ حِينَ ارْسَلَ اللَّهُ مُوسَى [18] لِفِرْعُونَ قَالَ لَهُ {قُلْ لِفِرْعُونَ أَنْ يُطْلَقَ ابْنِي بَكْرِي^b {عِنِّي أَوَّلُ جَانِبِ إِسْرَائِيلَ أَنْ يَذْبَحَ لِي فَإِنْ كَانَ يَنْبَغِي لِلَّهِ وَلِدًا [19] فَالْوَأَجِبُ أَنْ يَأْخُذَ بَوْلِدٍ أَوَّلُ جَانِبٍ وَهُوَ إِسْرَائِيلَ وَزَعَمَ أَيْضًا النَّصْرِيُّ امْتِثَالَةَ أُخْرَى مِنْ وَحْيِ [20] أَشْعِيَا النَّبِيِّ حَيْثُ قَالَ فِي نُبُوَّتِهِ الْعَذْرَاءُ حُبْلَى تَكُونُ عَمَّ مَنُوَالٍ يَزْعُمُوا النَّصْرِيُّ أَنَّهُ اشْعِيَا قَالَ [21] هَذَا الْوَحْيِ عَنْ مَرْيَمَ وَهَذَا حُجَّةٌ دَاحِضَةٌ ضَعِيفَةٌ ○ وَقَدْ تَعْلَمُونَ كَمْ كَانَ مِنَ الزَّمَانِ بَيْنَ مَقَالَةٍ [22] اشْعِيَا فِي وَحْيِهِ وَبَيْنَ حُبْلَى مَرْيَمَ يَكُونُ بَيْنَهُمَا قَدْرُ الْفِ وَخَمْسِينَ سَنَةً أَوْ أَكْثَرَ ○ وَقَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ أَيْضًا [23] أَنَّ النَّبِيَّ أَشْعِيَا مَا قَالَهُ ذَلِكَ الْوَحْيِ عَنْ مَرْيَمَ وَلَا يَفْهَمُ عَنْهَا وَهَذَا يُجْرِبُ حَقًّا يَقِينٌ فِي كِتَابِ الْإِنْجِيلِ | حِينَ بَشَّرَ الْمَلِكُ جَبْرِيْلَ لِمَرْيَمَ وَقَالَ لَهَا {مَنْ رُوحِ الْقُدْسِ تَكُونُ حُبْلَى فَإِذَا وَلَدْتِهِ فَسَمِّهِ يَسُوعُ^c ○ فَأَمَّا كَانَ [2] أَيَّامَ وِلَادَتِهِ تَجْعَلِيهِ يَسُوعَ كَمَا أَمَرَهَا الْمَلِكُ وَقَدْ يَظْهَرُ بِحَقِّ يَقِينٍ أَنَّ الَّذِي قَالَ النَّبِيُّ أَشْعِيَا^d فِي نُبُوَّتِهِ [3] لَيْسَ يَفْهَمُ الْعَذْرَاءَ الْحُبْلَى عَنْ مَرْيَمَ وَهَذَا كَذِبٌ ظَاهِرٌ أَنَّ قَالَ الْمَلِكُ جَبْرِيْلَ حِينَ بَشَّرَ لِمَرْيَمَ {عَذْرَاءُ حُبْلَى [4] تَكُونُ

f. 33^r

يَأْخُذُ [يَأْخُذُ 19] *Alif* of elongation connected to *lām* which seems to come out of it. *Alif* of elongation connected to *lām* written with thick *qalam*. *Alif* of elongation connected to *lām* written with thick *qalam*. Word repetition. *Alif* of elongation connected to *lām* written with thick *qalam*. With a stroke coming out the *lām* written with thick *qalam*. *kāf* is written again above as a means of clarification. *kāf* in *kitāb* is written again above as a means of clarification. With a stroke coming out the *lām* using a thick *qalam*. *Alif* of elongation connected to *lām* written with thick *qalam*. With a stroke coming out the *lām* using a thick *qalam*.

20 أَشْعِيَا [Aš'iyā], see Isaiah. 21 مَنُوَالٍ [ʿAm Manuel, see Emmanuel.

a Cf. Luke 20:33–36.

b Cf. Ex. 6:10–11.

c Cf. Luke 1:31.

d Cf. Isa. 7:14. See also, Matt. 1:22–23.

عَمَّ مَنَوَالٍ {a} * كَمَا قَالَ أَشْعِيَا فِي نُبُوْتِهِ وَلَا تُسَمِّيْهَا اسْمًا تَجْعَلِيْهِ حِينَ وَلَدْتَهُ أَدْرَامَش كَانَ [5] حَقًّا *
 وَأَمَّا قَالَ لَهَا الْمَلِكُ {ب} مِنْ رُوحِ الْقُدُسِ تَكُونُ حَبْلِيْ فَأَذًا وَلَدْتَهُ تَسْمِيْهِ يَسُوعُ {b} وهذه مُسْئَلَةٌ قَوِيَّةٌ فَتَدْبِرْهَا
 [6] فَانْهَاهَا مِنْ أَكْبَرِ الْحَجَجِ عَلَيْهِمْ ◉ وَيَزْعُمُونَ أَيضًا النَّصَارَى فِي هَذِهِ الْمَسْئَلَةِ عَمَّ مَنَوَالٍ * أَنَّ ءَالَ مِنْ
 أَسْمَاءِ اللَّهِ [7] فَإِنْ يَكُونُ ءَالَ مِنْ أَسْمَاءِ اللَّهِ فَكَثِيرًا مِنَ الْأَسْمَاءِ الْإِدْمِيْنِ تَكُونُونَ ءَالَ مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ إِذَا
 جَاءَ أَحَدٌ إِلَى دَارِ رَجُلٍ [8] آخَرَ يَقُولُ فِي أَسْتَدَانَةِ أَنَّهُ يَكُونُ ءَالَ أَهْنَاكَ وَلَمْ يَفْهَمِ ءَالَ إِلَّا بِالْمَلِكِ يَعْنِي
 شَانُوْرِيَّةَ وَزَعَمَ [9] النَّصَارَى أَيضًا مِثْلَ الثَّلَاثِيَّةِ مِثْلُ مَنْ يَعْْمَلُ فِي جَسَدِ جُبَّةٍ ثَلَاثَ طَبَاقٍ ◉ قَلَّ لَهُمْ
 كَذَلِكَ تَقْدِرُونَ أَنْ [10] تَعْمَلُوا أَرْبَعَةً أَوْ خَمْسَةً أَوْ عَشْرَةَ ءَأَشَ مَا تُرِيدُونَ ◉ وَأَمَّا فِي ءَأَنْشَاسِيَّةِ اللَّهِ
 لَا تَقْدِرُونَ أَنْ تَعْمَلُوا [11] كَذَلِكَ كَمَا لَا تَقْدِرُونَ أَنْ تَعْمَلُوا هَذِهِ طَبَاقٍ فِي الرَّجْحِ تَمَّتِ الْمَسْئَلَةُ وَزَعَمَ
 النَّصْرَى أَيضًا أَنَّ اللَّهَ [12] كَانَ رَجُلٌ تَعَلَّى اللَّهُ عَنْ قَوْلِهِمْ عُلُوًّا كَبِيرًا ◉ أَنْ كَانَ اللَّهُ رَجُلٌ يَنْبَغِي لَهُ
 أَنْ كَأَنْبَرَّغَشَا مَوْضِعٌ [13] وَكَأَشَا مَوْضِعٌ وَلَمْ يَدْرِي شَيْءٌ سِوَى الَّذِي رَأَاهُ بَعِيْنَهُ أَوْ يَحْضُرُ فِيهِ فَأَذًا
 حَضَرَ فِي مَوْضِعٍ بَطَّلَ [14] حَضْرَتَهُ فِي سَائِرِ الْمَوَاضِعِ كَمَا الرَّجُلُ إِذَا كَانَ فِي مَوْضِعٍ لَمْ يَكُنْ فِي آخَرَ
 وَلَمْ يَكُنْ عَلَيْهِ أَيضًا إِلَّا فِي [15] الْمَوْضِعِ الَّذِي يَحْضُرُ فِيهِ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ لَيْسَ كَمَا مَوْضِعٌ وَلَيْسَ
 ءَأَنْبَرَّغَةً مَوْضِعٌ بَلْ يَكُونُ [16] ذَاتُ اللَّهِ فِي جَمِيْعِ الْمَوَاضِعِ فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِيْنَ وَعَلِمَهُ وَقُدْرَتَهُ

4 *kāf* is rewritten above as an unconnected letter, to clarify. 5 *نُبُوْتُهُ* [نُبُوْتُهُ] With a stroke coming out the *lām*. 6 *ءَالَ* [ءَالَ] *kāf* is rewritten above as an unconnected letter, to clarify. 7 *تَكُونُونَ* [تَكُونُونَ] With a stroke coming out the *lām*. 8 *أَسْتَدَانَةِ* [أَسْتَدَانَةِ] *kāf* is rewritten above as an unconnected letter, to clarify. 9 *ثَلَاثَ* [ثَلَاثَ] With a stroke coming out the *lām*. 10 *ءَأَشَ* [ءَأَشَ] *kāf* is rewritten above as an unconnected letter, to clarify. 11 *هَذِهِ* [هَذِهِ] *kāf* is rewritten above as an unconnected letter, to clarify. 12 *تَعَلَّى* [تَعَلَّى] With a stroke coming out the *lām*. 13 *رَأَاهُ* [رَأَاهُ] *kāf* is rewritten above as an unconnected letter, to clarify. 14 *بَطَّلَ* [بَطَّلَ] *kāf* is rewritten above as an unconnected letter, to clarify. 15 *مَوْضِعٌ* [مَوْضِعٌ] *kāf* is rewritten above as an unconnected letter, to clarify. 16 *ذَاتُ* [ذَاتُ] *kāf* is rewritten above as an unconnected letter, to clarify.

4 *ءَأَدْرَامَشَ* [ءَأَدْرَامَشَ] a do diremos, i.e. in which we shall say. 5 *ءَالَ* [ءَالَ] "el". Indeed, "el" or "il" is the word for God in a number of Semitic languages, including Hebrew. See, Leeming, David. *The Oxford Companion to World Mythology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 60. 6 *شَانُوْرِيَّةَ* [شَانُوْرِيَّةَ] *señoria*, most likely to be read not as *señoría*, i.e. highness, but as *señorío*, i.e. property. 7 *ءَأَشَ* [ءَأَشَ] es, i.e. is. 8 *ءَأَنْشَاسِيَّةِ* [ءَأَنْشَاسِيَّةِ] *enseñia*, *esencia*, i.e. essence. 9 *هَذِهِ* [هَذِهِ] *kāf* is written unconnected above. 10 *مَوْضِعٌ* [مَوْضِعٌ] *kāf* is written unconnected above. 11 *مَوْضِعٌ* [مَوْضِعٌ] *kāf* is written unconnected above. 12 *مَوْضِعٌ* [مَوْضِعٌ] *kāf* is written unconnected above. 13 *مَوْضِعٌ* [مَوْضِعٌ] *kāf* is written unconnected above.

a Cf. Matt. 1:23.

b Cf. Luke 1:31.

وَأَرَادَتْهِ فِي جَمِيعِ الْمَوَاضِعِ ① * [17] وَزَعَمَ النَّصْرِيُّ أَيْضًا فِي هَذِهِ الْمَسْئَلَةِ أَنَّ اللَّهَ كَانَ رَجُلٌ تَعَلَى اللَّهُ
 عَنْ قَوْلِهِمْ عُلُوًّا كَبِيرًا قُل [18] لَّهُمْ كَيْفَ جَعَلُوا اللَّهَ فِي طَبَائِعِ النَّاسِ فِي الدَّمِّ وَالْأَوْجَاعِ وَالنَّقَائِصِ
 وَالْعُيُوبِ * فَهَذَا [19] مَا لَا يَكُونُ حَقًّا ② فَاجَابُوا النَّصْرِيُّ نَعْمَ يَكُونُ اللَّهُ رَجُلٌ وَنَجْرَبُ ذَلِكَ بِكِتَابِ
 التَّوْرَةِ حَيْثُ قَالَ [20] {نَصْنَعُ أَنْسَانًا عَلَى مِثَالِنَا} ^a ③ وَنَجْرَبُ أَيْضًا بِهَذِهِ الْمَقَالَةِ نَصْنَعُ أَنَّهُ مِثْلُ الثَّلَاثِيَةِ
 * قُلْ لَّهُمْ [21] فِي ذَلِكَ جَوَابَيْنِ الْأَوَّلُ لَيْسَ بِنَفْسِهِمْ مُخْلَقٌ بَشَرًا إِلَّا عَلَى وَجْهِ الْكَرَامَةِ مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ كَمَا قَالَ
 السُّلْطَانُ [22] بِكَرَامَةِ إنا فَعَلْنَاهُ وَأَمَّا السُّلْطَانُ الَّذِي قَالَ ذَلِكَ الْكَلِمَةَ مَا هُوَ إِلَّا رَجُلٌ وَاحِدٌ ④ وَإِذَا
 قَالُوا هُمْ [23] يَفْهَمُ هَذَا أَكْثَرَ مِنْ وَاحِدٍ كَذَلِكَ يَفْهَمُ بِخَمْسَةِ أَوْ عَشْرَةِ أَوْ مَا تَرِيدُونَ لِأَنَّ فِي هَذَا الْكَلِمَةِ
 يَفْهَمُ | بَوَاحِدٍ أَوْ بِكَثِيرِينَ وَالْجَوَابُ الثَّانِي عَلَى مِثَالِنَا قُلْ لَّهُمْ مَا قَالَ اللَّهُ ذَلِكَ عَلَى أَنَّ آدَمَ يَكُونُ [2] f. 33^v
 مِثْلَهُ عَلَى مِثَالِهِ إِلَّا عَلَى وَجْهِ الْإِسْتِقْرَارِ وَالتَّسْلُطِ عَلَى جَمِيعِ أَشْيَاءِ الدُّنْيَا كَمَا وَجَدَ فِي كِتَابِ التَّوْرَةِ [3]
 {تَكُونُ مَسْلُطًا عَلَى جَمِيعِ طُيُورِ السَّمَاءِ وَبِهَائِمِ الْأَرْضِ وَوَحُوشِ الصَّحْرَاءِ وَالْحَيَاتَانِ الْبَحْرِيِّ كُونَ الْكَلْبُ
 مُسَخَّرَةً [4] لَكَ وَمُسْلَطًا عَلَيْهَا} ^b وَإِنْ كَانَ اللَّهُ مِثْلَ آدَمَ مُخْلُوقًا وَجِبَ لِلَّهِ ثَلَاثَةُ أَشْيَاءٍ أَنْ يَكُونَ لَهُ
 نَفْسٌ حَيَوَانٌ [5] نَاطِقٌ وَيَنْبَغِي لَهُ أَنْ يَشْتَرِكَ مَعَ حَيَوَانَ الْكِلَابِ وَالخَنَازِيرِ لِأَنَّهُمَا مِنْ جِنْسِ الْحَيَوَانَ
 وَيَنْبَغِي لَهُ الْمَوْتُ [6] وَجِبَ لَهُ أَنْ يَتْرَكَ مَنْ تَسْلَهُ أَنْ يَكُونَ إِلَّا هَا ⑤ وَسَوَى هَذِهِ الْأَشْيَاءِ الثَّلَاثَةِ أَشْيَاءٌ
 كَثِيرَةٌ يَتَعَرَّضُ [7] الْإِدْمِيينِ مِنَ النَّقَائِصِ وَالْعُيُوبِ فِي هَذِهِ الدُّنْيَا لِأَنَّهُ يَدْخُلُ فِي جَمَلَةِ الْمَخْلُوقَاتِ ⑥
 أَيْضًا أَنْ كَانَ اللَّهُ [8] خَلَقَ آدَمَ عَلَى صُورَتِهِ فَيَنْبَغِي لِلَّهِ أَنْ يَكُونَ مُخْلُوقًا بِاللَّهِ آخِرَ قَبْلِهِ لِشَبْهِهِ وَمِثَالِهِ
 وَالْآخَرَ بِآخِرِ حَتَّى [9] لَا يَكُونُ غَايَةً يَعْنِي فِنْ ⑦ وَذَلِكَ نَرَى عَيْنَانًا أَنْ كَانَ الشَّمْسُ يَدْخُلُ فِي طَبَعِ

20 ① Written with *alif madda* on top of *lām*. 21 ذلك *kāf* is rewritten above as an unconnected letter, to clarify. [السُّلْطَانُ] *Alif* of elongation unconnected between the two consonants.

22 [فَعَلْنَاهُ] *Alif* of elongation unconnected between the two consonants. ① [عَلَى] A stroke is written connected to *lām*. 2 وذلك 9 مجملَةُ الْمَخْلُوقُونَ [المخلوقات] 7 بهائم [وبهائم] 3 الإقترار [الإستقرار] 2 وذلك 9 مجملَةُ الْمَخْلُوقُونَ [المخلوقات] 7 بهائم [وبهائم] 3 الإقترار [الإستقرار] 2 وذلك 9 مجملَةُ الْمَخْلُوقُونَ [المخلوقات] 7 بهائم [وبهائم] 3 الإقترار [الإستقرار] 2 وذلك 9 مجملَةُ الْمَخْلُوقُونَ [المخلوقات] 7 بهائم [وبهائم] 3 الإقترار [الإستقرار] 2 وذلك 9 مجملَةُ الْمَخْلُوقُونَ [المخلوقات] 7 بهائم [وبهائم] 3 الإقترار [الإستقرار] 2 وذلك 9 مجملَةُ الْمَخْلُوقُونَ [المخلوقات] 7 بهائم [وبهائم] 3 الإقترار [الإستقرار] 2 وذلك 9 مجملَةُ الْمَخْلُوقُونَ [المخلوقات] 7 بهائم [وبهائم] 3 الإقترار [الإستقرار] 2 وذلك 9 مجملَةُ الْمَخْلُوقُونَ [المخلوقات] 7 بهائم [وبهائم] 3 الإقترار [الإستقرار] 2 وذلك 9 مجملَةُ الْمَخْلُوقُونَ [المخلوقات] 7 بهائم [وبهائم] 3 الإقترار [الإستقرار] 2 ذلك *kāf* is rewritten above as an unconnected letter, to clarify. [الشَّمْسُ] *shams* نرا [نرى]

9 [فِنْ] *fin*, i.e. end.

a Cf. Gen. 1:26.

b Cf. Gen. 1:26–28.

النَّاسِ نَانِكًا ۞ الْجَانِدَرَشَا [10] لَيْسَ يَقْدَرُ الْخَلَائِقُ أَنْ يَعِيشَ مِنَ الْحَرَارَةِ وَيَخْرُبُ الْمَعْمُورَةَ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَيُفْسِدُ الْأَزْمِنَةَ وَالْآنَ لَمْ يَقْدِرْ [11] أَنْ نَعِيشَ بِشَمْسٍ وَاحِدٍ وَكَيْفَ بَعْدَ أَنَّ الشَّمْسَ ۞ الْجَانِدَرَشَا لَا يَمَيِّرُوا النَّاسَ اللَّيْلَ مِنَ النَّهَارِ [12] وَلَا النَّهَارَ مِنَ اللَّيْلِ وَيَخْرُبُ الدُّنْيَا وَلَا يَعْرِفُ النَّاسَ عَدَدَ الْحِسَابِ وَالْإِزْمَانِ ۞ أَيْضًا فِي هَذِهِ [13] الْمَسْئَلَةِ حِينَ قَالَ اللَّهُ {نَصْنَعُ إِنْسَانًا عَلَى مِثَالِنَا} وَشَبَّهْنَا تَفْسِيرَهُ بِعَيْنِي غُلُوشَهُ ۞ لَنْ اللَّهُ خَلَقَ [14] آدَمَ وَسَلَطَهُ عَلَى جَمِيعِ الْأَشْيَاءِ الدُّنْيَا وَيَعْلَمُهُ جَمِيعَ الْأَشْيَاءِ وَخَلَقَ الشَّمْسَ وَالْقَمَرَ وَالنُّجُومَ [15] وَاللَّيْلَ وَالنَّهَارَ وَجَمِيعَ الطُّيُورِ وَالْحَيْتَانَ وَالذُّوَابِ نَحْنَمْتَهُ مُسَخَّرَاتٍ لَهُ وَأَنَّ جَمِيعَ النَّاسِ لَمْ يَقْدِرُوا [16] أَنْ يَعِيشَ دُونَ وَاحِدَةٍ مِنْ هَذِهِ الْأَشْيَاءِ ۞ وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ خَلَقَ الْأَشْيَاءَ وَهُوَ مُسْتَعْنِيٌّ عَنْ جَمِيعِ هَذِهِ [17] الْأَشْيَاءِ لَيْسَ يَفْعَلُ يَحْتَاجُ لَهُ إِلَيْهَا وَلَا يَجِدُ عَدَمَ دُونَهَا ۞ وَبِذَلِكَ قَالَ أَرَسَطُو فِي فِلَسْفَتِهِ [18] أَنَّ جَمِيعَ الْأَشْيَاءِ الْخُلُوقَاتِ إِنْ كَانَ يَعْذَمُ وَاحِدَةٌ مِنْهُنَّ لَمْ يَقْدِرُوا النَّاسُ أَنْ يَعِيشَ ۞ وَأَنَّ الرَّبَّ [19] سَبَّحْنَهُ مُسْتَعْنِيٌّ عَنْ عَدَمِهَا لَمْ يَدْرِكْهُ عَدَمٌ كَمَا يَدْرِكُهُ الْإِنْسَانُ وَأَنَّ جَمِيعَ الْأَشْيَاءِ الْخُلُوقَاتِ [20] مُحْتَاجَةٌ إِلَيْهِ وَهُوَ مُسْتَعْنِيٌّ عَنْ عَدَمِهَا ۞ وَبِذَلِكَ الْوَجْهَ يُكُونُ اللَّهُ مَوْجُودٌ رَبُّ كَامِلٌ لِأَنَّهُ [21] بَغَيْرِ الْأَشْيَاءِ وَالْأَشْيَاءُ لَمْ يَكُنْ دُونَهُ ۞ وَلَيْسَ يُوجَدُ فِي كِتَابِ التَّوْرَةِ اسْمُ الرَّبِّ إِلَّا مِنْ أَرْبَعَةِ [22] أَنْوَاعٍ ۞ وَهِيَ الْأَزْلِيُّ * وَالطَّيْنُ * وَالْكَافِيُّ * وَقَرِيدَرُ ۞ وَفِي التَّفْسِيرِ {نَصْنَعُ} [23] إِنْسَانًا عَلَى مِثَالِنَا} ۞ قَالَ الْعُلَمَاءُ مِنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فِيهِمْ هَذَا مِثْلَ التَّفْسِيرِ الَّتِي يَفْسِّرُ الْعُلَمَاءُ الْمَذْكُورِينَ فِي قَوْلِ النَّبِيِّ ﷺ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ حَيْثُ قَالَ {إِذَا ضَرَبَ أَحَدُكُمْ عَبْدَهُ فَلْيَتَّقْ وَجْهَ صَاحِبِهِ} ۞ فَانَّ اللَّهَ [2] خَلَقَ آدَمَ عَلَى

11 Cf. Gen. 1:26. [مثالنا] 13 اليل [الليل] 12 اليل [الليل] للشمس [الشمس] 11 glosa, i.e. gloss. [مُسَخَّرَاتٍ] A dot is placed above 'ayn, as if a gayn is written. 15 [والليل] 19 [سَبَّحْنَهُ] *Alif* of elongation written with thick *qalam*. 22 [وقرِيدَرُ] criador, creador, i.e. Creator. 1 فليتق [فليتق]

9 [الجانِدَرَشَا] nin que enjendrase, ni que engendrase, i.e. (and) neither that he would beget. 11 [الجانِدَرَشَا] enjendrase, engendrase, i.e. would beget. 22 [والطين] Another possibility is that metathesis occurred and it should instead be read as *bāṭin*: والطَّيْنُ

a Cf. Gen. 1:26.

b Cf. inter alia with what is reported in *Saḥīḥ Muslim* 2612e <https://sunnah.com/muslim:2612e>

صُورَتِهِ يَعْنِي عَلَى صُورَتِهِ عَلَى صُورَةِ الْمَضْرُوبِ وَيُسَمُّونَ هَذِهِ الْمَاءَ هَاءَ الْكَلِيَّةِ يَفْهَمُ [3] لِمَعْنَى ٥ فِهَذَا مَا لَا يَفْهَمُونَ * الْعُلَمَاءُ لِأَنَّهُمْ لَمْ يُقَرَّرُوا كِتَابَ الْمَنْطِقِ وَالْفَلَسَفَةِ وَيَفْسِرُونَ هَذَا [4] التَّفْسِيرَ لِيَفْرُوا عَنْ ذَاتِ اللَّهِ لِأَنَّ الْمَعْنَى الْمَذْكُورَ لَمْ يَفْهَمَ هَذِهِ الْمَاءَ إِلَّا عَنْ صُورَةِ اللَّهِ وَهَذِهِ الصُّورَةُ [5] تَكُونُ تَفْسِيرَهُ أَنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَّمَ آدَمَ جَمِيعَ الْأَشْيَاءِ وَالْأَسْمَاءِ وَسَلَّطَهُ عَلَى جَمِيعِ الْأَشْيَاءِ الدُّنْيَا الْمَخْلُوقَاتِ [6] وَسَخَّرَهَا إِلَيْهِ وَيَعِيشُ بِهَا وَلَا يَقْدِرُ يَعِيشُ دُونَهَا وَهَذِهِ تَفْسِيرُ الصُّورَةِ عَلَى الْحَقِيقَةِ لِأَنَّ اللَّهَ سَلَّطَ [7] آدَمَ عَلَى جَمِيعِ الْوُحُوشِ وَالذَّوَابِّ وَالْحَيْتَانِ وَطُيُورِ السَّمَاءِ قَالَ أَرْسَطُوْا إِنْ كَانَ الرَّبُّ خَلَقَ آدَمَ [8] عَلَى ذَاتِهِ * وَالرَّبُّ سَبَّحَنَهُ عَلَى صُورَةِ آدَمَ يَنْبَغِي لَهُ الْأَكْلُ وَالشَّرَابُ وَيُدْرِكُهُ وَالتَّحَرُّقُ وَالتَّذْيِبُ وَالْفَوَاتِ [9] وَالْمَوْتُ وَذَلِكَ بِطَبِيعَةِ حَقِيقَةِ ٥ تَعَالَى اللَّهُ عَنْ ذَلِكَ ٥ وَفِي التَّفْسِيرِ أَيْضًا إِذَا ضَرَبَ أَحَدٌ كُمْ غَلَامَهُ [10] وَلِيَتَّقَ وَجْهَ صَاحِبِهِ فَإِنَّ اللَّهَ خَلَقَ آدَمَ عَلَى صُورَتِهِ يَعْنِي عَلَى صُورَةِ الْمَضْرُوبِ وَإِنْ كَانَ هَذَا التَّفْسِيرُ حَقًّا [11] فَيَسَبَّبُ كَرَامَةَ خَلْقِ الرَّبِّ آدَمَ عَلَى صُورَةِ الْمَضْرُوبِ لَمْ يَضْرِبْ أَحَدٌ غَلَامَهُ فَكَذَلِكَ خَلَقَ اللَّهُ الْكَلْبَ ٥ فَيَسَبَّبُ [12] كَرَامَةَ خَلْقِ الرَّبِّ الْكَلْبَ لَمْ يَضْرِبْ أَحَدٌ كَلْبَهُ فَهَذِهِ الْمَسْأَلَةُ قَوِيَّةٌ فَتَدَبَّرْهَا فَإِنَّهَا مِنْ أَكْبَرِ الْحُجَجِ عَلَيْهِمْ [13] لِتَصَدِّقَهُمْ أَنَّ اللَّهَ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ صُورَةٌ كَمَثَلِ آدَمَ لِأَنَّ هَذِهِ صُورَةُ كَأَمَةٍ مُسْتَعَارَةً فَافْهَمِ وَاللَّهُ الْمُسْتَعَانُ [14] وَزَعَمَ النَّصَارَى أَيْضًا لِثَلَاثِيهِ أَبٌ وَوَلَدٌ وَرُوحٌ قُدُّسٌ تَعَالَى اللَّهُ عَنْ قَوْلِ الظَّالِمِينَ [15] عَلُّوا كَبِيرًا قُلْ لُهُمْ فِي الْجَوَابِ أَغْلُبُونِي مَنْ مِنْهُمْ كَانَ هُوَ قَبْلَ الْآخَرِ مِنْ هَذِهِ الثَّلَاثَةِ فَإِنْ قَالُوا [16] كَوْنِينَ يَكُونُ الْوَاحِدُ كَالْآخَرِ فِي الْأَسْتِوَاءِ قُلْ لُهُمْ أَنَّهُمْ إِخْوَةٌ ٥ فَاخْبِرُونِي أَيْنَ آبُؤُهُمْ وَمَنْ هُوَ [17] وَإِنْ قَالُوا أَنَّ الْآبَ قَبْلَ الْوَلَدِ قُلْ لَّهُمْ فَاخْبِرُونِي مَنْ كَانَ أَبُوهُ وَقَدْ تَرَاهُمْ بِطَبِيعَةِ حَقِيقَةٍ لَمْ يَكُنْ [18] الرَّجُلُ دُونَ أَبِي وَكَمَا كَانَ هُوَ أَبٌ وَوَلَدٌ كَذَلِكَ لَهُ أَبٌ وَيَكُونُ هُوَ وَوَلَدٌ ٥ وَبِذَلِكَ

[المعنى] ليفرون [ليفرؤا] 4 يقرون كتب [كتب] 3 A stroke is written connected to the lam. [على] 2 kâf is rewritten above as [فكذلك] 11 ليتى [وليتى] 10 يدركه [ويذكره] 8 يكون [تكون] 5 المعنى an unconnected letter, to clarify. [كرامة] 12 kâf is rewritten above as an unconnected letter, to clarify. [كذلك] 18 كاتنين [كونين] 16 The last two letters in this word are blurred [منهم] 15 The word is blurred.

9 [حقيقة] This expression could be the result of the combination between the following two below. Probably needs to be translated as "in truth", "naturally": [كأمة] 13 بطبيعة الحال
 Female slave: كأمة

قَالَ المنطقيُّ الاب لا يَقْدِرُ [19] أَنْ يَكُونَ ابْنٌ إِذْ هُوَ مَوْجُودٌ أَبٌ وَالْوَلَدُ لَيْسَ يَقْدِرُ أَنْ يَكُونَ أَبٌ إِذْ هُوَ مَوْجُودٌ ابْنٌ وَيُسَمَّوْنَ أَحْسَابَ [20] المنطقِ المضافان وبهذا السَّبَب لا يَقْدِرُ أَحَدٌ أَنْ يَكُونَ أَبٌ وَلَدٌ الا أَنْ يَكُونَ وَلَدٌ قَبْلَ ٥ مثال ذلك في آدم مثل [21] طبيعة حقيقة كما وجد في الفلسفة الطَّبيعة أَنَّ آدمَ يَنْبَغِي لَهُ أَبٌ لِأَنَّ نَسْلَ الأدميين يَدُورُ لَيْسَ لَهُ [22] بَدْءًا وَلَا ءَاتَامًا * كمثل الازمنة تدور ليس لها بَدْءٌ وَلَا ءَاتَامٌ وبذلك يعطونه علماء الفلاسفة لِأَدَمِ أَبٌ وَهِيَ [23] الأُسْطُقْسَاتُ الأربعة لِأَنَّ لَيْسَ لها بَدْءٌ وَلَا ءَاتَامٌ وَيَشْبِهُهُ إِلَى الأَزْمَانِ لَيْسَ لها بَدْءٌ وَلَا ءَاتَامٌ ٥ وَإِنَّمَا | فِي الشَّرِيعَةِ لَيْسَ يُوجَدُ لِأَدَمِ أَبٌ مِثَالِ ذَلِكَ لِأَدَمِ مِثْلُ الحَائِطِ لِأَنَّ الحَائِطَ كَانَتْ حَائِطُ المُسْتَقِيمَةِ [2] أَساسها وَلَيْسَ يُوجَدُ تَحْتَ الأَسَاسِ حَائِطٌ وَأَسَاسُ ءَآدَمَ هِيَ الأُسْطُقْسَاتُ وَزَعَمَ [3] النَّصَارَى أَنَّ يَسُوعَ مَاتَ لِيَعْفَرَ ذَنْبَ ءَآدَمَ حِينَ أَكَلَ مِنَ الشَّجَرَةِ وَإِنْ يَسَلِمُ أَيْضًا اللُّحُومَ مِنَ النَّاسِ [4] لِأَنَّ ءَآدَمَ وَجَمِيعَ الإِمْوَاتِ الَّذِينَ مَاتُوا مِنْ كَوْنِ ءَآدَمَ حَتَّى إِلَى مَوْتِ يَسُوعَ كُلُّهُمْ يَمَشُونَ إِلَى الجَهَنَّمَ وَبِسَبَبِ [5] ذَلِكَ يُجِبُّونَ أَنَّ يَمُوتُوا لِيُخْرِجَهُمْ مِنَ جَهَنَّمَ ٥ قُلْ لَهُمْ مَنْ يَدْخُلُهُمْ فِي جَهَنَّمَ فَأَجَابُوا النَّصَارَى الشَّيْطَانِ [6] قُلْ لَهُمُ الشَّيْطَانِ أَكْثَرَ طَاقَةٍ مِنْ يَسُوعَ النَّبِيِّ اللهُ يَخْلُقُ الشَّيْطَانِ وَيَكُونُ لَهُ طَاقَةٌ عَلَيْهِمْ لِأَنَّ اللهُ رَبُّهُمْ [7] وَرَبُّ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ فَانْ أَجَابُوا النَّصَارَى أَنَّ اللهُ لَمْ يَقْدِرْ أَنْ يُخْرِجَهُمْ مِنَ جَهَنَّمَ دُونَ أَنْ يَمُوتُوا ٥ قُلْ لَهُمْ أَنَّهُ [8] لَا يَكُونُ اللهُ بَلْ هُوَ رَجُلٌ لِأَنَّ اللهُ قَادِرٌ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ فَأَجَابَ النَّصَارَى أَيْضًا أَكْثَرَ تَقَوْلُ أَنَّ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَإِسْحَاقَ [9] وَيَعْقُوبَ وَالصَّالِحِينَ كُلَّهُمْ فِي جَهَنَّمَ حَتَّى مَاتَ يَسُوعَ الَّذِي يَسْمُونَهُ دِيُوشَ ٥ قُلْ لَهُمْ * أَنِي نَجْرَبُ [10] بِأَنْجِيلِكُمْ أَنَّ يَسُوعَ قَالَ لِلْمُكذِّبِينَ عَنِ القِيَامَةِ حِينَ قَالَ الرَّبُّ لِمُوسَى عَلَى

[حائط الحيط 1 لا استقساط] الأُسْطُقْسَاتُ 23 يعطوه [يعطونه يدور] تدور 22 لها [له] 21
 Alif of elongation [الشَّيْطَانِ] يموت [يموتوا أحب] [يُجِبُّونَ] 5 الأُسْطُقْسَاتُ 2 حيط
 يموت [يموتوا] جابوا [أجابوا] 7
 with thick qalam.

22 ءَاتَامًا] It could be that the word is *itmām* (completion); however, the fact that the hamza precedes the *alif* opens the possibility that *etemo* (extremo, i.e. extreme, end) should be read instead, as in the previous notes: [ءَاتَامٌ بَدْءٌ وَلَا ءَاتَامٌ] *etemo*, extremo, i.e. extreme, end. 23 [الأُسْطُقْسَاتُ] Elements. 9 [دِيُوشَ] [ويعقوب] Ibrāhīm, Iṣḥāq (i.e. Iṣḥāq), Ya'qūb; see Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Dios, i.e. God.

الزَّعْرُورُ} اَنَا الاله ابراهيم والاه [11] اسحق والاه يعقوب الاله الاحياء^a ولم يقل الاهي الموتى * لان ابراهيم واسحق ويعقوب هم في الجنة احياء [12] وكل من دخل الجنة فهو احياء وكل من دخل النار فهو ميت وذلك موجود ايضا في توراة [13] وان قالوا التصري ايضا هو اراد موته ليغفر ذنب ادم ويخرجهم من جهنم * فالجواب في ذلك [14] قل لهم ان كان عيسى الاله كما تزعمون انه قادر ان يغفر ذنب ادم دون ان يموت الا انه اراد موته [15] قل لهم انتم اقررتم الان اراد انه موته ☉ فاني نخبركم حين اراد اليهود قتلوه ويجعلوه [16] في الصليب {الاه لم تسلمني ان كان وربما هذا الكأس للهوت لم نشربه^b} ويظهر انه لم ارد الموت [17] وان قالوا ايضا انه لا يقدر [ان يغفر] الذنب الا ان يقبض الموت قل لهم انه لا يكون الله بل هو رجل ياكل ويشرب [18] وان كان هو الاله يقدر في جميع الاشياء ويقدر ان يغفر الذنب ادم دون ان يموت ومن هو [19] يسئله هذا * وان قالوا انه قادر ان يغفر ذنب ادم الا انه اراد موته فقل لهم مات باطلا ☉ [20] وقل لهم ايضا في هذه المسئلة ان كان يسوع مات بسبب ان يغفر ذنب ادم انه يجب له [21] ان يموت بذنب كل ادمي ☉ ادم معناه ابا لانسال يعني جارانسيس كذلك كل ادمي ابا [22] نسلا وقد علمت ان ادم هو رجل ياكل ويشرب وجامع امراته حوا وتوالدت له اولادا ويحفر [23] ادم في الجنة وعرس ويشغل بكل شغلنا * وقل لهم ايضا اكثر ينبغي ليدش ان يموت | بذنب يذنب ابن ادم قايين حين قاتل اخيه ابال^c ليس f. 35^r

11 [تزعمون] In this word, *wāw* is connected to the other two consonants. In order to make clear that this is a *wāw*, the copyist has added it under the word, unconnected. 17 اراد [يغفر] اراد الكاس [الكأس] 16 The words between parenthesis are an addition placed on top and written with a much finer *qalam*. 22 وتواليدته [له] 22

[قايين] 1 [الديش] 23 li-dios, i.e. for God. 21 [جارانسيس] *gerenaçiyuç*, *generación*, i.e. generation. [ابال] Abel.

a Cf. Matt. 22:32.

b Cf. Matt. 26:39; Mark 14:36; Luke 22:42.

c Cf. Gen. 4:1-15.

يَأْكُلْ ءَادَمَ مِنَ الشَّجَرَةِ وَقَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ يَقِينًا [2] حِينَ أَكَلَ [أَدَمَ] مِنَ الشَّجَرِ هُوَ وَامْرَأَتُهُ حَوَى لَعْنَهَا الرَّبُّ وَأَوْعَدَ لَهَا الشَّقَاءَ وَعُقُوبَتَهُ يَعْنِي قُدَّمَ نَسِيُونَ [3] {وَقَالَ الرَّبُّ لِأَدَمَ مِنْ عَرُوقِ جَبِينِكَ تَعْيَسُ أَنْتَ وَنَسْلُكَ الَّتِي تَخْرُجُ مِنْكَ فِي الْأَرْضِ مَلْعُونًا يَكُونُ [4] الْأَرْضُ بِسَبَبِكَ تَزْرَعُ الزَّرْعَ وَتَقْتَنَطُ الشَّوَاكُ} ⊙ {وَقَالَ أَيْضًا لِحَوَى بِأَوْجَاعٍ تَلِيدُ أَنْتَ وَنَسْلُكَ مِنْ [5] النَّسَاءِ الَّتِي تَخْرُجُ مِنْكَ إِلَى الْأَبَدِ وَإِلَى بَعْلِكَ تَرْجَعُ وَتَكُونُ مُسَخَّرَةً إِلَى زَوْجِكَ ⊙ أَنْتَ وَنَسْلُكَ مِنَ النَّسَاءِ} ^a [6] وَقَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ أَيْضًا أَنَّ هَذَا الْعُقُوبَةُ الَّتِي عُوقِبَ بِهَا الرَّبُّ لِأَدَمَ وَامْرَأَتِهِ لَمْ يَذْهَبْ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ بِمَوْتِ [7] عَيْسَى أَنَّ الْأَوْجَاعَ فِي النَّسَاءِ فِي تَوَالِدِهَا وَمَسَخَّرَاتِ النَّسَاءِ لِأَزْوَاجِهِنَّ هَذَا الْيَوْمَ * وَلَا سِيَمًا [8] فِي أَزْوَاجِكُمْ وَالشَّوَاكُ وَالشَّقَاءُ الَّتِي عَهَدَ الرَّبُّ لِأَدَمَ وَامْرَأَتِهِ وَعُقُوبَتُهُمَا هَذَا الْيَوْمَ كَمَا كَانَ فِي زَمَانِ [9] أَدَمَ ⊙ فَانْجَابُوا وَقَالُوا أَنَّ هَذِهِ الْعُقُوبَةُ الَّتِي عُوقِبَ الرَّبُّ لِأَدَمَ وَامْرَأَتِهِ لَيْسَ يَفْهَمُ فِي الدُّنْيَا إِلَّا فِي [10] الْآخِرَةِ ⊙ قُلْ لَهُمْ أَيْضًا الْعُقُوبَةُ الَّتِي عُوقِبَ بِهَا الرَّبُّ لِأَدَمَ وَامْرَأَتِهِ بِسَبَبِ ذَنْبِهِمَا هِيَ فِي الدُّنْيَا [11] وَالْأَشْيَاءُ الَّتِي عُوقِبَ بِهَا الرَّبُّ لِأَدَمَ وَحَوَى هِيَ فِي الْخَيْرَاتِ الزَّمَانِيَّةِ لَيْسَ فِي الْأَشْيَاءِ السَّمَاوِيَّةِ [12] وَذَلِكَ مَشْهُورٌ فِي كِتَابِ التَّوْرَةِ بَابِ حِينَ أَذْنَبَ ءَادَمَ فِي الْجَنَّةِ هُوَ وَزَوْجَتُهُ حَوَى [13] {قَالَ الرَّبُّ لِأَدَمَ لَا تَأْكُلْ مِنَ شَجَرَةِ الْعِلْمِ الْخَيْرِ وَالْبَشْرِ الْيَوْمَ الَّذِي تَأْكُلُ مِنْهَا تَمُوتُ مَوْتًا} ^b [14] زَعَمَ النَّصْرِيُّ فِي ذَلِكَ أَنَّ كَانَ أَدَمَ لَمْ يَأْكُلْ مِنَ الشَّجَرَةِ الْعِلْمِ الْخَيْرِ وَالْبَشْرِ لَمْ يَمُتْ ⊙ قُلْ لَهُمْ أَنْتُمْ [15] عَلِمْتُمْ حَقًّا يَقِينًا كَمَا قَالَ فِي كِتَابِ لِبْرِيَهَ يَعْنِي

2 [أَدَمَ] The words between parenthesis are an addition written with a much finer *qalam*, above.
تَوَالِدِهَا [تَوَالِدِهَا] 7 الْإِثْمِ [الَّتِي] 5 نَسْلِكَ [وَنَسْلِكَ] لِحَوَى 4 وَعُقُوبَتُهُ [وَعُقُوبَتُهُ] حَوْلَاعْنَهَا [لَعْنَهَا] أَدَمَ وَحَوَى [وَحَوَى] 11 جَابُوا [أَجَابُوا] 9 هُوَ الْيَوْمَ [وَالْيَوْمَ] وَعُقُوبَتُهُمَا [وَعُقُوبَتُهُمَا] 8 هُوَ الْيَوْمَ [وَالْيَوْمَ] مِنْهُ [مِنْهَا] 13 الْخَيْرَاتِ زَمَانِيَّةِ [الزَّمَانِيَّةِ]

2 [قُدَّمَ نَسِيُونَ] *condamnaçiyon*, (Cat.) *condemnció*, (Cast. hist.) *condemnción* (see *Tesoro de los Dictionarios Históricos de la Lengua Española* (<https://www.rae.es/tdhle/condemnción>): *Inéditos, Diccionario histórico de la lengua española* (1933–1936)), (Cast.) *condenación*, i.e. *condemnation*. 11 [وَحَوَى] *Ḥawā*, see *Eve*. 12 حَوَى [حَوَى] 15 لِبْرِيَهَ [لِبْرِيَهَ] *la bibriyah*, *la biblia*, i.e. *the Bible*.

a Cf. Gen. 3:16–19.

b Cf. Gen. 2:16–17.

التَّورِيَّةُ أَنَّ فِي الْجَنَّةِ الْأَرْضِيَّةِ شَجَرَتَيْنِ تَسْمَى الْوَاحِدَةَ [16] مِنْهُمَا شَجَرَةُ عِلْمِ الْخَيْرِ وَالشَّرِّ وَالْآخَرَى شَجَرَةَ الْحَيَاةِ^a بَنَ يَظْهَرُ بِطَبِيعَةِ حَقِيقَةِ عَادٍ لَا يَأْكُلُ [17] آدَمَ مِنْ شَجَرَةِ الْعِلْمِ الْخَيْرِ وَالشَّرِّ أَنَّهُ يَمُوتُ بِسَبَبِ أَنَّ الشَّجَرَةَ الْحَيَاةَ مَحْرُوزَةَ يَمْلِكُ مِنَ الْكَارُوبِيمِ^b [18] كَمَا قَالَ فِي كِتَابِ التَّورَةِ فِي هَذِهِ الْمَسْئَلَةِ لِقُدَامِ لَا يَسْلَمُ آدَمُ إِنْ لَيْسَ أَكَلَ مِنَ الشَّجَرَةِ الْعِلْمِ الْخَيْرِ [19] وَالشَّرِّ مِنَ الْمَوْتِ إِذْ لَمْ يَأْكُلْ مِنْ شَجَرَةِ الْحَيَاةِ وَتَفْسِيرُ يَعْنِي غُلُوشٌ تَمُوتَ مَوْتًا إِنَّ آدَمَ كَانَ مَسْكُونًا [20] فِي جَنَّةِ أَرْضِيَّةٍ يَعْنِي تَارَانَلْ وَلَمْ يَعْلَمْ خَيْرًا وَلَا شَرًّا فَالْيَوْمَ الَّذِي يَأْكُلُ مِنْ شَجَرَةِ الْعِلْمِ الْخَيْرِ [21] وَالشَّرِّ يَدْرِي خَيْرًا وَشَرًّا وَيَعْلَمُ أَنَّهُ يَمُوتُ ◉ وَقَالَ لَهُمْ أَيْضًا أَخْبَرُونِي أَيُّ نَوْعٍ يَحْمِلُ هَذَانِ [22] الشَّجَرَتَانِ نَوْعٍ يَعْنِي أَشْبَازِيٍّ وَقَدْ تَرَاهُمْ بِطَبِيعَةِ حَقِيقَةِ جَمِيعِ الْأَشْجَارِ الدُّنْيَا كُلِّهَا اسْمُ [23] فَأَخْبَرُونِي أَيُّ نَوْعٍ مِنْ كُلِّ وَاحِدَةٍ مِنَ هَذَيْنِ الشَّجَرَتَيْنِ ◉ وَإِنْ قَالُوا أَنَّ شَجَرَةَ الْعِلْمِ الْخَيْرِ وَالشَّرِّ | وَشَجَرَةَ الْحَيَاةِ لَيْسَ يَكُونُ لهُمَا أَنْوَاعٌ سِوَى هَذَيْنِ الْأَسْمَيْنِ الْمَذْكُورَيْنِ * قُلْ لَهُمْ هَذَا مَا [لَا] يَكُونُ أَبَدًا وَقَدْ نَزَّهْتُمْ [2] بِطَبِيعَةِ حَقِيقَةِ أَنْ لَا يَمَيِّزُونَ النَّاسَ جَمِيعَ أَشْجَارِ الدُّنْيَا إِلَّا بِأَنْوَاعِهَا وَكُلِّهَا يَسْمُونَ أَشْجَارًا وَيَعْرِفُ [3] النَّاسُ اسْمَ كُلِّ وَاحِدٍ مِنْهَا بِاسْمِهَا بِسَبَبِ نَوْعِهَا مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ مِنْ يَقُولُ طَبَّرْدَهُ وَلَمْ يَقُلْ إِنْ كَانَ مِنْ صُوفٍ [4] أَوْ مِنْ كَنْانٍ فَإِنْ أَرَادَ الْقَائِلُ إِنْ يَظْهَرُ نَوْعُهُ مِنَ الطَّبَّرْدَةِ يَقُولُ طَبَّرْدَهُ مِنْ صُوفٍ أَوْ مِنْ كَنْانٍ فَإِذَا [5] يَظْهَرُ نَوْعُهُ عَرَفَ اسْمَهُ ◉ زَعَمَ النَّصَارَى أَيْضًا إِنْ يَسُوعُ مَاتَ بِذَنْبِ آدَمَ وَبِهَذَا الْوَجْهِ لَيْسَ [6] ذَنْبٌ مَغْفُورٌ إِلَّا إِنْ يَقْتُلُ الَّذِي أَدْنَبَ ◉ وَهَذَا مَشْهُورٌ فِي كِتَابِ التَّورَةِ حَيْثُ يَقُولُ لَا تَقْتُلُ [7] الْإِبْنَ بِذَنْبِ الْآبِ وَلَا الْآبُ بِذَنْبِ الْإِبْنِ^c ◉ أَيْضًا فِي

f. 35^v

الْكُرُوبِيمُونَ [الكاروبيم 17 عاد ولا ياكل Maybe to be read as: 16 الجنَّة الأرضيه [الارضيه 15
نوعه [نوعها 3 بنواعها] بانواعها يميزوا [يميزون 2 The words between parenthesis are an addition written with the same *qalam*
but placed above, between the words. 1 لا الحيوه [الحيوه 1

16 ven (ustedes), i.e., do you see. 17 [الكاروبيم] querubim, querubines, i.e. cherubim.
19 [غلوش] glosa, i.e. gloss. 20 [تارانل] terrenal, i.e. earthly. 22 [اشبازي] espezia, i.e. spe-
cies. 3 [طبرده] tabardo, i.e. tabard.

a Cf. Gen. 2:9.

b Cf. Gen. 3:24.

c Cf. Deut. 24:16. A similar idea is conveyed in Ezek. 18:20.

هذه المسئلة نرى بطبيعة حقيقة أن [8] النساء ليس هن يقدرن بغير أوجاع في النفاس ان يكون
 أذنب آدم هو وزوجه أم لا لأن ذلك [9] الشقاء الذي أوعده الرب بعد الذنب الذي أذنب
 هو قبل أن يذنب جرياً عليه تلك الشقاء [10] في الجنة الارضية كما قال في كتاب التورية حيث يقول
 {غرس الله جنة الارضية واسكن فيها [11] ادم ليعجلها ويصلحها فكل من يحفر ويحرت فلا بد ان
 يشقى ويعرق جبينه} ^a واما في كتاب [12] الله العزيز فلا يذكر شيئاً من هذه الشقاء والعقوبة لأن
 الرب سبحانه طرده من الجنة ^o [13] باب زعم النصرى ايضاً ان يسوع ملك على سرج ابيه داود
 وأن ملكه قط أور [14] غاية يعني فين * فالجواب في ذلك اعلموا كيف كان ملكه الله قتل له ^o فان
 جابوا النصرى [15] ليس ملكه في هذه الدنيا الا في الاخرة ^o قل لهم كيف ينبغي لديوش ان يكون
 في سرج عبده [16] الا فوق عبده فاذا يكون في سرج داود فآين يكون داود ^o وان قالوا النصرى
 ان عيسى [17] بن مريم ملك الدنيا ^o قل لهم اني نجربكم بانجيلكم حين اخذوه اليهود ويرفعوه لبلاط
 قال له [18] بلاط {أنت الذي تزعم أنك سلطان إسرائيل} ^b ^o فاجاب يسوع لبلاط {ان كان اني
 سلطان إسرائيل [19] لم يرؤوني في يديك} ^c ^o تمت المسئلة باب بيطر وهو شمعون وبولوش [20] هو
 شؤل حواريون من يسوع الناصري لم سمي الناصري لانه من قرية الناصرة وبهذا الوجه [21] يسمون

9 جراً جرياً 13 سرج Gām is blurred. أور [Tā' written with sukūn] قَطُّ qaṭṭu (h)aura: will never have. 14 كيف كيف كيف 18 سلطان سلطان 18 سلطان سلطان

13 داود Dāwud, see David. 14 فين fin, i.e. end. The sentence reads: will never have and end, that is to say, an end. 15 لديوش li-dios, i.e. to God. 17 لبلاط Bilāt, see Pontius Pilate. 20 شؤل Piṭr wa huwa Šama'un wa Bawlus huwa Ša'u'l, i.e. Peter, who is Simeon, and Paul, who is Saul. See Peter and Paul.

a Cf. Gen. 2:8,15 and Gen. 3:19.

b Cf. Luke 23:3.

c I couldn't find this verse. However, it is interesting to compare it with what is said in Matt. 27:42: خَلَصَ آخَرِينَ وَأَمَّا نَفْسُهُ فَمَا يَقْدِرُ أَنْ يُخَلِّصَهَا! إِنْ كَانَ هُوَ مَلِكُ إِسْرَائِيلَ فَلْيَنْزِلِ الْآنَ عَنِ الصَّلِيبِ: فَنُؤْمِنُ بِهِ

النَّصْرَى هَمَا الَّذَيْنِ افْتَرَى دِينًا فِهَمَا فِي أَرْضِ الرُّومَةِ وَذَلِكَ بَعْدَ غَايِبَةِ يُسُوعَ [22] عَنْهُمْ وَهَرَبُوا بَعْضَ
 الْحَوَارِيِّينَ مِنْ أَرْضِ يَهُودٍ إِلَى أَرْضِ الرُّومَةِ بِسَبَبِ أَنَّ الْيَهُودَ قَتَلُوا بَعْضَهُمْ [23] وَبَيَّتْ بَعْضَ ٥ وَجَاءَ
 بَيْطْرُ وَبُولُشُ وَشَرَعُوا دِينًا مِثْلَهُمَا وَسَرَحُوا إِلَى الرُّمَيْنِ أَنْ يَغَيِّرُوا | نَهَارَ الْإِحَادِ مَكَانَ يَوْمِ السَّبْتِ * لِأَنَّ
 السَّبْتَ فِيهِ أُمُورًا شَدِيدًا إِنْ يَحْبَسُ وَمَكَانَ الْقَرَايِينِ لِشَيْئِهِ [2] الَّتِي أَقَامُوا الْقِسْيِسِينَ وَمَكَانَ الذَّبَائِحِ
 حَلَالِ الْمَيْتَةِ وَلَحْمِ الْخَنْزِيرِ وَالِدَّمِ وَكُلِّ مَا حَرَّمَ اللَّهُ [3] سَبِحْنَهُ فِي التَّورَةِ فِهَمَا يَطْلِقَاهُمْ وَيُدْفَعَانِهِمْ
 بِحَلَالٍ عَلَى شَهْوَةِ أَنْفُسِهِمْ وَمِنْ تِلْكَ الْأَشْيَاءِ كُلِّهَا [4] لَمْ يَحْلَلْ يُسُوعُ لِإِحَادٍ فِي زَمَانِهِ بَلْ أَكَلُ كُلِّ مَا
 كَانَ فِي التَّورَةِ مِنْ أَوْامِرِ التَّوَاهِي وَشَهِيدَ بِذَلِكَ [5] مَا قَالَ يُسُوعُ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ مَتَى فِي الْبَابِ الرَّابِعِ يَعْنِي
 قِطُولٍ حَيْثُ يَقُولُ {إِنِّي لَمْ [6] أْبْعَثْ إِنْ نَقَصَ شَيْءٌ مِنَ الْكُتُبِ يَعْنِي تَوْرَةَ مُوسَى} * بَلْ أَكَلُهَا
 ٥ تَمَّتِ الْبَابُ وَبُولُشُ هُوَ [7] الَّذِي يَطْلُقُ فِي أَرْضِ الرُّومَةِ الْإِحْتَانَةَ وَيَقُولُ فِي ذَلِكَ لَا يُسُوِي شَيْءٌ
 وَكَانَ مِنْ أَزِيدِ الْإِحْتَانَةَ وَإِبْرَاهِيمَ [8] يَكُونُ مَبَارَكًا مِنَ الرَّبِّ قَبْلَ أَنْ يَأْمُرَ الرَّبُّ الْإِحْتَانَةَ وَنَحْنًا أَيْضًا
 كَانَ قَبْلَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَيَكُونُ [9] مَبَارَكًا وَلَمْ يَكُنْ مَخْتُونًا * فَالْجَوَّبُ فِي ذَلِكَ [10] إِنْ تَقُولُ النَّصَارَى
 لَيْسَ يَقْدِرُ أَحَدٌ أَنْ يَعْتَادَ الْأَوْامِرَ الشَّرِيعَةَ مِنَ الرَّبِّ حَتَّى يَأْمُرَ الرَّبُّ [11] إِنْ يَتَّبِعُ وَيَعْتَادُ بِهَا فَإِذَا
 أَمَرَ الرَّبُّ الشَّرِيعَةَ فَلَيْسَ أَحَدٌ أَنْ يَطْلُقَهَا إِلَى النَّاسِ إِلَّا الرَّبُّ [12] سُبْحَانَهُ زَعَمَ النَّصْرَى أَيْضًا أَنَّ
 التَّغْطِيسَ يُسَلِّمُهُمْ مِنَ الذُّنُوبِ الْمُسْتَقْبَلَةِ قُلْ [13] لَّهُمْ إِنْ كَانَ ذَلِكَ الْمَاءُ سَلَّمَهُمْ مِنَ الذُّنُوبِ وَإِلَّا

f. 36^r

[بَعْضَ 23 يَهُودًا] يَهُودٍ 22 غَايِبَةٍ | غَايِبَةٍ [النَّصْرَى 21] التَّغْطِيسَ [التَّغْطِيسَ 12 مَتَى] 5 الذَّبَائِحِ [الذَّبَائِحَ 2 يَسْرَحُ] وَسَرَحُوا [وَشَرَعُوا] وَبَيَّتْ بَعْضَ

21 [الرُّومَةِ] roma, Roma, see Rome. 23 [الرُّمَيْنِ] al-rumanin, i.e. the Romans. 1 [لَشَيْئِهِ] la-štia, l'ostia, (Cat.) l'hòstia, (Sp.) la hostia, Eng. the host. 5 [قِطُولٍ] capitol, (Cat.) capítol, i.e. chapter. 6 [أَكَلُهَا] Because he refers to the "books" which conform to the Torah of Moses in the plural as *kutub*. However, one could also think in the singular, *kitāb*, keep here the suffix and correct the substantive: أَكَلَهُ 13 [إِلَّا] wa la-iš (i.e., for, it is not ...?). The rendering in the manuscript is inverted and the *hamza* is on the first *alif*. Here, *iš* maybe needs to be seen as the negative particle in Andalusī Arabic. See, Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza (ed.), *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar*, pp. 126–127 (section 3.4.1.5.).

a Cf. Matthew 5:17.

مَشَى الَّذِي يَذْنُبُ إِلَى الْقَيْسِ وَيَعْتَرِفُ [14] ذُنُوبَهُ أَمَامَهُ يَعْنِي قَفَّاشَرُ فَأَجَابُوا النَّصْرَى وَقَالُوا إِنَّ الْمَاءَ
التَّغْطِيسَ يَسْلِبُهُمْ وَيَغْفِرُهُمْ [15] الذُّنُوبَ الْمُسْتَقْبَلَةَ ٥ قُلْ لَهُمْ مِنْ يَغْفِرُ الذُّنُوبَ حَتَّى يَكُونَ مَعْمُولَةٌ
وَأَنَّ الْبِيَّةَ وَالْمِطْرَانَ [16] وَالْأَسَاقِفَةَ الَّذِينَ تَحْتَهُ بِجَمِيعِ قُدْرَتِهِمْ لَا يَقْدِرُونَ أَنْ يَغْفِرُوا الذُّنُوبَ الْمُسْتَقْبَلَةَ
حَتَّى يَكُونَ مَعْمُولَةٌ [17] فَانْجَابُوا وَقَالُوا إِنَّ الْبِيَّةَ يَغْفِرُ جَمِيعَ النَّصْرَى مِنْ عُقُوبَةٍ وَكَلْبَةٍ وَأَنَّهُمْ مَشُوا
مَغْفُورِينَ [18] قُلْ لَهُمْ أَنَّهُ مَكْتُوبٌ فِي أَنْجِيلِكُمْ مِنْ يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ أَنَّ جَمِيعَ الْخَلَائِقِ يَحْشُرُونَ لِلْحِسَابِ
وَأَنَّهُمْ [19] يَحْكُمُونَ بِأَعْمَالِهِمْ بَشْ أَكْثَرُ يَعْمَلُ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ دَيْشُ بَشْ كَمَا مَشُوا مَغْفُورِينَ مِنْ عُقُوبَةٍ
[20] وَقَلْبَةٍ وَوَلَيْسَ يَبْقَى لِدَيْوْشِ قُدْرَةٌ نَانُغُونَهُ * وَقُلْ لَهُمْ أَيْضًا لَمْ تَغْطِيسَ [21] صَبِيئَانَكُمْ فَأَجَابُوا بِأَنَّهُمْ
مُعْتَقِينَ مِنْ عُقُوبَةٍ وَكَلْبَةٍ ٥ قُلْ لَهُمْ كَيْفَ يَكُونُ هُوْلَاءُ [22] الصَّبِيَّانِ ذَنْبٌ قَدْ تَعْلَمُونَ أَنَّ دَيْوْشَ
يَقْتُلُ وَيَسِيفُ وَيَسُوطُ وَيَقْتَلُهُ قَلَمُ جَمِيعِ النَّصْرَى [23] أَنَا مَغْفُورِينَ بِقَتْلِهِ وَإِنَّمَا يَسْلِمُنَا التَّغْطِيسَ لَذُنُوبِ
الْمُسْتَقْبَلَةِ الَّتِي لَمْ نَعْلَمْهَا عَادًا | قُلْ لَهُمْ أَنَّ الذَّنْبَ لَمْ يَقْدِرْ أَحَدٌ أَنْ يَغْفِرَهُ حَتَّى يَكُونَ مَعْمُولٌ * وَلَا سِيَمَا
f. 36v الْمُسْتَقْبَلَةَ وَالذُّنُوبَ الْمُسْتَقْبَلَةَ [2] لَمْ يَقْدِرْ الْبِيَّةُ أَنْ يَغْفِرَهَا ٥ وَقُلْ لَهُمْ أَيْضًا إِذَا اقْرَأُوا أَنَّهُمْ مَغْفُورِينَ
بِقَتْلِ يَسُوعَ بَرَكُوكَ رَزُونَ [3] بَشْ أَدَدُ التَّغْطِيسَ وَلَا عِتْرَافَ مِنَ الذُّنُوبِ إِلَى الْقَيْسِ يَعْنِي اعْتِرَافَ
قَفَّاشَرِ بَشْ قَدْ تَكُونُوا [4] مَغْفُورِينَ مِنْ جَمِيعِ الذُّنُوبِ بِقَتْلِهِ ٥ وَإِنْ أَجَابُوا وَقَالُوا أَنَّا لَمْ تَكُونُوا مَغْفُورِينَ

[مُعْتَقِينَ] 21 تَغْطِيسَ [تَغْطِيسَ] 20 جَابُوا [أَجَابُوا] 17 يَغْفِرُ [يَغْفِرُوا] 16 التَّغْطِيسَ [التَّغْطِيسَ] 14
يَقْدِرُ [يَقْدِرُ] 2 نَعْلَمْنَا عَادًا [عَادًا] التَّغْطِيسَ [التَّغْطِيسَ] 23 يَسِيطُ [وَيَسُوطُ] 22 لَهَاؤَلَاءُ [لَهَاؤَلَاءُ] مُعْتَقِينَ
التَّغْطِيسَ [التَّغْطِيسَ] 3

[وَكَلْبَةٍ] 17 culpa, i.e. sin. 15 البِيَّةُ [البِيَّةُ] al-papa, i.e. the Pope. 14 قَفَّاشَرُ [قَفَّاشَرُ] cofesar “confesar”, i.e. to confess. 19 مَغْفُورِينَ [مَغْفُورِينَ] boš and baš (most likely *biš* in Andalusī Arabic, expressing final subordination). Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza (ed.), *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar*, pp. 117–118 (3.3.2.3.). Here it reads: wa-nnahum yuhkimūna bi-a’ mālihim boš aktaru ya’ milu dios yawma-l-qiyāmati baš que mašawū mağfūrīna, i.e., they are judged by their actions, reason God made the Day of Resurrection for the most (i.e., most people) so they could be redeemed (literally, so that they could go to be redeemed). 20 وَقَلْبَةٍ [وَقَلْبَةٍ] culpa, i.e. sin. 3 [أَدَدُ] por cual razon vos (h)an dado, i.e. for what reason you have been given. قَفَّاشَرِ بَشْ [قَفَّاشَرِ بَشْ] cofesarvos, i.e. to confess (yourselves).

بقتله قل لهم بش [5] 'أزيد يكون قتله ومات باطلاً* وزعم أيضاً النّصرى في هذه المسئلة أنّ البيه يغفر [6] ذنوبهم قل لهم بأيّ تعلموا انتم أنّه [يقدر] ان يغفر لكم أجابوا بأنه يجبس قدرة من ديوش قل [7] لهم أنّ القدرة من ذلك لم يعط ديوش إلا لبيطر تليذه حيث يقول يسوع في الانجيل {مفاتيح السماء [8] ملقى تكون في يدك الذي تغفرت في الارض يكون مغفوراً في السماء} ^a وبيطر لم يكن بيه وليس [9] يكون بيه الا لزمان طويل * وان قالوا النّصرى أنّ بيطر ودع ذلك القدرة في لشبش [10] المستقبل قل لهم أيّ قدرة له في ذلك بان يتركه تلك القدرة ألسبش المستقبل لأن [11] القدرة لم يكن معطي إلا له خاصة ☉ فان قالوا أنّ ديش يعطيهم تلك القدرة قل لهم من أين [12] تعلم أنّ ديش يعطيهم ذلك ولو كان هذا كذلك كما زعمتم أزيد يفعل ديش يوم الحكم [13] لأنهم قد يكونوا مغفورين * مثال ذلك ان رجلاً اخذ سلفاً من رجلٍ اخر فالمدنيون أضافوا دينه [14] الى صاحبه فندوحة لصاحب الدين أنّ يحضر المدين إمام الحاكم وأزيد نقول في هذه المسئلة أنّ [15] النّصرى زعموا بالحنسية أن المسلمين واليهود كانوا معاقبين لجهنم قل لهم بش كأنّصرى [16] يكونوا مغفورين من عقوبة وقلبه في هذه الدنيا والمسلمون واليهود يكون معاقبين [17] لجهنم بش أزيد يفعل ديش يوم الحكم ويظهر بذلك الوجه لا يكون يوم الحكم وتجحدونه [18] وأزيد نقول ان يوم الحكم يكون بسبب المسلمين واليهود لا بسبب النّصرى لأنّ النصارى يزعمون [19] انهم مغفورين في هذه الدنيا من عقوبة وكلبه ☉ وقل لهم أيضاً أفاياش تفهمون ان يوم [20] الحكم هو بسبب جميع النصارى والمسلمون واليهود وسائر الخلايق لأنّ الرب أمر اوامر [21] ونهى النواهي وإذا أذنب الرجل يذنب

5 باطل [باطلاً] 6 باطل [باطلاً] This word is added in between the other two words, above, using a finer qalam. اليهود [واليهود] 18 يحضر المديان [المدين] 14 فالمدنيان ايضف دينه [دينه] 13

5 [أزيد] baš (biš in Andalusī Arabic, to indicate final subordination) azyad, i.e. for more (he was killed). 9 [لشبش] los papas, i.e. the Popes. 10 [السبش] a los papas, i.e. to the Popes. 15 [كأنّصرى] pas, que an-našarā, i.e. rather, that the Christians. 17 [أزيد] ves azyad, i.e. see (you), what is more. 19 [تفهمون] (h)afeyes tafhamūna, i.e., have you understood.

a Cf. Matt. 16:19.

بوجهين الواحدة للرب في فرايضه ① ولاخرى الى قريبه [22] يعنى برُشْمُه ② وبالتى يذنب الى قريبه
 في ان يسرق له سُرقَةً وبعد ذلك مشى السارق الى القس [23] ويعترف ذلك الذنب وأمر القس
 للمذنب الذي اذنب الذنب ان يرفع للسارق جميع ما يسرق لصاحبه وفعل ذلك السارق ما أمر به
 f. 37^r القيس وغفر له فانه لا يغفر عن تلك الذنب [2] بسبب أنه جاز أمر ديش حيث أمر ديش في كتاب
 تورية {لا تسرق} a ③ وأما الرجل اذا اذنب [3] في فرائض الرب التي له مختصة فالرب يغفره واما
 اذا اذنب الى قريبه بقى ان يغفر الرب [4] حظّه من اي يجوز أمره وسبب ذلك يفعل الرب يوم
 الحكم بحظ المنسوب اليه بنقص العبد [5] امره والمسلمون يجدون في كتبهم أنّ العبد يذنب في ثلاثة
 وجوه ④ الواحدة منها يذنب [6] في ذات الرب أو في أوامره كمثل الصلوات المكتوبة ⑤ والثانية
 يذنب عند قريبه يعنى برُشْمُه [7] حين سرق له متاعه ⑥ والثالثة عند الرب حين سرق الى قريبه جاز
 أمر الله ⑦ وان كان السارق [8] الذي يسرق الى قريبه يرجع السرقة الى صاحبه ويعف عنه بسبب
 يرجع متاعه وبقى ان يغفر [9] له الرب حين جاز أمره حيث أمر له الا يسرق وقال الله تبارك وتعالى
 {ولو أنهم اذ [10] ظلموا انفسهم جاؤك فاستغفروا الله واستغفر لهم الرسول لوجدوا الله تواباً رحيمًا} b
 [11] والذين اذا فعلوا فاحشة او ظلموا انفسهم ذكروا الله فاستغفروا لذنوبهم ومن يغفر الذنوب [12] نوب
 الا الله ولم يصروا على ما فعلوا وهم يعلمون ⑧ باب قال النصرى للمسلمين [13] ان في كتاب الله
 العزيز وعد خيرات زمانية جسمانية يعنى تانبورلش في الجنة قل لهم [14] نعم انه وعد خيرات زمانية
 ملبسة بسماوية ويبقى فيه موضع للعالم وللجاهل لأن العالم [15] يفهم بالسماوية ⑨ والجاهل بزمانية
 ⑩ وهذه الاية مثل الجنة التي وعد المتقون فيما انهار [16] من ماء غير آسن وانهار من لبن لم يتغير
 طعمه وانهار من حمرة للشارين وانهار من [17] عسل مصفى ⑩ ويفهم هذه الاية العالم أن المياه

A stroke is written [وتعلى 9 ثلاثة اوجوه] ووجوه 5 بقا [بقي 3 القيس] القيس [القيس 23 القيس] القيس [القيس 22 coming out lām. 12 الذنوب] نوب

22 برُشْمُه ② porosimo, próximo, prójimo, i.e. neighbour, fellow man. 13 [تانبورلش] tenborales, temporales, i.e. temporal.

a Cf. Lev. 19:11.

b Q. 4:64.

مِنَ الدُّنْيَا يَقَعُ فِيهَا التَّعَفُّنُ ① والنَّخْرُ [18] أَيْضًا مِنَ الدُّنْيَا يَسْكُرُ* وَلَبِنَ أَيْضًا مِنَ الدُّنْيَا يَتَغَيَّرُ طَعْمُهُ ②
 والعسل أَيْضًا مِنَ الدُّنْيَا يَقَعُ [19] فِيهَا الفَسَادُ ③ وهذا تَفْسِيرُ الايَةِ ④ مَثَلُ اللَّهِ هَذِهِ الايَةُ لَخَيْرَاتِ
 الزَّمَانِيَةِ وَإِنَّمَا تَفْسِيرُهَا حَقِيقَةُ [20] خَيْرَاتِ سَمَاوِيَّةٍ وَقَدْ تَرَاهُمْ بِطَبِيعَةِ حَقِيقَةِ أَنَّ المَاءَ مَتَعَ الدُّنْيَا يَقَعُ
 فِيهَا التَّعَفُّنُ وَيَفْسُدُ ⑤ [21] والنَّخْرُ أَيْضًا مِنَ الدُّنْيَا يَسْكُرُ* وَيَفْهَمُ هَذِهِ الايَةُ الجَاهِلِ لَخَيْرَاتِ زَمَانِيَةِ
 بِسَبَبِ أَنَّهُ [22] لَا يَعْلَمُ تَفْسِيرُهَا وَيُظَنُّ أَنَّ هَذِهِ النَّخْرَ وَالْمَاءَ وَاللَّبْنَ وَالْعَسَلَ مِنْ هَذِهِ الدُّنْيَا وَبِذَلِكَ [23]
 السَّبَبُ بَقِيَ مَوْضِعُ للجَاهِلِ ⑥ وَاللَّاهِلِ الجَاهِلِ أَشْ خَيْرَاتِ سَمَاوِيَّةٍ وَلَمْ يَرَأَ أَنَّهُ يَعْمَلُ شَيْئًا وَبِهَذَا f. 37^v
 أَزِيدُ خَيْرَانَ يَكُونُ مَلْبَسُ زَمَانِيَةٍ مَعَ سَمَاوِيَّةٍ* وَهِيَ أَجُودُ لَا كَمَا وَعَدَ الانجِيلُ خَيْرَاتِ [2] زَمَانِيَةِ فِي
 الجَنَّةِ حَيْثُ يَقُولُ يَسُوعُ فِي النَّمِيسِ عَشَاءَ {اشْرَبُوا مِنْ هَذَا الكَأْسِ فَإِنِّي أَقُولُ لَكُمْ لَمْ تَشْرَبُوا [3] نَحْرًا
 نَفْرَجَ مِنَ الذَّرَجُونَ حَتَّى نَشْرَبَهَا فِي مَلَكُوتِ ابْنِ السَّمَاوِيِّ}* وَأَمَّا فِي القُرْآنِ اشْكَلَ وَأَتَمَّ مَا [4] فِي
 الانجِيلِ لِأَنَّهُ وَعَدَ خَيْرَاتِ سَمَاوِيَّةٍ مَلْبَسَ بِزَمَانِيَةٍ وَبَقِيَ فِيهِ مَوْضِعٌ للعَالَمِ والجَاهِلِ وَالانجِيلِ [5] وَعَدَ
 خَيْرَاتِ زَمَانِيَةِ عَلَى الأَطْلَاقِ ⑦ {وَقَالَ أَيْضًا عِيسَى بْنُ مَرْيَمَ فِي الانجِيلِ حَيْثُ يَسْأَلُ لِلْمَكْدِينِ [6]
 عَنْ امْرَأَةٍ تَزَوَّجَ مَعَ سَبْعَةِ إِخْوَةٍ لِمَنْ تَكُونُ تِلْكَ المَرَاةُ يَوْمَ القِيَامَةِ ⑧ فَاجَابَ لَهُمُ يَسُوعُ [7] أَنَّ فِي
 يَوْمِ القِيَامَةِ لَا يَنْكَحُونَ وَلَا يَتَنَاكَحُونَ وَيَكُونُونَ كَامَثَالِ المَلِيكَةِ^b وَيَسْمُونَ الصَّالِحُونَ أَوْلَادَ [8] اللَّهُ
 وَمِثْلُ مَا عَمِلْتُمْ فِي الدُّنْيَا مِنْ خَيْرَاتِ زَمَانِيَةٍ مِثْلَ ذَلِكَ أُعْطِيَ ابْنُ السَّمَاوِيِّ فِي سَمَاوِيَةٍ ⑨ [9] وَزَعَمَ
 النَّصَارَى أَيْضًا أَنَّ اللِّحْمَانِيَةَ تَتَكَلَّمُ لِلْإِلَهِيةِ ⑩ قُلْ لَهُمْ أَنَّ اللِّحْمَانِيَةَ لَمْ تَقْدِرْ أَنْ تَتَكَلَّمَ [10] بَرَشٍ دُونَ
 الرُّوحِ ذَالذَّائِدَتِ وَالرُّوحِ مِنَ الْإِلَهِيةِ لَا يَقْدِرُ يَكُونُ غَيْرَ اللِّحْمَانِيَةِ لِأَنَّهُمَا [11] مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ مِثْلُ العَالِي
 إِذَا مَرَضَ ضَعْفَ الرُّوحِ وَإِذَا اِبْرَاجَسَدَ قَوِي الرُّوحِ لِأَنَّهُمَا شَيْءٌ وَاحِدٌ [12] وَلَا يَكُونُ بَيْنَهُمَا افْرَازٌ مَتَمَّتْ
 ⑪ أَيْضًا وَعَدَ يَسُوعُ خَيْرَاتِ زَمَانِيَةِ فِي مَلَكُوتِ السَّمَاءِ فِيهِ وَبَعْدَ [13] لِعُلُورِيَّةٍ جَاءَ وَظَهَرَ لِلْحَوَارِيِّينَ
 وَشَرِبَ عَسَلَ مَمْزُوجَ بِمَاءٍ بَابَ كَيْفَا يَحْشُرُ اللَّهُ [14] الْخَلَائِقَ يَوْمَ القِيَامَةِ وَفِي إِيِّ لُحُومٍ أَنْشَأَهَا بِسَبَبِ

23 [أش] es, i.e. is. 10 [ذَالذَّائِدَتِ] por si dūna ar-rūh de la deidat, i.e., by itself, without the soul
 of the deity. 11 [أبر] abra, (h)abra, i.e., it would have. 13 [لِعُلُورِيَّةٍ] la gloria, i.e. the glory.

a Cf. Matt. 26:29.

b Cf. Matt. 22:25-30.

أَنَّ أَهْلَ الْجَنَّةِ فِي الْجَنَّةِ خَلَدُونَ * وَأَهْلَ [15] النَّارِ فِي النَّارِ خَلَدُونَ فَكَيْفَ يَكُونُ هَذِهِ اللَّحُومُ بِطَبِيعَةِ حَقِيقَةٍ إِنْ يَكُونُ فِي النَّارِ خَلَدُونَ [16] وَفِي الْجَنَّةِ أَيْضًا خَلَدُونَ * قَدْ نَرَى عَيَانًا أَنَّ الرَّجُلَ إِذَا أَحْرَقَ فِي النَّارِ فِي الْوَقْتِ مُحْرَقًا ثُمَّ صَارَ [17] رَمَادًا يَحْمَلُهُ الرِّيحُ ٥ وَإِنَّ اللَّحُومَ مَتَعَ النَّاسَ فِي هَذِهِ مَرِيَّةٍ مِنَ الْأَكْلِ وَالشَّرَابِ وَكُلُّ شَيْءٍ أَكَلَ [18] وَأَشْرَبَ يَحْتَاجُ الْأَسْتِفْرَاحَ بِرُلُوشِ كُنْشُ وَبِهَرَمٍ وَكُلُّ شَيْءٍ يَهْرَمُ مَاتَ بِطَبِيعَةِ حَقِيقَةٍ [19] وَكَذَلِكَ اللَّحُومُ أَهْلَ النَّارِ مَرِيَّةٍ مِنَ الْأَكْلِ وَالشَّرَابِ فَكَيْفَ يَكُونُ هَذِهِ اللَّحُومُ فِي النَّارِ [20] نَنْ بَرَكًا دِيشَ لَا يَقْدِرُ أَنْ يُخَالِدَهُمْ فِي هَذِهِ اللَّحُومِ فِي الْجَنَّةِ أَوْ يُخَالِدَهُمْ فِي النَّارِ لَانَ الْقُدْرَةَ [21] وَالْعِلْمَ وَالْإِرَادَةَ فِي يَدِهِ وَأَمَّا الرَّبُّ سَبْحَنَهُ يَنْشِئُ الْخَلَائِقَ بِنَوْعِ آخِرِ السَّمَاوِيَةِ لَا بِاللَّحُومِ [22] الزَّمَانِيَةِ كَمَا قَالَ فِي الْكِتَابِ اللَّهُ الْعَزِيزُ {وَنَنْشِئُكُمْ فِيمَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ} *^a إِنْ أَدَمَ لَمَّا أَذْنَبَ هُوَ وَزَوْجَتَهُ [23] حَوَى يَحْكُمُ الرَّبُّ عَلَيْهِمَا بِعُقُوبَةٍ فِي هَذِهِ الدُّنْيَا خَاصَّةً كَمَا قَالَ فِي كِتَابِ تَوْرِيَةِ حَقًّا أَنَّ الْأَدَمِيَيْنِ | خَرَجُوا مِنْ آدَمَ وَهَمَّ يُشْبَهُونَ فِي طَبِيعَةِ آدَمَ وَلَيْسَ يَحْسَبُ ذَنْبَ آدَمَ الْأَدَمِيَيْنِ إِلَّا لِنَفْسِهِمَا [2] f. 38^r خَاصَّةً بَابٍ فِي نَحْمٍ ٥ زَعَمُوا النَّصَارَى وَيَجْعَلُونَهُ فِي الْمَجَادَلَةِ قَالُوا [3] أَحْسَنَ الرَّجُلُ الَّذِي يَشْرَبُ النَّخْرَ مِنَ الَّذِي لَا يَشْرَبُهُ * وَيَشْرَبُ الْمَاءَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى ٥ قَلْ لَهُمْ [4] فِي كُلِّ خِصَامٍ جَرًّا بَيْنَ إِثْنَيْنِ يَحْتَاجُ فِيهِ حَاكِمٌ * وَإِنِّي نُجْرِبُكُمْ بِأَنْجِيلِكُمْ حِينَ بَشَرَ الْمَلِكُ [5] لَعْنِشْبَالِ {رُوحٌ قُدْسٌ يَدْخُلُ بِكَ وَتَكُونُ حُبْلَى مِنْ صَبِيٍّ اسْمُهُ يَحْيَى الْكُؤَلُ حَرُّهُ مِنْ نَحْمٍ وَسِدْرِيهِ [6] وَمِنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ يَسْكُرُ} *^b وَقَالَ أَيْضًا فِي التَّوْرِيَةِ

[نحمر 2] للدميين [الأدميين 23] *Alif* of elongation with finer *qalam*. [سبحنه 21] ترى [نرى 16] There is a blurring on the paper but the reading of the word is none-the-less clear. [المجادلة] [حبلَى 5] A stroke is written coming out *lām* using a thick *qalam*. [تعالى 3] المجادلة written coming out *lām* with a thick *qalam*.

[دِيشَ 20] non porque Dios, i.e. not because God. [يَحْيَى 5] *Yaḥyà*, see John. [الْكُؤَلُ] el cual, i.e. the one who. [وسدريه] *çidrih, sidra*, i.e. cider.

a Q. 56:61.

b Cf. Luke 1:13-15. In these verses the angel is actually addressing Zechariah, the husband of Isabel and not addressing her directly, as suggested in the KM.

اَنَّ {الرَّبَّ قَالَ لِمُوسَى لَا يَقْرَبُ الْخَمْرُ وَلَا تَشْرَبُ مِنْهُ} ^a [7] وَلَا تَأْكُلْ شَيْءً يَحْرِفُ مِنْهُ وَقَالَ أَرْسَطُوا
 فِي فَلْسَفَةِ الطَّبِيعَةِ الْحَمَانِيَةِ يَجِبُ أَرْبَعَةُ أَشْيَاءَ [8] بَارِدٌ وَرَطْبٌ وَأَعْدِيَّةٌ يَابَسَةٌ وَحَرٌّ ⊙ فَالْبَارِدُ وَالرَّطْبُ
 هُوَ الْمَاءُ وَالْحَرُّ وَالْيَابَسُ هِيَ الْخَمْرُ [9] وَأَمَّا الْخَمْرُ مَعَارَكَانَ حَرَّةً وَيَابَسَةً فَلَيْسَ هِيَ أَعْدِيَّةٌ يَعْنِي بِرَبْدِ دُونِهِ
 يَعِيشُ الْإِنْسَانُ [10] يَأْكُلُ مِنْ أَعْدِيَّةٍ أُخْرَى بَابٍ فِي أَكْلِ الْخَنْزِيرِ النَّصَارَى وَهُوَ مُحْرَمٌ [11] عَلَيْهِمْ فِي
 كِتَابِ التَّوْرَةِ وَلَمْ يَأْكُلْهُ يَسُوعٌ وَلَا يَأْمُرُ بِأَكْلِهِ كَمَا أَجْدَى فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ * [12] وَقَالَ يَسُوعُ لِلْيَهُودِ {أَنِّي لَمْ أَرْسَلْ
 لِيَقْتَصِ شَيْءٌ مِنْ كِتَابِ مُوسَى إِلَّا لِأَكْلِهِ} ^b فِيهِذَا السَّبَبُ [13] هُوَ مُحْرَمٌ عَلَيْهِمْ بِأَكْلِهِ لِأَنَّ الرَّبَّ حَرَّمَ
 فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَيَسُوعُ النَّاصِرِيُّ لَمْ يَقْتَصِ شَيْئاً مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ [14] لَأَنَّهَا بَابٌ أُخْرَى فِي يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ ⊙
 أَسْأَلُ النَّصْرَى هَلْ خَرَجَ [15] النَّاسُ يَوْمَ الْحُكْمِ فِي هَذِهِ اللَّحْمِ الْمُرْبِيَّةِ فِي هَذِهِ الدُّنْيَا مِنْ خَيْرَاتٍ زَمَانِيَّةٍ
 أَمْ لَا فَان قَالُوا [16] نَعَمْ * قُلْ لَهُمْ كَيْفَ يَكُونُ النَّاسُ مُخَلِّدُونَ فِي الْجَنَّةِ وَالنَّارِ * مِنْ هُم مُرَبِّينَ هَذِهِ
 اللَّحْمِ فِي هَذِهِ [17] الدُّنْيَا مِنْ خَيْرَاتٍ زَمَانِيَّةٍ فَكُلْ مِنْ هُوَ مُرَبِّي مِنْ خَيْرَاتٍ زَمَانِيَّةٍ يَلْحَقُ لَهُ التَّثْبِيبُ
 وَتَدْوِيبُ [18] وَالْهَرَمَ وَالْعَدَمَ وَلَيْسَ يَكُونُ لَهُ الْخُلُودُ فِي الْجَنَّةِ وَلَا فِي النَّارِ ⊙ وَقَدْ تَعْلَمُونَ أَنَّ أَهْلَ
 الْجَنَّةِ فِي الْجَنَّةِ [19] خَلِدُونَ وَأَهْلَ النَّارِ فِي النَّارِ خَلِدُونَ وَذَلِكَ مَوْجُودٌ فِي أَنْجِيلِكُمْ وَسَاءَتْ كُتُبُ
 الشَّرِيعَةِ فَإِنَّ أَهْلَ الْجَنَّةِ [20] هُمْ خَلِدُونَ فِيهَا وَأَهْلَ النَّارِ خَالِدِينَ فِيهَا أَبَدَ الْآبَدِ ⊙ فَإِذَا كَانَ الْأَمْرُ
 كَذَلِكَ حَقًّا يَقِينٌ يَنْبَغِي لِرَبِّ [21] أَنْ يَنْشِئَ بِالنَّاسِ يَوْمَ الْحُكْمِ بِنُوعِ السَّمَاوِيَّةِ لَا بِلُحْمٍ مَرْبِيَّةٍ بِخَيْرَاتِ
 الزَّمَانِيَّةِ لِيَكُونَ لَهُمْ الْخُلُودُ [22] فِي الْجَنَّةِ وَالنَّارِ * وَإِنْ كَانَ الرَّبُّ يَنْشِئُ النَّاسَ يَوْمَ الْحُكْمِ بِهَذِهِ اللَّحْمِ
 الْمُرْبِيَّةِ بِخَيْرَاتِ [23] زَمَانِيَّةٍ يَدْرِكُهَا التَّثْبِيبُ وَالتَّذْيِيبُ وَعَدَمٌ وَيَنْبَغِي لَهُمْ أَنْ يَبْقَى مِنْ أَنْوَاعِهَا لِيَكُونَ

8 أَعْدِيَّةٌ [أَعْدِيَّةٌ 9 أَعْدِيَّةٌ وَأَعْدِيَّةٌ أَرْبَعَةُ أَشْيَاءَ وَهِيَ بَارِدٌ يَجِبُ عَلَيْهَا: Probably to be read as follows: [باردٌ 8
 [وتدويبٌ 17 مُرَبِّينَ [مُرَبِّينَ 16 Incomplete word. *Lākin* is my guess. 14 أَعْدِيَّةٌ [أَعْدِيَّةٌ 10
 [الجنة 19 التثيب والتذيب This word is written with the same *qalam* but very small, it seems to be
 a later addition. 22 الربية [المربية

9 [مغارٌ] ^{مُغَارٌ} maguera, (Cast.) aun, incluso, aunque, i.e. even (if). [بربندٌ] ^{بُرْبِنْدٌ} porvinda, porvinda, i.e. por
 vianda (Cat. vianda), i.e. food.

a Cf. Lev. 10:8–11 (where Aaron is addressed).

b Cf. Matt. 5:17.

f. 38^v لهم | الخلود في الجنة والنار لأن جميع الحيوان المربية لحومها زمانية يدركها التثبيت وتذويب [2] وعدم وينبغي أن يبقى أنواعها طول الدنيا وإن الأشياء السماوية ليس ينبغي لها أن يبقى [3] من أنواعها لأنها مخلدة مثال ذلك للشمس أن الشمس هي من الاسماء السماوية فليس ينبغي [4] لها من أنواعها لأنها يرش دائماً والحيوان يدركها التثبيت وتذويب وهم وعدم وذلك [5] بسبب الاكل والشرب وينبغي لها أن يبقى من أنواعها مثال ذلك الناس والبهائم والطيور [6] وحيتان البحار والأودية بسبب يلحقها التثبيت وتذويب والهرم والعدم والموت [7] بسبب الاكل والشرب ينبغي لها أن يبقى من أنواعها طول الدنيا وبذلك قال أرسطو في [8] فلسفته الطبيعية يشبه أنواع الحيوان دائماً كالأشياء السماوية لأنها يبقى في نوع دائماً [9] باب جملة اشيا كثيرة في قصة آدم عليه السلام وفي وحى [10] أشعياً ومن مقالة داود في الزبور ومن كتاب التورية ومن كتاب الانجيل وذلك أن [11] النصري زعموا أن ديش مات بسبب أنه خلق آدم ☉ قل لهم أي حجة له أن يموت بذنب [12] آدم وأما وجب لآدم أن يموت بذنبه ☉ وقد قال في تورية {لا تقتل الاب بذنب الابن ولا الابن [13] بذنب الاب الاكل واحد بذنبه} ☉ عاد نقول أن ديش أباشا مرد بذنب آدم ليس ترند [14] من العقوبة التي عوقب بها لآدم وزوجه حين اذنا ءادشاشته اليوم ذاواي تلك [15] العقوبة ليس لتر ديش بقتله * وينبغي له إذ يقبض الموت بذنب آدم كاترشا تلك [16] العقوبة عن الأرض أزيد نقول أن تلك العقوبة التي عوقب بها الرب آدم وزوجه حوى [17] قد يكون في آدم وزوجه حوى قبل أن يذنا

1 There is a blurring on the paper but the reading of the word is none-the-less clear. [الاشياء يبقا] يبقى 2 التثيب والتذيب [وتذويب] 1 يبقا 5 التثيب والتذيب [وتذويب] نوعه [أنواعها] 4 يبقا يبقى [وتذويب] 6 يبقا 10 وكذلك kaf is rewritten on top, as a means to clarify. [حوى] حوى 16 يذنا يذنا حوى [حوى] 17

4 por si, por sí, i.e. by itself. [مرد] 13 Dios (h)abese murido, i.e. God would have died. [يرش] 4 ترند tiro nada, tiró nada, i.e. threw nothing. [ذاواي] 14 a dos esta al-yawm de (h)oy, i.e. up to (the day of) today. [up to this very day]. [ديش] 15 lo tiro dios, lo tiró Dios i.e. God threw it. [كاترشا] que tirase, i.e. that He would withdraw.

a Cf. Deut. 24:16. A similar idea is conveyed in Ezek. 18:20.

واكلا من شجرة العلم الخير والشر وذلك بسبب [18] *أَتَهُمَا يَدْخُلَانِ فِي طَبِيعَةِ نَسْلِ النَّاسِ لِأَنَّهُمَا يَأْكُلَانِ وَيَشْرَبَانِ وَجَامِعُ آدَمَ مَعَ زَوْجَتِهِ* [19] *حَوَى وَتَجَلَّى مِنْ زَوْجِهَا وَبِنَفْسٍ أَوْلَادًا وَيَعْلَجُ آدَمَ جَنَّةَ الْأَرْضِيَّةِ يَحْرُزُهَا كَمَا قَالَ فِي* [20] *كِتَابِ التَّوْرَةِ {نَزَى أَشْ تَرَلُّهُمَا دَيْشُ بَعْدَ مَا أَخْرَجَهُمَا مِنْ جَنَّةِ الْأَرْضِيَّةِ أَشْ زَيْدٌ لُهُمَا}* [21] *a* *وَمِنْ وَحْيِ أَشْعِيَا حَيْثُ يَقُولُ {عَذْرَاءٌ حُبْلَى تَكُونُ عَمَّ مَنَوَالٍ}* *b* *وَبِسَبَبِ مَقَالَةِ أَشْعِيَا عَذْرَاءَ* [22] *حُبْلَى تَكُونُ * زَعَمَ النَّصَارَى أَنَّ مَرِيْمَ هِيَ بَكْرُ قَبْلِ النَّفَّاسِ وَعَذْرَاءُ بَعْدَ النَّفَّاسِ * قُلْ لُهُمْ* [23] *الْيَسُ مَكْتُوبٌ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ حِينَ بَشَّرَهَا الْمَلِكُ جَبْرِيْلُ بِالْحَبْلِ* *○ قَالَ لِمَرِيْمَ إِذَا تَنَفَّسَ | تُسَمِّيهِ يُسُوعُ* *○* *انظروا كيف تنفس جميع النساء وبأي موضع وبعد نفاسها تسميه يسوع* f. 39^r
 [2] *كَمَا أَمَرَهَا الْمَلِكُ وَأَنَّهَا مَشَتْ إِلَى دَارِهَا وَاسْتَطَعَتْ كَمَا فَعَلَ بَنَاتُ هَرُونَ * وَقُلْ لَهُمْ أَيْضًا كَثِيرًا مِنْ*
 [3] *النِّسَاءِ هُمْ عَذْرَاءٌ حَتَّى يَنْفَسَ* *○* *وَزَعَمَ النَّصْرَى أَيْضًا أَنَّ دَيْشَ مَاتَ بِسَبَبِ أَنْ يُخْرِجَ النَّاسَ مِنْ*
 [4] *جَهَنَّمَ وَذَلِكَ بِسَبَبِ ذَنْبِ آدَمَ * قُلْ لُهُمْ بِأَيِّ تَعْلُمُونَ أَنْتُمْ أَنَّهُمْ مَشُّوا إِلَى جَهَنَّمَ قَدْ نَزَى فِي هَذِهِ*
 [5] *الدُّنْيَا إِنَّ النَّاسَ مَاتُوا وَلَمْ نَعْلَمْ إِنْ يَمُوتُونَ هُمْ وَلَا سِيمًا يَتَجَرَّبُ بِكِتَابِ التَّوْرَةِ وَالْإِنْجِيلِ أَنَّ إِبْرَاهِيْمَ*
 [6] *وَاسْتَحَقَّ* [6] *وَيَعْقُوبَ وَالصَّالِحِينَ هُمْ فِي الْجَنَّةِ قَبْلَ مَوْتِ يُسُوعِ حَيْثُ يَقُولُ فِي تَوْرَاتِهِ حِينَ تَجَلَّى الْمَلِكُ*
 [7] *لِمُوسَى عَلَى ضَرْيَمِ النَّارِ قَالَ {أَنَا إِلَاهُ إِبْرَاهِيْمَ وَاسْتَحَقَّ وَيَعْقُوبَ}* *c* *وَقَالَ يُسُوعُ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ حِينَ سِيلُ*

19 *Alif* of elongation connected to *lām* written with a thick *qalam*. *kāf* [كاف] 20 written on top, unconnected, in order to clarify. *نَزَى* The punctuation of this word is not clear to me. *عَذْرَاءُ* [عذراء] *Alif* of elongation is connected to *lām* using a thick *qalam*. *عَذْرَى* [عذراء] *Alif* of elongation is connected to *lām* using a thick *qalam*. *عَذْرَاءُ* [عذراء] *Alif* of elongation with thick *qalam*. *هَذِهِ* [هذه] 4 *عَزْرًا* [عذراء] 3 *وَاسْطَعَتْ* [واستطعت] 2 *عَذْرًا* [عذراء] 6 *مَوْتِ* [موت] These two words, especially the second, are blurred: *تَجَلَّى* [تجلى] *قَبْلَ مَوْتِ* [قبل موت] *Alif* of elongation connected to *lām*. [و] 7 These two words are an addition inscribed with a finer *qalam*.

20 *دَيْشُ* [ديش] es *tirolahumā* Dios, i.e. it is, God threw them both. *أَشْ* [اش] es, i.e. is. 3 *دَيْشُ* [ديش] dias, written with *fatha*, i.e. dios, God.

a Cf. Gen. 3:8–24.

b Cf. Isa. 7:14.

c Cf. Ex. 3:6.

لَهُ الْمُكذِّبِينَ [8] عن القيامة قال لهم أما قرأتم التوراة حين قال الرب موسى على الزعرور {أنا الاله ابراهيم والاه [9] اسحق والاه يعقوب} الاله الاحياء فان اجابوا النصرى وقالوا ان هؤلاء المذكرين هم في النار [10] احياء قل لهم كيف قال يسوع في الانجيل الاله الاحياء ولم يقول الاله الاموات لان كل من دخل [11] في الجنة فهو حي * وكل من دخل النار فهو ميت وبسبب الذي قال يسوع في الانجيل الاله الاحياء [12] هي بسبب ان يعذر ديش ذاقه بانهم احياء في الجنة وبسبب ذلك لم ينبغي له ان يموت [13] بذنب ادم ☉ فهذه حجة قوية فتدبرها فانها من اكبر الحجج عليهم والله المستعان * [14] قال داود في الزبور ليس الاموات تئاؤك وليس كاشتن في النار ائنا شممش اهل [15] تئاؤك يظهر بذلك المقالة ان اهل النار هم اموات لا شك فيه ☉ وقد نرى بطبيعة حقيقة ان الذي [16] يكون في النار فهو ميت وكفى بهذه التجريب والله الموافق الصواب باب [17] قال ابو الوليد بن رشيد التائم مثل الميت ليس يعتاد به الحواس حتى اتبه من النوم ☉ والميت [18] ابدا لا بد ليس يعتاد به الحواس ☉ وبذلك قال ارسطو التوم موت صغيرة لان الناس [19] حين نام يمسك روحه جميع الحواس لان روح الانسن اذا يكون في جسد ابن ادم يكون في موضع [20] اينبرغ لغر فاذا يخرج الروح من ابن ادم لم يكن في موضع ولا برغ موضع ☉ وقال ابو الوليد [21] بن رشد في القران اية تداال الانسان ان رآى من هذه الدنيا الاخرة الا هذه الاية ☉ {الله يتوفى [22] الانفس حين موتها والتي لم تمت في منامها فيمسك التي قضى عليها الموت ويرسل الاخرى الى اجل مسمى} f. 39^b

[الصَّوَابِ] *Alif* of elongation written with a finer *qalam*. 16 هَوَاءٌ هَوَاءٌ 9 قرأتم [قرأتم] 8
As noted above, the author regularly turns the consonants around, so here we
لا نفس [الانفس] 22 لأنَّ hamza and *fatha*, followed by *alif* with *sukūn*:

[كَاشْتَنَ] 14 que estan, que están, i.e. that they are. Dios de culpa, i.e. God out of sin. 12 ذَا قَلْبَهُ
[لُغْرَ] inbarga lugar, embarga lugar, i.e. it seizes a place. 20 [شُمُشْ] somos, i.e. we are.
[رشد] Abū l-Walid ibn Rušd, see Ibn Rušd. 21 embarga, i.e. it seizes (a place).

a Cf. Ex. 3:6.

b Q. 39:42.

⊙ وقال أيضاً أبو الوليد بن رُشد من أراد أن يرى دار الآخرة بهذه الدنيا فينظر [2] حين نام رأى في علم أشياء غرائب لم يدركها بأبصاره في الدنيا وهي من أشياء الآخرة مثل [3] ان يرى في منامه الجنة والنار ولا موت وغرائب كثير ويراها روحه ولذلك موجود في الآخرة [4] بهذه الدنيا لأن من هذه الدنيا يرى الآخرة سوى ان الانسان ليس هو موجود الدائم والآخرة هي [5] موجودة دائمة * قال أبو الوليد بن رُشد في المنطق جميع الاشياء الدنيا يعيش بزمان ينبغي [6] ان يعلق جمعها بواحد يكون أبداً * وهو الله سبحانه الدائم وكذلك الاشياء الحرة ينبغي لها [7] ان تعلق يعني شردسان من النار ⊙ مثال ذلك ان جميع قناديل الدنيا اذا أظفي كلها ينبغي [8] ان يعلق إلى النار الدائم حتى قال العلماء ان أم نيران الدنيا كلها هي الحجر من اي تخرج [9] منه النار * وبذلك يفهم علماء الفلسفة والمنطق ان الله هو الدائم لأن جميع أشياء الدنيا [10] يتعلق منه هو الذي رزقها ولا يعجز فيه في كل زمان وأوان وليس موجود به عياء وبسبب [11] ذلك ليس له أول ووسط ولا طرف وجميع اشياء الدنيا من جنس الحيوان يدركها عياء لأنها [12] يعملون عن زمان وعيوا عن زمان وبسبب يدركها التثيب وتدويب والهرم * والهرم [13] عدم وبذلك قال أبو الوليد بن رُشد الذي كان معلماً لا يعجز ذاتن اعمل ليس كالذي يعجز [14] عن زمان لأنه ان يعجز عن زمان يعدم هو عن زمان كما يعدم الاشياء التي يعجز عن زمان ⊙ مثال [15] ذلك ان أفلاك السماوية كل زمان يتحرك لا يعجز عن التحرك بأمر المعلم الذي لا يعجز أبداً [16] ولا يدركه عياء هو الله سبحانه والمعلم الذي يعمل عن زمان ويعجز عن زمان هو الانسان ⊙ مثال [17] ذلك ان الانسان إذا اعمل داراً جديداً عياء ويعجز عن زمان العجز

1 يرى [يرى] 5 للشيا [الاشياء] 7 [النار] ⊙ This interpunction ⊙ is placed above, as if added after revision. 12 التدويب [وتدويب] 13 التثيب والتذيب [أبو] wāw is blurred.

7 [شردسان] serdoçen, serdaçen, could be a translation of 'alaqa. A guess is that it could be related to the notion of "alar", which among the definitions in the DRAE means a lasso of bristles used to hunt partridges or other birds. That is to say, an object which serves to "attach" something. "Serdoçen" would be the verb derived from "alar", to describe the phenomenon which occurs when the part, here, the "cerda"/"bristle", serves to name the whole, i.e. the "lasso". Another good possibility is to read "se-rduçen/se-r(e)duçen" with the sense of "narrow", or "bring down", here, to fire. 13 [ذاتن] deben, i.e., should.

يعني برَسَّاسَرٌ ويسبب أن الخلاق [18] من جنس الحيوان يُدركها العيا والعجز ينبغي لها ان تتعلق بالذي لا يدرك العيا والعجز ① [19] باب قال ابو الوليد بن رُشد في المنطق أن الجهلاً من العلماء من المسلمين [20] لا يعلمون تفسير الكلمات التي نص في كتاب الله العزيز وذلك بسبب أنهم لا يتقون كتب المنطق [21] كنفس الله * ويد الله وجهه الله حتى قالوا في الآية آخر سورة المائدة حيث يقول مُحْكَمُ التَّنْزِيلِ [22] {تَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِي وَلَا أَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِكَ إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ عَلَّامُ الْغُيُوبِ} ^a أن عيسى بن مريم كان له | نَفْسَيْنِ الْوَاحِدَةَ مِنْهَا فِي طَاقَةِ اللَّهِ عِنْدَهُ وَالْآخَرَى الَّتِي قَالَ بِهَا عَيْسَى بْنُ مَرْيَمَ {تَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِي [2] وَلَا أَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِكَ} ^b نفسك يعني نفس عيسى بن مريم الذي في طاقة الله ويفسرون هذه الآية على [3] ذلك التفسير ② فهذا ما لا يفهمونه لأن تفسير الآية المذكورة {تَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِي وَلَا أَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِكَ} ^c [4] هي الكلمت المُستَعَارَة الَّتِي تَجِدُهَا فِي الْمَنْطِقِ وَذَلِكَ لِيَفْهَمُ الْعَالَمُ إِلَى النَّاسِ الْأَشْيَاءَ لَا بَأَنَّ لَهُ [5] نَفْسٌ وَوَجْهٌ وَيَدٌ تَعْلَى اللَّهُ عَنِ ذَلِكَ عَلَوًّا كَبِيرًا * وَالِاسْتِعَارَة يَعْنِي يَأْخُذُ كَلِمَةً مُسْتَعَارَةً مِنْ [6] أَشْيَاءٍ تُكُونُ كَذًا بِالْأَشْيَاءِ لَيْسَ تَكُونُ كَذًا وَذَلِكَ فِي جَمِيعِ كُتُبِ الْمَنْزَلَةِ هَذَا الْكَلِمَاتِ لِيَفْهَمُ [7] الْعَالَمُ إِلَى النَّاسِ الْأَشْيَاءَ * مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ قَالَ اللَّهُ فِي تَوْرَةِ لَابْرَهِيمَ {لَا تَخْفُ يَا إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِنَّا تُرْسُكَ} ^d [8] مَعْنَاهُ أَنَا سِتْرُكَ وَنَصْرُكَ لَا بَأَنَّ اللَّهَ فُؤَاشَا تُرْسٌ مِنْ عَوْدِهِ رَجُلٌ وَإِنْ كَانَ اللَّهُ لَهُ نَفْسٌ وَيَدٌ وَجْهٌ [9] يَنْبَغِي لَهُ التَّنْبِيهُ وَتَذَوِيبٌ وَالْهَرَمُ وَعَدَمٌ كَالْأَدْمِيينِ وَأَشْيَاءَ أُخْرَى مِنْ نَفَائِصِ الْعُيُوبِ [10] تَعَالَى اللَّهُ عَنِ ذَلِكَ عَلَوًّا كَبِيرًا لَيْسَ لَهُ شَبَهُ وَلَا مِثَالٌ وَلَيْسَ لَأَوَّلِهِ ابْتِدَاءٌ وَلَا لِآخِرِهِ انْتِهَاءٌ [11] وَالْكَلِمَةُ الْمُشْتَرَكَةُ أَنْ يَفْهَمُ الْإِنْسَانُ الْكَلِمَةَ بِأَكْثَرِ مَعْنَا مِنْ وَاحِدٍ نَهَى كَمَنْ قَالَ وَجْهَ إِنْسَانٍ وَجْهٌ [12] حَاطِطٌ وَجْهٌ أَنَاءً وَجْهٌ

التَّيْبُ وَالتَّذْيِيبُ [وتذويب] 9 Alif of elongation connected to lām. [تعلّى] 5 كُتُوبٌ [كتب] 20

17 بِرَسَّاسَرٌ] por çeşar, por cesar, i.e., through stopping (being). 8 [فُؤَاشَا] fueše, fueše, i.e. was (a shield).

a Q. 5:116.

b Q. 5:116.

c Q. 5:116.

d Cf. Gen. 15:1.

ثوبٍ ومثل هذه الاشياء كثيرة لا تحصى ○ قال ابو الوليد بن رشد كُلُّ [13] رجلٌ يجعلُ شريعةَ امثالِ اَرمَ شريعتهِ على شبيهِ داحضةٍ لأنَّ في الامثالِ كُفْيَ اكثرُ من واحدٍ معناه [14] يعني اَتَنْتَسِيُونَ ○ وقال ايضا ابو الوليد ابنُ رشد في تفسير هذه الاية او لم ينظروا في ملكوتِ السموات [15] ليس يفهمُ هذه الاية بأنَّ ينظرُ الانسان الى السماءِ كذلك ينظرُ الكلابِ وسائرِ الحيوانِ الى السماءِ [16] وانما يفهمُ هذه الاية أن يعلمُ للانسان اجرامَ السماويةِ والافلاكِ وحركتها بابُ [17] زعمَ النَّصرى ايضا أن ديش يكون له ولدٌ قل لهم هذا ما لا يكونُ ابدأً أن الربَّ دخل في نسل [18] الادميين والآلِ ينبغي له بطبيعة حقيفة ان يعدم بزمان وان يبقى من نوعه ○ قال [19] ارسطوا في فلسفته ان الربَّ ليس له بداءٌ ولا طرفٌ ولا اتمامٌ لأنه اَزِيٌّ ومن هو [20] اَزِيٌّ لم ينبغي له ان يبقى من نوعه مثال ذلك في الاشياء السماوية التي خلق الربُّ مثل [21] الشمس والقمر والكواكب ان كان للشمس ولدٌ يكونُ التنازع بينهما ولا يكونُ معمورة [22] في الارضِ وبسبب ان الشمس سماوي لا ينبغي ان يبقى من نوعه ○ وانَّ الأشياء الارضية التي [23] يتولدون في الارض يكونُ احتياجاً ان يبقى من انواعها لأنَّ لها كَرَبْسِيُونَ وتذيب | وعدم ذلك مثال الادميين وجميع الحيوان يكونُ احتياجاً ان يبقى من انواعها ليكون من انواعها [2] ليكون الدنيا معمرة بها لولا ان يبقى من الحيوان انواعها لخربت الدنيا ولا يكون لها معمرة وبذلك [3] قال الفيلسوف يشبه الحيوان في انواعها مثل الاشياء السماوية وبسبب ان يبقى من الحيوان انواعها [4] دائمة مثل الاشياء السماوية بابُ جميع الناس من الدنيا يكون على ثلاثة وجوه [5] في التصديق الاشياء ○ فمنهم من يصدق كل ما يقول لهم والوجه الثاني ما يصدق شي ○ والوجه الثالث [6] شديده في التصديق حتى يطمين وهمهم على الحق فاذا

f. 40^v

12 تحصى] *Alif* of elongation placed, unconnected, above *alif maqṣūra*. 13 لأن] *Hamza* is placed on *lām*. 19 لأنه] *Hamza* is placed on *lām*. 21 التنازع] التنازع 22 يبقى] يبقى 23 لأن] *Hamza* is placed on *lām*. 1 يبقى] يبقى 2 يبقى] يبقى

13 اَرمَ] arma, (Cast.) arma (i.e. construye), (Eng.) makes, builds (here, to make a law).

14 اَتَنْتَسِيُونَ] entinçiyon, intención, i.e. intention. 19 اَتَامٌ] etemun, extremo, i.e. extreme, end. 23 كَرَبْسِيُونَ] corrubçion, corrupción, i.e. corruption.

أَيَقْنُوا عَلَى الْحَقِّ لَمْ يَزَالُوا مِنْهَا قَطُّ ٥ فِهْدًا [1] [7] مَوْجُودٌ فِي كِتَابِ الْمَنْطِقِ [بَطْبِيعَةَ حَقِيقَةِ] قَلِّ لِلْيَهُودِ
وَالنَّصْرَى أَخْبَرُونِي مِنْ هَمِّ الَّذِينَ يَصْدُقُونَ كُلَّ مَا يَقُولُ [8] لَهُمْ فَهَمُّ النَّصَارَى وَالَّذِينَ لَمْ يَوْمِنَا شَيْئاً
فَهَمُّ الْيَهُودِ وَتَصَدِيقُ ذَلِكَ مَا قَالَ فِي كِتَابِ التَّوْرَةِ [9] حَيْثُ يَقُولُ نُنْ كَارَايَاتِنَاشُ * وَالَّذِينَ شَدِيدَةٌ
فِي أَنْ يُؤْمِنَ حَتَّى يَتَبَيَّنَ لَهُمُ الْحَقُّ فَإِذَا أَيَقْنُوا أَنَّهُمْ [10] عَلَى الْحَقِّ لَمْ يَزَالُوا مِنْهَا قَطُّ فَهَمُّ الْمُسْلِمُونَ بَابُ
فِي الطُّهْرِ الْيَهُودِ [11] وَذَلِكَ مَوْجُودٌ فِي التَّوْرَةِ فِي شَرِيعَةِ الْبَرِّصِ حَيْثُ يَقُولُ {كُلُّ رَجُلٍ يَضَاحُ
مَعَ امْرَأَتِهِ مَضَاحِجًا} [ه] [12] انْسَالُ أَوْ يَحْلِمُ وَيَخْرُجُ مِنْهُ النَّطْفَةُ فَهُوَ مَنْجُوسٌ وَيَنْبَغِي لَهُ أَنْ يَطَّهَرَ بِمَاءٍ
وَيَكُونُ مَنْجُوسًا إِلَى الْمَغِيبِ} ^a [13] زَعَمَ الْيَهُودُ فِي ذَلِكَ أَنَّ الشَّرِيعَةَ الطَّهْرَةَ شَيْئًا أُخْرَى مَأْمُورَةٌ فِي
كِتَابِ التَّوْرَةِ مِثْلُ الْخَمْرِ [14] لَيْسَ هِيَ مَأْمُورَةٌ أَنْ يُفْعَلُوا إِلَّا فِي أَرْضِ الْعَهْدِ وَهِيَ أَرْضُ كَنْعَانَ ٥
قَلِّ لَهُمْ أَنَّ مُوسَى وَأَخِيهِ هَارُونَ [15] لَمْ يُدْخِلَا أَرْضَ كَنْعَانَ وَمَاتَا فِي الْبَرِيَّةِ كَمَا هُوَ مَوْجُودٌ فِي تَوْرَاةِ
وَذَلِكَ بِسَبَبِ مَاءِ الْخُصُومَةِ وَإِنَّمَا [16] فَعَلَا أَوْ أَمَرَ الشَّرِيعَةَ فِي الْبَرِيَّةِ كَمَا قَالَ فِي كِتَابِ تَوْرَةِ حَيْثُ يَقُولُ
الرَّبُّ لِمُوسَى وَأَخِيهِ هَارُونَ وَبَنِيهِ [17] {لَا تَقْرَبُوا الْخَمْرَ وَلَا شَيْئاً يَخْرُجُ مِنْهُ وَلَا تَدْخُلُوا فِي الْبَيْتِ الْقُدْسِ
يَعْنِي قِبَةَ الزَّمَانِ * وَإِنَّمْ إِذَا أَصَابْتَهُمْ [18] جَنَابَةٌ فَطَهَّرُوا قَبْلَ أَنْ تَدْخُلُوا بَيْتَ الْمُقَدَّسِ} ^b بَابُ فِي الْقَدْرِ
زَعَمَ الْيَهُودُ أَنَّ جَمِيعَ [19] أَشْيَاءِ الدُّنْيَا مِنَ الْبَلَوَى وَالرِّزْيَةِ يَجِيءُ إِلَى النَّاسِ بِدُنُوبِهِمْ أَوْ بِدُنُوبِ آبَائِهِمْ أَوْ
أَجْدَادِهِمْ قَلِّ لَهُمْ [20] تَوْمَنُ اتَّمْ فِي كُتُبٍ مِنَ الْبِدْرِيَّةِ فَإِنَّ أَقْرَأُوا قَلِّ لَهُمْ حِينَ {أَذْنَبَ سُلَيْمَنُ فِي
تَرْكِ جَوَارِهِ أَنْ يَسْجُدَ} [21] وَيَعْبُدَنَّ إِلَى صَنْمٍ} ^c ٥ {قَالَ لَهُ النَّبِيُّ النَّسَمُ عَنْ أَمْرِ الرَّبِّ لَيْسَ السُّلْطَانُ

[النَّطْفَةُ] 12 يَوْمِنُونِ شَيْئاً [يَوْمِنُوا] 8 *qalam*. These two words are an addition using a finer *qalam*. [حَقِيقَةُ] 7
تَوْمَنُ [تَوْمَنُ] 20 أَخِيهِ [وَأَخِيهِ] 16 مَأْمُورَةٌ [مَأْمُورَةٌ] 14 مَأْمُورَةٌ [مَأْمُورَةٌ] 13 مَنْجُوسٌ [مَنْجُوسٌ] النَّطْفَةُ
السُّلْطَانُ [السُّلْطَانُ] 21

9 [كَارَايَاتِنَاشُ] non creyentes, no creyentes, i.e. non-believers. 18 [بَايْتُ الْمَقْدِسِ] Bayt al-maqdis, see
Jerusalem. 20 [الْبِدْرِيَّةُ] albidriyyu, albedrió, i.e. free will.

a Cf. Lev. 15:16.

b Cf. Lev. 10:9-10.

c Cf. 1Kings 11:6-9.

مَاشٍ شَائِدٍ مَشٍ فِكْرَامَةَ [22] ابُوكِ دَاوُدَ لَمْ نَخْلَعَ الْمَلِكُ مِنْكَ وَإِنَّمَا نَخْلَعُ لِبَنِكَ رُعُوبَ الَّذِي مَلَكَ
يَعْدُكَ مِنْ إِثْنَا عَشَرَ [23] سِبْطًا لِاحْدَى عَشَرَ سِبْطًا لَا تَكُونُ مَعَهُ إِلَّا سِبْطٌ وَاحِدٌ^a قَلْ لِمُمْ كَوْلُ
السَّبَبِ الْإِخْلَعِ الْإِبْنِ لِاحْدَى عَشَرَ سِبْطًا | سِبْطًا بَدَنَبَ أَبِيهِ إِذْ الْوَلَدُ لَمْ يَدْنَبْ عِنْدَ الرَّبِّ إِلَّا بِمَا يُوقِي f. 41^r
الرَّبُّ الَّذِي قَالَ لِسُلَيْمَانَ بِهَذَا اللَّهُمَّ [2] اللَّهُ لِابْنِ سُلَيْمَانَ حِينَ أَرَادَ مَلِكٌ فِي مَلِكِ أَبِيهِ أَنْ يَتَرَكَ الرَّأْيِي
الشُّيُوعَ وَيَأْخُذَ رَأْيَ الصَّبِيَّانِ^b * [3] كَمَا قَالَ فِي كِتَابِ الْمَلَا حِينَ * وَفِي ذَلِكَ الْوَقْتِ بَايَعُوا لِاحْدَى
عَشَرَ سِبْطًا مَلِكًا اسْمُهُ رَعَامٌ ⊙ [4] وَذَلِكَ الْمَلِكُ صَنَعَ عَجَلِينَ وَيَعْبُدُوهُمَا إِسْرَائِيلَ فِي ذَلِكَ الْوَقْتِ * أَهْلَكَ
اللَّهُ إِسْرَائِيلَ بِسَبَبِ أَنَّهُمْ بَايَعُوا [5] مَلِكَيْنِ * وَالرُّعُوبَ مَلِكًا فِي بَيْتِ الْمَقْدِسِ وَهَارَعَامَ مَلِكًا فِي أَرْضِ
يَهُوذَا خَارِجَ بَيْتِ الْمَقْدِسِ [6] أَيْضًا مِنْ كِتَابِ الْمَلَا حِينَ حِينَ أُذْنَبَ دَاوُدَ فِي أَخْذِ زَوْجَةِ عَبْدِهِ عَهْدَ
لَهُ الرَّبِّ أَنْ الَّذِي يَخْرُجُ [7] مِنْ صُلْبِهِ يَفْعَلُ بِأَزْوَاجِهِ وَجَوَارِهِ كَمَا فَعَلَ دَاوُدُ بِزَوْجَةِ عَبْدِهِ فَلَمَّا أَنْ وُلِدَ
لِدَاوُدَ ابْنُهُ أَشُولُ^c [8] كَبُرَ الصَّبِيُّ جَدًّا وَكَانَ مِنْ أَجْمَلِ النَّاسِ فِي زَمَانِهِ ⊙ دَخَلَ يَوْمًا فِي قَصْرِ الْجَوَارِ
مِنْ أَبِيهِ دَاوُدَ [9] وَجَامَعَ مَعَهُنَّ أَجْمَعِينَ * وَكَانَ دَاوُدَ غَائِبًا فِي حَوَائِجِهِ وَذَلِكَ كُلُّهُ فَعَلَ أَشُولُ^c بِرَأْيِ
فَارِسًا [10] يُقَالُ لَهُ يُسَافَرُ * وَسَبَبُ ذَلِكَ أَنَّ يُسْفَارَ^c أَعْطَى رَأْيًا لِشُولُ^c أَنْ يُجَامَعَ مَعَ أَزْوَاجِ وَجَوَارِ
[11] مِنْ أَبِيهِ دَاوُدَ بِسَبَبِ أَنْ شُولُ^c أَرَادَ أَنْ يُبَايِعُوا مَلِكًا عَلَى أَبِيهِ دَاوُدَ * وَبَسَبَبِ أَنَّ الْفُرْسَانَ [12] لَمْ
يَصْدُقُوهُ وَيَخَافُونَ أَنَّهُمْ إِذَا كَانَ شُولُ^c رَجَعَ عَنْ غَضَبِهِ أَنْ يَعْمَلَ الصَّلْحَ مَعَ الْوَالِدِ دَاوُدَ وَيَرْجِعُ [13]
أُمُورَهُمْ إِلَى الْخُسْرَانِ وَإِنْ يُجَامَعُ أَشُولُ^c مَعَ أَزْوَاجِ وَجَوَارِ مِنْ أَبِيهِ قَطَّ مَا يَكُونُ الصَّلْحَ بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ

يَأْخُذُ [وَيَأْخُذُ 2 اللَّهُمَّ 1 لِإِحْدَى [لاحدى 23

21 mes seido mas. It is unclear to me what the meaning of this expression is, my best guess is "has not been more". 22 رُعُوبَ Ru'ūb, see Rehoboam. 23 كَوْلُ [cual, cuál, i.e. which.
3 رَعَامَ Ru'am, see Jeroboam. 5 وَهَارَعَامَ Hāru'am, see Jeroboam. 7 أَشُولُ^c Aš'ulam, see Absalom. 10 [يُسَافَرُ Yusāfār (here, likely, Ahitophel), see Ahitophel. [لَشُولُ^c Ša'ulum, see Absalom.

a Cf. 1 Kings 11:11–13.

b Cf. 1 Kings 12:6–14.

c Cf. 1 Kings 12:28.

- والده [14] دَاوُدَ لِكِي يَكُونُ قُلُوبَ الْفُرْسَانَ مَعَهُ فَهَذَا هُوَ الرَّأْيِ الَّذِي اعطى يُسَافِرَ لَشَوْمٍ^a فَلَمَّا سَمِعَ ذَلِكَ [15] دَاوُدَ بِالَّذِي فَعَلَ ابْنَهُ أَشْوَمٌ عَنْ عَلَيْهِ كَثِيرًا وَكَانَ الْحَرْبَ بَيْنَ فُرْسَانَ دَاوُدَ مَعَ أَشْوَمٌ وَفُرْسَانَهُ [16] وَوَقَعَ الْمُهْزِيمَةَ عَلَى أَشْوَمٌ وَفُرْسَانَهُ وَهَرَبَ أَشْوَمٌ وَحَبَسَ شَعْرَهُ فِي شَجَرَةٍ بَطْمَةَ وَكَانَ كَالْمَصْلُوبِ [17] فَبَلَغَ إِلَيْهِ أَيُّوبُ وَرَمَى بِهِمْ وَأَصَابَهُ فِي الْقَلْبِ وَمَاتَ أَشْوَمٌ وَجَاءَ الْجِيُوشُ مِنْ دَاوُدَ بِفَرَجٍ وَسُرُورٍ [18] وَقَدَّمَ أَيُّوبُ صَاحِبُ الْجَيْشِ وَقَالَ لِدَاوُدَ أَبْشِرْ يَا سَيِّدِي بِأَنَّ ابْنَكَ أَشْوَمٌ قَدْ قَتَلْتَ أَخْرَجَ وَأَشْكُرُ [19] الْجَيْشِ بِالَّذِي فَعَلُوا إِذْ خَرَجُوا عَدُوَّكَ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا^b * فَلَمَّا سَمِعَ دَاوُدَ بِمَوْتِ ابْنِهِ أَشْوَمٌ حَزَنَ عَلَيْهِ [20] كَثِيرًا جِدًّا وَقَالَ لِيُوبُ مَرُّ وَأَشْكُرُهُمْ عَنِّي قَالَ أَيُّوبُ إِنْ لَمْ تَخْرُجْ أَنْتَ لِتَشْكُرَهُمْ * فَانِي اكشِفْ لَهُمُ الْعَقْدَ [21] الَّتِي أَرْسَلْتَ مِنَ الْغَدْرَةِ إِلَى أَوْرِيْشَ لِكِي يَقْتُلُوهُ فَلَمَّا سَمِعَ دَاوُدَ خَرَجَ لِتَشْكُرَهُمْ وَحَزَنَ دَاوُدَ [22] عَلَى ابْنِهِ حَزْنًا طَوِيلًا وَأَوْصَى لِابْنِهِ سُلَيْمَانَ دَاوُدَ أَنْ يَقْتُلَ لِيُوبَ^c لِأَنَّهُ قَتَلَ أَشْوَمَ لِأَنَّهُ قَدْ نَزَلَ | شَيْبَتِي بِحَسْرَةٍ إِلَى التَّرَى^d بَابٌ فِي يَوْمِ الْقِيَمَةِ وَفِي تَوْرَانَةِ لَمْ يَكْتُبَ مُوسَى [2] لِبَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ قُلْ لِلْيَهُودِ لِأَشْ تَنْتَظِرُونَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ لِأَنَّ الرَّبَّ قَالَ فِي تَوْرَةِ {مَنْ الْإِنَانَءَ عَاهَدْتُ أَنْ لَا [3] أَقْتُلَ كُلَّ نَفْسٍ كَمَا فَعَلْتَ لِأَنَّ الْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ صَغَرِهِ مُسِيٌّ وَلَا يَبْطُلُ اللَّيْلَ عَنِ النَّهَارِ وَلَا الشَّتَاءُ مِنَ الصَّيْفِ [4] وَلَا يَكُونُ إِلَّا لَيْلًا وَنَهَارًا} * وَإِضًا الْكُهُونِيُّنَ يَغْفِرُ ذُنُوبَ إِسْرَائِيلَ * فَهَذَا الْوَجْهَيْنِ لَا يَنْبَغِي [5] لَكُمْ

f. 41^v

18 [أَيُّوبُ] Ayyūb, see Joab. 20 [لِيُوبُ] Yūb, see Joab. 21 [أَوْرِيْشَ] Awriyaš, see Uriah, the Hittite, husband of Bathsheba. If we compare the text in 2 Sam. 19:5, we see that the reference to what happened to Uriah is an interpolation of the narrative as found in 2 Sam. 11, in which Joab plays an important role. 2 [لِأَشْ] li-es or lo-es, i.e. for (it) is. Another possibility is “la-iš” (i.e., for, it is not ...?). Here, iš maybe needs to be seen as the negative particle in Andalusī Arabic. See, Institute of Islamic Studies of the University of Zaragoza (ed.), *A Descriptive and Comparative Grammar*, pp. 126–127 (section 3.4.1.5.).

a Cf. 2 Sam. 16:15–22.

b Cf. 2 Sam. 18, particularly verses 9 and 14–16.

c Cf. 1 Kings 2:5–6.

d Cf. 2 Sam. 18, particularly verse 33 and 2 Sam. 19, particularly verse 9.

e Although the beginning is reminiscent of God's words after the flood (Gen. 9:11 and 9:15), I have not been able to find this verse which perhaps belongs to the rabbinic tradition.

أَنْ تَنْتَظِرُونَ يَوْمَ الْحِسَابِ أَيْضًا مِنْ التَّوْرَةِ حِينَ أَرْسَلَ الرَّبُّ مُوسَى إِلَى فِرْعَوْنَ بِالرِّسَالَةِ قَالَ [6] لَهُ الرَّبُّ قُلْ كَذًا وَكَذَا إِلَى فِرْعَوْنَ وَمُوسَى تَرَكَ أَنْ يَقُولَ الَّذِي قَالَ لَهُ الرَّبُّ أَنْ يَقُولَ لِفِرْعَوْنَ [7] وَيَقُولَ شَيْئًا آخَرَ بِطَبِيعَةِ حَقِيقَةِ أَنَّ مُوسَى لَمْ يَكُجَلِ الرِّسَالَةَ الَّتِي أَرْسَلَ لَهُ بِهَا الرَّبُّ وَهُوَ يَعْلَمُ أَكْثَرَ [8] مِنَ الرَّبِّ الَّذِي أَرْسَلَهُ أَيْضًا مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ * زَعَمُوا النَّصْرَى وَالْيَهُودُ أَنَّ إِبْرَاهِيمَ كَانَ يَهُودِيًّا [9] قُلْ لَهُمْ قَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ يَقِينًا {حِينَ يَأْخُذُوا أَهْلَ مِصْرَ امْرَأَةَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ سُئِلَ لَهَا مِنْ خَلْوَةِ مَالِكِ لِإِبْرَاهِيمَ — [10] فَأُجَابَتْ لَهُمْ أَنَّهُ زَوْجِي } وَسُئِلَ أَيْضًا لِإِبْرَاهِيمَ فَأُجَابَ أَنَّهَا أُخْتِي بِنْتُ أَبِي لَيْسَتْ مِنْ أُمَّي * a [11] وَقَدْ عَلِمْتُمْ يَقِينًا أَنَّهُ مُحْرَمٌ فِي كِتَابِ التَّوْرَةِ أَنْ يَزُوجَ الرَّجُلَ مَعَ أُخْتِهِ } وَإِنْ أَجَابُوا الْيَهُودَ وَالنَّصَارَى [12] وَزَعَمُوا أَنَّ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وُلِدَ فِي أَرْضِ يَهُودًا يَعْنِي جُودًا وَبِذَلِكَ كَانَ يَهُودِيًّا لَيْسَ تَحْمِلُونَ الْحُجَّةَ * مِثَالُ [13] ذَلِكَ لَيْسَ كُلُّ مَنْ يَسْكُنُ فِي طُلَيْطَلَةَ لَيْسَ كُلُّهُمْ يَهُودًا فِيهَا يَسْكُنُ يَهُودٌ وَالنَّصْرَى وَمُسْلِمُونَ [14] مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ يَقُولُ النَّاسُ لِلَّذِي يَسْكُنُ فِي طُلَيْطَلَةَ طُلَيْطَلِي وَإِنْ كَانَ كَثِيرًا يُقَالُ لَهُمْ طُلَيْطَلِينَ * وَأَمَّا [15] يَقِينُونَ أَنَّ فِي طُلَيْطَلَةَ يَسْكُنُونَ فِيهَا يَهُودٌ وَنَصَارَى وَمُسْلِمُونَ بَابُ آخَرَ [16] فِي الْقُدْرَةِ مَا أَصَابَكَ مِنْ حَسَنَةِ فَنَ اللَّهُ وَمَا أَصَابَكَ مِنْ سَيِّئَةٍ فَمَنْ نَفْسِكَ * يَقُولُ أَهْلُ قَرِيشٍ لِنَبِيِّ عَلَيْهِ [17] السَّلَامُ * يَنْبَغِي أَنْ يَكُونَ الْآهِنُ الْآهَ قَدْرَ الْخَيْرِ وَالْآهَ قَدْرَ الشَّرِّ * قَالَ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ قُلْ كُلُّ [18] مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ فَالْهُوَ هُوَ الْقَوْمُ لَا يَكَادُونَ يَفْقَهُونَ حَدِيثًا } مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ لِأَنَّ اللَّهَ سُبْحَانَهُ خَلَقَ [19] الْيَدَ مِنَ الْإِنْسَانِ وَفِي الْيَدِ خَيْرٌ وَشَرٌّ وَأَمَّا أَرَادَ اللَّهُ أَنْ يَعْمَلَ الْإِنْسَانُ بِيَدِهِ الْخَيْرَ وَيَجْتَنِبَ عَنِ الشَّرِّ [20] وَيَنْبَغِي لِلْإِنْسَانِ أَنْ يَفْهَمَ أَنَّ الذَّنْبَ الَّتِي عَمِلَ ابْنُ آدَمَ لَيْسَ يَرِيدُ اللَّهُ ذَلِكَ إِذَا جَاوَزَ الْإِنْسَانُ أَوْامِرَ [21] الشَّرِيعَةِ أَوْ وَاحِدَةً مِنْهَا وَالْآهَ كَانَ هَذَا كَذَلِكَ أَكْثَرَ أَرْسَلَ الرَّبُّ تِلْكَ الشَّرِيعَةَ إِلَى النَّاسِ مِثْلَهُ [22] كَمَا أَرْسَلَهَا إِلَى الْحِجَارَةِ * قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى فِي كِتَابِهِ الْعَزِيزِ وَمَا ظَلَمَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَلَكِنْ كَانُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ | يَظْلِمُونَ * وَتَفْسِيرُ هَذِهِ الْآيَةِ إِشَارَةٌ f. 42^r

Alif [تعالى] 22 للأنسان [للإنسان] 20 يهود [يهودًا] 13 Alif maqṣūrā is not visible. [والتصارة] 11 of elongation is connected to lām.

9 Miṣr, see Egypt. [مصر] 9 ḡūdā, most likely Judaea. [جودًا] 12 Ṭulayṭūla, see Toledo. [طليطلة] 13

14 Ṭulayṭūlin, i.e., Toledans. [طليطليين] 14 Ṭulayṭūlī, i.e., Toledan. [طليطلي] 14

a Cf. Gen. 20, particularly 2 and 12.

لِلذُّنُوبِ الَّتِي أُكْتَسَبَهَا ابْنُ آدَمَ هِيَ بِسَبَبِ ابْنِ آدَمَ لَا بِسَبَبِ الْبَارِي [2] عَزَّ وَجَلَّ ○ وَأُخْرَى إِلَى قَضَائِهِ وَقَدَرَهُ {مَنْ يَهْدِ اللَّهُ فَهُوَ الْمُهْتَدِي} ^a وَآيَةٌ أُخْرَى {وَلَوْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ لَجَمَعَهُمْ عَلَى الْهُدَى} ^b [3] بَابُ فِي تَفْسِيرِ النَّبِيِّ قَالَ أَبُو الْوَلِيدِ بْنُ رُشْدٍ فِي الْمَنْطِقِ نَبِيٌّ يَعْنِي الْمُنْخَبِرُ عَنِ الْأَشْيَاءِ [4] الَّتِي كَانَتْ حُوزَةً أَقْوَى الْأَرْوَاحِ وَقَالَ أَجُودٌ أَنْ يَتَّبِعَ لِلنَّبِيِّ الَّذِي يُنْخَبِرُ عَنْ حِرْزِ الْأَرْوَاحِ كَانَتْ إِلَى [5] النَّبِيِّ الَّذِي يَظْهَرُ مُعْجَزَاتٍ بِأَنَّ أَصْلَ أَشْيَاءٍ كُلِّهَا الْمُعِينَةُ إِلَى الْحَقِّ فَإِنْ كَانَ النَّبِيُّ الَّذِي يَعْمَلُ الْمُعْجَزَاتِ [6] الْبَرَانِيَّاتِ لَيْسَ يَأْمُرُ النَّاسَ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ إِلَّا تَنَازَعَةً قَبْلَهَا فَلَيْسَ هُوَ نَبِيٌّ مِنْ حَقِّ ○ وَإِنَّمَا النَّبِيُّ الَّذِي [7] يَقُولُ الْكَلِمَاتِ وَتَكُونُ الْكَلِمَاتُ أَوْامِرَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى لِتَحْرِزِ الْأَرْوَاحِ وَيَرَاهَا النَّاسُ بِالْعِيَانِ إِنَّمَا حَقٌّ * وَإِنَّمَا [8] الْمُعْجَزَاتِ الْبَرَانِيَّاتِ لَيْسَ يَعْمَلُونَ النَّاسَ كَيْفَ تَكُونُ أَوْ فِي وَجْهِ يَأْتِيهِ ○ وَلَيْسَ لَا مُقَيِّسَ الْحَقِّ بَغَايِبِ [9] كَالْحَاضِرِ ○ وَبِذَلِكَ قَالَ أَرَسْطُو فِي فِلَسْفَةِ مَنْ أَلْحَقَ أَنْ يَقَيِّسَ الْغَائِبَ بِالْحَاضِرِ ○ قَالَ عَيْسَى [10] بْنُ مَرْيَمَ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ {لَيْسَ تُؤْمِنُ الَّتِي أَقُولُ لَكُمْ} ^c فَلَمْ لَمْ يَقُولِ أَلَيْسَ تُؤْمِنُ بِالْمُعْجَزَاتِ لِأَنَّ غَرَضَهُ أَنَّ [11] الْقَوْلَ الْحَاضِرَةَ الْمُتَعِينِ حَقًّا خَيْرٌ مِنَ الْمُعْجَزَاتِ الْبَرَانِيَّاتِ لِأَنَّ فِي الْبَرَانِيَّةِ يَدْخُلُ فِيهَا رَيْبٌ عَظِيمَةٌ ○ وَقَالَ [12] أَيْضًا أَبُو الْوَلِيدِ بْنُ رُشْدٍ فِي الْمَنْطِقِ أَنَّ الطَّبِيبَ الْبَاهِرَ الْكَامِلَ يَدْوَا النَّاسَ بِكَلِمَةٍ أَوْ بِحُرُوفٍ وَيَشْفِي [13] الْعَلِيلَ الَّذِي يَدْوَا الطَّبِيبَ * وَيَشْفِي أَيْضًا الْعَلِيلَ الَّذِي يَدْوَا الرَّجُلَ بِحُرُوفٍ أَوْ بِكَلِمَةٍ أَيَّهَا أَحْسَنُ [14] فِي الْعَمَلِ الْأَصْلِيَّةِ الَّذِي يَشْفِي لِلنَّاسِ بِكَلِمَاتٍ بَرَانِيَّةٍ أَوْ الطَّبِيبِ

4 أقوى [أقوى] 6 البرانيات [البرانيات] 7 الكلمات [الكلمات] *mām* has been partially erased because of damage to the paper. *Alif* of elongation with a finer *qalam*. *Alif* of elongation is connected to *lām*. 8 البرانية [البرانية] البرانيات [البرانيات] يأتيه [يأتيه] البرانيات [البرانيات] 11 البرانية [البرانية] البرانيات [البرانيات] 12 الناس [الناس] Here, we find an indication of an addition in the margin which is written by the same hand using the same *qalam*. Unfortunately, the margin has been cut (probably as a result of the current binding). It begins with: ... بحكمته و [بكلمت] *Alif* of elongation written with a finer *qalam*. 13 بكلمت [بكلمت] *Alif* of elongation with a thicker *qalam*.

3 النبي [النبي] *tafsir an-nabi*, i.e. interpretation of the Prophet.

a Q. 7:178.

b Q. 6:35.

c Cf. Luke 22:67.

الذي يَشْفَى النَّاسَ بِتِلْكَ الْأَدْوِيَةِ [15] الْمُتَعِينُ لِأَنَّ الْمُتَعِينَ هِيَ الْأَصْلُ ٥ وَالْبَرَّانِيَّةُ هِيَ عَمَلٌ يَدْخُلُ فِيهِ الْاِرْتِيَابُ وَالتَّشْكِيكُ * فِي [16] النَّبِيِّ مِثْلُ مُوسَى قَالَ اللَّهُ فِي التَّوْرَةِ {أَنْبِيَّ أَقِيمُ لِنَبِيِّ إِسْرَائِيلَ نَبِيٌّ مِنْ بَعْضِ إِخْوَاتِهِ كَمِثْلِكَ} ^a ٥ وَزَعَمَ [17] الْيَهُودُ أَنَّهُ مِنْ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ * قُلْ لَهُمْ أَنْ كَانَ مِنْ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ لَمْ يَقُولْ فِي التَّوْرَةِ {وَلَمْ يَقُمْ فِي بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ [18] نَبِيٌّ كَمُوسَى} ^b وَيَقُومُ بِفَهْمٍ لِمُعِينٍ فِي الْحَاضِرِ وَالْمُسْتَقْبَلِ أَيْضًا مِنَ الْإِنْجِيلِ حَيْثُ قَالَ عَيْسَى بْنُ مَرْيَمَ [19] {بَارَقْلَيْطُ اخْرُجْ كُمْ بَعْدِي} ^c قُلْ لَهُمْ ذَلِكَ الْبَرَقْلَيْطُ هُوَ مُحَمَّدٌ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ ٥ وَإِنْ زَعَمَ النَّصَارَى أَنَّ الْبَرَقْلَيْطَ [20] لَيْسَ بِفَهْمٍ بِرَجُلٍ إِلَّا بِرُوحٍ ٥ قُلْ لَهُمْ هُوَ الْقُرْآنُ الَّذِي أَنْزَلَ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ ٥ وَقَدْ قَالَ اللَّهُ [21] فِي كِتَابِهِ الْعَزِيزِ * {وَكَذَلِكَ أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ رُوحًا مِنْ أَمْرِنَا مَا كُنْتَ تَدْرِي مَا الْكُتُبُ وَلَا الْإِيمَانُ [22] وَلَا كُنْ جَعَلْنَاهُ نُورًا نَهْدِي بِهِ مِنَ النَّشَاءِ مَنْ عِبَادَنَا} ^d * أَيْضًا مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ فِي الْبَرَكَةِ الَّتِي بَارَكَ بِهَا يَعْقُوبُ | عَلَى أَوْلَادِهِ لِكُلِّ أَحَدٍ مِنْهُمْ عَلَى قَدْرِ اسْتِحْقَاقِهِ ٥ وَقَالَ لِيَهُودَ الْإِيذِيمُ قَضِيبٌ مِنْ سَبْطِ يَهُوذَا وَالرَّاسِمُ [2] تَحْتَ يَدِهِ حَتَّى يَأْتِيَ الَّذِي لَهُ زَعَمَ النَّصْرَى فِي ذَلِكَ أَنَّ الَّذِي يُعِدُّ قَضِيبٌ مِنْ سَبْطِ يَهُوذَا وَالرَّاسِمُ [3] تَحْتَ يَدِهِ هُوَ الْمَسِيحُ عَيْسَى بْنُ مَرْيَمَ ٥ قُلْ لَهُمْ فِي ذَلِكَ أَوَّلُ جَاءِ الَّذِي يِعْدِمُ لَيْسَ أَنْ يِعْدِمَ وَيَعْدِمُ [4] وَلَا يَجِي الَّذِي تَزْعُمُونَ أَنْتُمْ بَابِ فِي الْجَنَّةِ الَّتِي يَسْكُنُ آدَمُ وَزَوْجُهُ حَوَى * زَعَمُوا [5] عُلَمَاءُ الْمُسْلِمُونَ فِي تَفْسِيرِ الْآيَةِ

التَّشْكِيكُ [والتَّشْكِيكُ] Also written with *kasra*. [الارتيابُ المتعينة] المتعينة 15 لأدوية الأذوية 14
 [النبي] The word is very blurred. 21 [كآبه] *kāf* is written again on top, as a means of clarification.
 [يعقوب] This word is very blurred. 22 *Alif* of elongation comes out *lām* and is connected to it. [ولاكن] 22
 [ويعدم] This word is very blurred. 3 [حوا] 4

19 [بَارَقْلَيْطُ] *parqalit*, i.e., the Paraclete.

a Cf. Deut. 18:18.

b Cf. Deut. 34:10.

c Cf. John 14:16.

d Q. 42:52.

e Cf. Gen. 49:10.

{اهبطوا بعضكم لبعض عدو ولكم في الارض مستقر ومتاع الى حين} ^a [6] أَنَّ ذَلِكَ الْهَبُوطَ يَفْهَمُ أَنَّ
 ءَادَمَ وَزَوْجَهُ حَوَى هَبَطَا مِنَ السَّمَاءِ وَالْجَنَّةِ الَّتِي يَسْكُنُ آدَمُ وَزَوْجُهُ حَوَى هِيَ [7] فِي السَّمَاءِ * فَهَذَا
 مَا لَا يَفْهَمُونَ الْعُلَمَاءُ تَفْسِيرَ الْآيَةِ وَقَدْ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى فِي كِتَابِهِ الْعَزِيزِ فِي سُورَةِ الْبَقَرَةِ [8] {اهبطوا
 مَصْرَفًا لَكُمْ مَا سَأَلْتُمْ} ^b وَتَفْسِيرَ اِهْبَطُوا مَعْنَاهُ اِهْبَطُوا مِنْ عَزِيٍّ إِلَى ذَلِ * مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ أَنَّ رَجُلًا [9]
 إِذَا كَانَ فِي عَافِيَةٍ وَخَيْرٍ وَعِنَا وَيَرْجِعُ إِلَى فَقْرٍ وَحَاجَّةٍ * قَالَ جَمِيعُ النَّاسِ فَلَانْ هَبَطَ جَدًّا وَتَجْرِي {...]
 [10] ذَلِكَ أَنَّ الْجَنَّةَ الَّتِي يَسْكُنُ ءَادَمُ وَزَوْجَهُ حَوَى هِيَ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَذَلِكَ قَوْلُ اللَّهِ فِي كِتَابِهِ الْعَزِيزِ
 حَيْثُ يَقُولُ [11] {وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلَكِ إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً} ^c ○ وَالْجَنَّةُ الَّتِي وَعَدَ اللَّهُ
 الْمُؤْمِنِينَ [ن] [12] وَالْمُؤْمِنَاتِ أَوْسَعُ وَأَكْبَرُ مِنَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ فَإِذَا كَانَ الْجَنَّةُ أَوْسَعُ وَأَكْبَرُ مِنَ
 السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ [13] لَيْسَ تَقْدَرُ هِيَ كِبَارًا فِي مَوْضِعٍ أَصْغَرُ هِيَ وَتَجْرِبُ ذَلِكَ مَا قَالَ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ
 فِي كِتَابِهِ الْعَزِيزِ {...] [14] ضَعِينِ {سَارِعُوا إِلَى مَغْفِرَةٍ مِنْ رَبِّكُمْ وَجَنَّةٍ عَرْضُهَا السَّمَوَاتُ وَالْأَرْضُ} ^d
 ○ أَيضًا فِي آيَةٍ أُخْرَى {جَنَّةٍ عَرْضُهَا السَّمَوَاتُ وَالْأَرْضُ} ^e ○ وَتِلْكَ الْآيَةُ أَعْلَمَ الرَّبُّ
 سُبْحَانَهُ إِلَى النَّاسِ * أَنَّ الْجَنَّةَ أَكْبَرُ مِنَ السَّمَوَاتِ [16] فَإِذَا كَانَتْ الْجَنَّةُ أَكْبَرُ مِنَ السَّمَوَاتِ يَفْهَمُ أَنَّ
 بَعْدَ السَّمَوَاتِ كَانَ خَالِيًا كَثِيرًا وَبِذَلِكَ قَالَ أَرْسَطُوًّا [17] إِنَّ الْعُلَمَاءَ الْهَنْدَسَةَ أَدْرَكُوا بِالْبُرْهَانِ يَقِينٌ
 * أَنَّ فِي أَطْرَافِ السَّمَاءِ فِيهَا خَالِيَةٌ كَثِيرًا * بِسَبَبِ [18] أَنَّ الدَّوْرَةَ السَّمَاءِ مَتَحَرِّكَةٌ وَأَنَّ الدَّوْرَةَ لَيْسَ

5 [خين] The line is cut and *nūn* reads as *rāʾ*. 6 [وزوجه] Here, we find an indication of an addition which is written in the margin by the same hand using the same *qalam*. Unfortunately, the margin has been cut (probably as a result of the current binding). *Alif* [تعالى] 7 حوا [حوى] of elongation comes out *lām* and is connected to it. 10 حوا [حوى] 12 [المؤمنين] والمؤمنات 13 [ذلك] *kāf* is written again on top, as a means of clarification. 15 [الجنة] This word is very blurred.

13 [جَارٌ] *cabar*, i.e. to fit.

a Q. 2:36.

b Q. 2:61.

c Q. 2:30.

d Q. 3:133.

e Q. 57:21.

هي تُقدِرُ التحركَ الا في خالية ٥ مثال ذلك في دَوْرَةَ [19] تابوت من الصَّقِيلِ الَّذِي تَجَالَى الدُّرُوعِ
 ينبغي ان يَكُونَ الاطْرَافِ مِنْ تَابُوتٍ خَالِيَةٍ لِكَيْ يَدُورَ التَّابُوتُ [20] والا لَيْسَ يَقْدِرُ التَّابُوتُ التَّحْرُكُ
 الا كان لها خَالِيَةٌ كَذَلِكَ دَوْرَةَ السَّمَاءِ يَنْبَغِي لَهَا خَالِيَةٌ لِكَيْ يَقْدِرَ [21] هي التحركُ ٥ وقال اللهُ تَعَالَى
 {لا تَفْتَحْ لَهُمُ أَبْوابَ السَّمَاءِ ولا يَدْخُلُونَ الْجَنَّةَ حَتَّى يَلِجَ الْجَمَلُ فِي سَمِّ الْخِيَاطِ} ^a [22] قال ارسطو
 المطر يتولد في السحاب ولا يقع من السماء وان كان المطر يهبط من السماء متى يهبط إلى الارض f. 43^r
 * وَقَدْ نَرَاهَا بَعِيَانٌ أَنْ لَيْسَ يَمْطُرُ فِي الْاَرْضِ الا مَوْضِعَ السَّحَابِ فَقَطُّ وَالْعُلَمَاءُ الْمُسْلِمُونَ [2] يَفْهَمُونَ
 أَنَّ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ الْحَقِيقَةِ يَنْزِلُ مِنَ الْمَطَرِ بَدَلًا لِالَايَةِ * {وَنَزَّلْنَا مِنَ السَّمَاءِ مَاءً طَهُورًا} ^b * وتفسير [3]
 الَايَةِ لا يَفْهَمُونَ الْعُلَمَاءُ مَعْنَاهُ نَزَّلْنَا مِنَ السَّمَاءِ أَيَّ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ السَّحَابِ مِثْلَ ذَلِكَ * انَّ النَّاسَ [4]
 يَسْمُونَ سَمَاءَ السَّقْفِ الدَّارِ وَكُلِّ شَيْءٍ كَانَ فَوْقِيَّةً يَسْمُونَهُ سَمَاءً وَقَالَ ائِسْطَا [5] فِي كِتَابِ اءِثَارِ
 الْعُلُويَّةِ * الرَّعْدُ يَتَوْلَدُ مِنْ بُخَارِ الْاَرْضِ يَعْنِي بَفْشٍ حِينَ ارَادَ يَتَغَيَّرُ الزَّمَانُ [6] وَذَلِكَ الْبُخَارُ يَحْتَرِقُ مِنْ
 السَّحَابِ وَسَمِعَ النَّاسُ الصَّوْتِ وَهُوَ الرَّعْدُ وَيَخْرُجُ مِنَ الْبُخَارِ مِثْلَ النَّارِ [7] وَهِيَ الْبَرْقُ وَالرَّعْدُ قَبْلَ
 الْبَرْقِ لِأَنَّ الْبَرْقَ يَظْهَرُ قَبْلَ صَوْتِ الرَّعْدِ لِأَنَّ صَوْتِ الرَّعْدِ يَحْجِي مِنْ بَعِيدٍ [8] مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ الْحَدَادُ أَنَّ
 الْحَدَادَ إِذَا يَضَعُ شَيْئًا ظَهَرَ ضَوْءُ النَّارِ قَبْلَ أَصْوَاتِ الْمَطْرِقَةِ ٥ أَيضًا أَنَّ النُّجُومَ [9] الَّتِي ظَهَرَتْ بِذَنْبِ
 النَّارِ يَجْرِي هِيَ بُخَارٌ يَتَوْلَدُ مِنَ الْاَرْضِ فِي السَّمَاءِ مِثْلَ نَارٍ وَيَظُنُّ النَّاسُ أَنَّ تِلْكَ النُّجُومَ [10] يَجْرِي
 وَلَيْسَ هِيَ يَجْرِي ٥ مِثْلَ ذَلِكَ اِلَى النَّارِ إِذَا احْتَرَقَ النَّارُ شَيْءٌ مِنَ التَّنِّينِ مَبْدَأُ بَطْرِفٍ وَيَصِلُ [11]
 اِلَى طَرَفِ التَّنِّينِ وَيَظْهَرُ لِلنَّاسِ انَّ ذَلِكَ النَّارُ تَجْرِي وَتِلْكَ النَّارُ لَمْ تَجْرِي * وَإِنَّمَا احْتَرَقَ هِيَ فِي شَيْءٍ

Alif [مثال 8 ماء ماء] 2 Alif of elongation comes out lam and is connected to it. 19 of elongation is written above, unconnected. ذلك kaf is written again on top, as a means of clarification. 9 بدنب [بذنب] 10 مبدأ] This word is unclear.

5 بafus, (Cat.) bafus, (Cast.) vahos i.e. vapours. [بفش]

a Q. 7:40.

b Q. 25:48.

[12] التي وقع فيها ولم تجرِ وتكون صامتة في موضع الصامت يعني كاده قال أرسطو في فلاسفة
 [13] ستة اشياء خلق الله بأن يتكلم بها الدنيا ولم يكن عمارة في هذه الدنيا دون هذه الاشياء الستة
 [14] او يعدم منها واحدة وهي دوار السماويه مثل الشمس والقمر والرجل والعناصر* الريح والماء
 والنار [15] والتراب وبذلك قال الهندسي الشيء الذي كان كاملة اذا لم ينقص منها شيء وبذلك
 قال الفلاسفة [16] جميع الاشياء التي خلق الرب هي كاملة ومتى يكون الشيء كامله اذا لم يكن
 ان يصنع بوجه اخرى [17] ان تكون تن كاملة كما كان باب في التنازع النصرى واليهود [18] في
 الذي زعموا ان البلية الرزية التي اعرض للانسن هي من قبل ذنوبه الدنيا [19] قل لهم انا نرى عيانا
 حقا يقين ان انسانا صالحا اعرضه بلية ورزية وقتله سوء وءآخر [20] لطيف واصابه خيرا ومات في
 عافية وخير* وان العلماء من المسلمون يقولون ان انسانا صالحا [21] اعطاه الله في الدنيا بلية ورزية
 وموتة سوء واعطاه الله في الآخرة الجنة ○ ورجلا آخر [22] يعمل سوء في الدنيا واعطاه الله في
 الدنيا خيرا كثيرا وفي الآخرة النار ○ ونجرب ذلك ان العلماء المذكرون لم يفهموا ذلك وانما اذا نرى
 عيانا حقا يقين ان بعض الرجال الذين عملوا [2] عملا صالحا في الدنيا لم اعطاهم الله الرزية ولا بلية
 ولا قتل سوء في الدنيا ○ ايضا بعض الرجال [3] الصالحين من الذين عملوا عملا صالحا في الدنيا
 اعطاهم الله الرزية وبلية وقتل سوء في الدنيا ايضا [4] طائفة من الذين عملوا عملا صالحا في الدنيا
 اعطاهم الله في الدنيا الرزية وبلية واعتراض سوء وقتل [5] سوء وطائفة اخرى منهم اعطاهم
 الله في الدنيا خيرا كثيرا وهم يعملون سوء وماتوا في عافية [6] ويتبع هذا لان جميع هذه الاشياء
 لم يدركه العقول من الناس وهي عند الله في علم الغيب ويحي تلك [7] الاشياء الى الناس في هذه
 الدنيا كما قدر الله سبحانه ولا يحيى بذنوبهم ولا يعلم الغيب الا الله [8] سبحانه مثل ذلك قال داود

f. 43^v

12 [فلاسفة] *Alif* of elongation is written above using the same *qalam*, unconnected. Here, in truth, before *lām*. 13 [هذه] *Alif* of elongation is written above using the same *qalam*, unconnected. Here, in truth, before *lām*. 16 [الاشياء] 17 [التنازع] 21 [الآخرة] 22 [الآخرة] *kāf* is written above once again as a means of clarification.

12 [كاده] *quedo*, (Cast.) *quedo*, *quieto*, i.e. still. 17 [تن] *tan*, i.e. so.

في الزبور {الى متى يا رب تصلح طرأيق الصلحين} ^a وان الناس اذا [9] ولدون من بطون أمهتهم لا يعلمون شيئاً من الباطن الا ظاهر فاذا وقع على شي بقي عليه حقاً [10] كان أم باطلاً ⊙ مثال ذلك أن الانسن لم يعلم شيئاً الا الذي يسمع لأن الاصم [11] بأبي وجهه هو لا يكلم بأنه لا يسمع ⊙ أيضاً مثل الاشياء البرنات والاشياء الحاضرة مثل العمى [12] الذي ولد معمي * اذا قال له هذا الشيء هي صفرًا أو اسودًا أو بيضًا تنت شالاد له الواحدة كما الأخرى [13] لأنه لم اراها بالعين لأن اصل الاشياء الحقيقه المعينه الحاضرة بأبي وجه اشتار منه الانسن الابيض [14] من الاسود الا أنه يراه بالعين ويصدقفه ⊙ قال ارسطوا أهل الضعفاء العقل يظنون ان الذين أدركوا [15] من العلم ما لا يعلمونهم ولا يدركونها ان ذلك هي باطل ⊙ مثال ذلك مثل الحفاش أو طيور [16] الليل يظنون ان النهار كان الظلام بأنهم لم يبصروا ضوء النهار وتحكمونها بظلام وبذلك قال [17] ارسطوا في فلسفته انسانا عالمًا يدري في كل الاشياء من الدنيا وله حس في كل شي حتى [18] الفلسفة العالم الصغير وبهذا المعنى * قال الرب في تورية {نصنع انسانا على مثالنا} ^b وشبهنا [19] لأن الله خلق آدم وسلطه على جميع الاشياء الدنيا ويعلمه جميع الاشياء قال في كسوف [20] الشمس والقمر لأن الشمس اذا كسفت هي في الاجتماع القمر وقط لا تكسف الشمس الا في الا [21] اجتماع وبسبب ذلك اذا وقف القمر قدام الشمس للرؤية الناس وقد ما غطى القمر للشمس [22] ان كان عطاها ثلثها او نصفها او ثلثها هي التي ظهرت الى الناس ⊙ والقمر ايضا كسف بسبب ان الارض وقفت قدام القمر وقد مر ما غطى الارض للقمر هي التي ظهرت الى الناس ان كان غطته [2] ثلثه أو نصفه أو ثلثه ⊙ وزعم النصارى في ذلك أن الكسوفات هي بسبب موت سلطان أو شبه [3] ذلك وهم لا يفهمون

9 *kāf* is written again on top, as a means of clarification. [كسوف] 19 الليلى [الليل] 16 لآخرى [الأخرى] 12 بقا [بقي] 9 الاجتماع [اجتماع] 21

12 [شالاد] tanta (tanto) se le da, i.e. he does not care if it is (the one). [الأخرى] come al-uhṛā, (Cast.) como, i.e. as the other. 13 [اشتار] estar, i.e. to be. 2 [أوشبه] Awšab, see Eusebius of Caesarea (263–339).

a Cf. Psalm. 94:3. It is, however, unclear to which Psalm the author is referring to.

b Cf. Gen. 1:26.

فيه شيءٌ وتجريب ذلك بطبيعة حقيقة أن ليس يكون في الدنيا خلقاً لا يدري [4] الكسوفات في الشمس والقمر قال في روية الهلال الجديد إذا ظهر في الجهات إن ظهر [5] لجهة الجنوب وهي اليمن يجي إليه شعاع الشمس من تحته وظهر موطن * وان ظهر لجهة [6] الشمال يجي له الشعاع من فوقه ويظهر القمر لأطراف عالي قال الارض في السماء كمثل [7] صفر البيضة في البيضة قال في تفسير هذه الايات {ربُّ المشرق والمغرب} ^a وهذا إشارة [8] على العموم في الصيف والشتاء ☉ والأخرى ربُّ المشرقين وربُّ المغربين وهذه اشارة أن في [9] الصيف مشرقاً وفي الشتاء مشرقاً ☉ ومغرباً في الصيف ومغرباً في الشتاء ☉ وقال ايضاً {رب المشارق [10] والمغرب} ^b وهذه اشارة أن الشمس كل يوم يطلع في كرة ويغرب في كرة تمت والحمد لله قال [11] زعم النصري في مقاتلهم ان المسلمين وجدوا في كتبهم أن اهل الجنة يأكلون ويشربون * قل لهم [12] نعم وأنتم ايضاً وجدوا في الانجيل على قول يسوع انه قال لتلاميذه الخميس متاع العشاء {اشربوا [13] من هذا الكاس اني اقول لكم اني ليس تشرب من شيء يخرج من نسل الزرجون حتى اشربها في مايدة [14] ابي السماوي} ^c قال أبو الوليد بن رشد في المنطق إن كان في الجنة ليس فيها الا الأكل [15] والشراب والجماع فالقط والكلب يدركانه في الدنيا وأما في الجنة أكثر من ذلك كله وأما [16] قال أبو الوليد بن رشد هذا لأن في الجنة يوجد فيها أكثر من ذلك كلها لا لضد نص التنزيل [17] والأكل والشراب التي نص في التنزيل ليس هي من طعام الدنيا ولا شرابها * بل هي اشياء [18] سماوية قال ارسطو في فلسفته ليس وراء هذه الدنيا اخرى وهذا ضد كتب المنزلة [19] باب في مقالات ارسطو وأبو الوليد بن رشد * قال [20] ارسطو من الحق أن يقين الغائب بالحاضر وقال ايضاً ان يجعل بسبب ما لا يكون بسبب [21] قال ارسطو ينقسم جميع السنة الناس في وجهين لسان الحال * ولسان المقال [22] ولسان الحال هي

لاكل [والأكل 17 للخرى [والأخرى 8 موطن] موطن] 5

a Q. 73:9.

b Q. 73:9.

c Cf. Matt. 26:27, 29.

f. 44^v إِذَا كَانَ الْحَايِطُ مَائِلٌ مَعَارٌ لَيْسَ يَقْدِرُ يَتَكَلَّمُ يَنْفَهُمُ إِلَى النَّاسِ أَنْ يَحْرُزُوا مِنْهَا | وَلِسَانَ الْمَقَالِ هِيَ إِذَا
 قَالَ إِنْسَانٌ إِلَى إِنْسَانٍ أَحْرَزَ مِنْ كَذَا وَكَذَا قَالَ أَبُو الْوَلِيدِ بْنُ رِشْدٍ لَيْسَ [2] الْأَعْدِيَّةُ السَّمَاوِيَّةُ خَيْرًا
 لِلْجَمِيعِ يَعْنِي كُنَّ قَالَ الْمُنْطِقِيُّ أَنَّ السَّمَاءَ مَبْنِيٌّ قَبْلَ الْأَرْضِ أَنَّ الدَّوَارَ [3] السَّمَاوِيَّةُ هِيَ مَحْتَاجَةٌ إِلَى
 الْأَرْضِ * وَلَيْسَ هِيَ مَعْمُورَةٌ فِي الدُّنْيَا دُونَهَا وَأَنَّ الدَّوَارَ السَّمَاوِيَّةَ يَقْدِرُ يَكُونُ [4] دُونَ الْأَرْضِ ◯
 مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ لَيْسَ يَقْدِرُ يَكُونُ الْحَايِطُ دُونَ الْإِسَاسِ * وَالْإِسَاسُ يَقْدِرُ يَكُونُ دُونَ الْحَايِطِ [5] وَإِذَا
 كَانَتِ الْأَرْضُ لَيْسَ يَقْدِرُ هِيَ تَكُونُ دُونَ السَّمَاءِ يَتَّبِعُ بِذَلِكَ الْبُرْهَانَ حَقًّا أَنَّ السَّمَاءَ قَبْلَ الْأَرْضِ
 [6] وَأَمَّا فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ الْعَزِيزِ حَيْثُ يَقُولُ {لَتَكْفُرُونَ بِالَّذِي خَلَقَ الْأَرْضَ فِي يَوْمَيْنِ} ^a * ثُمَّ قَالَ الْقُدَامُ
 فِي هَذِهِ [7] الْآيَةِ {ثُمَّ اسْتَوَى إِلَى السَّمَاءِ} ^b وَيَشْبَهُ بِهَذِهِ الْآيَةِ أَنَّ الْأَرْضَ قَبْلَ السَّمَاءِ لِأَنَّ ثَمَّ بَيْنَهُ
 كَمَا قَالَ فِي كِتَابِ [8] الْجُمَلِ مِنَ النَّحْوِ فِي بَابِ الْعَطْفِ وَأَمَّا يَقْسَمُ الْعِلْمُ بِوَجْهَيْنِ عِلْمَ التَّعْلِيمِ بِالْبُرْهَانِ
 * [9] وَالْآخَرُ أَنْ يَقْبِضَهُ الْإِنْسَانُ كَمَا يَقُولُ لَهُ وَهِيَ الشَّرِيعَةُ قَالَ أَيْضًا أَبُو الْوَلِيدِ بْنُ رِشْدٍ فِي تَفْسِيرِ
 [10] هَذِهِ الْآيَةِ * {الَّذِي جَعَلَ لَكُمْ مِنَ الشَّجَرِ الْأَخْضَرِ نَارًا فَإِذَا أَنْتُمْ مِنْهُ تُوقَدُونَ} ^c * مِثَالُ شَجَرَةِ
 الْأَخْضَرِ [11] كَمِثْلِ صَبِيٍّ لِأَنَّ الصَّبِيَّ فِي طَبِيعَتِهِ رَطْبٌ وَحَرٌّ ◯ وَالشَّجَرَةُ أَيْضًا رَطْبٌ إِذَا أَوْقَدَ فِيهِ
 نَارٌ رَجَعَ [12] حَرٌّ ◯ وَالشَّيْخُ مِثْلُ شَجَرَةٍ يَأْسَةُ طَبِيعَتُهُ بَارِدٌ وَيَأْسُ لِكَيْ يَنْبَغِي لَهُ التَّثْبِيتُ وَعَدَمُ قَالَ
 [13] الْمُنْطِقِيُّ الْعِلْمُ فِي النَّاسِ يَنْقَسِمُ فِي وَجْهَيْنِ عِلْمُ التَّعْلِيمِ * وَعِلْمُ بِالتَّقْلِيدِ يُسَمَّعُهُ الْإِنْسَانُ [14] مِنْ عَالِمٍ
 ◯ وَلِذَلِكَ قَالَ النَّبِيُّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ مِنْ أَكْرَمِ عَالِمًا فَكَأَنَّمَا أَكْرَمَ سَبْعِينَ نَبَأًا [15] فَضَلَ الْعَالِمَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ
 بِاجْتِهَادِهِ وَدِرَاسَتِهِ فِي الْعِلْمِ قَالَ الْوَحْيِيُّ فِي نَوْعَيْنِ وَحْيٍ جَعَلَ [16] اللَّهُ فِي قُلُوبِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَوَحْيٌ وَأَسِطٌ

qāf يَقْدِرُ معمورة [معمورة] With a scribble underneath *hā*. لاَعْدِيَّةُ [الأعدية] 2 partly broken. 3 محتاجة 4 ذون [دون] 7 بِنَهْلِهِ [بِنَهْلِهِ] It is possible that the copyist made a mistake here and we should read instead: بِنَاءٍ لَهُ 12 التَّثْبِيتُ [التثبیت] *lām* is partly broken. 15 [على] With a scribble underneath *hā*.

22 مَعَارٌ [maguer, i.e. even (if)]. 2 كُنُّنُ [comun, común, i.e., common, to all].

a Q. 41:9.

b Q. 41:11.

c Q. 36:80.

العقل وهي التعلم هي للناس والبهائم * ونجرب ذلك [17] ما قال الله في كتابه العزيز: {وَأَوْحَىٰ رَبُّكَ إِلَى النَّحْلِ} * أيضاً في آية أخرى {ربنا الذي أعطى كل [18] شيء خلقه ثم هدى} * b {معناه خلق الله الحيوان والبهائم ○ والمهمم الله كيف تصنع ○ [19] قال أرسل فيلسوف من الفلاسفة إلى أرسططاليس كتاباً أن يشرح له هذه المسئلة ○ أنه [20] قال ترانا أن السموات ليس هي معمولة بيد حمية أكثر أردنا أن نعلم كيف هي معمولة ○ [21] فأجابهُ أرسطوا أن الذي يقدرُ جميعاً * وأريدُ جميعاً * ويعلمُ جميعاً يقدرُ يعملُ كما أريدُهُ ○ اعلم [22] أن في ذات الله الباري عز وجل ليس يتفرق القدرة من الإرادة والعلم وحيث كانت القدرة | هي فيها الإرادة والعلم وهو شيء واحد ○ فاعلم أن f. 45^r إرادة الباري عز وجل وقدرته وعلمه يعجز [2] ذائن شايار أبداً * وإرادة الانسن وقدرته وعلمه يعجز ذائن شايار وذلك نراه عياناً ان الانسن [3] لا يعلم جميعاً ولا يقدرُ جميعاً ولا أريدُ جميعاً وما هي عنده هذه الاشياء الثلاثة الامعادن يعني ما طلاش [4] ومن لا يقدرُ جميعاً ولا أريدُ جميعاً ولا يعلمُ جميعاً لم يكن علمه الا ناقص * والباري عز وجل يقدرُ جميعاً [5] ويعلمُ جميعاً وأريدُ جميعاً وبذلك عمله كامل قال أبو الوليد بن رشد في المنطق ليس [6] من شهد بالغايب مثل من شهد بالحاضر ○ مثال ذلك أن الانسن اذ ارى شيئاً بعينه مثل جسد [7] سارية أو جسد حايط ويظن كذلك الشيء الغايب مثل المليكة والاشياء السماوية والذي يظن [8] أن المليكة أجساداً مثل جسد سارية أو الحايط كان ظنه مكذوب باطل قال أرسطوا [9] ليس القايل يقدرُ يثبتُ حقاً بعالم كاشايه ولا يزولها بعد ما كانت حقاً ولا كن الاخبار [10] التي يقول القايل هي التي يثبتُ الحق أو يزولها * ان الحق كمر أكثر هي تنازع أكثر يثبتُ الحق [11] والكذب كمر أكثر يتنازعه أكثر يثبتُ الكذبة ○ قال أبو الوليد بن رشد

17 *kāf* is written again on top, as a means of clarification. *wāw* [و] is partly broken.

20 ترءانا [ترانا] 3 معاذن [معادن] 9 ولاكن *Alif* of elongation is written unconnected and precedes *lām*. 10 تنازعة [تنازع]

2 [شايار] *de non seyer, de no ser*, i.e. of not being. 3 [ماطلاش] *metales, metales*, i.e. metals. 9 [كاشايه] *que seya, que sea*, i.e. it would be.

a Q. 16:68.

b Q. 20:50.

العُلْمُ يَنْقَسِمُ [12] فِي وَجْهَيْنِ السَّمْعِيَّةِ هِيَ الشَّرِيعَةُ يَقْبَلُهَا الْإِنْسَانُ كَمَا يَقُولُ لَهُ وَالْعَقْلِيَّةُ هِيَ عِلْمُ التَّعَالِيمِ [13] بِالْبُرْهَانِ قَالَ أَرَسَطُو التَّغْيِيرِ وَالِاسْتِحَالَةِ وَالْأَعْدِيَّةِ وَنُمُو هَذِهِ التَّرَكِيبِ تَجِدُ فِي [14] جَمِيعِ الْأَشْجَارِ وَالنَّبَاتِ مَعْنَاهُ نَمَا وَالتَّنْقِصُ قَالَ مَوْجُودَةٌ فِي الْكِتَابِ الْمُنْطِقِ أَرْبَعَةَ أَشْيَاءٍ [15] بِطَبِيعَةِ حَقِيقَةٍ ◯ أَوَّلُ الْمُعْقُولَاتِ هُوَ أَنَّ يُعْلَمَ الْإِنْسَانَ فِي الْحِسَابِ أَنَّ ثَلَاثَةَ نِصْفٍ مِّنْ سِتَّةٍ ◯ [16] وَالثَّانِيَةُ الْمُحْسُوسُ ◯ وَالثَّلَاثَةُ الْمَشْهُورُ * وَالرَّابِعَةُ الْمُتَمَتِّعُ وَمَعْنَا الْمُتَمَتِّعِ أَنَّ لَا تَوَمَّنَ [17] الْإِنْسَانُ الشَّيْءَ الَّذِي يُمْكِنُ حَتَّى يُمَكِّنَ الشَّيْءَ مَفْعُولٌ * وَكَثِيرٌ مِنَ الْأَشْيَاءِ يُكُنُّ مَعْمُولٌ ◯ قَالَ [18] أَيْضًا فِي الْمُنْطِقِ هَلْ هِيَ مَا هِيَ لَهَا هِيَ * فَلَا يَقْدِرُ يُكُونُ مَا هِيَ لَهَا هِيَ إِلَّا كَانَ قَبْلَ ذَلِكَ هَلْ هِيَ [19] مِثَالِ ذَلِكَ مَا قَالَ اللَّهُ فِي كِتَابِهِ الْعَزِيزِ فِي قِصَّةِ مُوسَى مَعَ فِرْعَوْنَ لَعَنَهُ اللَّهُ حَيْثُ يَقُولُ فِرْعَوْنُ [20] لِمُوسَى {وَمَا رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ} ^a * فَجَابَ مُوسَى {رَبُّ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ} ^b قَالَ أَرَسَطُو الْعَالَمُ [21] لَا يَغْلُظُ مَعْنَاهُ مَتَى يَكُونُ الْعَالَمُ فِي الْعِلْمِ لَا يَغْلُظُ ◯ وَإِذَا أَخْطَأَ الْعَالَمُ فِي ذَلِكَ الْوَقْتِ يُخْرَجُ [22] مِنَ الْعِلْمِ وَيَجْهَلُ فَلَا يُكُونُ عَالِمًا قَالَ أَرَسَطُو خَلَقَ اللَّهُ الْأَشْيَاءَ السَّمَاوِيَّةَ هِيَ أَبَدِيَّةٌ لَيْسَ لَهَا حَاجَةٌ لَهَا أَنْ يَبْقَى مِنْ أَنْوَاعِهَا ◯ وَالْأَشْيَاءَ الْحَيَوَانِيَّةَ يَحْتَاجُ لَهَا أَنْ يَبْقَى مِنْ أَنْوَاعِهَا [2] لِأَنَّ لَهَا يُدْرِكُهَا التَّثْبِيتُ وَتَذْوِيبٌ وَعَدَمٌ وَشِبْهُ الْحَيَوَانِيَّةِ فِي أَنْوَاعِهَا لِلْسَّمَاوِيَّةِ فِي الدَّائِمَةِ ◯ قَالَ [3] أَرَسَطُو فِي الْمَوَالِيدِ إِذَا وُلِدَ لِسُلْطَنٍ ابْنًا فِي سَعَادَةِ السَّعِيدَةِ ◯ أَيْضًا وُلِدَ لِلْفِرَّانِيِّ وُلْدًا فِي السَّاعَةِ [4] الْمَذْكُورَةَ اتَّظَنُّونَ أَنَّ يَنَالُ وُلْدَ الْفِرَّانِيِّ مِنَ السَّعَادَةِ وَالْكَرَامَةِ وَالِدَوْلَةِ كَمَا يَنَالُ وُلْدَ السُّلْطَنِ بِسَبَبِ [5] أَنَّهُمَا وُلِدَا فِي سَاعَةٍ وَاحِدَةٍ فَلَا يَفْهَمُ الْمَعْنَى لِذَلِكَ حَاشَى أَنَّ ابْنَ الْفِرَّانِيِّ يَنَالُ سَعَادَةَ عَلَى

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16 المنتعاع [الممتنع] المنتعاع: *ayn*: المنتعاع *kasra* and *sukūn* by *ayn*: [الممتنع] 16

18 ما هية [ما هية] It is unclear how this passage is to be understood, and the rendering of the words is uncertain. 21 ذلك [Kāf] is written again on top, as a means of clarification. 22 أَبَدِيَّةٌ [أَبَدِيَّةٌ]

التَّثْبِيتُ وَالتَّذْوِيبُ [وَتَذْوِيبٌ] 2 يَبْقَى [يَبْقَى] 1

16 [الممتنع] The correct term is *al-mumtana'* with the meaning of the inscrutable, impossible, or, as it is explained here by the author himself, that which someone believes to be impossible until it is done. The term will be corrected throughout.

a Q. 26:23.

b Q. 26:24.

- [6] قَدْر طَبِيعَتِهِ فِي آلَةِ الْفُرْنِ أَوْ عَلَى قُدْر نَسْلِهِ * مِثَال ذَلِكَ تَجَعَلُ مَعْدَنَ مِنْ طِينٍ وَمَعْدَنَ مِنْ قَبْرِ [7]
- لِلشَّمْسِ فَمَعْدَنَ الْقَبْرِ يَذِيبُ قَبْلَ مَعْدَنِ الطِّينِ * وَالصَّانِعُ يَكُونُ وَاحِدٍ يَعْنِي بِالصَّانِعِ الشَّمْسُ ○ قَالَ
- [8] أَبُو الْوَلِيدِ بْنُ رُشْدٍ شَكَى الْفُقَهَاءَ مِنْ ابْنِ رُشْدٍ أَمَامَ امِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَقَالُوا فِي مَقَالَتِهِمْ أَنَّ ابْنَ رُشْدٍ
- أَنَّهُ [9] يَقْرَأُ كِتَابَ الْفَلَسْفَةِ وَالْمَنْطِقِ وَبِهَذَا السَّبَبِ كَانَ ابْنُ رُشْدٍ أَرَا جَا ○ فَلَمَّا سَمِعَ امِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
- [10] مَقَالَتَهُمْ امْرَأً أَنْ يَحْضُرَ امَامَهُ أَبُو الْوَلِيدِ بْنُ رُشْدٍ وَيَقُولُ عَنْ حَقِّهِ وَكَانَ أَبُو الْوَلِيدِ بْنُ رُشْدٍ فِي
- ذَلِكَ الزَّمَانِ [11] قَاضِي قُرْبَطَةَ فَخَمَلُوا مُقَيِّدًا إِلَى امِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَوَقَفَ امَامَهُ ○ قَالَ ابُو الْوَلِيدِ بْنُ رُشْدٍ
- فِي مَقَالَتِهِ ان [12] كَانَ صِنَاعَةُ الْفَلَسْفَةِ وَالْمَنْطِقِ يَجْلِبُ إِلَى الْانْسَانِ إِلَى السُّوءِ بِسَبَبِ أَنَّهَا يَتَوَلَّدُ السُّوءَ
- نَقُولُ [13] كَانَ كَذَلِكَ وَأَمَّا الصَّنَاعَةُ الْفَلَسْفَةُ وَالْمَنْطِقُ لَا يَكُونُ كَذَلِكَ * بَلْ يَكُونُ هُمَا لِيَفْهَمَ الْانْسَانَ
- [14] اسبَابَ الْبَعِيدَةِ وَالْقَرِيبَةِ * وَيَفْرَزُ بَيْنَ الْحَقِّ وَالْبَاطِلِ وَإِنْ كَانَ الصَّنَاعَةُ هِيَ مَقْتَدِيَةُ الْانْسَانِ [15]
- إِلَى الْخَيْرِ * فَالصَّنَاعَةُ الْفُقَهَاءُ هِيَ الْفِقْهُ وَفِيهَا كَثِيرَةٌ الْفَضِيلَةِ * وَأَمَّا نَرَى أَكْثَرَ الْجَهْلِ وَالْحَسَادِ [16]
- وَالْأَرْدَلِ فِي النَّاسِ هُمْ الْفُقَهَاءُ لِأَنَّ الْخَيْرَ وَالشَّرَّ يَتَوَلَّدُ فِي الْانْسَانِ فِي طَبِيعَتِهِ لَا بَضْعَتِهِ إِنْ كَانَتْ [17]
- الطَّبِيعَةُ جَيِّدَةً تَقْتَدُّ هِيَ الْانْسَانَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ * وَإِنْ كَانَتْ الطَّبِيعَةُ الْانْسَانِ رَدِيَّةً تَقْتَدُّ هِيَ [18] الْانْسَانَ إِلَى
- الشَّرِّ وَالْفُسْقِ وَعِنْدَ ذَلِكَ امْرَأَ الْمَلِكِ لِأَبِي رُشْدٍ بِالْعَطَايَا الْوَأَفَرَةَ بَيْتِ [19] لَعْلِي بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ
- عَنْهُ ○ رَأَيْتُ الْعَقْلَ عَقْلَيْنِ عَقْلٌ مَسْمُوعٌ وَعَقْلٌ مَطْبُوعٌ ○ فَمَا [20] الْمَسْمُوعُ إِذَا لَمْ يَكُنْ مَطْبُوعٌ
- كُنُورَ الشَّمْسِ وَضُوءَ الْعَيْنِ مَمْنُوعٌ تَمَّتْ قَالَ أَرْسَطُو فِي [21] فَلَاسْفَتِهِ ثَلَاثَةٌ فِي النَّاسِ ذَالُوا الْإِيمَانَ
- * الصَّبِيَّانَ وَالنِّسَاءَ وَالْبَدَوِيَّانَ ○ وَقَالَ [22] أَيْضًا أَرْسَطُو الْعِدَاوَةَ يَجِدُ فِي النَّاسِ فِي ثَلَاثَةِ أَوْجُوهِ
- الْأَوَّلُ مَنْ يَبْغِضُ لِعَدُوِّهِ وَيُحِبُّ أَنْ يَعْطِيَهُ | اللَّهُ الشَّرَّ وَلَا يَكُونُ بِسَبَبِهِ وَهِيَ الْأَدْنَى ○ وَالثَّانِيَةُ أَنْ
- يُحِبُّ أَنْ يَفْعَلَ شَرَّهُ بِنَفْسِهِ إِنْ كَانَ يَقْدِرُ [2] وَهُوَ الْأَوْسَطُ ○ وَالثَّلَاثَةُ أَرَادَ أَنَّ اللَّهَ تَبْرَكَ وَتَعَلَّى إِنْ

f. 46r

6 ءآلَةِ [آلَةِ] 9 كَتَبَ [يَقْرَأُ كِتُوبُ] 10 [أَبُو] Abū is an addition written on top with a finer *qalam*:
 11 [خَمَلُوا] With a sign under *hā*. 13 [كَذَلِكَ] *Kāf* is written again on top, as a means of
 clarification. 14 [يَغْفِرُ] *Kāf* is written again on top, as a means of clarification. 17
 ذَالُوا [جَايِدَةٌ] *Alif* of elongation is written unconnected and precedes *lām*.
 I am at a loss as to the meaning of this word or expression. 21 [فَلَاسْفَتِهِ] 22 [ثَلَاثَةٌ] 22
 ثَلَاثَةٌ [الْبَدَاوِيَّانَ]

9 [ءَرَا جَا] ereje, hereje, i.e. heretic.

يهلك اليه بسبب ان يهلك عدوه وهذا [3] هي الأكبر ○ قال ابو الوليد بن رشد في المنطق ان الناس
مخطئين في الاشياء المنتاع في الاخذ [4] ما كان بالاعراض بذاته ○ مثال ذلك اعرض ان الجزر
يذبح كبشاً أسوداً او يدخل باب البلد [5] حمل من ملف وفي تلك الوقت ينزل الشتاء من السماء
ويقول الناس جميع وقت يذبح كبشاً [6] أسوداً او يدخل من باب البلد حمل من ملف ولا يمطر
حقاً يقيناً كل حين يذبح كبشاً أسوداً [7] يموت بذبحه وهو شيء بذاته ○ والدخول الحمل من ملف
أيضاً بذاته المطر اعراض قال [8] ان أرسطو ينقسم الفلسفة على قسمين مدينة وطبيعية ○ وقال
في المدينة أحسن الرجل [9] الذي ينتظرء اخر رجل ليس الذي كاشككاتا ○ وقال ايضاً ارسطو
ان كل شي يكون [10] له لون يعرف الناس بلونه ○ وان الريح إذا لم يكن له لون لم يره الانسان
قال [11] ارسطو كما يدخل الأشياء الغاية كذبة كذلك يدخل في الاشيا المشهورة مثل الحواس [12]
وهي العين والاذنان واليدين قال ارسطو مثل العالم والجاهل مثل من يعمل صورة [13] انسان في
حايط وتلك الصورة ممثلة لرجل جاهل وليس بين تلك الصورة في الحايط [14] وبين الرجل الجاهل
افراز إلا الحواس والكلام * فاذا لم يكن في صورة رجل فهم وعقل [15] يشبه بصورة الحايط قال
أرسطو ان الناس مجهولين في اربعة أشياء وذلك بسبب [16] ان لا يقرؤوا كتب المنطق والفلسفة
وبذلك لا يفهمون اسم المشترك واسم المستعار [17] والمطوي والممتنع قال ارسطو كما يربي الناس من
الاسطقسات الأربعة وهي الماء [18] والنار والريح والتراب كذلك جميع الاشياء المخلوقات مربية
بهذه الاسطقسات الأربعة [19] حتى جميع الاشجار لان الاشجار كانت مغروسة بالارض واصوبها
تحت الارض نموا بالماء [20] وحرارة الشمس والريح ○ وان نقص واحدة من هذه الاربعة لم ينموا

المستعارة [المستعار يقرؤا كُتوب] كُتبت 16 الحراس [الحواس 11] اخر [آخر 9] هي الكبرى الأكبر 3
الاستسقاط لاربعة [الأربعة 18] الاستسقاط لاربعة [الأربعة المنتاع والممتنع المطوات] والمطوي 17
كانت [كانت 19]

9 [المطوي 17] This is the most likely reading, to be understood as in Kazimirski, in prosody, that what has undergone shortening, curtailment or diminishment, "retranchement (pied d'un mètre)". Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire*, p. 126.

إذا كَارَ اسْمَانَتِ وَيُقَال [21] لها أيضاً رُوح الاغدية والنمو* قال ارسطوا أولاد الشيخ هم اعقل من أولاد [22] الشاب ○ وبسبب ذلك ان الشيخ اذا كان عاقلاً عالماً فهِيمًا هي اصفى المادّة لأنّ | f. 46^v | الشيخ كَوْنَتْ اَكْثَرُ يَعِيشُ اَكْثَرَ يَعْلَمُ وَيَفْهَمُ ○ لأنّ العلم كُبرله الرجل من ظاهر كذلك القطاء [2] كَالشُّكْبَرِ الرَّجُلُ من ظاهر ○ انما من الشيوخ عَقْلًا وَجُهَلًا ○ كذلك من الشبان * وانما اكثر لعمارة [3] من الناس العقلاء هم الشيوخ ○ وانما الناس في اسم الانسانيه والحيوانيه كلهم واحد وبذلك قال [4] المنطقي كلّ الناس انسان حيوان* وانما افرز بينهم في العقل والعلم ويشترك الناس أيضاً مع النعام [5] والبهائم في الحيوانية وافراز بينهم في نطق قال ارسطوا يعرّف الانسان برجل صالح بعمله [6] لا بنسبه كذلك الطيور والكلاب وجميع اشياء اربنا التي يقع فيها اسم الحيوانية ○ مثال [7] ذلك الناس هذا كلبٌ جيدٌ بانه صيدٌ جائدٌ او يحرز دار صاحبه جيداً ويقول الناس أيضاً هذا [8] بازٌ جيدٌ بانه صيدٌ جيداً قال ارسطوا في فلسفته الطبعية يتبع جميع الناس والانعام والبهائم [9] أكثر الى طبيعه الا اداب مثال ذلك لسوق والقط فاذا كانا مريان صغيرين قط ما راوا الدنيا [10] ولا فارة ولا يعتاد عاد بتلك الصنعة فاذا رءى السلوق اربنا يفعل هو بأولها كما يفعل باخرها [11] وكذلك القط * الطبعية يغلب الاسيرة في أكثر الاشياء لأن في جميعها تمت بيت على بن ابي [12] طالب رضى الله عنه الناس في جهته تمثيل أكفا لهم ان أبوهم آدم وأمه حوى فان أراد [13] ان يتفخر بالأصل فالماء والطين فما الفضل إلا لاهل العلم لأنهم على الهدى الادلاً والرجال [14] على الافعال اسماء ○ قال ارسطوا في ذلك الناس في اسم الانسانيه كلهم واحد وانها لم [15] يحسب برجل صالح الا بأفعاله واعماله ○ قال ارسطوا في فلسفته الطبعية ان الناس [16] مخلوقين من الاسطقسات

[جائدٌ 7 للنعام] للنعام [Tā' marbuṭa] is cut in half. [عمارة 2] القطاء 1 End of word cut off: القطاء 1
[صاحبه جاداً] With a scribble under hā'. [يفعل 10] 'Ayn is blurred but can be distinguished.
الاستقسات [الاسطقسات 16] الطبعية [الطبعية 11] بتاخرها [باخرها

[كَارَ اسْمَانَتِ 20] cereçimenti, crecimiento, i.e. growth. [كُونَتْ 1] cuanto; in the present sentence to be translated as: to the extent as (he). [كُبرله 2] cubralo, cúbralo, i.e. covers him. [كَالشُّكْبَرِ] que los cubre (cubre), i.e., they are covered by.

الاربعة وهم الماء والنار والريح والتراب وهاذه الاسطقسات الاربعة [17] موجودة في الارض من ابي خلق منها جميع الاشجار والنبات وطبايع الاخلاط الاربعة وهي [18] الدم والبلغم والمرّة السوداء والمرّة الحمراء هي في طبيعة مثل طبعة العناصر لان من [19] الاسطقسات الاربعة يخرج الاخلاط الاربعة لان الدم حر رطب كطبعة الريح * والبلغم بارد [20] رطب كطبعة الماء والمرّة السوداء بارد يابس كطبعة التراب * والمرّة الحمراء حرياس [21] كطبعة النار ☉ وفي الارض موجودة العناصر الاربعة * منها يخرج الريح والنار لان النار [22] موجودة في الاشجار ليس هي فيها موجودة بمادة جوهر كالنار هي موجودة بمادة جوهر يعنى كزبرل قال ارسطو ليس بكل الحكم الابلاثة [2] أشياء أولها سلطان عادل وشريعة عادلة ☉ والناس يحبون العدل * فان نقص واحدة من هذه الثلاثة [3] فليس بكل الحكم مسألة أخرى قال ارسطو اهل الضعفاء العقل لا يعلمون الممكن من [4] الامتناع تنت شالاد ان يقبل الامتناع كالممكن وبهذا وقوعا في غلط عظيم مسألة اخرى [5] ان الانسان اذا ولد لا يعلم شيء الا الذي يتعلم من ظاهر بالحواس بالقم باذافه وبالاذنين [6] سمعه وباليدن ينشطهما وبالعينين برؤيتهما وبذلك قال ارسطو ☉ ان جميع الحيوان خلقها [7] الله ثم هداها الى ما يفعلون مثال ذلك ان العنكبوت تنسح مكانها والنخعة تعمي الشهر [8] لفقتها ☉ لا الى الناس الا ان الانسان ياخذ منها وتجريب ذلك ما قال الله تعالى في كتابه في سورة [9] طه {ربنا الذي اعطى كل شي خلقه ثم هدى} ^a باب في مقالات ابوا الوليد [10]. بن رشد يقال

طبيعة [طبعة] الخمراء [الخمراء] البلغم [والبلغم] 18 لاربعة [الاربعة] 17 الاستسقاط [الاسطقسات] 16
 الخمراء [الخمراء] كطبيعة [كطبعة] 20 كطبيعة [كطبعة] لاربعة [الاربعة] الاستسقاط لاربعة [الاربعة] 19
 كالنار هي: These words are a repetition: [جوهر] 1 العناصر لاربعة [الاربعة] كطبيعة [كطبعة] 21
 المنتع [الامتناع] المنتع [الامتناع] 4 With a sign (curl) under hā? [الحكم] 3 موجودة بمادة جوهر
 [تعالى] 8 Kāf is again written on top, as a means of clarification. [ذلك] 7 الانسان [الانسان] 5
 Alif of elongation is written connected to lām.

22 [شالاد] tanta [كزبرل] 1 [que-an-nār, i.e. that the fire.] 1 [كالنار] 22
 se le da, tanto se le da, i.e. it is indifferent to him.

a Q. 20:50.

له النَّصَائِرُ الْقَمَانْدُورُ فِي الْمَنْطِقِ فِي كِتَابِ الضَّرُورَةِ ضَرُورَةُ الْمَنْطِقِيِّ جَيِّدٌ أَنْ يَعْلَمَ [11] هُوَ أَرْبَعَةٌ
 أَشْيَاءٌ لِكَيْ الَّذِي يَكُونُ مَعْلَمٌ جَيِّدٌ فِي الْمَنْطِقِ ○ وَأَنْ لَمْ يَعْلَمْ هُوَ هَذِهِ الْأَشْيَاءُ الْأَرْبَعَةَ [12] فَلَيْسَ هُوَ
 مَعْلَمٌ جَيِّدٌ فِي الْمَنْطِقِ ○ أَوْلَاهَا أَنْ يَعْلَمَ الرَّصْدَ الْمَطْلَبَ الَّتِي يَجْعَلُ لَهُ لَيْسَ ضَرُورَةُ لَهُ أَنْ يَرِصَدَ [13]
 ابْتِدَاءَ الْمَطْلَبِ ○ أَلَا الثَّانِيَةَ رَسُونِ مِنَ الْمَطْلَبِ ○ مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ حَيَوَانَ نَاطِقٍ وَيَدْرِي أَيْضًا النَّتَامُ
 [14] الْمَطْلَبَةَ الْمُجْعُولَةَ لَهُ ○ وَالثَّانِيَةَ يَدْرِي هُوَ مَا هُوَ مَوْجُودٌ فِي الْأَجُودِ ○ مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ إِنْسَانٌ مَادَّةُ
 ○ [15] وَالثَّلَاثَةَ الْحُمُولُ وَالْمَوْضُوعُ يَعْنِي الْخُبْرُ وَالْمُخْبَرُ عَنْهُ ○ وَالرَّابِعَةَ لِبَرَبِّسِيُونَ وَالْمُنْفَصَلُ مِنْهُ [16]
 يَعْنِي الْمَعْلَقُ مِنْهُ وَالضَّرُورَةُ يَعْنِي نَاسَأْسَرِيَهُ ○ قَالَ أَبُو رَشْدٍ فِي الْمَنْطِقِ كُلُّ تَفْسِيرٍ يُبْطِلُ النَّصَّ [17]
 فَهُوَ غَلَطٌ ○ وَكُلُّ تَفْسِيرٍ يَثْبُتُ النَّصَّ فَهُوَ حَقًّا مَسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى مِنَ الْمَنْطِقِ الْجِنْسِ وَالنَّوْعِ [18] وَالْفَصْلُ
 * وَالْخَاصِيَّةُ وَالْجَوْهَرُ وَالْعَرَضُ * مَسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى مِنَ الْمَنْطِقِ ○ إِنْسَانٌ حَيَوَانٌ جَوْهَرٌ [19] مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ
 هَذَا الْفُ وَهَذَا بَاءٌ وَهَذَا جِيمٌ يَتَّبِعُ النَّتْجَةَ مِنْهَا أَنْ يَكُونَ أَلْفًا ○ مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ جَمِيعٌ [20] إِنْسَانٌ يَكُونُ
 غَلَطٌ فِي الْقَوْلِ بِأَنَّ أَشْيَاءً كَثِيرًا غَيْرَ الْإِنْسَانِ جَوْهَرٌ ○ مَسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى قَالَ الْمَنْطِقِيُّ [21] دَرَسٌ وَهَذَا
 الْقَوْلُ مُطْلَقٌ يَفْهَمُ الْإِنْسَانَ بِدَرَسِ الْإِنْسَانِ وَإِنَّمَا الدَّرْسُ لَيْسَ يَفْهَمُ عَنِ الدَّرْسِ [22] إِنْسَانٌ خَاصَّةً إِلَّا
 عَنْ دُرُوسٍ كَثِيرَةٍ لِأَنَّ ذَلِكَ الْقَوْلَ مُطْلَقٌ وَأَنْ أَرَدْتَ أَنْ تُخَاصِّصَهُ قَلْتَ دَرَسٌ | ثَوْمٌ أَوْ دَرَسٌ أَيْبَتْهُ ○
 f. 47^v مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ يَقُولُ الْإِنْسَانُ دَرَسٌ ثَوْمٌ وَدَرَسٌ أَيْبَتْهُ وَأَنْ لَمْ تُسَمِّهِ الرَّجُلُ [2] الدَّرْسُ مِنْ أَيِّ هُوَ يَفْهَمُ
 الْإِنْسَانُ بِدَرَسِ إِنْسَانٍ ○ مَسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى فِي التَّفْسِيرِ أَيْ شَيْئٌ أَنَا يَفْهَمُ [3] هَذِهِ الْكَلِمَةُ ثَلَاثَةٌ مَعَانَ ○
 أَوْلَاهُ مَتَى شَيْئٌ وَالثَّانِيَةَ كَيْفَ شَيْئٌ وَالثَّلَاثَةَ مِنْ أَيْنَ شَيْئٌ ○ [4] قَالَ الْمَنْطِقِيُّ مُفْرِدٌ أَنْتَرَاغُ جُزْءٌ بَرْتَقُولَارُ
 كُلِّي شَنْغُولَارُ * مَسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى قَالَ [5] الْمُهَنْدِسِيُّ أَنَّ الْأَرْضَ نَقْطَةَ الدَّائِرَةِ السَّمَاوِيَّةِ بِأَنَّهَا يَقْرَرُ فِيهَا جَمِيعٌ

14 [يَدْرِي] *Yā'* written above using the same *qalam*, but was added later. 15 [الْحُمُولُ] A scribble is written under *hā'*. 1 *Lām* is cut. 2 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 3 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 4 قَالَ [شَيْئٌ] 5 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 6 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 7 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 8 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 9 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 10 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 11 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 12 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 13 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 14 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 15 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 16 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 17 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 18 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 19 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 20 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 21 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ] 22 شَيْئٌ [شَيْئٌ]

10 [القَمَانْدُورُ] el comendador, el comentador, i.e. the "commentator". 13 [رَسُونٌ] *raçon, razón*, i.e. reason. [النَّتَامُ] el antemo, el extremo (?), i.e. the end. 15 [لِبَرَبِّسِيُونَ] la porboçiyon, proposición, i.e. the preposition. 16 [نَاسَأْسَرِيَهُ] *neçeçario, necesario*, i.e. necessary. 4 [شَنْغُولَارُ] *mufrid entrego guz'* particular *kulli singular*, i.e. singular (read, *mufrad*) "I give", part "particular", every/whole/all "singular". The exact meaning of the sentence as a whole is unclear to me.

المياهِ وَأَنَّ النُّقْطَةَ اسْفَلَ الدَّائِرَةِ [6] وبذلك قَالَ ارْسَطُوا ان جميع الأشياءِ الثقيلة تطلب هي الاسفل
 ○ والاشيا الخفيفة تطلب هي [7] العالي ○ وبسبب ان الارض نُقْطَةُ الدائرة السَّمَاوِيَةِ ينبغي ان
 يكون الارض قبل السَّمَاءِ بان لا يقدر [8] تكونُ الدائرة سَوَى النُّقْطَةِ وتجرب ذلك ما قَالَ اللهُ تَبْرَكَ
 وتعالى في كتابه العزيز {هو الذي خلق لكم [9] ما في الأرض جميعاً ثم استوى إلى السَّمَاءِ} ○ ومن
 المنطق لا يقدر ان يكون اثنين دُونَ وَاحِدٍ يَكُونُ [10] قبله ويقدر يَكُونُ وَاحِدٌ دُونَ اثنين ○ ايضاً
 لا يقدر ان يَكُونُ الدائرة دُونَ نُقْطَةَ ويقدر يَكُونُ النُّقْطَةَ [11] دُونَ الدائرة ولا يقدر يَكُونُ يَوْمٌ دُونَ
 شَمْسٍ ويكون شَمْسٌ دُونَ النَّهَارِ * وَأَمَّا الشَّمْسُ وَالْيَوْمُ [12] يَعْمَلُ النَّهَارُ مَعًا تَمَّتْ مَسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى قَالَ
 الْهِنْدِسِيُّ ليس يقدر ان يَكُونُ الدائرة سِوَى [13] النُّقْطَةَ في النِّصْفِ وبسبب ذلك تكون الأرض قبل
 السَّمَاءِ لأن الارض هي مُدَوَّرَةٌ مثل التَّفَاحَةِ [14] والسَّمَاءُ يَحْتَصِرُهَا ويكون الأرض في السَّمَاءِ مِثْلُ
 فَصِّ البَيْضَةِ في البَيْضَةِ وتكون نقطة الدائرة [15] السَّمَاوِيَةِ في الارض وبسبب ذلك لم يقدر يكون
 الدائرة إلا أن يكون قبل الموضع الذي أَنْكَا يَعْمَلُ [16] الدائرة لأنَّ السَّمَاءُ يَدُورُ في الدائرة وَمَرْكَزُ
 الدائرة في الأرض يعني مَرْكَزُ النُّقْطَةِ نِصْفُ الدائرة [17] مثال ذلك أَنَّ النُّجُومَ التي يَظْهَرُ في زَمَانِ
 الشِّتَاءِ لَيْسَ يَظْهَرُ في زَمَانِ الصَّيْفِ وتجرب ذلك [18] ان الارض قبل السَّمَاءِ ما قَالَ اللهُ في كتابه
 العزيز حيث يقول في البقرة {هو الذي خلق لكم ما في [19] الارض جميعاً ثم استوى الى السَّمَاءِ وهو
 بكل شيء عليم} ○ وَأَمَّا اللهُ سَبَّحَهُ خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ [20] قبل ان يخلق الخلاق بسبب ان في الدنيا لا
 عِمَارَةٌ لَهَا دُونَ دَوَارِ السَّمَاوِيَةِ مثل دَوْرَةِ [21] الشمس والقمر وأن الدوار السَّمَاوِيَةَ يقدر يكون دون

5 [الدائرة] *Tā' marbuṭa* is cut. 7 يقدر *Yā'* is cut in half. 8 [وتعالى] *Alif* of elongation is connected to *lām* and comes from it. 10 [النُّقْطَةَ] *Tā' marbuṭa* is cut in half. 13 [الأرض] *qabl* is an addition which seems to have been made with the same *qalam*. 16 [الأرض] 17 [ذلك] *Kāf* is written again on top, as a means of clarification. 21 [دون] *dūna* is an addition which seems to have been done using the same *qalam*.

15 [أَنَّكَ] en que, i.e. in that.

a Q. 2:29.

b Q. 2:29.

الخلاق والخلاق لم يقدر يكونون [22] دونها ○ مسألة اخرى في زوجه وهي لم يراها الهندسين
 المنجمون | ويدركونها بالبرهان والزوجه هي قسي وقف في نصف دورة الشمس أو نصف دورة
 القمر [2] ويقال لها التصاري الدرغون في رأسه أو في نصفه أو في دنيه وهو في ثلثه عقود وهذا
 أمثاله [3] ان شاء الله تعالى ○ فاذا وقف زوجه في نصف دورة الشمس أو نصف دورة القمر
 تكسف [4] في تلك الوقت الشمس والقمر ○ الساعات الزمانية الساعات المعتدلة ايضاً عام الكبيسة
 [5] عام البسطي يعني البسطي اذا لم يكن فيه كبيسة سمت الراس اذا كان الانسن موقف وجاز [6]
 الشمس من قامته ○ قال ارسطوا في فلسفته من يرجوا فيما لا يمكن فهو آحق ○ قال أبو حامد
 [7] الغزالي رضي الله للصبر على الاطلاق الا الله سبحانه ○ مثال ذلك ان الانسن اذا صبر بأنه لا
 يقدر [8] ان يفعل شيئاً اخر ○ وانما الله سبحانه مقادر في كل شي وله الصبر على الاطلاق مسألة
 [9] اخرى من الطيب نهى الاطباء في أيام البحران ان يفصد المريض بسبب ان الطبيعة تحارب
 مع الخلط [10] المذنبه وليس واجب في الفصد المريض في تلك الايام البحران بسبب ان الفصد
 يضعف الطبيعة ومساله [11] اخرى قال جالينوس في كتاب التلخيص ليس يقول الاطباء خيراً في
 القول الذي يقولون ليس [12] جيد ان تزول الانسن الدم لان الدم قوة الجسد ○ فأجاب جالينوس
 لذلك وقال ان الدم اذا كان طيباً ليس جيد ان يفصد الانسن واذا كان الدم خبيثاً ردياً هي
 أحسن ان يفصد الانسن الا الدم [14] رجع الى عفونة مثال ذلك ان الولد اذا كان طيباً يحبه الوالد
 ويحبسه كولد محبباً ○ واذا كان [15] الولد خبيثاً ردياً ليس يحبه الوالد وليس يحبسه كولد ولذلك

22 الهندسيون الهندسين هي 1 hiya is blurred, and the sukūn above rā by Zawḡahar (written incorrectly by metathesis) is also unclear. The correct spelling is Ḡawzahar. القمر [ra] is blurred and difficult to read. 2 دنيه [dinih] The first four words in this line and the next are quite blurred. 3 تعالى [taʿālā] of elongation in taʿālā is connected to lām and comes from it. 6 فلسفته [falsafatihi] is quite blurred. 7 حَامِد From this line up to line 12, a number of words are quite blurred towards the end of the lines. حَامِد [mīm en dāl] very blurred: حَامِد [mīm] bi-annahu is quite blurred. 8 مسألة [mīm and sin] quite blurred.

5 البسطي [bustī, busto, i.e. torso. 7 الغزالي] Abū Ḥamid al-Ḡazzālī. 4 الدرغون [el dragon, el Dragón, see the Dragon. 5 الكبيسة] cabiça, cabeza, i.e. head.

قال جَالِنُوسٌ أَنَّ الدَّمِيَّ إِذَا أَذْنَبَ [16] هِيَ لَيْسَ هِيَ دَمِيَّ ○ وقد نرى أَيْضًا بِطَبِيعَةٍ حَقِيقَةٍ أَنَّ الدَّمَ إِذَا كَانَتْ رَدِيَّةً دَفَعَهَا الطَّبِيعَةُ بِالنَّاحِرِ [17] أَوْ بِالْقَمِّ أَوْ بِالذَّبْرِ وَهِيَ أَحْسَنُ أَنْ تَزُولَ بِالْعَصِيَّةِ لَيْسَتْ الدَّمُ مَعْفَنَةٌ بَقِيَ الْعَلِيلُ أَيَّامًا طَوِيلًا [18] فِي الْإِشْفَى لِأَنَّ الْإِخْلَاطَ الثَّلَاثَةَ الْبَلْغَمَ وَالْمِرَّةَ الْحَمْرَاءَ وَالْمِرَّةَ السُّودَاءَ كَانَتْ أَرْصَادَهَا [19] فِي الدَّمِ وَكُلِّ وَاحِدَةٍ مِنَ الْإِخْلَاطِ الْآرِبَةِ يَأْشُ مَسْكُونَةٌ فِي مَوَاضِعِ سِرْتَوْشٍ فِي الْجَسَدِ وَيُقُولُ [20] أَيْضًا الْإِطْبَاءُ لَيْسَ جَيِّدٌ أَنْ يَفْصَدَ الشَّيْخُ مِنْ سَبْعِينَ عَامًا * وَقَالَ جَالِنُوسٌ فِي ذَلِكَ لَيْسَ يَفْهَمُ ذَلِكَ [21] الْفِصَادُ الْآ فِي صِحَّةِ ○ وَأَمَّا إِنْ كَانَ يَحْتَاكُهُ الشَّيْخُ الْفِصَادُ فَيَنْبَغِي لَهُ أَنْ يَفْصُدَهُ جَمِيعَ وَقْتٍ وَزَمَانٍ [22] وَذَلِكَ عَلَى قَدْرِ الْإِنْسَانِ لِلشَّيْخِ قَلِيلٌ دَمٌ يُخْرَجُ لَهُ وَاللَّصِيْبِيُّ كَثِيرًا عَلَى قَدْرِ حَالِهِ ○ ○ * ○ | بَابٌ فِي قِصَّةِ النَّبِيِّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ وَالنَّبِيُّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ [2] يَكُونُ بَنِي وَمَلِكٌ فِي إِسْمَاعِيلِ كَبُوسٌ فِي إِسْرَائِيلَ لِأَنَّ فِي زَمَانِ مُوسَى لَمْ يَكُنْ مَلِكٌ فِي بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ [3] لِأَنَّهُ يُحْكَمُ فِي إِسْرَائِيلَ كَذَلِكَ مُحَمَّدٌ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ لَمْ يَكُنْ مَلِكٌ فِي زَمَانِهِ فِي إِسْمَاعِيلَ مُسْتَلَّةٌ [4] أُخْرَى فِي التَّوْحِيدِ ○ وَالتَّوْحِيدُ أَصْلُ الشَّرِيعَةِ كَمَا كَانَ الْإِسْلَامُ لِلْحَائِطِ لَيْسَ يَقْدَرُ أَنْ تَكُونَ الْحَائِطُ [5] دُونَ الْإِسْلَامِ كَذَلِكَ الشَّرِيعَةُ لَمْ تَقْدَرْ تَكُونَ هِيَ دُونَ التَّوْحِيدِ وَالْأَمْرُ أَيْضًا هِيَ الْفُرُوعُ ○ [6] مَسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى مِنْ غَرَائِبِ الْقُرْآنِ فِي حَرْفِ الزَّايِ وَزُجْنَاهُمْ بِحُورَعَيْنِ يَعْنِي قَدَرْنَاَهُمْ بِالْمَلِيكَةِ [7] وَهَذِهِ كَلِمَةٌ مُشْتَرَكٌ وَمِثْلُ ذَلِكَ قَالَ اللَّهُ سَبَّحْنَهُ فِي كِتَابِهِ الْعَزِيزِ سَبَّحْنَهُ الَّذِي {خَلَقَ الْآرْوَاجَ كُلُّهَا} [8] يَعْنِي أَصْنَافَهَا كُلُّهَا ○ وَقَالَ أَيْضًا عَزَّ وَجَلَّ {أَحْشَرُوا الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا وَأَرْوَاجَهُمْ} [9] يَعْنِي قَدَرْنَاَهُمْ بِأَرْوَاجِهِمْ

f. 48^v

16 [النَّاحِرِ] *ra'* is cut. 17 مَعْفُونَةٌ بَقِيَ [يعني] 18 [الحمرء] *ra'* is cut. 19 The following word is quite blurred: الدَّمِيَّ [يعني] 20 *Kāf* is written again on top, as a means of clarification. 21 الفَصْدِيَّةُ [الفَصْدِيَّةُ] *f* is written again on top, as a means of clarification. 22 [بِحُورَعَيْنِ] *h* is written again on top, as a means of clarification. 3 [بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ] *h* is written again on top, as a means of clarification. 4 [النَّبِيُّ وَالنَّبِيُّ] *h* is written again on top, as a means of clarification. 5 [الْحَائِطُ] *h* is written again on top, as a means of clarification. 6 [بِحُورَعَيْنِ] *h* is written again on top, as a means of clarification. 7 [بِالْمَلِيكَةِ] *h* is written again on top, as a means of clarification. 8 [كُلُّهَا] *h* is written again on top, as a means of clarification. 9 [أَرْوَاجَهُمْ] *h* is written again on top, as a means of clarification.

19 [يَأْشُ] *i*-es, *y* es, i.e. and it is. [سِرْتَوْشٍ] *çirtos*, *ciertos*, i.e. certain, here in the sense of "particular", that is, particular spots in the body. 21 [الفَصَادُ] Phlebotomy. 2 [إِسْمَاعِيلَ] *Ismā'il*, see Ishmael

a Q. 36:36.

b Q. 37:22.

[9] وَقَالَ السَّجَّسْتَانِي وَلَيْسَ تَرْوِيحُهُمْ كَتَرْوِيحِ الدُّنْيَا مَسْأَلَةٌ أُخْرَى {وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلِكَةِ [10] إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً} ^a قَالُوا اتَّجَلَّ فِيهِمَا مَنْ يَفْسِدُ فِيهَا وَيَسْفِكُ الدِّمَاءَ وَنَحْنُ نَسْبِحُ بِحَمْدِكَ [11] وَنَقْدَسُ لَكَ قَالَ إِنِّي أَعْلَمُ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ ⊙ التَّفْسِيرُ إِنِّي أَعْلَمُ مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ * إِنَّ اللَّهَ تَعَالَى يَعْلَمُ أَنَّ [12] الْحِطَّ الْخَيْرَ فِي الْإِنْسَانِ أَكْثَرَ مِنْ حِطِّ الشَّرِّ بِسَبَبِ حِطِّ الشَّرِّ لَيْسَ يَرِيدُ الرَّبُّ أَنْ يَتْرَكَ حِطَّ الْخَيْرِ [13] مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ النَّارُ بِحِطِّ الشَّرِّ فِيهَا لَيْسَ ذَابَانُ النَّاسِ يَطْفِي جَمِيعَ النَّبْرَانِ فِي الدُّنْيَا لِأَنَّ حِطَّ [14] الْخَيْرِ مِنَ النَّارِ وَهِيَ أَكْبَرُ مِنْ حِطِّ الشَّرِّ مَسْأَلَةٌ أُخْرَى فِي كَلَامِ الْغَوَامِضَةِ النَّظَامِ رَغَلَهُ [15] الْفَوَاقِ شَوْلُوسُهُ الرِّيَّةُ بِلَهْنَأَشِ الْهُنْدَبَا سَرَجَشِ خِيَارِ قِبَابِلِ فِي الْعَرَبِيَّةِ أَحْسَنُ أَوْلَهُ [16] أَسَدٌ * وَتَمِيمٌ * وَطَيٌّ * وَقُرَيْشٌ مَسْأَلَةٌ أُخْرَى قَالَ دَاوُدُ فِي الزُّبُورِ إِنِّي صَبِيٌّ وَلَئِنْ [17] شَيْخٌ وَمَا رَأَيْتُ الصَّالِحُونَ يَمُوتُونَ بِالْجُوعِ وَلَا أَوْلَادَهُمْ يَطْلُبُونَ الْخُبْزَ مَسْأَلَةٌ أُخْرَى الْقُرْآنُ [18] ثَلَاثَةُ حُقُوقٍ أَوْلَاهَا أَنْ يقرأه الْقَارِي مُصِيبٌ وَثَابِتٌ ⊙ وَالثَّانِيَةُ يَدْرِي الْقَارِي تَأْوِيلُهُ وَالثَّلَاثَةُ [19] يَعْمَلُ تَمَّتْ بَابٌ فِي تَرْوِيحِ هَاجَرَ مَعَ أُبْرَهِيمَ [20] عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ كَمَا قَالَ فِي كِتَابِ التَّوْرَةِ عِنْدَ الْيَهُودِ فِي السَّفَرِ الْأَوَّلِ مِنْهُ حَيْثُ يَقُولُ {ثُمَّ إِنَّ [21] سَارَةَ زَوْجَةَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ لَمَّا مَلَأَتْ لَهَا وَكُونَ لَهَا أُمَّةً مِصْرِيَّةً وَاسْمُهَا هَاجَرَ فَقَالَتْ لِأَبْرَاهِيمَ [22] هُوَذَا قَدْ حَبَسَنِي اللَّهُ الْوَلَدَ ادْخُلِ الْآنَ إِلَى

10 [إني] The word is quite blurred. 11 Hamza is written with *fatha* and with *kasra*. [الدِّمَاءُ] 12 [اكثر] *Tā'* is quite blurred. [الرَّبُّ] *Bā'* is cut in half. 13 [مثال] *Tā'* is quite blurred. 15 [خِيَارِ] *Hā'* in *hiyār* written simultaneously with *fatha* and *kasra*. 17 [الصَّالِحُونَ] The beginning of this word is blurred, unclear whether it is *alif* or *lām*. [يَمُوتُونَ] *Mūm* is difficult to read. 18 [مُصِيبٌ] 19 [الثَّالِثَةُ] at-tāliṭa with first *tā'* written simultaneously with *fatha* and *kasra*. 20 [السَّلَامُ] The beginning of this word is blurred, unclear whether it is *alif* or *lām*. [عند] With a scribble under *ayn*. [لاول] [الأول]

13 [ذَابَانَ] *deben, deben*, i.e. should. 14 [رَغَلَهُ] *regla*, i.e. rule. 15 [شَوْلُوسُهُ] *solloço, sollozo*, i.e. sob. 16 [بِلَهْنَأَشِ] *pulmones*, i.e. lungs. 17 [سَرَجَشِ] *çarrajās* (*cerraja*: is a plant which belongs to the dandelion family). Dandelion is indeed the translation of the Arabic term. That of "cerraja" would be "common sowthistle". 18 [وَقُرَيْشٌ] *Asad, Tamīm, Ṭayy, Qurayš*, see *Banū Asad, Banū Tamīm, Banū Ṭayy, Banū Qurayš*. 19 [هَاجَرَ] *Hāğar*, see *Hagar*. 21 [سَارَةَ] *Sara*, see *Sarah*. [إِبْرَاهِيمَ] *Abram*, see *Abraham*.

f. 49^r امَّتِي لَعَلِّي يَبْنِي بَيْتِي مِنْهَا فَأَقْبَلَ اِبْرَاهِيمُ | قَوْلُ سَارَةَ فَأَخَذَتْ سَرَهُ زَوْجَهُ اِبْرَاهِيمَ هَاجَرَ الْمِصْرِيَةَ اُمَّتَهَا بَعْدَ عَشْرِ
 سِنِينَ مِنْ مَقَامِ اِبْرَاهِيمَ فِي بِلَادِ [2] كَنْعَانَ فَأَعْطَتَهَا لِاِبْرَاهِيمَ بَعْلَهَا لِتَكُونَ لَهُ زَوْجَةً^a * ثُمَّ قَالَ اَيْضًا فِي
 هَذَا السَّفَرِ الْمَذْكُورِ {ثُمَّ عَادَ اِبْرَاهِيمُ [3] وَاتَّخَذَ زَوْجَةً وَاسْمُهَا قَطُورَةُ فَوَلَدَتْ لَهُ زَمْرَانَ وَيُقَشَّنْ * وَمَدَنُ
 وَمَدْيَنُ وَيَشْبِقُ وَثَمُوحُ [4] وَيُقَشَّنْ اَوْلَادَ شَبَابًا وَدَدَانَ * وَبَنَى دَدَانَ كَانُوا اَشُورِيمَ وَالطُّوشِيمَ وَالْاَمِيمَ وَبَنَى
 مَدْيَنَ عَيْفَ [5] وَعِغْرَ * وَخُنُوحَ * وَءَايِدَغَ * وَءَاذَعَةَ * جَمِيعٌ هَؤُلَاءِ بَنَى قَطُورَةَ^b * وَقَدْ صَحَّ عِنْدَ
 بَنِي اِسْرَائِيلَ اَنَّ [6] قَطُورَةَ كَانَتْ هَاجَرَ الْمِصْرِيَةَ اُمَّ اِسْمَاعِيلَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ * وَانْ كَانَ يَزْعَمُ الْيَهُودُ اَنَّ
 هَاجَرَ [7] لَمْ تَكُنْ زَوْجَةً لِاِبْرَاهِيمَ قَلَّ لَهُمْ فَعِنَا قَوْلُ سَرَى لِاِبْرَاهِيمَ حَيْثُ قَالَتْ فِي التَّوْرَةِ {فَأَخَذَتْ
 سَرَى [8] زَوْجَةً اِبْرَاهِيمَ هَاجَرَ الْمِصْرِيَةَ اُمَّتَهَا بَعْدَ عَشْرِ سِنِينَ مِنْ مَقَامِ اِبْرَاهِيمَ فِي بِلَادِ كَنْعَانَ فَأَعْطَتَهَا لِاِبْرَاهِيمَ
 [9] بَعْلَهَا لِتَكُونَ زَوْجَةً^c * وَقَلَّ لَهُمْ اَيْضًا هَذِهِ حُجَّةٌ ضَعِيفَةٌ الَّتِي تَزْعَمُونَ اَنَّكُمْ وَلَا يَنْبَغِي لِامْرَأَةٍ [10] اَنْ
 تَتَزَوَّجَ امْرَأَةً وَهَذَا كَذِبٌ ظَاهِرٌ وَلِنَا عَلَيْكُمْ اَكْبَرُ حُجَّةٌ وَطَعْنٌ لِاَنَّ اِبْرَاهِيمَ تَزَوَّجَ بِاخْتِهِ [11] وَهِيَ اُمْكَنْ
 سَارَةَ كَمَا قَالَ فِي كِتَابِ التَّوْرَةِ فِي السَّفَرِ الْاَوَّلِ مِنْهُ حَيْثُ يَقُولُ * {ثُمَّ رَحَلَ [12] اِبْرَاهِيمُ مِنْ ثَمَّ اِلَى

1 قَوْلُ] *Qawl* with *qāf* cut in half due to the binding. 2 كَنْعَانَ] *Kāf* cut in half due to the binding. 3 قَطُورَةَ] *Wāw* is quite blurred. 4 وَيُقَشَّنْ] To be read with *qāf* in comparison to Gen. 25:2, however, this letter is fully blurred and illegible. 5 وَثَمُوحُ] Very blurred. 6 عَيْفَ] Very blurred. 7 قَطُورَةَ] *Mīm* is quite blurred. 8 هَؤُلَاءِ] *Wāw* is quite blurred. 9 قَالَتْ فِي التَّوْرَةِ فَأَخَذَتْ سَرَى] The following words are very blurred: 10 ضَعِيفَةٌ] *Yā'* is quite blurred. 11 يَنْبَغِي] The word is quite blurred: 12 الْاَوَّلِ] *Wāw* is quite blurred.

3 قَطُورَةَ] *Qaṭūra*, see *Qetura*. 4 وَيُقَشَّنْ] *Zamrān*, *Yuqšan* (i.e. *Yuqšan*). See *Zamran*, *Jokshan*. 5 وَثَمُوحُ] *Medān*, *Midyān*, *Yišbā* (likely *Ishbaq*), *Ṭamūḥ* (likely *Shuah*). See *Madan*, *Midian*, *Yišbaq* (*Yišbāq*, likely *Ishbaq*), *Shuah*. 6 وَدَدَانَ] *Šabā*, see *Sheba*, *Dadan*, see *Dedan*. 7 عَيْفَ] *Ešūrim*, see *Asshurim*, *Laṭūšim*, see *Letushim*, *al-Amim*, see *Leummim*, 'Afyā, see *Ephah*. 8 وَءَايِدَغَ] 'Afr, see *Epher*, *Ḥanūḥ*, see *Hanoch*, *Eyidağ*, see *Abida'*, *Elda'ah*, see *Eldaah*. 9 سَرَى] *Saray*, see *Sarah*.

a Cf. Gen. 16:1-3.

b Cf. Gen. 25:1-4.

c Cf. Gen. 16:3.

بلاد القبله واقام بين رقيم وبين الجبار وسكن في الخلوص ولما قال [13] ابراهيم عن سارة زوجته هي
 أختي فبعث ابي مالك ملك الفلستينيين فأخذها بخاء ملك الله [14] الى ابي مالك في حلم الليل فقال
 له إنك ميت بسبب المرأة التي أخذتها وهي ذات بعل وكان [15] ابو مالك لم يقرب إليها فقال يارب
 اني انسان زكي تقتوله الا أنه قال لي هي أختي وهي [16] أيضا قالت هو أخي بصحة قلبي وبتقى كنفني
 صنعت ذلك وصدرت بالتعريف من أن تخطي [17] لي ولذلك لم ادعك أن تدن منها والان رد
 زوجته أنه نبي يدعو عليك وتحي وان لم تردها [18] أعلم أنك مالك أنت وجميع مالك ⊙ فادج ابو
 مالك بالعدة ودعا بجمع قواده كلمتهم [19] بهذا الكلام ففزع القوام جدا ثم دعا ابراهيم وقال له ما
 صنعت بنا وما اخطيت لك إذا جلبت [20] علي وعلى مملكتي خطبة عظيمة واعمل لا يصنع مثلها
 صنعتها معي * ثم قال له ما رأيت اذا صنعت [21] هذا الامر * قال اني قلت لعل ليس مخافة الله في هذا
 الموضع فيقتلونني بسبب زوجتي وعلى [22] حقيقة هي أختي من ابي لاكن ليست من امي فصارت
 لي زوجة^a ⊙ أيضا { كان يعقوب | امرأتين وأمتين اسم أحدهما بلهه والاخرى زلفه وكان يعقوب
 من بلهه امه راحل دان [2] ونفتلي ومن زلفه امه لأذغد وئاشر^b * } وهؤلاء بنوا الأمتين يرثون في
 ارض كنعان كما يرثون [3] أولاد لأه وراحل كما قال في كتاب تورية في السفر الرابع منه^c فهذه حجة
 قوية فتدبرها [4] فأنها من اكبر المحجج عليهم والله الموافق لصواب والرشد تم والحمد لله والصلاة على
 رسول الله [5] أيها القاري لهذا الكتب اجتهد في دراسته فإنه حق يقين كما اجد في كتاب التوره [6]

[12] التي 14 الفلستينيين الفلستينيين 13 This and the previous word are quite blurred. [وسكن 12
 From this line up to line 16, a number of words are blurred. 19 ما] With another *fatha* written
 on top of the current one. 20 حطينة خطبة] With *alif* of elongation connected to and
 preceding *tām*. [وعلی Wāw written under 'ayn. 2 ونفتلي 4 فأنها] The word is quite blurred.
 The word is quite blurred.

1 [بلهه] Balha, see Bilha. [زلفه] Zilfah, see Zilpa. [راحل] Rāḥil, see Rachel. 2 [ونفتلي] Dān,
 Naftālī. See Dan, Naphtali. [كنعان] Kan'an, see Canaan. 3 [لأه] Li'uh, see Leah.

a Cf. Gen. 20:1-12.

b Cf. Gen. 30:1-13.

c Cf. Gen. 35:1-13 and Gen. 37:1.

والانجيل والزبور والقران والله المستعان * * تم محمد الله [7] بَابُ نَصْنَعِ اِنْسَانًا عَلٰى مِثَالِنَا تَفْسِيْرُهُ عَلٰى
 مِثَالِنَا [8] لِرُوْحِ اٰدَمَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ كَانَ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللّٰهِ وَتَجْرِيْبُ ذٰلِكَ مَا قَالِ اللّٰهُ تَبْرَكَ وَتَعَلٰى فِيْ كِتَابِهِ [9]
 الْعَزِيْزِي فِيْ سُوْرَةِ السُّجْرَةِ حَيْثُ يَقُوْلُ عَزْ مِنْ قَايِلٍ وَبَدَأَ {خَلَقَ الْاِنْسَانَ مِنْ طِيْنٍ} ^a {ثُمَّ سَوَّاهُ وَنَفَخَ فِيْهِ
 [10] مِنْ رُّوْحِهِ} ^b اَيْضًا قَالَ اللّٰهُ فِيْ كِتَابِ تَوْرِيَةِ {وَنَفَخَ فِيْهِ الرُّبُّ نَسْمَةَ الْحَيٰوةِ} ^c مَسْئَلَةٌ اٰخَرٰى ثَلَاثَةٌ
 [11] فِيْ جَسَدِ ابْنِ اٰدَمَ الْوَاحِدَةِ مِنْهَا يَفْسِدُ الْاِثْنَيْنِ وَهِيَ الْقَلْبُ لِاَنَّ الْقَلْبَ لِاَنَّ الْقَلْبَ يَفْسِدُ الْجَسَدَ وَالرُّوْحَ اَوْ [12]
 يَصْلِحُنَا تَمَّتِ الْمَقَالَةُ مَسْئَلَةٌ اٰخَرٰى زَعَمَ النَّصْرِيُّ اَنَّ الرَّجُلَ اِذَا مَاتَ رَأٰى مَوْضِعَهُ فِي الْاٰخِرَةِ [13] مِنْ
 هَذِهِ الدُّنْيَا مِنْ خَيْرٍ اَوْ شَرٍّ اِذَا كَانَ كَذٰلِكَ حَقًّا اسْتَعْنِيَ الرَّبُّ اَنْ يَعْمَلَ يَوْمَ الْحِسَابِ * فَالْجَوَابُ [14]
 فِيْ ذٰلِكَ وَاللّٰهُ الْمُوَافِقُ الصَّوَابِ وَالرَّشَادُ حَقًّا اَنَّ الرَّجُلَ اِذَا مَاتَ يَرٰى مَوْضِعَهُ مِنْ خَيْرٍ اَوْ شَرٍّ [15]
 فَالْمَعْقَبُ فِي النَّارِ هُوَ الرُّوْحُ اِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَمَةِ وَالرَّبُّ سَبِّحَنَهُ يَعْمَلُ يَوْمَ الْقِيَمَةِ بِاَنَّ الرُّوْحَ [16] وَالْجَسَدَ
 هُمَا مَعْدَبَيْنِ بِحَقِّ اَنْهُمَا اشْتَرَاكَ فِيْ ذَنْبٍ اَوْ بَشَرٍ كَانَ اَيْضًا يَعْمَلُ الصَّالِحُ ○ مَسْئَلَةٌ [17] اٰخَرٰى مِنْ
 اَعْظَمِ اٰيَةٍ فِي الدُّنْيَا اَنَّ الْخَلٰلِقَ لَا يَشْبَهُ اَحَدًا اِلَى اَحَدٍ ○ مَسْئَلَةٌ اٰخَرٰى اِيْ اَرْضٍ [18] فَوْقَ سَمَوَاتٍ فَهُوَ
 عِيْسَى ابْنُ مَرْيَمَ صَلَّى اللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلٰى جَمِيْعِ الْاَنْبِيَاءِ اِجْمَعِيْنَ بَابُ [19] مَسْئَلَةٌ فِي التَّغْطِيْسِ النَّصْرَايَ قُلِ
 النَّصْرَايَ لَمْ تَغْطَسُوْا هٰذَا الصَّبِيَّ وَهُوَ صَغِيْرٌ لَا يُقْبَلُ [20] هُوَ عَهْدٌ نَأْنَعْنَهُ * فَاجَابَ النَّصْرِيُّ التَّغْطِيْسُ
 يَسْلَهُمْ مِنَ الذَّنُوْبِ قُلْ لَهُمْ اَزِيْدُ مَا تَيسُوْعُ [21] لِاَنَّ النَّصْرِيَّ يَزْعَمُوْنَ اَنَّ يَسُوْعَ مَاتَ بِسَبَبِ يَسْلِهِمْ

7 With a stroke coming out of *lām*. مثالنا [مثالنا] 9 [سورة] This word and the previous one are quite blurred. 11 [آدم] The words in this line up to this point are quite blurred. 12 [المقالة] From here up to line 14, some words at the beginning of each line are quite blurred. 14 [شر] [شر] With a stroke under *šīn* (a *šadda*?). 16 [معدبن] *Alif* of elongation using a thick *qalam*. [نشر] [نشر] يسليه [يسليه] التغتيس [التغتيس] 20 تغتسوا [تغتسوا] التغتيس [التغتيس] 19

20 [نأنعنه] *nenguna, ninguna*, i.e., whatsoever (here in the sense: he took no pact with God whatsoever).

a Q. 32:7.

b Q. 32:9.

c Gen. 2:7.

ذنوب جميع النَّصْرَى فَأَجَابُوا بِذُنُوبِ الْمُسْتَقْبَلَةِ [22] مَاتَ يُسُوعُ قَلَّ لَهُمْ أَنْ كَانَ مَاتَ يُسُوعُ بِذَنْبِ
 الْمُسْتَقْبَلَةِ ① وَبَعْدَ يَسْرُقِ النَّصْرَانِي يُصَلِّبُهُ | يُظْهِرُ بِذَلِكَ أَنَّ التَّغْطِيسَ لَا يُسَلِّمُ الذُّنُوبَ الْمُسْتَقْبَلَةَ مُسَلِّمَةً
 f. 50^r أُخْرَى الْعُقُولِ ثَمَانِيَةَ أَرْبَعَةٍ مِنْ حَارِجِ [2] النَّفْسِ وَالْعَيْنَيْنِ وَالْأَنْفِ وَالْقَمِّ وَالْيَدَيْنِ وَأَرْبَعَةً مِنْ دَاخِلِ
 أَوْهَا الْحِسُّ الْمَشْتَرِكُ يُسْكَنُ فِي الْجَبِيَةِ [3] مَتَاعَ الرَّأْسِ * مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ رَأَى الْإِنْسَانَ بَعِينَهُ مُقْلًا وَجَاءَ
 الْحِسُّ الْمَشْتَرِكُ وَصُورُهُ بِأَنَّهَا مِنْ حَدِيدِ [4] أَوْ مِنْ صُفْرٍ أَوْ مِنْ أَي نَوْعٍ كَانَتْ وَالثَّانِيَةَ التَّخِيلَ وَالثَّلَاثَةَ
 لِلْفِكْرِ وَالرَّابِعَةَ الذَّاكِرَةَ الْحَافِظَةَ [5] تَسْكُنُ فِي حُفِّ مَعَ الرَّاسِ فِي الدِّمَاغِ مُسَلِّمَةً أُخْرَى فِي الْقَمِيَشْطَشِ
 قَالَ أَرْسَطُو الْفَيْلَسُوفِ [6] لَيْسَ يَقْدِرُ أَحَدٌ أَنْ يَرْجِعَ وَاحِدَ مَادَّةٍ بِأُخْرَى مَادَّةً ② مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ لَيْسَ
 يَقْدِرُ أَحَدٌ أَنْ يَصْنَعَ [7] مِنَ الْحَلْفِ صَحِيفَةً مِنْ حَرِيرٍ وَلَا مِنَ الْحَرِيرِ أَيْضًا مَلْحَفَةً مِنْ سَكَّانٍ إِلَى أَنْ يَجْرَعَ
 الشَّيْءَ إِلَى الْإِمَامِ مِنْ أَيِ [8] يَخْرُجُ الشَّيْءُ أَوَّلًا ③ مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ إِذَا قَطَعَ إِنْسَانٌ إِلَى الْإِنْسَانِ أَذُنَهُ فَلَيْسَ يَقْدِرُ
 أَحَدٌ أَنْ يَنْبِتَهُ [9] أُخْرَى حَتَّى قَالَ الْعُلَمَاءُ الْفَلَسَفَةُ أَنَّ الْجَيْنَ أَنْ انْقَطَعَ وَاحِدٌ مِنْ أَصَابِعِهِ يَقْدِرُ يَكُونُ أَنْ
 يَنْبِتَ أُخْرَى [10] وَمَتَى يَخْرُجُ مِنْ بَطْنِ أُمِّهِ فَلَا يَقْدِرُ يَكُونُ ④ وَفِي الْأَشْجَارِ ضِدُّ ذَلِكَ وَذَلِكَ أَنْ انْقَطَعَ
 مِنْ شَجَرَةٍ [11] وَاحِدٌ قَضِيبٌ يَنْبِتُ فِي مَوْضِعٍ أُخْرَى قَضِيبٌ جَدِيدٌ وَلَيْسَ ذَلِكَ فِي الرِّجَالِ وَالنِّسَاءِ
 وَالذُّوَابِ [12] وَجَمِيعِ الْحَيَوَانَ مُسَلِّمَةً أُخْرَى {أَوْلَمَ يَنْظُرُوا فِي مَلَكُوتِ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ} لَيْسَ
 يَفْهَمُ هَذِهِ [13] الْآيَةَ بِأَنَّ يَنْظُرُوا النَّاسَ إِلَى السَّمَاوَاتِ كَذَلِكَ يَرَاهُ الْكَلْبُ وَجَمِيعَ الْحَيَوَانَ * وَلَكِنْ
 يَفْهَمُ [14] هَذِهِ الْآيَةَ بِأَنَّ يَتَعَلَّمَ الْإِنْسَانُ عِلْمَ النِّجَامَةِ مُسَلِّمَةً أُخْرَى لَيْسَ يَتَبَيَّنُ دِينَ الْحَقِّ [15] بِالسَّيْفِ
 فَالْمَسْلُومُونَ كُلُّ مَرَّةٍ ذَايِنٌ يَغْلِبُ إِلَى النَّصْرَى وَإِنَّمَا يَتَبَيَّنُ دِينَ الْحَقِّ [16] بِالْحَقِّ الْمُبِينِ * قَالَ أَرْسَطُو
 لَيْسَ الشُّهُودُ الَّذِينَ يَقْدِرُ يَنْبِتُ الْحَقِّ ⑤ وَإِنَّمَا الْأَخْبَارُ [17] الَّذِي يَقُولُوا الشُّهُودُ هِيَ الَّذِي يَنْبِتُ الْحَقَّ

21 [المُسْتَقْبَلَةَ] *Tā' marbūṭa* is cut: المُسْتَقْبَلَةُ 22 [أَنْ] This word and the previous one are quite blurred.

1 [مَعَ] *ma'a* is a later addition by رَأَى الْإِنْسَانَ [الْإِنْسَانَ الرَّأْسِ الرَّأْسِ 3 التَّغْطِيسِ [التَّغْطِيسِ 1 مَلْحَفَةً [مَلْحَفَةً 7 الرَّاسِ فِي الدِّمَاغِ [الدِّمَاغِ 10 ذَلِكَ] *šadda* is, in fact, written between the word which precedes and *dāl*. 17 [الَّذِي] *Alif* is cut.

5 [القَمِيَشْطَشِ] *alcamīštas, alquimistas*, i.e. alchemists. 15 [ذَايِنٌ] *debin, deben*, i.e. (they) should.

او يثبت الكذبة مسلة أخرى [18] ستعين في كل صناعة باهلها قال النبي عليه السلام {نحن من امة لا نكتب ولا نحسب} {افطروا برؤية الهلال} {وصوموا برؤية الهلال فإن غم عليكم الهلال فأكلوا عدة الإثنين يوماً} ○ وقال ايضاً النبي عليه السلام من صدق منجماً فقد كفر بما انزل على محمد ○ [19] ... ظن ان يكتب بلا خطأ هو كمن يعيش بلا ذنب قاله النبي عليه السلام ○ مثل في [20] مقرعة التي بنيت في النخلة وليس تحمل النخلة ثمرة الى مائة عام تمت المسائلات | مسلة اخرى * قال f. 50^v

ارسطو الفيلسوف خلق الله في ابن ادم ثلاثة أشياء النفس والجسد [2] والاعتراض من الخير والشر ○ فمن الناس منهم نفس وجسد طيب واعتراض سوء ○ ايضاً [3] من الناس منهم كانوا نفس وجسد واعتراض السوء ومنهم ايضاً مختلطون من يكون له نفس [4] طيب وجسد خبيث ومنهم من يكون له جسد طيب ونفس خبيث واعتراض السوء ومن [5] الناس ايضاً من يكون له نفس وجسد خبيث واعتراض سوء وليس يقدر انسان روح طيب [6] وجسد طيب واعتراض طيب مسلة اخرى في شهادة الممكن والمنتع في الممكن يسع [7] كذبة ○ وفي المنتع ايضاً الكذبة في المنتع أكبر من كذبة الممكن مسلة اخرى [8] زعم النصارى انهم يسمون النصرى بسبب ان يسوع يسمى الناصري لان القرية التي ولد يسوع [9] سميت الناصرة في أرض الجليله مثل من قال طليطله والذين يسكنون فيها يسمون طليطلين [10] يعني الناصري كرسثته * قل لهم في الجواب ان اتم

[كمن ...] Cut word (unreadable). لاثنين [Lām is cut: الإثنين] Alif is cut. [افطروا] 18 Another, not connected *kāf* is written above the word with the aim to clarify the original rendering. [واعتراض] 3 المستلات [المسائلات] "fi" is an addition. [في] Mīm is cut. [مقرعة] 20 [واعتراض] 3 المختلطون [مختلطون] Alif is written as a curl above (and seems to be an addition). [الاعتراض] 4 [السوء] 4 مختلطون مختلطون [التاس] 5 Nūn is somewhat blurred.

18 [نحسب] Cf. *inter alia* with what is reported in *Saḥīḥ Muslim* 1080 and *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* 1913 <https://sunnah.com/search?q=لا+نكتب> [الهلال] Cf. *inter alia* with what is reported in *Saḥīḥ Muslim* 1080 and *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* 1906 <https://sunnah.com/search?q=تروا+الهلال> [يوماً] Cf. *inter alia* with what is reported in *Saḥīḥ Muslim* 1081 and *Saḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* 1909, where reference is made to thirty days. I was unable to find the reference to two days. <https://sunnah.com/search?q=صوموا+لرؤيته+،+وأفطروا+لرؤيته> 9 [طليطله] Tulayṭula, i.e. Toledo. [طليطلين] Tulayṭulīn, i.e. toledans. [كرسثته] 10 [cristo], i.e. Christ.

تَسْمُونَ النَّصَارَى بِسَبَبِ أَنَّهُ يُقَالُ لَهُ يُسُوعُ [11] النَّاصِرِيُّ * فَلَسْتُمْ يَعْمَلُونَ مِثْلَ مَا عَمِلَ هُوَ لِأَنَّ يُسُوعَ
 النَّاصِرِيَّ عِيَادَ عِيَادِ الْيَهُودِ وَالسَّبُوتِ [12] وَالقَرَابِينَ وَالخِتَانَةَ وَلَا يَأْكُلُ دَمًا وَلَا مَيْتَةً وَيَتَطَهَّرُ وَأَنْتُمْ مِنْ
 جَمِيعِ هَذِهِ لَمْ تَعْمَلُوا شَيْئًا [13] وَبِسَبَبِ ذَلِكَ لَمْ تَكُونُوا أَنْتُمْ النَّصَارَى وَهَذِهِ الْكُفَايَةُ ○ ○ أَبُو زَكْرِيَاءَ
 [14] يَحْيَى بْنُ عُثْمَانَ بْنِ أَدْرِيسَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدَ بْنِ عُمَرَ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمُؤْمِنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ * وَأَسْمُ الْإِمْرَأَةِ أَبِي عَبْدِ اللَّهِ [15]
 مُحَمَّدٌ وَأَخِيهِ أَحْمَدُ ابْنَا أَحْمَدَ بْنِ عُثْمَانَ بْنِ أَدْرِيسَ بْنِ عُمَرَ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْمُؤْمِنِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ * بِخَتِيئِ بْنِ [16] عَبْدِ
 الْمُؤْمِنِ وَأَدْرِيسَ ابْنَ رُشْدٍ وَعُثْمَانَ فُرْسَانَ مِنْ مَغْرَوَّةٍ أَيْضًا يَعْقُوبَ بْنَ نَصْرَةَ [17] أَبُو عَلِيٍّ أَبُو سَعِيدِ
 بْنِ عَبْدِ الْحَقِّ الْمَوْحِدِيِّ الْمِرْبَينِيِّ مَسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى قَالَ أَبُو حَامِدٍ الْغَزَالِيُّ [18] رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ إِذَا لَمْ يَكْفِكَ مَا
 يَكْفِيكَ فَمَا يَكْفِكَ مَسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى فِي فِانِّ النَّصَارَى [19] زَعَمُوا أَنَّ عِنْدَهُمْ فَأَاءَ مَاخُودَةَ بِيُولُسَ وَأُخْرَى
 مِنَ الْخَوَارِيزِيِّينَ * قُلْ لَهُمْ فِي الْجَوَابِ [20] يَنْبَغِي لَكُمْ أَنْ تَظْهَرُوا كَيْفَ كَانَ هَذَا الْعَهْدُ يَعْنِي لَفَاءَ مَبْنِيَّةٍ
 عَلَى الْحَقِّ فَأَجَابُوا كَمَا قَالَ [21] أَغَشْتِينَ فِي بَشْتُولِهِ لَيْسَ يَنْبَغِي لَنَا أَنْ تَجْعَلَ لَفَاءَ قَطُولَهُ لِمَجَادِلَةٍ إِلَّا أَنْ
 تَقْبَلُوهَا [22] كَمَا كَانَتْ * قُلْ لَهُمْ فِي الْجَوَابِ حَقِّ يَقِينٍ أَنَّ عَيْسَى بْنُ مَرْيَمَ قَالَ لِلْيَهُودِ بَعْدَ نَقُولِ لَكُمْ
 الْحَقِّ لَمْ تَرَوْا تَوْمُنًا | مَسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى فِي التَّغْطِيسِ النَّصَارَى قُلْ لِلنَّصَارَى أَنَّ التَّغْطِيسَ يُسُوعُ النَّاصِرِيُّ
 الَّتِي [2] زَعَمَتِ النَّصَارَى لَيْسَ هُوَ تَغْطِيسٌ إِلَّا طَهْرٌ كَمَا فَعَلَ مُوسَى وَهَرُونَ وَجَمِيعَ أَنْبِيَاءِ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ [3]

f. 51^r

12 An *alif madda* is written in between [زَكْرِيَاءَ] الْكُفَايَةُ [13] السَّبُوتِ وَالقَرَابِينَ [وَالقَرَابِينَ] 12 (and above) *yā'* and *alif* of elongation. 15 ابناً [ابناً] 15 The last two letters of this word are somewhat broken. 18 [في] *fī* seems to be a later addition. 22 [كَمَا] With a non-connected *kā'* written above as a means of clarification. [لَمْ تَوْمُنُوا] The last two words are written with a finer qalam in the margin, in a vertical arrangement. It is not clear whether this was done by another hand. Note the same expression in Q. 49:14. تَوْمُنُوا [تَوْمُنُوا] The repetition of *lām* and the verb are a later addition written using a different, finer *qalam*. 1 التَّغْطِيسِ [التَّغْطِيسِ] 1 أَنْبِيَاءُ [أَنْبِيَاءُ] 2 تَغْتِيسُ [تَغْطِيسُ] 2

19 [فَاءَ] *fe*, i.e. *faith*. [بِيُولُسَ] *bi-Bawlus* (Paulus), i.e. from Paul. 20 [لَفَاءَ] *la-fe*, i.e. *the faith*. This word and the previous one are both written with a finer *qalam* and seem to be a late addition. 21 [بَشْتُولِهِ] *bistolhi*, *epistola*, i.e. *epistle*. [قَطُولَهُ] *caṭolica*, i.e. *Catholic*.

يل كما يأمر كتاب التوراة لأن في تغطيسكم التي علمتم الان تجعلوا انتم في المعمودية [4] صليب وزيت وتدهنوا بذلك الدهن رأسه وجهته ومن ذلك كله لم يعملوا شيئا الناصري يسوع [5] وتجرب ذلك الانجيل حيث يقول {وعمد يحي ابن زكرياء ليسوع الناصري في واد الاردون} [6] ^a مسألة اخرى لليهود لعنهم الله اذا قال اليهود للمسلمين ليس لكم شرعا [7] قل لهم في الجواب ان الفرد اذا يكون خبيث ليس هو من شرع كذلك انتم اليهود مسألة [8] اخرى من الاشياء المضافان ليس يقدر يكون خالق دون الخلاق ولا الخلاق دون الخالق * ولا ولد [9] دون والد ⊙ ايضا مسألة اخرى خلق الله ادم على شبهه يعني بان الله سَلَطَ ادم على جميع [10] اشيا الدنيا وهي كلمة مشتركة مثل من قال ضرس وعين فالضرس وعين كلمة مشتركة [11] يفهم باكثر معنى واحد كما قال الله في كتاب تورية {يا بني اسرائيل اني رسول الله اليكم مصدقا لما بين [12] يدي من التورية ومبشرا برسول ياتي من بعدي اسمه احمد} ^b ⊙ اجاب النصارى عند ذلك [13] وقالوا انظروا ان كما اشتد اش فان في الانجيل لم يذكر هذا ⊙ قل لهم ان في الانجيل [14] لم يكن له الا عشرين ورقة قليلا او كثيرا ما نش واما فيما يقول يسوع خارج الانجيل [15] المكتوب يقدر يكون فيه حيث يقول في اخر انجيل يحي الحواري انما معجزات يسوع لم [16] تحمله اسفارا في الدنيا مسألة اخرى زعم النصارى واليهود ان المسلمين تقرون [17] بالتوراة والانجيل لم لا يتبعون دين اليهود ودين النصارى ⊙ قل لهم اننا نتبع الاكل وهو [18] القرآن وازيد جاء إلينا لان في القرءان يتبع فيه يوم القيامة والبعث والجنة والنار ⊙ [19] مسألة اخرى زعم النصارى واليهود ان لهم شرعا وان المسلمين ليس لهم شرعا قل [20] لهم في ذلك

3 [المعمودية] تغطيسكم [تغطيسكم] اسرائيل [يل] 3
 under *wāw*: المعمودية: 4 وجهته: *hā'* is quite blurred. [يسوع] Yasū' is an addition using another *qalam* and the reader who made this addition is referred to by the letter *qāf*. 10 [وعين] This word is quite blurred. 11 [معنى] 11 [تورية] تورية [معناه] معنى 11
 [كثيرا] 14 [تورية] تورية [معناه] معنى 11
 a means of clarification.

13 [كما اشتد اش] en que-stades, i.e. in which you are. 14 [مانش] menos, i.e. less.

a Cf. Mark 1:9-11.

b Q. 6:1:6.

انَّ التَّورِيَّةَ كَتَبَهُ مُوسَى بِيَدِهِ وَالْإِنْجِيلَ كَتَبَهَا الْحَوَارِيُّونَ بَعْدَ زَمَانٍ طَوِيلٍ * [21] وَإِنْ زَعَمَ النَّصَارَى
وَالْيَهُودُ لَيْسَتْ هِيَ شَرَعًا جَاءَتْ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى لِأَنَّ التَّورِيَّةَ [22] كَتَبَهُ مُوسَى بِيَدِهِ وَالْإِنْجِيلَ كَتَبَهَا
الْحَوَارِيُّونَ بَعْدَ عَيْسَى بَزْمَانٍ طَوِيلٍ * كَمَا أَنَّهُمْ لَمْ يَقْدِرُوا | أَنْ يَثْبِتَ أَنَّ التَّورِيَّةَ وَالْإِنْجِيلَ لَيْسُوا هُمَ مِنْ
عِنْدِ اللَّهِ شَرَعًا كَذَلِكَ الْمُعْجَزَاتُ الَّتِي كَانَتْ [2] فِيهَا لَيْسَ هِيَ حَقًّا وَتَقْبَلُهُمْ كُلُّهَا حَقًّا أَوْ كَلِمَةً بَاطِلًا
وَهَذَا هُوَ الْحَقُّ بِأَنَّ يَعْمَلُوا بِالسَّمْعِيَّةِ [3] حَقًّا إِنْ كَانَ فِي الدُّنْيَا رَجُلٌ كَانَ اسْمُهُ مُوسَى يَظْهَرُ مُعْجَزَاتٍ
مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى كَذَلِكَ يَكُونُ [4] فِي الدُّنْيَا فِي أَرْضِ الْعَرَبِ رَجُلٌ يُقَالُ لَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ وَبِذَلِكَ قَالَ الْمُنْطِقِيُّ
الْأَخْبَارَ الْمُتَوَاتِرَةَ ذَابَانَ [5] شَايَارَ مَصْدَقَةً * مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ جَمِيعُ النَّاسِ يَقُولُونَ كَانَ فِي الدُّنْيَا بَيْتٌ يُقَالُ
لَهَا يُوشَشَلَمُ [6] بِكَثْرَةِ يَقُولُونَ أَنْ لَأَكْرِيَارَ النَّاسِ بَابٌ فِي الْقَدْرِ وَالْقَضَاءِ [7] قَالَ أَبُو الْوَلِيدِ بْنُ رُشْدٍ فِي
الْقَضَاءِ وَالْقَدْرِ ذَابًا أَتَانَدَارُ الْإِنْسَانَ أَنْ جَمِيعَ الْأَشْيَاءِ [8] كُلِّهَا بِإِرَادَةِ اللَّهِ وَمَشِيئَتِهِ وَذَلِكَ بِوَجْهَيْنِ
○ الْوَجْهَ الْأَوَّلُ أَنْ لَيْسَ كُلُّهُ بِإِدِّ الْإِنْسَانِ [9] وَلَا كُلُّهُ بِإِرَادَةِ اللَّهِ سُبْحَانَهُ * مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ أَنَّ الْإِنْسَانَ إِذَا
أَرَادَ أَنْ يَعْمَلَ خَيْرًا يَكَلِّمُ اللَّهَ إِلَيْهِ [10] بِأَشْيَاءٍ جَاءَتْ مِنْ خَارِجٍ * وَإِذَا أَرَادَ أَنْ يَعْمَلَ شَرًّا أَعْرَضَهُ
اللَّهُ بِأَشْيَاءٍ جَاءَتْ مِنْ خَارِجٍ [11] فَكُلُّ عَمَلٍ يَعْمَلُ ابْنُ آدَمَ مِنْ خَيْرٍ وَشَرٍّ كَانَ لَهُ حِطًّا الَّذِي عَمِلَ بِهِ
○ وَحِطَّ الرَّبُّ بِأَنَّهُ [12] أَرَادَ أَنْ يَكْفَلَ ○ وَمَنْ قَالَ أَنَّ كُلَّهُ بِطَاقَةِ الْإِنْسَانِ الْخَيْرِ وَالشَّرِّ فَكَانَ بَدْعَةً
وَكَفَرًا [13] وَإِنْ كَانَ كُلُّهُ أَيْضًا مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ أَكْثَرَ بَعَثَ اللَّهُ الرَّسُلَ وَالْكِتَابَ الْمُنزِلَةَ مِنَ الْأَمْرِ [14]
وَالنَّوَاهِي ○ وَبِهَذَيْنِ الْوَجْهَيْنِ كَانَتْ الْأَشْيَاءُ الَّتِي جَاءَتْ إِلَى النَّاسِ مَجْبُورَةً * وَأَشْيَاءٌ [15] كَانَتْ
جَاءَتْ إِلَى النَّاسِ بِاِكْتِسَابِهِمْ * وَدَلِيلُ ذَلِكَ قَوْلُ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَمَا ظَلَمَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَلَا كُنْ [16] كَانُوا أَنْفُسَهُمْ
يُظَلَمُونَ * وَمَنْ يَهْدِ اللَّهُ فَهُوَ الْمُهْتَدِي وَمَنْ يُضِلِلْ فَلَنْ تَجِدَ لَهُ وَلِيًّا مُرْشِدًا [17] مُسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى قَالَ أَرَسَطُو

21 [هو] هي 21 *Alif* of elongation comes out *lām* and is connected to it. *كَلِمَةٌ* 2 لَيْسَ [لَيْسُوا] 1 هُوَ [هي] 21
والكتب 13 مَشِيئَتِهِ *Yā'* written with hamza on top, too: [وَمَشِيئَتِهِ] 8 الْإِنْسَانِ [الإنسان] 7
كَانُوا] 16 *Alif* of elongation comes out *lām* and is connected to it. [ولا كُنْ] 15 الْكُتُوبِ

5 [شَايَارَ] *deben seyer*, i.e. they should be. *يُولُوشَلَمُ* *Yūlusā'lam*, Jerusalén, see Jerusalem.
6 [أَكْرِيَارَ] *en lo a creyer, en creerlo*, i.e. in believing it (here with the sense of: in so far as many
people say it (that is that a house exists called Jerusalem), then (the result would be) people
would believe it). 7 [الإنسان] *debe entender an-nās*, i.e. (people) must understand.

أَنَّ اللَّهَ سَبِحَهُ خَلَقَ ثَلَاثَةَ أَشْيَاءٍ خَلَقَ خَيْرَ إِنْسَانٍ وَرَدِيٍّ [18] وَقَوِيٍّ وَضَعِيفُ الثَّانِيَةَ خَلَقَ نَفْسًا طَيِّبَةً
 أَوْ رَدِيَّةً فِي جَسَدِ الْإِنْسَانِ وَ [19] الثَّلَاثَةَ الْإِعْتِرَاضُ يَعْنِي لُشُّ أَكْبَا سَمِيًّا تَوْشُ خَيْرَاتٍ أَوْ السُّوءِ وَلَيْسَ
 مِنْ هَذِهِ الثَّلَاثَةِ [20] أَشْيَاءٌ فِي طَاقَةِ الْإِنْسَانِ شَيْءٌ سِوَى كَانِ يَدِ الْإِنْسَانِ لِحَسَدِ ضَعِيفِ جِهَازِهِ فِي
 أَثْوَابٍ [21] جَائِدَةٍ * وَالنَّفْسُ رَدِيَّةٌ حَسَبَهَا إِذَا اشْتَهَتْ شَيْئًا رَدِيًّا وَلَيْسَ لِلْإِنْسَانِ الْأَعْرَاضُ أَنْ [22]
 يَهْرَبَ مِنْهَا فَإِنَّهَا مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى مَسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى فِي الْقَدْرِ فِي الْأَشْيَاءِ الْمَجْبُورَةِ | الَّتِي لَيْسَ فِي طَاقَةِ
 النَّاسِ * وَأَشْيَاءٌ أُخْرَى جَاءَتْ إِلَى النَّاسِ بِإِكْتِسَابِهِمْ كَمَا قَالَ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ [2] فِي كِتَابِهِ الْعَزِيزِ {وَمَا
 ظَلَمَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَلَا كُنَّا أَنْفُسَهُمْ يَظْلِمُونَ} ^a * وَقَالَ أَيْضًا جَلٌّ وَعَرٌّ إِمَّا يُجْزُونَ [3] مَا كُنْتُمْ تَعْمَلُونَ
 * وَالْعَالَمُ الْعَاقِلُ ذَابًا يَفْهَمُ الْأَشْيَاءَ الْمَجْبُورَةَ الَّتِي لَيْسَتْ فِي طَاقَةِ النَّاسِ [4] جَاءَتْ فِي يَقْدَرِ مَنْ
 اللَّهُ سَبِحَهُ إِلَى النَّاسِ ○ وَالْأَشْيَاءُ الَّتِي بَقِيَ فِي الْبَرْدِيَّةِ الْإِنْسَانِ إِذَا قَالَ [5] نَفْعَلُ هَذَا أَوْ لَمْ نَفْعَلْ
 جَاءَتْ إِلَى النَّاسِ بِاِكْتِسَابِ أَعْمَالِهِمْ شَأْنِي نَنْفُوشًا أَكْثَرُ بَعَثَ اللَّهُ [6] رَسُولًا وَالْأَمْرَ الشَّرِيعَةَ
 وَالنَّوَاهِي بَعْدَ أَنْ لَيْسَ فِي طَاقَةِ النَّاسِ الْخَيْرَ وَلَا إِجْتِنَابَ [7] الْبِشْرِ * وَلَيْسَ وَجْهَ الرَّبِّ
 أَنْ يَعْذِبَ الْإِنْسَانَ فِي النَّارِ * إِذَا عَمَلَ شَرًّا بِأَنَّهُ قَدَرَهُ عَلَيْهِ * مِثَالُ [8] ذَلِكَ أَنَّ الْحَاكِمَ أَمَرَ الشُّرْطِيَّ
 أَنْ يَقْتُلَ رَجُلًا بَعْدَ أَنْ جَوَرَ حَبَسَ الشُّرْطِيَّ أَنْ يَفْعَلَ لَهُ شَرًّا [9] بَعْدَ أَنْ أَمَرَهُ الْحَاكِمُ بَعْدَ أَنْ
 وَأَمَّا الْأَشْيَاءُ الْمَجْبُورَةُ الَّتِي لَيْسَتْ فِي طَاقَةِ النَّاسِ [10] وَذَلِكَ إِذَا مَشَى الْإِنْسَانُ فِي حَاجَتِهِ وَفِي
 سَفَرٍ وَخَرَجَ لَهُ أَنْسًا لَطَافًا وَسَبِيًّا لَهُ مَا كَانَ مَعَهُ [11] وَقَتْلُوهُ لِأَرَادَتْهُ الْبِدْرِيَّةُ أَرَادَ ذَلِكَ الْإِنْسَانُ أَنْ

أَثْوَابَةٍ [أَثْوَابٍ سِوَايَ سِوَايَ] 20 سِوَايَ [سِوَايَ] los written with thicker *qalam* than the rest. 19 أَكْبَا سَمِيًّا تَوْشُ
 21 هِرَبٌ Here it is clear that the *šadda* is on the next word, as it begins on the next line. [تَعَالَى] Alif of elongation comes out *lām* and
 is connected to it. جَاءَتْ [جَاءَتْ] 4 لِأَشْيَاءِ الْإِنْسَانِ 11 [الْبِدْرِيَّةُ] *bā'* also written with *fatha*.

[الْإِنْسَانِ] 4 [دَابًا] 3 [أَكْبَا سَمِيًّا تَوْشُ] 19 alpardriyo/albardrio, albedrio (o el poder(io)); free will other than in the capacity of men.
 5 [فَوْأَشًا] si asi non fue, i.e. if it would not be so. 8 [أَش] es, i.e. is. 11 [الْبِدْرِيَّةُ] alpidrio/alpadrio, albedrio, el poder(io).

a Q. 16:33.

b The reading of the word's last letter is unclear.

يَطْلِقُوهُ وَلَيْسَ فِي طَاقَتِهِ شَيْءٌ * اَيْضًا أُخْر [12] رَجُلٌ كَالْمَجْبُوسِ أَشْ أَلْبَدْرِیُّهُ ارَادَتْهُ ارَادَ أَنْ يَطْلِقُوهُ
 وَلَيْسَ فِي طَاقَتِهِ شَيْءٌ وَبِذَلِكَ [13] قَالَ ارْسَطُوْا فِي فِلْسَفَتِهِ الْاَشْيَاءَ اِبْتِدَاءً وَنِصْفٌ وَطُرْفٌ * فَاَمَّا اِبْتِدَاءٌ
 فَالْشَّيْءُ [14] الْمَجْبُورُ ۝ وَالنِّصْفُ فِيهِ يَقْدَرُ نَفْعُ امٍّ لَمْ يَقْدِرْ نَفْعُ قُوَّةٍ * وَالْقُوَّةُ بِلَتَيْنِ اِبْتِنَانِي [15]
 وَالطَّرْفُ هُوَ اِذَا كَانَ يَخْلُصُهُ اَكَّالٌ يَقْدَرُ يَفْعَلُ بَقِي لِبَدْرِیُّهِ اِنْ كَانَ هُوَ يَعْمَلُهُ اَوْ لَمْ يَعْمَلُهُ [16] مِثَالُ
 ذَلِكَ لِلشَّيْءِ الْمَجْبُورِ كَمَا قَالَ فِي كِتَابِ السُّنَّةِ اَنَّ الْاِحْمَقَ اِذَا كَانَ حُمَقًا بِمَرَضِهِ وَاَطْلَقَ [17] زَوْجَتَهُ اَوْ
 يَقْتُلُ اَحَدًا بِحُجْمِهِ فَلَا يَأْمُرُ الشَّرْعُ اَنْ يَجُوزَ اِطْلَاقُهُ وَلَا يَقْتُلُهُ بِالْقَتْلِ الَّتِي فَعَلَ ۝ [18] وَمِثَالُ ذَلِكَ
 اَيْضًا لِبَدْرِیُّهِ الَّتِي جَاءَتْ الْاَشْيَاءُ اِلَى النَّاسِ بِاِكْتِسَابِ اَعْمَالِهِمْ بِشَارِبِ الْخَمْرِ [19] اَنْ شَارِبِ الْخَمْرِ اِذَا
 اَطْلَقَ زَوْجَهُ اَوْ يَقْتُلُ اَحَدًا يَجُوزُ اِطْلَاقُهُ اَوْ يَقْتُلُهُ بِالْقَتْلِ الَّتِي عَمِلَ لِاَنَّهُ [20] سَبَبٌ شَارِبَهَا كِي نُخْرِجُهُ
 مِنْ عَقْلِهِ وَذَهَبَهُ كَانَ فِي بَدْرِیُّهِ كَالْتَّوَرِ يَقْدَرُ يَتْرُكُ اَنْ يَشْرِبَهَا [21] اِنْ ارَادَ هُوَ اَيْضًا مِنْ كِتَابِ السُّنَّةِ
 اِذَا اَمَرَ الرَّجُلُ بِقِطَاعَةِ رَجُلًا اُخْرًا يَقْتُلُ لَهُ [22] رَجُلٌ كَذَا فَيَقْتُلُهُ اَمْرُ الشَّرْعِ اِنْ يَقْتُلُ الَّذِي قَتَلَ
 الرَّجُلُ وَلَيْسَ الَّذِي اَمَرَ لَهُ لِاَنَّ فِي يَدِهِ اِنْ ارَادَهُ اَنْ يَقْتُلَهُ اَمَّ لَا مَسَلَةً اُخْرَى الْاَشْيَاءَ الْمَجْبُورَةَ الَّتِي
 لَيْسَتْ هِيَ بِطَاقَةِ الْاِنْسَانِ [2] الَّتِي قَالَ اللهُ لِابْرَهِيْمَ فِي تَوْرِيَّةٍ اَنْتَ سَتَكُ يَكُوْنُ فِي الْاَسْرَ اَرْبَعَمِائَةِ سَنَةٍ^b
 ثُمَّ اَخْرَجَهُمُ اللهُ لَهُمْ بِيَدِ [3] مَنِيعَةٍ مِنْ طَاقَةِ فِرْعَوْنَ ۝ وَكَذَلِكَ وَعَدَ الرَّبُّ لِداوُدَ بِذَنْبٍ يَذَنْبُ هُوَ فِي
 اِخْتِارِ امْرَاةٍ عِبْدِهِ [4] ثُمَّ اَمَرَ لَهُ بِمَوْضِعٍ اِنْ يَقْتُلُهُ قَالَ مِنْ صُلْبِكَ يَخْرُجُ مَنْ يَفْعَلُ بِاَزْوَاجِكَ وَجِوَارِكَ

f. 52^v

15 With a non-connected *kāf* on top of the word as a means of clarification. 16 بِقَا [بَقَى] لَشِي [لِشْيء] لِشِي [لِشْيء] 16 بِقَا [بَقَى] 15
 21 بِاَمْرُ [يَاْمُر] 21 بِاَمْرُ [يَاْمُر] With a non-connected *kāf* on top of the word as a means of clarification. 17
 اَرْبَعَمِائَةُ [اَبْرَعَمَائَةُ] 4 Written with *yā'* and *hamza* at the same time. 2 اَرْبَعَمِائَةُ [اَبْرَعَمَائَةُ]

12 اَلْبَدْرِیُّهُ es albidrio, es albedrío, i.e. it is free will. 14 اِبْتِنَانِي [اِبْتِنَانِي] bi-latin en potència, i.e. in Latin, in potency. 15 لِبَدْرِیُّهُ li-bidriyyo, li-(al)bedrío, i.e. for the free will. 18 لِبَدْرِیُّهُ li-bidriyyo, li-(al)bedrío, i.e. for the free will. 20 كَالْتَّوَرِ [bdriyo que lo (h)auri, (al)bedrío que lo habría (Cat. hauria); free will that he would have.

a Initial *alif* double vocalized and also written with *fatha*: اِبْتِدَاءٌ

b Cf. Gen. 15:13.

c Cf. Ex. 13-15.

كُلِّهَا عَلَانِيَةً يَكُونُ [5] لَجْمِيعِ إِسْرَائِيلَ مَغَارَ أَنْتَ تَكُونُ تَعْمَلُ فِي سِرٍّ * وكذلك وَعَدَ الرَّبُّ لَابْنَ سُلَيْمَانَ
رُعَامَ بِذَنْبٍ [6] أَبَوَاهُ سُلَيْمَانَ يَتْرَكَ جَوَارِيَهُ أَنْ يَسْجُدَنَّ لِلصَّنَمِ بِأَثْنَاءِ عَشْرِ سَبْطًا * تَرَلَا الْإِحْدَى عَشَرَ
سَبْطًا [7] وَذَلِكَ بِسَبَبِ أَنْ لَا يَقْدِرُ أَنْ يَفْعَلَ شَيْئًا آخَرَ * لِيَقْضِيَ اللَّهُ أَمْرًا كَانَ مَفْعُولًا بِذَلِكَ يُوْخَذُ [8]
الرُّعَامَ رَأَى الصَّبِيَّانِ وَيَتْرَكَ رَأْيَ الشُّيُوعِ * وَكَذَلِكَ مَا بَالَ فِرْعَوْنَ أَنَّ يَمُوتَ هُوَ بِأَكْمَالٍ [9] الرَّبِّ بِهِ
الَّذِي وَعَدَ لِبَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ مِنَ الْمُعْجَزَاتِ وَتَصَدِّقِينَ ذَلِكَ مَا قَالَ فِي السَّفَرِ الْأَوَّلِ مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ [10] حَيْثُ
يَقُولُ {فَقَسَا الرَّبُّ قَلْبَ فِرْعَوْنَ وَلَمْ أَبَا أَنْ يَطْلُقَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ حَتَّى يَكْمَلَ الرَّبُّ جَمِيعَ [11] الْمُعْجَزَاتِ الَّتِي
صَنَعَ فِي بَلَدِ مِصْرَ بِفِرْعَوْنَ وَجُنُودِهِ} ٥ وَمَالٍ أَيْضًا إِشْلَامُ ابْنِ دَاوُدَ أَنَّ يَمُوتَ [12] هُوَ بِأَكْمَالِ الرَّبِّ بِهِ
الَّذِي قَدَّانَ يَكْمَلُ هُوَ بِأَزْوَاجِ وَالِدِهِ دَاوُدَ بِالذَّنْبِ الَّذِي أَذْنَبَ دَاوُدَ [13] فِي أَخْذِ زَوْجَتِهِ لِعَبْدِهِ أَرِيشَ *
وَمَا بَالَ أَيْضًا لِرُّعَامِ ابْنِ سُلَيْمَانَ أَنْكَالَتِ الرَّبِّ الْمَلِكِ [14] وَالْإِحْدَى عَشَرَ سَبْطًا بَأَنَّهُ يَكْمَلُ * أَوْعَدَ الرَّبُّ
لِوَالِدِهِ سُلَيْمَانَ حِينَ أَذْنَبَ وَلَيْسَ وَاجِبٌ [15] أَنْ يَكْمَلَ الْإِنْسَانُ أَمْرًا بِهِ أَنْ يَفْعَلَهُ شَرًّا * مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ أَنَّ
الْحَاكِمَ أَمَرَ الشُّرْطِيَّ أَنْ يَذْبَحَ رَجُلًا [16] بِحِكْمَةٍ عَدَلٍ لَيْسَ يَحْبَسُ الشُّرْطِيَّ تَوَارِثُهُ نَانُغْنُهُ ثَمَارَاسَا شَرًّا *
وَالْجَوَابُ فِي ذَلِكَ وَاللَّهُ [17] الْمُوَافِقُ لِلصَّوَابِ وَالرَّشَادِ أَنَّ اللَّهَ إِذَا أَرَادَ أَنْفَادَ قَضَايِهِ وَقَدْرَهُ عَلَى النَّاسِ
بِإِكْتِسَابِ إِفْعَالِهِمْ [18] وَكُلِّ لُهُمْ رَجُلٌ سَوْءٍ وَأَنَاسًا لَطَافًا لِكِي يَكْمَلَ الَّتِي قَدَّرَ عَلَيْهِمْ بِسَوْءِ إِفْعَالِهِمْ
بِرَجُلٍ سَوْءٍ [19] وَأَنَاسًا لَطَافًا لِكِي دَأْيَهُ طَرْفَ السَّوِّءِ الَّذِي وَكُلِّ لَا كَمَالَ الْقَدْرِ السَّوِّءِ بِسَوْءِ إِكْتِسَابِهِ
[20] وَفِعْلِهِ الَّتِي تَقْدَمُ لِأَسْبَبِ هُوَ يَكْمَلُ الْقَدْرَ الَّذِي قَدَّرَ اللَّهُ عَلَى النَّاسِ الْإِلَّا بِإِكْتِسَابِهِ وَفِعْلِهِ [21] مِثَالُ

يَحْبَسُ 16 سُلَيْمَانَ [سُلَيْمَانَ] 14 لَأَوَّلِ [الأوَّل] 9 يُوْخَذُ [يُوْخَذُ] 7 With a scribble above *nūn*. [بِذَنْبٍ] 5
It seems to be a scribble under *ḥā*.

5 رُعَامَ Ru'ām, this seems to be an error since in this passage, Ru'ūb (Rehoboam, son of Solomon), is clearly meant. Compare above, where Ru'ām/Hāru'ām designates Jeroboam instead.
6 تَرَلَا [تَرَلَا] en que-l-tiro, en que le tiró, i.e. in that he threw from him off (that is, he took them from him off).
13 [أَنْكَالَتِ] en que-l-tiro, en que le tiró, i.e. in that he threw from him off (that is, he took them from him off).
16 [ثَمَارَاسَا] tuerto ninguno ni mereçe şirran, i.e. no wrong and he deserves no wrong.
19 [دَأْيَهُ] do a (h)aya, donde haya; where there is.

a Cf. Ex. 11:10.

ذلك إِذَا أَمَرَ الْحَاكِمَ لَسَارِقٍ أَنْ يَذْبَحَ رَجُلًا ثُمَّ أَمَرَ الْحَاكِمَ أَنْ يَصْلَبَ السَّارِقَ [22] بِسَبَبِ سَرْقَتِهِ لَا
 بِرَجُلٍ الَّذِي ذَبَحَ وَبِذَلِكَ قَالَ لَهُ الْمُمَثِّلُ يَا رَبِّ لَا تُكَلِّفْنِي عَلَىٰ إِنْفَازِ إِقْضَائِكَ وَقَدْرِكَ عَلَىٰ إِنَاسًا لَطَافًا الْآ
 f. 53^r اتِّي شَوْ سَوْءٍ فَهَذِهِ حِجَّةٌ قَوِيَّةٌ فَتَدْرَهَا فَاتَّهَمًا مِنْ أَكْبَرَ [2] الْحُجَجِ عَلَيْهِمْ وَاللَّهُ الْمَوَاقِفَ لِلصَّوَابِ وَالرَّشَادِ
 وَاللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِالْغَيْبِ وَأَحْكَمُ تَمَّتْ ○ [3] بَابُ ○ قَالَ أَبُو الْوَلِيدِ بْنُ رَشْدٍ يَنْبَغِي لِلْإِنْسَانِ أَنْ يَفْهَمُ وَيَدْرِي
 لِأَشْيَاءٍ كَيْفَ جَاءَتْ [4] وَيَتْرُكُ مِنْ أَيْ يَغْمِضُ أَكْثَرَ لِأَنَّ جَمِيعَ النَّاسِ لَيْسَ هُمْ عُقَلَاءُ مِنْهُمْ عُقَلَاءُ
 عُلَمَاءُ يَجْتَهِدُونَ [5] فِي خَوْضِ الْكَلَامِ فَلَمْ يَقْرَرُوا عَقُولَهُمْ حَتَّى يَعْلَمُونَ كَيْفَ جَاءَتْ الْأَشْيَاءُ وَبِأَيِّ
 وَجْهِ جَاءَتْ قَوْنَتْ [6] أَكْثَرَ يَغْمِضُونَ فِي الْأَشْيَاءِ أَكْثَرَ يَزْدَادُونَ فِي الْإِيمَانِ بِاللَّهِ ○ وَآخَرُونَ مِنْ
 النَّاسِ جُهَلَاءُ يَمَكْتُونَ [7] عَلَى شَيْءٍ السَّمْعِيَّةِ فِي أَمْرِ الشَّرِيعَةِ أَوْ غَيْرِهَا فَإِذَا يَرِيدُونَ أَنْ يَغْمِضُونَ فِي
 الْكَلَامِ الْغَوَامِضَ [8] يَكْفُرُ عَقُولَهُمْ فِيهَا وَلَا يَقْبَلُ عَقُولَهُمْ بِأَنَّهُمْ لَا يَفْهَمُونَهُ وَلَا يَدْرُونَ وَيَكُونُونَ فِي
 التَّشْكِيكِ فِي أَمْرِ [9] الشَّرِيعَةِ السَّمْعِيَّةِ ○ مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ لِلْجُهَلَاءِ أَكْفَالُهُمْ أَنْ يَدْرُونَ صَوْنَهُ الشَّمْسِ أَوْ
 ظُلْمَةَ [10] اللَّيْلِ وَلَا يَغْمِضُونَ بِأَنْ يَعْلَمُونَ مِنْ أَيِّ جَاءَتْ تِلْكَ الصَّوْنَةُ أَوْ تِلْكَ الظُّلْمَةُ لِأَنَّ عَقُولَهُمْ لَمْ تَقْبَلْ
 ذَلِكَ [11] مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ ... كِتَابُ اللَّهِ {لَا يَسْتَلُّ عَمَّا يَفْعَلُ وَهُمْ يُسْتَلُونَ} ^a ○ بَابُ زَعَمَ [12] النَّصَارَى
 إِنْ عَيْسَى بْنُ مَرْيَمَ كَانَ دِيُوشَ وَالرَّجُلُ * تَعَلَى اللَّهُ عَنْ ذَلِكَ عَلُوًّا كَبِيرًا [13] قُلْ لَهُمُ الْإِنِّ لَقَدْرْتُمْ
 أَنَّهُ رَجُلٌ * وَكَذَلِكَ حَقًّا أَنَّهُ رَجُلٌ يَأْكُلُ وَيَشْرَبُ ○ وَالْآنَ أُوْرِنِي [14] كَيْفَ كَانَ دِيُوشَ أَجَابَهُمْ
 بِالْمُعْجِزَاتِ الَّتِي فَعَلَ قُلْ لَهُمْ كَذَلِكَ أَعْمَلُوا مُعْجِزَاتٍ أُخْرَى [15] قَبْلَ هُوَ مِثْلُ مُعْجِزَاتِ مُوسَى الَّتِي
 صَنَعَ فِي بَلَدِ مِصْرٍ أَيْضًا اثْنَا عَشَرَ طَرِيقًا فَتَحَ لَهُ فِي الْبَحْرِ [16] فَصَارَ الطُّرُوقُ الْبَحْرَ يَبَسًا ○ أَيْضًا حَرْقِيلَ

21 ذلك [Kāf] is rewritten on top as a means of clarification. 22 على Lām with alif madda on top. 1 وقدرتك This folio has been repaired on the right side, small and vertical, and there is a darker strip which it makes the reading of the first words in each line from here to line 13 difficult.

الغوامضة [الغوامض] 7 جهلا [جهلاء] 6 جأت [جاءت] 5 عقلاء [علماء] 4 بالغيب [بالغيب]

1 شو šū, (Cast.) so, my guess is soy, i.e. I am, or another verbal form of "ser", i.e. "to be". However, the meaning of this word is fully unclear to me. 5 قونت ^{قونت} quanto, cuánto, i.e. how much.

16 حرقيل [حرقيل] See Ḥarqīl, (Dū al-Kifl = Ezekiel?).

النبي احياءاً امواتاً كثيرة ☉ ايضاً اخبرني ان كان [17] دِيُوشُ كامل الذي يَدْخُلُ في بطنِ مَرِيَمَ *
 قُلْ لَهُمْ فَانْ دِيُوشُ نُنْ كَبَا فِي مَوْضِعٍ وَاِن قَالُوا [18] بَعْضُهُ * قُلْ لَهُمْ لَنَشَانِي دَا دِيُوشُ لَمْ يَنْقَسِمُ ☉
 وَقُلْ لَهُمْ اَيْضاً اَنَّ يَسُوعَ رُوحُ اللَّهِ وَلَمْ [19] يَكُونَ هُوَ لِمَا شَمَّادَتْ دَا دِيُوشُ فَان زَعَمُوا اَنَّهُ وُلِدُ اللَّهُ تَعَلَى
 اللَّهُ عَنِ ذَلِكَ عَلُوا كَبِيرًا [20] بِسَبَبِ اَنَّهُ قَالَ فِي الْاِنْجِيلِ بِسْمِ لَابِ وَالْوَلَدِ وَالرُّوحِ الْقُدْسِ وَهُوَ شَيْ
 وَاَحَدٌ * وَهُوَ [21] مِثْلُ خَلَّةٍ اُعْشَتَيْنِ فِي الْقُدْرَةِ وَالْعِلْمِ وَالْاِرَادَةِ وَهِيَ ثَلَاثَةُ اَشْيَاءٍ فِي الْاِنْسَانِيَّةِ وَاَحَدَةٌ
 f. 53^v [22] ... فَالْجَوَابُ فِي ذَلِكَ قُلْ لَهُمْ هُمْ مَوْجُودٌ فِي دِيُوشِ الْقُدْرَةِ وَالْعِلْمِ وَالْاِرَادَةِ وَهُوَ شَيْ وَاَحَدٌ *
 وَحَيْثُ يَكُونُ الْقُدْرَةُ فِيهِ الْعِلْمُ وَالْاِرَادَةُ وَهُوَ شَيْ وَاَحَدٌ * دُبْكَا اَهْنَاك [2] يَسُوعَ وَقَدْ يَكُونُ فِي دِيُوشِ
 الْقُدْرَةِ وَالْعِلْمِ وَالْاِرَادَةِ قَبْلَ اَنْ يَكُونَ يَسُوعَ وَالْاِن يَكُونُ فِي دِيُوشِ [3] الْقُدْرَةِ وَالْعِلْمِ وَالْاِرَادَةِ مَعَارَ
 يَكُونُ يَسُوعَ يَمُوتُ ☉ وَالْقُدْرَةُ وَالْعِلْمُ وَالْاِرَادَةُ هُوَ شَيْ [4] وَاَحَدٌ فِي دِيُوشِ مِثْلُ النَّفْسِ فِي الْجَسَدِ ☉
 قَالَ أَبُو الْوَلِيدِ بَنُ رُشْدٍ فِي كِتَابِ تَهَاتُ التَّهَاتِ [5] وَهَذَا الْكَلْبُ وَلَقَهُ أَبُو رُشْدٍ فِي الْفَلَسَفَةِ لَانْتِزَاعِ
 الْكَلْبِ الَّذِي اَلَّفَهُ أَبُو حَامِدٍ الْغَزَالِي لَانْتِزَاعِ [6] مَا قَالَ الْفَلَسَفَةُ وَيَسْمِيهِ كِتَابُ تَهَاتُ الْفَلَسَفَةِ ☉
 قَالَ أَبُو رُشْدٍ فِي كِتَابِهِ الْمَذْكُورِ مَوْجُودٌ [7] فِي الْاَجُودِ فِي دِيُوشِ الْقُدْرَةِ وَالْعِلْمِ وَالْاِرَادَةِ وَهُوَ شَيْ وَاَحَدٌ
 ☉ مِثْلُ الْاِنْسَانِ يَكُونُ هُوَ [8] مَوْجُودٌ اِنْسَانٌ حَيَوَانٌ نَاطِقٌ وَهُوَ شَيْ وَاَحَدٌ ☉ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ اَنَّ الْاِنْسَانَ
 لَيْسَ هُوَ مَوْجُودٌ [9] فِي الْاَجُودِ اِنْسَانٌ اِلَّا يَكُونُ هُوَ حَيَوَانٌ * وَلَا حَيَوَانٌ اِلَّا يَكُونُ نَاطِقٌ وَهُوَ مَوْجُودٌ

17 [مَرِيَمَ] Here there is a sign indicating a marginal addition by the copyist or another reader, but the addition itself is missing, probably after modern binding. 21 [خَلَّةٌ] There is a small, vertical repair on the right side and there is a darker strip which it makes the reading of the words at this spot difficult. 22 [فَالْجَوَابُ] There is a small, vertical repair on the right side and there is a darker strip which it makes the reading of the words at this spot difficult. ذلك [Kāf] is rewritten on top as a means of clarification. 4 [تَهَاتُ التَّهَاتِ] 5 [الْكَلْبُ] Alif of elongation written above, unconnected. 6 [لَانْتِزَاعِ لَانْتِزَاعِ] الكِتَابِ [لَانْتِزَاعِ] 7 [نَاطِقٌ] تَهَاتُ

17 [كَبَا] Dios non cabe, i.e. God does not fit. 18 [دَا دِيُوشُ] la ensençia de Dios, la esencia de Dios, i.e. God's essence. 19 [دَا دِيُوشُ] la mesmedat de Dios, la semejanza de Dios, i.e. the likeness of God. 21 [اِنْسَانِيَّةٌ] ensensia, esencia, i.e. essence. 1 [دُبْكَا] do cabe, donde cabe, i.e. within which it fits. 6 [رُشْدُ] Abū Rušd, see Ibn Rušd.

بِدَاتِهِ [10] يعني في ^{١٠}الإنشائية والاشياء القريبة التي وصف للإنسان بالصفات الصفات يعني [11] قَلَادَذَاشُ وهي العَقلُ والعِلمُ وهي أَشْيَاءُ بُرْشٍ كَدَغْنُهُ ولكلِّ واحدٍ مِنْهُمَا الصِّفَاتُ [12] وَذَاتُ يُعْنِي ^{١١}الإنشائية بُرْشٍ أَفْرَازُ * أَيضًا إِنْ زَعَمَ النَّصَارَى أَنَّ يَسُوعَ سَمِيَ نَفْسَهُ وَلَدَ اللهُ [13] فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ قُلْ لَهُمْ قَبْلَ أَنَّهُ يُسَمَى وَلَدَ اللهُ قَالَ اللهُ فِي تَوْرِيَةِ {أَبْنِي بُكْرِي إِسْرَائِيلُ} ^{١٢}أَيضًا قَالَ [14] يَسُوعُ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ حِينَ {سِئِلَ لَهُ الْعَالِمُ مِنْ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلِ أَخْبِرْنِي عَنِ أَوَّلِ الْعَهْدِ الَّذِي أَخَذَ الرَّبُّ [15] مِنْ إِسْرَائِيلِ قَالَ لَهُ يَسُوعُ اسْمِعْ يَا إِسْرَائِيلُ أَنَّ أَصْلَاهُكَ وَاحِدٌ} ^{١٣}فَانْ كَانُوا ثَلَاثَةً يَنْبَغِي لِدِيُوشُ [16] أَنَّ يَقُولَ فِي ذَلِكَ الْقَوْلِ اسْمِعْ يَا إِسْرَائِيلُ أَنَّ لَكَ ثَلَاثَةً إِيْلَاهُ أَجَابَ فِي ذَلِكَ وَقَالُوا أَنَّهُ لَمْ أَبَا أَنْ [17] يَقُولُهُ كَذَلِكَ ^{١٤} قُلْ لَهُمْ فِي الْجَوَابِ بَعْدَ دِيُوشُ {أَنْغَدُورُ يَكُونُ * مَسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى [18] قُلْ لَهُمْ لَيْسَ يُوجَدُ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ ثَلَاثِيَّةٌ نَانُغُونَهُ وَتَجْرِبُ ذَلِكَ مَا قَالَ يَسُوعُ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ حِينَ [19] {سِئِلَ لَهُ الْعَالِمُ مِنْ إِسْرَائِيلِ عَنِ أَوَّلِ الْعَهْدِ الَّتِي عَهَدَ الرَّبُّ مِنْ إِسْرَائِيلِ * فَأَجَابَ يَسُوعُ أَوَّلُ [20] الْعَهْدِ اسْمِعْ يَا إِسْرَائِيلُ أَنَّ الْإِهْلَ وَاحِدٌ} ^{١٥} وَعَلِمَ أَنَّ الثَّلَاثِيَّةَ يُدْبِرُونَهُ أَهْلُ الْكَنِيسَةِ [21] وَيَأْخُذُونَ مِنْهُمْ النَّصَارَى وَهَذِهِ الْكُفَايَةُ فِي هَذِهِ الْمَسْئَلَةِ فَتَدْبِرُهَا فَانَهَا مِنْ أَكْبَرِ الْحُجُجِ عَلَيْهِمْ [22] مَسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى قَالَ أَبُو رَشْدٍ فِي الْمَنْطِقِ فِي ضِدِّ الثَّلَاثِيَّةِ الَّتِي زَعَمَ النَّصَارَى * يَزْعَمُ النَّصَارَى | لِثَلَاثِيَّةٍ * الْعِلْمُ لَيْسَ وَاجِبٌ أَنْ يَكُونَ غَيْرَهُ الْعَالِمُ هُوَ شَيْ وَاحِدٌ f. 54^r وَكَذَلِكَ الْآبُ [2] وَالْأَبْنُ وَهِيَ مَضَافَانُ * قُلْ لَهُمْ فِي الْجَوَابِ لَيْسَ الْعِلْمُ يَفْعَلُ الْإِنْسَانَ وَلَا الْإِنْسَانُ

10 Here the paper is damaged and the word is unreadable (only the first and last letters are clearly *yā*). 11 [ثَلَاثَةٌ] Written both with *sukūn* and with *ḍamma*.

10 [الإنشائية] *ensensia, esencia, i.e. essence.* 11 [قَلَادَذَاشُ] *caledades, cualidades, i.e. qualities.* 12 [بُرْشٍ] *ensencia por sí, esencia por sí, i.e. essence in itself.* 13 [لِدِيُوشُ] *li-dios, i.e. for God.* 14 [أَنْغَدُورُ] *engañador, i.e. betrayer (would he be).* 15 [نَانُغُونَهُ] *nenguna, ninguna, i.e. non.*

a Cf. Ex. 4:22–23.

b Cf. Mark 12:28–29.

c Cf. Mark 12:28–29.

يَفْعَلُ [3] العلم فكلُّ واحدة منهما قايمةً بنفسها * لأنَّ العلم شي جَاءَ مِنْ خَارِجٍ وَهُوَ بَدَأَتْهُ وَالرُّجُلُ بَدَأَتْهُ
 [4] لَا فِي ذَاتٍ وَاحِدَةٍ كَذَلِكَ الْاَبُّ لَا يَقْدِرُ اَنْ يَكُوْنَ اِبْنٌ اِذْ هُوَ مَوْجُوْدٌ دَابٍ وَلَا الْاِبْنُ اَيْضًا [5] لَا
 يَقْدِرُ اَنْ يَكُوْنَ اَبٌ اِذْ هُوَ مَوْجُوْدٌ اَبٌ * كَذَلِكَ الْعِلْمُ وَالْعَالِمُ لَا يَقْدِرُ اَنْ يَكُوْنَ شَيْ وَاحِدٌ كُلُّ وَاحِدَةٍ
 [6] مِنْهُمَا بَطْرَفُهَا اَكْثَرُ يَفْهَمُ النَّاسُ اَنَّ الصِّفَاتِ الَّتِي فِي الْقُدْرَةِ وَالْعِلْمِ وَالْاِرَادَةِ كَانَتْ فِي دِيُوْشٍ [7]
 اَكْثَرُ مَشْنُ بِاَيِّ وَجْهِ هِيَ * لِاَنَّ فِي دِيُوْشٍ يُوْجَدُ الْقُدْرَةُ وَالْعِلْمُ وَالْاِرَادَةُ كَامِلَةٌ لِاَنَّهُ يَقْدِرُ فِي الْكَلِّ
 [8] وَيَعْلَمُ فِي الْكَلِّ وَاِرَادَتُهُ فِي الْكَلِّ ◉ وَالْقُدْرَةُ وَالْعِلْمُ وَالْاِرَادَةُ فِي النَّاسِ كَانَتْ اَمَطَلَاشٌ ◉ [9]
 مَدَعَهُ اِنْ جَعَلْتُمْ الْقُدْرَةَ وَالْعِلْمَ وَالْاِرَادَةَ جَعَلْتُمْ لِدِيُوْشٍ جَوْهَرًا وَاَعْرَاضًا يَعْني اَقْسِدَاتَاشٌ * كَا [10]
 شَاقُتِيَانَانَ مَعَ الْجَوْهَرِ وَهِيَ غِلْظٌ عَظِيْمٌ مَسْئَلَةٌ اٰخَرَى لَضِدِّ الثَّلَاثِيَّةِ * زَعَمَ [11] النَّصَارَى اَنَّ الثَّلَاثِيَّةَ
 ثَلَاثَةٌ اَنْشَانِسِيْشٌ رَجَعَتْ هِيَ وَاحِدَةٌ فَالْجَوَابُ فِي ذَلِكَ * قُلْ لَّهُمْ لَيْسَ [12] يَقْدِرُ يَكُوْنُ ثَلَاثٌ ذَاتٍ
 مَعًا اِلَّا كُلُّ وَاحِدَةٍ مِنْهَا بَطْرَفُهَا * فَاِذَا كَانَتْ هِيَ مَوْجُوْدَةً كُلُّ وَاحِدَةٍ [13] مِنْهَا بَطْرَفُهَا كَانَتْ هِيَ
 ثَلَاثَةٌ اَنْشَانِسِيْشٌ ◉ اَيْضًا قُلْ لَّهُمْ اَنْتُمْ النَّصَارَى مَقَالَةٌ اَعْمَشْتِيْنِ [14] حَيْثُ قَالَ فِي بَشْتُوْلِهِ * اَنَّ فِي
 دِيُوْشٍ قُدْرَةٌ وَعِلْمٌ وَاِرَادَةٌ اِنْ كَبَا اَنْ يَدْخُلَ اِهْنَا يَسُوْعُ وَقَبِلَ [15] اَنْ يَكُوْنَ يَسُوْعُ فِي الدُّنْيَا يَكُوْنُ فِي

2 ^{يَفْعَلُ} Under the 'ayn, in this word, a kind of curl (or sign) is written. It is unclear to me whether it is related to the similar sign on the left side alongside lines two to four to mark them or to underline their importance. 5 [كذلك] An additional, unconnected *kāf*, is written on top to clarify the letter. 7 [الكَلِّ] *Kāf* is somewhat broken. 8 [في] This folio has been repaired on the right side, small and vertical, and there is a darker strip that it makes the reading of the words on this spot difficult. 9 [ان] There is a small, vertical repair on the right side and there is a darker strip which it makes the reading of the words at this spot difficult. 10 [شَاقُتِيَانَانَ] There is a small, vertical repair on the right side and there is a darker strip which it makes the reading of the first word at the beginning of this and next line difficult. 11 النَّصَارَى [يَكُوْنُ] There is a small, vertical repair on the right side and there is a darker strip which it makes the reading of the first two words at the beginning of this and next line difficult.

7 ^{مَشْنُ} maš no, mas no, i.e. but not. 8 ^{اَمَطَلَاشٌ} ametales, i.e. metals. 10 ^{شَاقُتِيَانَانَ} acçidentes * que se contienen, i.e. accidents * which are contained in. 11 ^{اَنْشَانِسِيْشٌ} ensençies, esencias, i.e. essences. 14 ^{بَشْتُوْلِهِ} bistūlihi, epistola-hi, i.e. his epistle. 15 ^{كَبَا} cabe, i.e. fits.

دِيُوشُ قُدْرَةٌ وَعِلْمٌ وَارَادَةٌ * وبعد مَوْتِ يَسُوعَ لَيْسَ بَقِيَ لِدِيُوشِ [16] قُدْرَةٌ وَعِلْمٌ وَارَادَةٌ * وَأَمَّا نَحْنُ لَيْسَ نَعْلَمُ كَيْفَ كَانَ فِي دِيُوشِ الْقُدْرَةَ وَالْعِلْمَ وَالْإِرَادَةَ لِأَنَّهَا [17] مَعًا فِيهِ لَا إِفْرَازَ نَانُغُونُهُ ☉ أَيْضًا فِي النَّاسِ مَوْجُودٌ فِيهِمُ الْقُدْرَةُ وَالْعِلْمُ وَالْإِرَادَةُ لَيْسَ [18] هِيَ مَعًا كُلُّهَا سِوَى أَمَاطَلَاشٍ * وَالنَّاسُ يَقْدِرُونَ لَيْسَ فِي الْكَلِّ وَيَعْلَمُونَ وَلَيْسَ فِي الْكَلِّ [19] وَيُرِيدُونَ وَلَيْسَ فِي الْكَلِّ * وَفِي دِيُوشِ يَكُونُ لَهُ مَوْجُودُ الْقُدْرَةَ وَالْعِلْمَ وَالْإِرَادَةَ كَامِلَةً لَا إِفْرَازَ [20] بَيْنَهُمَا وَهِيَ شَيْءٌ وَاحِدٌ * وَالْأَقْلُ لَهُمْ أَخْبِرُونِي كَوَلِّ مِنْهَا أَبَاشًا يَكُونُ قَبْلَ * فَانْ زَعَمَ النَّصَارَى [21] إِنْ يَكُونُ الْوَاحِدَةَ بَعْدَ الْآخَرَى قُلْ لَهُمْ قَدْ يَكُونُ بَيْنَهُمَا زَمَانٌ وَوَقَفَ لَيْسَ يَقْدِرُ فِي وَاحِدَةٍ [22] إِفْئَانْشَانِشِيَهْ إِلَّا فِي ثَلَاثِ ذَاتٍ مُتَّفِرِقَةٍ كُلِّ وَاحِدَةٍ مِنْهَا بَطْرَفُهَا وَيَكُونُ دِيُوشٌ مِثْلُ الْإِنْسَانِ | وَقَدْ يَكُونُ مَوْجُودٌ فِي الْإِنْسَانِ بِطَبِيعَةِ حَقِيقَةِ الْقُدْرَةِ وَالْعِلْمِ f. 54^v وَالْإِرَادَةِ أَمَاطَلَاشٍ وَبِذَلِكَ [2] قَالَ الْمُنْطِقِيُّ مِنْ حَكْمٍ بِالشَّاهِدِ الْغَائِبِ فَهُوَ يَغْلُطُ وَحَيْثُ كَانَ فِي دِيُوشِ الْقُدْرَةَ فِيهِ الْعِلْمُ [3] وَالْإِرَادَةَ وَبِذَلِكَ قَالَ الْمُنْطِقِيُّ يَطِيرُ يَجْرِي بِأَشْ بِجَرِي بَرُكَأ بُوَادَا قَرَّارٌ * وَبِذَلِكَ قَالَ الْمُنْطِقِيُّ الْقُدْرَةَ يُعْنِي بِتَانْسِيَهْ [4] قَبْلَ الْعِلْمِ وَالْإِرَادَةَ إِفْئَانْشَانِشِيَهْ بِأَبْ زَعَمَ النَّصَارَى أَنَّ شَرِيعَتَهُمْ هِيَ فَامَأخُودَةٌ [5] بِبُولُوشٍ وَآخَرَى شَنْتُوشٍ قُلْ لَهُمْ كَأَفَا يَقْدِرُ يَعْطُ لُشْ شَنْتُوشٍ لِأَحَدٍ وَاحِدٍ يَأْخُذُ مِنْهُمْ [6] بِسَبَبِ أَنَّ يَسُوعَ قَالَ لِلْحَوَارِيِّينَ {تَتُّ زَمَانٌ إِشَايِدُ مَعَكُمْ وَلَيْسَ تَعْرِفُونِي} بِشْ

15 سِوَى | أَمَاطَلَاشٍ 18 بَقَا | بَقِيَ 15
A big black spot can be seen on the *alif* of this word. [قَرَّارٌ 3] This is written as an addition in another hand using a finer *qalam*, i.e. because he can run. مَوْخُودَةٌ [مَأْخُودَةٌ 4

17 [نَانُغُونُهُ] nenguno, ninguno, i.e. none. 20 [كُولُ] cual; (Cast.) cual, (Eng.) which. [أَبَاشَا] abese, hubiese, i. e. would have been. 22 [إِفْئَانْشَانِشِيَهْ] ensensia, esencia, i.e. essence. 3 [بَاطِر] Baytr, Pedro, see Peter. As noted above, one could wonder if this is a reference to Peter of Spain (13th c.) and to his *Tractatus* on logic or *Summulae logicales*. [بَاشْ] *baš* (*biš* in Andalusī Arabic), indicating final subordination, i.e. (he runs) to run. [قَرَّارٌ] *qarār* porque puede correr, i.e. because he can run. [بُتَانْسِيَهْ] *butānsiye*, potencia, i.e. potency. 4 [إِفْئَانْشَانِشِيَهْ] *ifenenito*, infinito, i.e. endless. [فَا] *fa*, i.e. faith. 5 [بِوَلُوشِ] *bi-Paulus*, *bi-Pablo*, i.e. from Paul. [شَنْتُوشِ] *santos*, i.e. saints. [كَأَفَا] *qué fe?*, i.e. which faith? 6 [إِشَايِدُ] *e seido*, he estado, i.e. I have been.

a Cf. John 14:9.

كَفَا [7] يَقْرُرُ الْحَوَارِيُّونَ أَنْ يَعْطُوا مِنْهُ إِلَى أَيْكُمْ أَيُّ فَاقْرُرْ أَنْتُمْ النَّصَارَى تَأْخُذُونَ مِنْهُمْ * [8] أَنْتُمْ تَشْهَدُ لَهُ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ بِأَنَّ الْحَوَارِينَ لَمْ يَعْرِفُوهُ وَأَيُّ الشَّهَادَةِ ذَا فَاقْدُرْ أَحَدٌ يَعْطِي مِنْهُ بِشْ [9] لَهُ لَمْ يَعْرِفُوهُ أَيُّ فَاقْتَدِرُوا أَنْتُمْ النَّصَارَى تَأْخُذُونَ مِنْهُمْ بِالصَّالِحِينَ إِذْ هُمْ لَمْ يَعْرِفُوهُ * قَالَ [10] أَغْشَيْتَيْنِ فِي ذَلِكَ أَكْبَرَ أَجْرًا الَّذِي يَتَّبِعُ لَفَا مِنْ الَّذِي يَتَّبِعُ الْبُرْهَانَ بِسَبَبِ أَنَّ الَّذِي يَتَّبِعُ [11] لَفَا قَبْلَهَا بِسَمْعِيهِ وَلَمْ يَحْتَاجْ لَهَا الْبُرْهَانَ

⊙ قَالَ أَرَسَطُوا جَمِيعَ فَاصْرُورَةَ شَيْ [12] الْبُرْهَانَ إِنْ كَانَتْ هِيَ أَرْمَدُ عَلَى الْحَقِّ فَلَيْسَ هِيَ مَقْبُولَةٌ ⊙

مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ أَنَّ الْعَقْلُ مِنَ الْإِنْسَانِ [13] إِذَا وَقَعَ عَلَى شَيْ غَامِضَةٍ لَمْ يَقْرُرْ عَقْلُهُ حَتَّى يَثْبُتَ عَلَى الْحَقِّ وَلَمْ يَقْدِرْ أَحَدٌ يَقْرُرْ عَقْلَهُ [14] إِلَّا بِالْحَقِّ الْبُرْهَانَ * مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ لِلشَّيِّ الثَّقِيلِ إِذَا وَقَعَ الشَّيِّ الثَّقِيلُ مِنْ عَلِيٍّ لَمْ يَقْرُرْ [15] هِيَ حَتَّى وَقَعَ فِي الْأَسْفَلِ مَسْئَلَةُ أُخْرَى قَالَ يَسُوعُ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ عَنْ يَحْيَى { لَمْ يَنْفَسْ [16] امْرَأَةً فِي الدُّنْيَا مِثْلَ يَحْيَى وَهُوَ اصْغَرُ مَنْ فِي مَلَكُوتِ السَّمَاوِيَةِ }^a مَسْئَلَةُ أُخْرَى زَعَمَ النَّصَارَى [17] أَنَّ هَذِهِ الْأَرْضَ مَتَاعٌ شَبَّهَتْ هِيَ مَتَاعَهُمْ قُلْ لَهُمْ أَنَّ الْأَرْضَ كُلَّهَا مِنَ اللَّهِ سَبَّحَنَهُ وَيَزَعُمُ [18] الْحَيَاةَ مِنْهَا إِلَى اللَّهِ تَعَالَى مِثْلُ قَوْلِهِ إِنْ الْأَرْضَ اللَّهُ يَرِثُهَا مِنْ شَيْءٍ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ وَكَذَلِكَ يَزَعُمُ [19] الْمُسْلِمُونَ أَنَّهَا مِنْهُمْ مَسْئَلَةُ أُخْرَى زَعَمَ النَّصَارَى أَنَّ الْبَيْتَ وَالَّذِينَ تَحْتَهُ مِثْلُ [20] لُشْ قَرْدَانَالَّاشْ وَالْمَطْرَانِيُونَ وَالسَّقْفُ يَعْفُرُونَ النَّصَارَى مِنْ كُلبِهِ وَمِنْ عُقُوبَةٍ * فَالْجَوَابُ [21] فِي ذَلِكَ إِنْ كَانُوا يَقْدِرُونَ الْعُفْرَانَ بَعْدَ أَكْثَرِ يَوْمِ الْحَكْمِ وَلَا يَبْقَى لِلرَّبِّ مَا بِحَكْمِ يَوْمِ الْحِسَابِ [22] وَقُلْ لَهُمْ أَيضًا يَقْدِرُونَ الْعُفْرَانَ أَمْ لَمْ يَقْدِرُوا الْعُفْرَانَ وَإِنْ كَانُوا يَقْدِرُونَ الْغُفْرَانَ بِأَشْ | يَدْفَعُ لَهُمُ الْبَيْتَ عَقْدَ غُفْرَانَ يَفْهَمُ هُوَ أَنْ لَا يَعْلَمُ

f. 55^r

[تعالى الحيازة الحيازة] 18 These two words are an addition with another finer *qalam*. [يحيى] 16
 والمطرانين والسقفه والسقف 20 With *alif* of elongation coming out *lām* and connected to it.
 لهم لهمه 1 يبقا يبقا 21 فالجواب الجواب

6 كَفَا [*baš kāfā*, (*biš* in Andalusī Arabic), indicating final subordination. So that it suffices (to the Apostles to resolve to give it to you). Initially, I considered the possibility of reading this as “*baš* ¿qué fe ...?” but reading it in Arabic seems to make more sense. 8 فَآ [*de fe, de fe*, i.e. of faith. 10 لَفَا [*la fe*, i.e. the faith. 12 أَرْمَدُ [*armado*, i.e. built (upon). 17 أَشْبَهَتْ [*Espaniya, España*, see Spain. 20 قَرْدَانَالَّاشْ [*los cardenales*, i.e. the cardinals. 22 بِأَشْ [*Baš* (*biš* in Andalusī Arabic), indicating final subordination.

a Cf. Matt. 11:11.

دِيُوشُ تِلْكَ الْغُفْرَانِ وَإِنْ يَعْلَمُ دِيُوشُ تِلْكَ [2] الْغُفْرَانِ أَكْثَرَ تِلْكَ الْعُقْدِ أَشْ يَحْتَاجُ إِلَيْهِ إِنْ يَحْمَلُهُ مَعَهُ تِلْكَ الْعُقْدُ يَوْمَ الْحُكْمِ مَسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى [3] يَذَنْبُ الْإِنْسَانِ فِي ثَلَاثَةِ أَوْجُوهِ أَوْهَا يَذَنْبٌ وَلَا يَعْلَمُ إِنْ كَانَ يَذَنْبُ وَالثَّانِيَةَ يَعْلَمُ يَذَنْبٌ وَيَتُوبُ [4] وَالثَّلَاثَةَ يَعْلَمُ يَذَنْبٌ وَلَمْ يَتُوبْ وَمَاتَ عَلَى ذَلِكَ فَهَذَا مَعْقَبٌ إِلَى الثَّانِيَةِ مَسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى [5] زَعَمَ النَّصَارَى أَنَّ لِدِيُوشَ وَلَدًا * قُلْ لَهُمْ لَيْسَ يَنْبَغِي لِدِيُوشَ وَلَدٌ * إِلَّا لِابْنِ آدَمَ يَنْبَغِي لَهُ وَلَدٌ [6] إِلَّا أَنَّهُ يَمُوتُ وَيُعَدُّمُ وَبَسَبِ ذَلِكَ يَنْبَغِي لَهُ وَلَدٌ بَأَنَّ يَكُونُ هُوَ كَامِلٌ وَكَذَلِكَ لِلطُّيُورِ يَنْبَغِي [7] لَهَا وَلَدًا وَجَمِيعَ الْحَيَوَانَ وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ سَبَّحَنَهُ هُوَ الْأَزَلِيُّ وَالْأَشْيَاءُ الَّتِي كَانَتْ لَنَا كَامِلَةً هِيَ لَهُ نَاقِصَةٌ ○ [8] مَسْئَلَةٌ أُخْرَى زَعَمَ النَّصْرَى أَنَّ لِبَارِجَانِدَتٍ أَحْسَنَ مِنَ التَّزْوِيجِ لِأَنَّ مَلِيخَا النَّبِيَّ وَيَحْيَى بْنُ [9] زَكَرِيَّا كَانَا مَعَاظِينَ يَزْعُمُونَ هَذَا النَّصَارَى بِسَبَبِ مَرْيَمَ أَنَّهُمْ قَالُوا أَنَّهُ كَانَتْ بَكَرًا قَبْلَ النَّفَاسِ [10] وَبَعْدَ النَّفَاسِ ○ قُلْ لَهُمْ فِي الْجَوَابِ أَحْسَنُ التَّزْوِيجِ مِنَ الْعَقَّةِ لِأَنَّ اللَّهَ أَمَرَ بِالتَّزْوِيجِ وَلَمْ يَأْمُرْ بِجَنْسِ [11] عَقَّةٍ ○ وَنَجَرَّبُ ذَلِكَ بِكُتَابِ التَّوْرَةِ حَيْثُ قَالَ الرَّبُّ لَادَمَ أَرْوَاجَ مَعَ حَوَى وَانْمُوا وَتَسَلَطُوا عَلَى [12] جَمِيعِ الْأَرْضِ وَكَذَلِكَ أَيْضًا إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَاسْتَحَقَّ وَيَعْقُوبَ يَكُونُونَ مَتَزَوِّجِينَ وَهُمْ لَشُبَطْرِيْرَكَشُ [13] الْكَبِيرَةِ مِنْ أَيْ يَأْخُذُ النَّاسُ الشَّرِيعَةَ ○ أَيْضًا قَالَ يُسُوعُ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ اثْنَيْنِ يَتَلَاصِقَانِ فَلَا يَنْبَغِي [14] لِأَحَدٍ أَنْ يَفْرَقَهُمَا حَتَّى يَتَفَرَّقَ دِيُوشُ * فَانِ اجَابُوا النَّصَارَى وَقَالُوا أَنَّ مَلِيخَا النَّبِيَّ يَكُونُ مَعَقَّةً [15] قُلْ لَهُمْ فِي الْجَوَابِ أَنَّ مَلِيخَا أَحْسَنُ مِنْ يُسُوعِ النَّاصِرِيِّ وَمِنْ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَاسْتَحَقَّ وَيَعْقُوبَ وَأَحْسَنُ [16] مِنْ قَوْلِ دِيُوشَ حَيْثُ أَمَرَ بِالتَّزْوِيجِ فِي كُتَابِ تَوْرَةِ بِسَبَبِ الْإِنْسَانِ أَنْ يَتَنَسَّلَ وَانْمُوا فِي الْأَرْضِ [17]

2 الغُفْرَانِ 7 نَاقِصَةٌ 9 مَرْيَمَ Here there is a sign indicating a marginal addition by the copyist of another reader, but the addition itself is missing, probably after modern binding. 10 النَّفَاسِ There is a small, vertical repair on the right side and there is a darker strip which it makes the reading of the first words in this line and the next difficult. 11 عَلِيٌّ With *alif* of elongation coming out *lām* and connected to it. 12 مَتَزَوِّجِينَ لَشُبَطْرِيْرَكَشُ patriarchas, i.e. the Patriarchs. 13 يَتَلَاصِقَانِ 14 يَفْرَقَهُمَا *Wāw* written with *alif madda* on top: 16 مَعَقَّةً قَالَ وَ: *Alif* of elongation placed above, maybe with another *qalam*, unconnected.

2 [أش] es, i.e. is. 5 [لديوش] li-Dios, i.e. God had (a son). 8 [لبارجاندت] la verjendat, la virginidad, i.e. the virginity.

لكي يبقى من نوعه وان يكون معمرة في الارض ايضا ابرهيم واسحق ويعقوب احسن من ملبخا النبي
 [18] حيث يقول يسوع في الانجيل للمكذّبين عن يوم القيامة لان الرب ردّ المراجعة بالمطالبة [19]
 بمدح من ابرهيم واسحق ويعقوب حيث يقول في الانجيل على لسان يسوع الناصري [انا الاله [20]
 ابرهيم والاه اسحق والاه يعقوب الاله الاحياء] ولم يقول الاله الاموات لان اهل الجنة [21] هم
 احياء وتجريب ذلك ما قال داود في الزبور ليس الاموات يتناؤك ولا الذين يموتون [22] في النار
 انا كما الذين يتناؤك f. 55^v ايضا نجربكم بطبيعة حقيقة ان التزويج احسن من لبارا جندت لان الناس
 لم يتزوجوا اتمرشي الناس ولم تكن الدنيا ويخرب الدنيا ولم يكن للدنيا [2] معمرة دون الرجل
 لان الرجل كُن كلشيون من الدنيا لان الناس يكون كريسيدش ويعدمون [3] وينبغي لها ان يبقى
 من انواعها لكي يكون معمرة في الارض * مثال ذلك جميع الحيوان وجميع الطيور [4] يتزوجون
 ويعرفون ازواجهم ويصنعون الدرية كي يبقى من انواعها لطول الزمان وكيف يكون [5] الدنيا بغير
 رجل من يزرع الفدادين ويعمر الديار والقصور والبلدان ادكايفا شمس والعناصر الاربعة [6] مسلة
 اخرى زعم النصارى ان المسلمين يطلقون ازواجهم ولم يعملوا في ذلك جيد وان شريعتهم [7] امر
 ان لا يطلق الرجل امراته فالجواب في ذلك قل لهم ان في شريعتنا شيئين [8] الاول ان الرجل
 منا اذا تزوج مع امراته ان هي خرجت جيدة حبسها طول حياته ويرصد في ذلك الوجه لشريعتكم
 [9] والثانية ان الرجل منا اذا تزوج امراته وخرجت هي ردية احسن ان يطلقها من احسبها

17 [معمرة] The word is somewhat blurred. 2 [جندت] The word is somewhat blurred. 3 [وينبغي] These words are somewhat blurred. 4 [يبقا] يبقا [الأربعة] 5 [يبقا] يبقا [الرجل] لاؤلية [الأولية] 7 [للربعة] للأربعة
 This word is an addition written with a finer qalam. This and the next first three words of the coming sentence are somewhat blurred.

1 [اتامرشي] atemersi (exterminare), i.e. will be exterminated. 2 [كن كلشيون] conclusion, i.e. end. [كريسيدش] corribciocadas, corrompidas, i.e. corrupted. 5 [شمس] My suggestion here is: e do que yafe (maybe Ar. "yafī", here it would read šams instead of šamš); a less likely possibility would be, e do que yafesams ("in which we reside"). The meaning of these words is very unclear to me.

a Cf. this passage to Matt. 22:23–32, particularly verse 32.

[10] وان احبسها مجبورة اُحتالت على زوجها بأن يقتلها * ويكون هي مقتولة بسببه أو ضر... [11]
 من دار زوجها مع احد من الناس كما تراها عيانا محققة ☉ وذلك اصاب فيكم أكثر منا وبسبب
 [12] ذلك كان الاطلاق احسن من حبسها ☉ وتفسير القول الذي قال يسوع في الانجيل حيث
 يقول اثنين [13] يتلاصقان فلا ينبغي لاحد أن يطلقهما عزمه ومعناه إذا كانا في عيشة طيبة وكذلك
 كان هذا [14] في شريعنا مسألة أخرى زعم النصارى أن الاكثر منهم من رجال ونساء هم الذين
 يعبدون [15] ديوش قل لهم في ذلك ليس منكم يعبدون ديوش الا قليلا * طائفة منكم يعبدون لبولش
 [16] وطائفة الى فرنسيسقه وقليل منكم يعبدون ديوش ☉ فان زعموا النصرى انهم لم يعبدون [17]
 الا لديش قل لهم بمن يمجلون عنهم لش ابطوش ماتكا ان تسألهم بمن يمجلون بها [18] يقولون ببولش أو
 فرنسيسقه أو بشنت بيطر أو بأغشتين أو بكثيرين آخرين يطول القصة [19] ليس يقولون بحرمة ديوش
 يمجلون بها وان المسلمين كلهم يعبدون الله ويزعونه و يمجلونهم [20] سنلهم بحرمة ☉ مسألة أخرى زعم
 النصارى أن المسلمين يستنجوا بالماء وهذا كان [21] من ازيد قل لهم في الجواب قد تعلمون اتم أن
 اليدن من الانسان هما ترجمان الجسد [22] وان كان موضع الاستنجاء نقي والنجية متاع الرجل نقيه
 وان كان موضع الاستنجاء | مكدّر * فالنجية متاع الرجل مكدرية ☉ مثال ذلك أن الرجل إذا اتام
 f. 56^r في سيره بالليل وهو [2] عريان يحمل يده بجميع جسده حتى الى موضع الاستنجاء ثم يحمل يده الى
 لحيته يوقرها من الخر كل [3] ليلة حتى ينجسها بالخمر ☉ وبهذا السبب هو احسن أن يغسل موضع
 الاستنجاء بالماء تمت [4] باب في مقالات أرسططالس الفيلسوف * [5] قال ارسطوا ما بين السماء

10 The word is very blurred and cannot be read. [هذا] 13 This word is an addition and
 written with a finer *qalam*. 20 [وهذا] This word seems to be a later addition and seems have
 been written with a finer *qalam*. 22 [الاستنجاء] الاستنجاء [الاستنجاء] الاستنجاء
 الاستنجاء

15 li-Paulus, li Pablo, i.e. (worship) Paulus. 16 [فرنسيسقه] Françisco, Francisco, see Francis.
 17 [بأغشتين] los abitos meto que, los (h)abitos meto, que, i.e. to put the habits, that. 18
 bi-Pawlus aw Françisco aw bi-Sant Pițru aw bi-Ağuştin, bi-Pablo o Francisco o bi-San Pedro or
 bi-Agustín, i.e. bi-Paul or Francis or bi-Saint Peter or bi-Augustine, see Augustine of Hippo.

ملاء ولا خلاء ويذكر في التوراة {في أوله أن فوق سماء ماء}^a قال أر [6] سطوا في مقالة الازلي الذي لا يزول * الازلي يفهم بالذي لا يزول كما يفهم الانسان بحيوان [7] ليس يقدر يكون انسان الا كان هو حيوان * ويشترك الانسن ايضا مع الملائكة في العقول [8] قال ابو الوليد بن رشد في المنطق الازلي في نوعين ازي مطلق وازلي مقيد * فاما [9] الازلي المطلق فهو الله الواحد القهار * لان جميع الاشياء المخلوقات كلها تتعلق منه * [10] واما الازلي المقيد يعني اراشباتا جميع الحيوان يعني انملاش في انواعها ٥ قال ارسطوا [11] الناس يشترك مع الملائكة في العقول ومع الحيوان في الحيوانية والحواس ومع الاشجار في [12] الاغذية التمر * ويقال لها قوة اغذية يعني ائبتانسية ذاغبارنسيون ملك الاشجار [13] كذلك الانسن قال ارسطوا في فلسفة الطبيعة ان الانسن لم يقدر يعيش دون الا [14] خلاط الاربعة * وان كان ينقص منها واحدة وهي الدم والبلغم والمرء والمرء والمرء [15] الصفرء ويمثل هذا الاخلاط الاربعة الى الاسطقسات الاربعة بسبب ان الانسن لم يقدر [16] يعيش دونها او ينقص منها واحدة قال ارسطوا في المنطق كلي ومفرد وجزء * ويقول [17] النصارى المفرد شغولار * وللجزء برتقولار * والمطلق شولته * والمحمول * [18] والموضوع يعني الخبر * والمخبر عنه * ويقول النصارى بارادقت ذباردقورين * وهي [19] كلمة مشتركة ومطرات يعني انسان حيوان * ويقول النصارى ان بجلت بر وبالعبية مركب [20] خير وجوهر جسم كل شي لان الجوهر يقع في كل

5 ملاء 5 مالا [ملاء] خلا [خلاء] 6 الانسان The *alif* of elongation is placed above, unconnected.

9 [يتعلق] Here, a copyist with abbreviation *ṣahḥ* has added to the margin the following (unfortunately, incomplete) Romance word: ... يعني سراد 11 الحراس [الحواس] انخرء [الخرء] 14

15 [الاسطقسات] 19 [المطرات] 19 [المطرات] An additional, unconnected *kāf* has been written on top of the word, to clarify the letter.

10 [انملاش] animales, i.e., animals. 12 [ذاغبارنسيون] en potencia de gobernación, i.e., in potency of government. 17 [شغولار] sanguler, i.e. singular. [برتقولار] particular, i.e. particular. [شولته] sueltos, i.e., free. 18 [ذباردقورين] beredicato de beredicatorin, predicado de los predicados, i.e. a predicate among the predicates. 19 [بر] cabalgato por, i.e. riding by.

a Cf. Gen. 1:6-7.

شيءٌ مُجَسَّمٌ ٥ قَالَ أَرَسَطُوا لَيْسَ يَعْغُرُ [21] الْحَقُّ بِالرِّجَالِ وَإِنَّمَا يَعْرِفُ الْحَقُّ بِالْحَقِّ وَإِذَا عَرَفَ هِيَ
عَرَفَ قَائِلُهَا * قَالَ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ [22] رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ أَحْسَنَ الْإِقْرَارِ عَلَى الْحَقِّ مِنَ التَّمَادُّ عَلَى
الْبَاطِلِ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَبَارَكَ وَتَعَالَى وَإِنْ تَطَعْتَ | أَكْثَرَ مَنْ فِي الْأَرْضِ يَضْلُوكُ عَنْ سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ قَالَ أَرَسَطُوا
f. 56^v خَالِصِ الصِّدْقِ أَنْ يَكُونَ خَارِجَ النَّفْسِ كَدَاخِلِهَا [2] قَالَ أَبُو الْوَلِيدِ بْنُ رُشْدٍ فِي الْمَنْطِقِ عَشْرَةَ أَشْيَاءَ
مِنَ الْأَشْيَاءِ الْمُضَافَاتِ * وَالسِّتَّةُ مِنْهَا عِنْدَ الْكَاتِبِ [3] مُجْهُولَةٌ ٥ وَيُقَالُ لَهَا النَّصَارِيُّ رَتَقُولَارٌ * وَأَوْلَاهَا
الْمَوْجِبَةُ وَالتَّالِفَةُ يَعْنِي بِالْعِجْمِيَّةِ شَيْءٌ أَنْ * [4] وَالثَّانِيَةُ أَيْضًا أَوْ أَسْوَدٌ مَعْنَاهُ أَوْ يَكُونُ الشَّيْءُ الْوَاحِدُ
أَيْضًا أَوْ أَسْوَدٌ لَيْسَ يَقْدِرُ الشَّيْءُ الْوَاحِدُ [5] أَيْضًا وَأَسْوَدٌ * وَالثَّلَاثَةُ حَجْرِيَّةٌ أَوْ شُبُوتِيَّةٌ ٥ وَالرَّابِعَةُ الْوَالِدُ
لَا يَقْدِرُ أَنْ يَكُونَ وَلَدٌ إِذْ هُوَ مَوْجُودٌ [6] أَبٌ وَالْوَالِدُ لَيْسَ يَقْدِرُ أَنْ يَكُونَ أَبًا إِذْ هُوَ مَوْجُودٌ وَلَدٌ ٥
قَالَ زَعَمَ الْعُلَمَاءُ الْفَلَسْفَةُ أَنَّ [7] الْأَشْيَاءَ الَّتِي خَلَقَ الرَّبُّ كُلَّهَا كَامِلَةٌ وَإِنْ لَا يَقْدِرُ يَكُنُ الْأَشْيَاءُ أَكْثَرَ
كَمَالًا مِمَّا كَانَتْ * وَإِنْ كَانَ [8] الرَّبُّ يَعْمَلُهَا بِوَجْهِ أُخْرَى أَكْثَرَ كَمَالًا فَضُولَهُ وَإِنْ لَيْسَ يَقْدِرُ يَعْمَلُ
لَهَا بِوَجْهِ أُخْرَى أَكْثَرَ كَمَالًا مِمَّا [9] كَانَتْ ٥ وَإِنْ كَانَتْ مَعْمُولَةٌ بِوَجْهِ أُخْرَى فَلَا يَكُونُ لَهَا إِكْمَالًا ٥
مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ نَرَى ذَلِكَ عَيْنًا أَنْ مُعْلَمًا [10] نَحَّارًا يَعْمَلُ دَارًا جَدِيدَةً مَلِيحَةً وَيَدْخُلُ فِي تِلْكَ الدَّارِ مَعْلَمًا
أُخْرَى ٥ وَقَالَ صَاحِبُ الدَّارِ لِلْمُعْلَمِ الثَّانِي [11] أَشْ يَظْهَرُكَ مِنْ تِلْكَ الدَّارِ هَلْ هِيَ مَلِيحَةٌ كَامِلَةٌ فَأَجَابَهُ
الْمُعْلَمُ نَعَمْ هِيَ جَابِرَةٌ مَلِيحَةٌ ٥ وَإِنَّمَا [12] الدَّارُ سَوْفَ يَصْنَعُ بِوَجْهِ أُخْرَى هِيَ كَانَتْ أَمْلَحُ وَأَكْمَلُ مِمَّا
كَانَتْ هِيَ ٥ وَالرَّبُّ خَلَقَ الْأَشْيَاءَ [13] كَامِلَةً ٥ مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ خَلَقَ الْمُنْشَارَ مِنَ الْحَدِيدِ لِتَنْشُرَ الْعُودَةَ
وَالْقِيدُومَ لِتَقْطَعَ الْعُودَةَ [14] وَالْمُبْرَدَةَ مِنَ الذِّكْرِ لِمُبْرَدِ الْحَدِيدِ * فَلَوْ خَلَقَ الرَّبُّ الْمُنْشَارَ مِنَ الْعُودَةِ
كَيْفَ يَقْدِرُ تَنْشُرَ [15] الْعُودَةَ وَلَوْ خَلَقَ الْمُبْرَدَ مِنَ الْحَدِيدِ كَيْفَ يَقْدِرُ يَبْرُدُ الْحَدِيدَ ٥ وَالْأَشْيَاءُ مِنْ
أَيِّ كِبَلَتِ الدُّنْيَا [16] هِيَ السِّتَّةُ وَإِنْ نَقَصَ وَاحِدَةً مِنْ هَذِهِ الْأَشْيَاءِ السِّتَّةِ فَلَا يَكُنُ الدُّنْيَا مَكْمَلَةً ٥

20 شيءٌ 22 [تَبَارَكَ] The *alif* of elongation is placed above unconnected. 2 اشياء 3 التالفة 9 [تَرَى] *dalika narā* is an addition in another hand and using another *qalam*. [مُعْلَمًا] There is a *šadda* under *mīm* or under *‘ayn* (unclear): 13 [العُودَةُ] 14 [الحديد] 15 [العُودَةُ] 16 [الدُّنْيَا]

3 [رَتَقُولَارٌ] reticular, i.e. reticular. 11 [أَشْ] es, i.e. is. 12 [أَنْ] si u non, si o no, i.e. yes or not.

أولها الماء [17] والنار والريح والتراب * وزعم النصارى في ذلك ان الفلسفة غلطوا في أن قالوا [18] هم أن الرب لم يقدر ان يعملها بوجه اخرى ان يكون اكمل وأتم مما كانت هي ☉ [19] قل لهم ان الفلاسفة لم قالوا شيئا في ذات الرب وقدرته لأن قدرته كثيرا لا يحصى * حاشى [20] في العمل انها لم يقدر تكون العمل أكمل ولتم الا كما كانت هي ☉ وان كان الرب [21] يعملها الاشياء بوجه اخرى لم يكن هي تن كمالا وليس يكون الاشياء كاملة [22] وتكونون منقوضة ☉ وبذلك قال الهندسي f. 57^r الشبي التي تكون هي كاملة اذا لم ينقص منها شيء * | قال أرسطوا في فلسفته الطبيعية العقل عقليين * عقل معوم * وعقل مخصوص ☉ [2] فأما العقل المعوم فانه يقع عليه جميع الخلايق * ويكون الكل فيها مستوي ☉ مثال ذلك [3] ان جميع الناس يحزرون انفسهم من النار ومن سقوط الماء والسقوف ويفهمونه بالعقل [4] المعوم ويحزنون من سوء * والعقل المخصص ان يتعلم الانسان علم المنطق والفلسفة [5] بان يدري الانسان يتبين بين الحق والباطل والاشياء التي يقع فيها ريب بين الحق والكذب [6] قال أرسطوا ليس الشهادة من الانسان الاداب البرانية الا الباطن الطبيعة * مثال [7] ذلك ان الانسان يظهر من اداب حسن عند الناس وهو في باطن الطبيعة ردي * ولذلك [8] قال عيسى بن مريم في الانجيل {لا تنظروا الى الملابس ثياب حسان ولا تحكوا عليه بأنه [9] رجل جيد ولا كن احكموا عليه بعمله} ^a قال أرسطوا يحكم الناس الجيادين * بنوعين [10] الاول انسان جيد يتبع الاوامر ونهى عن المنكر والفحشاء ويتبع الحق ويحتب عن [11] الكذب وهو لا يعلم شيئا من العلوم ☉ والنوع الثاني انسانا عالما وعملا هذا [12] هو له خصيتين خاصية العلم حين سئل له اجاب به وتنازع به وعمل بعمله كما يامر [13] الدين وقد قال الله تعالى في كتابه العزيز وما يعلم تأويله الا الله والرائيون [14] في العلم وقال ايضا جل وعز هل يستوي الذين يعلمون والذين لا يعلمون انما يتذكروا

16 [الماء] *Hamza* also written with *fatha*. 19 [الفلاسفة] *Alif* of elongation comes out of *lām* and is connected to it, preceding it. يخصى [يخصى] 6 البرنيه [البرانية] 6 يخصى [يخصى] 12 سيل [سئل] 12 البرنيه [البرانية] 6 يخصى [يخصى] 13 الرائون [الرائيون] 13 تأويله [تأويله]

21 [تن] *tan*, i.e. *so*.

a Cf. John 7:24.

الا [15] أولوا الالباب قال ارسطوا في فلسفته ان المرأة أكثر حظاً في الذرية من الرجل لأن المرأة [16] يري جينها في بطنها من دم طمها ويمص الجنين دم امه تسعة اشهر وبعد نفاسها [17] يرضعه سنتين كاملين وبطبيعة حقيقة ينبغي الذرية ان يشبهها الى الامهات بحظ الكبير [18] التي ياخذون الذرية من الامهات وبسبب ذلك يتبعون الذرية بطبيعة حقيقة ويشبهون الى الامهات [19] مثال ذلك ان قلة مملية باللبن يجعل فيها قد قوله انضحه وينفحها تلك القلة كلها كذلك [20] نطفة الرجل لان الاناء متاع المرأة هي كبيرة قال ارسطوا يتبين الاشياء بثلاثة [21] اوجوه بالبصيرة يتبين الابيض من الأسود والسّم والحواس قال ارسطوا ينبغي للسلطان [22] ان يودب الناس للخير ويواعظون به وبه يتعظون الناس على فعل الخيرات ☉ وفيه أيضاً | يقتدون الناس على فعل الشر مثل السلطان * f. 57^v مثل الرأس في الجسد إذا أشتكى الرأس لم ينفع سائر [2] الجسد لأن في الرأس جميع البصائر وفيه العينين والقدم والأذن والعقل فاذا فكر الانسان في عقله [3] يقتدي به جميع الجسد الى الخير والشر * وكذلك سلطان يقتدوا الناس به وبذلك قال العالم [4] اربعة أشياء يكون في الفكر * التحلي * والاشتراك * والتغير * والحفظ هو من الله تعالى [5] ويسكنون هذه الأشياء في القحف متع الرأس الانسان قال شانيك وهو رجلاً عالماً [6] وذلك قبل دين اليهود والنصارى وقال اني لم اترك أن يعمل شراً بخوف من سلطان ان يصيبني ضرر [7] إلا أن يفتروني فرية رجل سوء قال ارسطوا السارق السوء الذي يترك ان يسرق بخوف [8] ان يصلبه ☉ وانما السارق الجيد الذي يترك ان يسرق بخوف ان يقول له سارق قال أبو حامد [9] الغزالي رضي الله عنه ليس رجلاً صالحاً الذي عمل عملاً صالحاً بحيث ينال الجنة أو يخلص من النار [10] بأنه يخاف منها جداً ولاكن الرجل الصالح الذي عمل

الحراس [والحواس 21] *bā'* and *yā'* in this word are somewhat blurred. 17 المرأة [المراة 15] الحراس [والحواس 21] *bā'* and *yā'* in this word are somewhat blurred. 21 There is a large blur above *fā'* and also in the word *ayn*, an *alif* of elongation is connected to *lām* and comes out it. 1 السلطان [السلطان 1] *Alif* of elongation is written in between unconnected above. 2 الجسد [الجسد 2] *dāl* in *jasad* is written again on top of the word to clarify it. 3 السلطان [السلطان 3] *Alif* of elongation is written in between unconnected above. 4 الجيد [الجيد 4] *Alif* of elongation coming out of *lām*, preceding it, and connected to it. 8

عَمَلًا صَالِحًا لِرَبِّهِ بِوَجْهِهِ أَنْ يَنْعَرَفَ بِهِ وَيَسْتَحِقَّ [11] أَنْ يَتَعَبَّدَهُ ○ مثال ذلك أَنَّ الرَّجُلَ إِذَا اسْتَخْدَمَ
سُلْطَانًا بِوَجْهِهِ أَنْ يَنْأَلَ مِنْ خَيْرِهِ فَإِنْ لَمْ يَنْأَلَ مِنْ خَيْرِهِ [12] فَلَا يَسْتَخْدَمُهُ ○ وَرَجُلٌ آخَرَ اسْتَخْدَمَ
السُّلْطَانَ يَفْهَمُ هُوَ أَنَّ السُّلْطَانَ وَجِبَ لَهُ أَنْ يَسْتَخْدَمَهُ وَلَا يَرْجِي [13] فِي خَيْرِهِ فَذَلِكَ الرَّجُلُ هُوَ أَجْوَدُ
مَنْ الْآخَرُ لِأَنَّ نَيْتَهُ خَالِصَةً عِنْدَ السُّلْطَانَ قَالَ أَرْسَطُوا [14] النَّاسَ مَخْلُوطٌ فِي نَوْعَيْنِ * الْعَقْلُ وَالشَّهْوَةُ
* فَمَنْ غَلَبَ عَقْلُهُ عَلَى شَهْوَتِهِ فَهُوَ رَجُلٌ جَيِّدٌ [15] وَمَنْ غَلَبَ شَهْوَتُهُ عَلَى عَقْلِهِ فَلَيْسَ يَحْسِبُ بِرَجُلٍ
بَلْ هُوَ أَضَلُّ مِنَ الدَّابَّةِ قَالَ أَرْسَطُوا — [16] الْحَيَوَانَ عَامَةً فِي جَمِيعِ الْحَيَوَانَ وَإِذَا افْرَزَ بَيْنَهُمْ عَلَى ثَلَاثَةِ
أَجْنَاسٍ حَيَوَانَ حَيَوَانَ نَاطِقٌ مَيِّتٌ [17] حَيَوَانَ سَمَاوِيَّةٌ يَعْنِي الْمَلَائِكَةَ قَالَ الْفَيْلَسُوفُ * أَنَّ اللَّهَ خَلَقَ
الْأَشْيَاءَ عَلَى طَبَائِعِهِ وَهُوَ أَجْوَدُ [18] كَأَنَّ خَلْقَ دُونَ طَبَائِعٍ لَوْ كَانَ فِيهَا عَجْزٌ * فَأَجَابَ فِي ذَلِكَ أَبُو
الْوَلِيدِ بْنُ رُشْدٍ لَيْسَ الْعَجْزُ [19] فِي الْمَعْلَمِ الَّذِي يَعْمَلُ الْأَشْيَاءَ الَّتِي لَا يُمْكِنُ لَصَنْعَتِهِ وَلَا كُنَّ الْعَجْزُ
فِي الْمَعْلَمِ الَّذِي صَنَعَ صَنْعَةً [20] الَّتِي يُمْكِنُ لَصَنْعَتِهِ الْمَذْكُورَةَ وَلَا يَقْدِرُ يَعْمَلُهَا قَالَ أَبُو الْوَلِيدِ بْنُ رُشْدٍ
لَيْسَ يَقْدِرُ أَحَدٌ أَشْتَارَ مِنْ [21] الْأَشْيَاءِ أَنْ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهَا لَوْنٌ * وَإِذَا لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهَا لَوْنٌ لَيْسَ لَهَا جَسَدِيَّةٌ
* وَالرَّيْحُ يَكُنْ لَهُ جَسَدٌ وَلَا جَسَدٌ [22] بِهِ بَأَنَّ أَشْتَارَ مِنْهَا بَلَوْنٌ كَمَثَلِ شَيْءٍ مَبْنِيٍّ كَأَشْتَارَ مِنْ بَجَسَدٍ
وَبَلَوْنٍ وَجَمِيعِ الْأَشْيَاءِ الَّتِي لَمْ يَتَّبِعَنَّ بِجَسَدِيَّةٍ وَبَلَوْنٌ نَنْ أَنْبَرُغَ مَوْضِعٌ قَالَ الْفَيْلَسُوفُ الْمُتَمَتِّعُ مِثْلُ f. 58^r
مَنْ قَالَ * اللَّهُ يَقْدِرُ [2] أَنْ يَفْعَلَ مِنْ هَذَا الْعُودَةِ يَرْجِعُهُ فُضَّةً أَوْ ذَهَبًا يَتَّبِعُ بِذَلِكَ مَغَارًا كَمَا اللَّهُ قَادِرٌ
أَنْ يَفْعَلَ ذَلِكَ لَا نَصِدْقَ ذَلِكَ أَنْ يَكُونَ [3] كَذَلِكَ حَتَّى يَكُونَ مَفْعُولَةً * كَثِيرًا مِنَ الْأَشْيَاءِ يَقْدِرُ
يَكُونُ وَلَيْسَ هِيَ ○ قَالَ أَرْسَطُوا الْعُلُومَ كُلَّهَا مَعْلُوقَةٌ مِنَ الْبَارِي [4] عَزَّ وَجَلَّ الْأَزَلِيُّ وَهِيَ فِي نَوْعَيْنِ
* عِلْمٌ بِوَجْهِهِ كَالْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَعِلْمٌ بِبُرْهَانٍ وَيَتَمَيَّزُ بَيْنَ الْحَقِّ وَالْبَاطِلِ بِعَقْلِ [5] جَيِّدٍ * مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ أَنْ كَانَ

10 يَنْعَرَفُ [يَنْعَرَفُ] 12 [السُّلْطَانَ] Alif of elongation is written in between unconnected above.

13 [الْحَيَوَانَ] With a scribble under *hā*. 16 [الْحَيَوَانَ] Alif of elongation is written in between unconnected above. 1 [لَمْ] Actually, *sukūn* is placed under *lām*, on the right side. الْمُتَمَتِّعُ [الْمُتَمَتِّعُ]

4 [كَالْأَنْبِيَاءِ] With a scribble on top of *bā*.

18 [كَأَنَّ] que non, i.e. that not. 20 [أَشْتَارَ مِنْ] esterminar (exterminar), i.e. come to an end.

22 [أَشْتَارَ مِنْ] esterminar (exterminar), i.e. come to an end. [أَشْتَارَ مِنْ] que se estermina, que se extermina, i.e. which comes to an end. 1 [أَنْبَرُغَ] non enbarga, no embarga, i.e. does not occupy (a place). 2 [كَأَنَّ] maguera que, i.e. even if.

الْعِلْمُ لَمْ يَكُنِ الْإِزْيُ يُنْقَطِعُ الْعِلْمَ وَيُعَدُّ * مثال ذلك ان كَانَ جَمِيعَ قَنَادِيلِ الدُّنْيَا [6] يُطْفِئُ فَيَنْبَغِي إِلَى النَّاسِ أَنْ يَكْتَسُوا بِنَارِ الْإِكْبَرِ وَأَنْ كَانَ النَّارُ الْإِكْبَرُ يُطْفِئُ وَيُعَدُّ مِنْ أَيْ يُوجَدُ النَّاسُ [7] النَّارُ ○
 وَأَنْ كَانَ جَفَّ مَاءَ الْعَيْنِ مِنْ أَيْ يَخْرُجُ مِنْهَا الْمِيَاهُ مِنْ أَيْ يُوجَدُ النَّاسُ الْمَاءَ إِذَا أَنْقَطَعَ وَيَجِدُ مِيَاهَ [8] الصَّغِيرَةِ ○ وَذَلِكَ وَجْهٌ أَنْ يَعْرِفَ النَّاسُ أَنَّ الْعُلُومَ الْإِكْبَرَةَ كُلَّهَا مَعْلُومَةٌ مِنَ الْبَارِي عِزٌّ وَجَلٌّ وَهُوَ إِزْيٌ * [9] وَبَسَبَ ذَلِكَ عَرَفَ النَّاسُ الْعُقْلَاءُ أَنَّ الْبَارِيَّ عِزٌّ وَجَلٌّ هُوَ الْوَاحِدُ الْوَاحِدُ الْإِزْيُ قَالَ أَرَسَطُو [10] أَنَّ الْإِنْسَانَ لَمْ يَعْلَمْ فِي الْمَاضِي إِلَّا مَا رَأَى أَوْ سَمِعَ وَالَّتِي سَمِعَ لَمْ يَكُنْ مُتَيَقِّنًا هَلْ هِيَ كَمَا سَمِعَ أَمْ لَا * [11] وَالْوَجْهَ الثَّانِيَةَ فِي الْحَالِ الَّتِي رَأَى فِي مَوْضِعِهِ * وَأَمَّا فِي الْمَوَاضِعِ الْآخَرَى فَلَا يَعْلَمُ شَيْئًا * وَأَمَّا فِي الْمُسْتَقْبَلِ [12] أَيْضًا فَلَا يَعْلَمُ شَيْئًا حَتَّى يَكُونَ مَوْجُودٌ فِي الْحَالِ يُسَمَّى الدَّائِمَ لِأَنَّ النَّاسَ لَيْسَ هُوَ مَوْجُودٌ إِلَّا فِي الْحَالِ [13] قَالَ أَرَسَطُو الْأَضَاءَ أَرْبَعَةَ الشَّمْسِ * وَضَاءَةَ الْقَنْدِيلِ فِي اللَّيْلِ * وَضَوْءَ الْعَيْنِ * وَضَوْءَ الْقَلْبِ بِالْحَوَاسِ [14] وَأَنْ نَقَصَ وَاحِدَةً مِنْ هَذِهِ الْأَرْبَعَةِ فَلَا يَكُونُ كَامِلَةً الْأَضَاءَةَ * وَأَنَّ جَمِيعَ الْأَضَاءَةِ كُلِّهَا تَخْرُجُ مِنَ الشَّمْسِ [15] ضَوْءَ الْقَمَرِ وَضَوْءَ النُّجُومِ * زَعَمَ النَّصَّارِيُّ أَنَّ دِيُوشَ دَخَلَ فِي بَطْنِ مَرِيْمَ إِفْوًا كُنْسِدَ لَهُ * قُلْ [16] لَهُمُ الَّذِي نَفَسَتْ مَرِيْمَ هَلْ هُوَ دِيُوشٌ أَوْ رَجُلٌ * فَانْجَابُوا أَنَّهُ رَجُلٌ * قُلْ لَهُمْ جَيِّدٌ بَشَرٌ كَانُوا [17] دِيُوشٌ * وَبَسَبَ ذَلِكَ زَعَمُوا النَّصَّارِيُّ أَنَّ النَّفْسَ وَالْجَسَدَ مِثْلَ الْمَاءِ وَالزَّيْتِ فِي الْكُوْزِ يَقْرَرُ [18] الْمَاءُ بَعْضُهُ وَالزَّيْتُ بَعْضُهُ أَوْ بَعْضُ شَيْءٍ * وَاعْلَمْ أَنَّ النَّفْسَ فِي الْجَسَدِ بَعْضًا جَمِيعًا ○ مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ [19] مِثْلُ سَكَنْجِيْبِ الَّذِي يَعْمَلُ مِنْ عَسَلٍ وَخَلٍّ وَلَمْ يَقْدِرْ يَنْفَرُ الْوَاحِدَةَ مِنَ الْآخَرَى * وَقُلْ لَهُمْ [20] أَيْضًا أَنَّ النَّفْسَ هِيَ الْقَالِبُ

5 الْعِلْمُ An unconnected 'ayn is written under the same letter under this word, to clarify the writing. 9 عَرَفَ An unconnected 'ayn is written under the same letter under this word, to clarify the writing. 11 الْعُقْلَاءُ [المُسْتَقْبَلُ] this word is written with a finer qalam than the rest and seems to be an addition. 13 الْأَضَاءَةَ [الأضياءة] 14 الْأَضَاءَةَ [الأضياءة] 17 الْكُوْزَ [الكوزة] سَكَنْجِيْبِ An unconnected kāf is written above the kāf to clarify the letter: 19 الْكُوْزَةَ

15 [له] i fue concebida lahu, i.e. and she was impregnated by Him. 17 [دِيُوشٌ] vos que no e Dios, pues que no es Dios, i.e. so, he is not God.

والمادة هي الجسد * والنفس هو بعضاً جميعاً ولا يعمل الواحد [21] دون الآخر شيئاً مثل الأفرّاز
 يفعل كل واحدة منها على قدر مادته ☉ مثال ذلك في النفس [22] والجسد * إذا مات الانسان لم
 يكن للجسد حواس ويعفن ولا يقدر الروح يتكلم دون الجسد إلا أن العلة الجسد المتكلمة هي في اللسان f. 58^v
 والعلة الاعمال في الجوارح مثل اليدين والسقين * أيضاً في هذا المعنى [2] مثل ذلك مثل من يعمل
 صورة من مداد في حائط * إن كان بعض الصورة المعمولة أصغر عضو الواحد من الأخرى [3]
 فبذلك كلها تكون صورة واحدة * قل لهم أيضاً هل هي المادة في القالب أو قالب في المادة والقالب
 في المادة تمت [4] قال أبو الوليد بن رشد متحرك مع متحرك أن كاشاً متحرك مثل ذلك مثل
 التجار يتحرك بيده مع كبرومة [5] في شي متحركة يعني العمل وذلك المتحركة في شي مثقل لا يزول
 ولا يتحرك الا ان يتحركها ☉ فاذا كان العمل [6] معموله عجز المتحرك مثل من يعمل داراً جديداً
 بعد ما كانت معموله عجز المتحرك * والمتحرك الذي [7] لا يعجز عن التحرك هو الازلي في الاشياء
 الحيوانية ☉ مثل الحيوان والانسان * وان كان الازلي يعجز [8] بعد ما خلق الاشياء فليس يكون هو
 الاله الا في الوقت الذي يتحرك وإنما الازلي أبداً لا يعجز * وبذلك [9] قال أبو الوليد بن رشد الاشياء
 المخلوقات من الازلي لا يعجز أن يكون هي في الدنيا ويشبهها الى الازلي حاشي [10] أن الازلي لا
 يعجز أبداً قال أرسطو الدنيا مثل دورة ليس يكون لها ابتداء * وان الخط من نقطتين [11] هو له
 ابتداء وطرف كما قال الهندسي ولذلك يمثل الشريعة لادم مثل الخط الذي فيها نقطتين فيها [12]
 ابتداء وطرف * وإنما أبو الوليد بن رشد قال في ذلك ان أم جميع الخلائق من الناس ليس لها ابتداء

الأفرّازة [الأفرّاز 21] An unconnected *ḥā'* is written under *ḥā'* to clarify the letter. 20 [الواحد]

[مثل 2] This word is placed above and seems to be a later addition by the same hand and same

qalam. 3 [واحدة] This word is an addition with finer *qalam*. تمت This word is an addition with

finer *qalam*. 7 [والانسان] On top of each of these two words there are two letters: on the first a

ḥā', on the second, a *qāf*. The *qalam* and hand could be the same as the main text. 10 [نقطتين]

[نقطتين 11] This word is an addition with finer *qalam*. 12 [أبو] 11 [نقطتين] 12 [نقطتين]

4 [كاشاً] en que se, i.e. in that it is. [كبرومة] *kairūma*, utensil, probably a kind of chisel.

وَلَا طَرَفٌ [13] وتلك الأم هي الأسطقسات الأربعة من أي خلق الإنسان وهي الماء والنار والريح
 والتراب * قال الله [14] تعلق في كتابه العزيز {خلق الإنسان من صلصال كالفخار}^a مثال ذلك ان في
 قلة الفخار يحتاج لها [15] الأسطقسات الأربعة أن الفخار اذا عمل القلة خرجته الى الريح ليجمه وبعد
 ذلك يطبخه في النار [16] وأصله من التراب معحونة بماء وبعد مات الإنسان الى التراب والماء من أي
 خلق حاشي ان [17] النار والريح لم يذيان في التراب قال أبو الوليد بن رشد العقل من العلم ان يعلم
 الإنسان [18] الأسباب القريبة والبعيدة * والأسباب القريبة مثل الاخلاط الأربعة ⊙ والأسباب
 البعيدة [19] من أي خلق الإنسان من نطفة المني ومن أي يحيي ذلك حتى العناصر الأربعة ⊙ قال
 أيضاً أبو الوليد [20] بن رشد ليس الرجل موجود بغير أب * ويكون موجود بغير ولد ⊙ قال ارسطو
 العقول المرفقة [21] يعني الملايكة يتحرك أبداً لا يعجز والحيوان يعجز وعياً * مثال ذلك ان الشمس
 اذا يطلع من المشرق [22] عمل النهار واليوم ليس يكون يوم إلا بالشمس لأن الشمس هو اليوم ولا
 يعجز لانها من الأشياء السماوية ⊙ والأشياء الطبيعية يتحرك ويعجز وعياً قال ابو الوليد بن رشد
 f. 59r في المنطق اذا كان أصل شيء حق [2] ينبغي النتيجة منها ان يكون حق * مثال ذلك اذا كان ثلاثة
 أشياء يشبه الشيء الثانية للأول يتبع بذلك الشيء الثالث يشبهه [3] للأول أيضاً * مثال ذلك هذا الف
 وهذا باء وهذا تاء فاذا كان الباء الف يتبع النتيجة ان يكون الفاء * [4] مثال ذلك انسان حيوان *
 ضرورة أن يكون النتيجة منها مادة وهي مخرجة من الإنسان قال ارسطو [5] خمسة نصف عشرة في
 الحساب وهي حق أيضاً نقطة في نصف الدورة حقاً ليس يكن إلا اش قال ارسطو [6] استادي
 في الحق * والحق صاحبي فاذا لم يقول الحق استادي فليس بصاحبي قال ارسطو الاشياء الممتنع [7]

13 [الاستقساط] الاستقساط [الإنسان] *Alif* of elongation is written in between unconnected above. [ثلاثة] النتيجة [النتيجة] 2 العناصر [العناصر] 19 الاستقساط [الاستقساط] 15 الماء [الماء] above. استادي [استادي] 6 الدورة [الدورة] 5 مخروجة [مخروجة] النتيجة [النتيجة] 4 النتيجة [النتيجة] 3 ثلثة [النتيجة] الممتنع [الممتنع] استادي [استادي]

5 [اش] esi. My guess is: asi, i.e. like this, this way; it would thus read, "it can only be this way".

a Q. 55:14.

في وَجْهَيْنِ * مُتَمَتِّعٌ مُقَيَّدٌ يُقَالُ لَهَا النَّصَارَى رَشْبَاتَا ⑩ والَاخْرَى مُتَمَتِّعٌ مُطْلَقٌ * وَيُقَالُ لِنَصْرَى شُلُوتٌ
 * [8] وَالْمُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُقَيَّدُ يُعْنَى رَأْشِبَاتَا وَهِيَ أَنْ يَدْفَعَ الرَّجُلُ لآخر رَجُلٍ نَحْمَسِمَايَةَ ذَهَبَ عَيْنٌ وَهِيَ عِنْدَ
 الْوَاهِبِ مُتَمَتِّعٌ [9] مُقَيَّدٌ وَعِنْدَ السُّلْطَانِ لَيْسَ لَهُ بِمُتَمَتِّعٍ * وَالْمُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُطْلَقُ أَنْ يَرْجِعَ مِنْ حِجَارَةِ ذَهَبٍ أَوْ
 فَضَّةٍ ⑪ قَالَ أَرَسُطُو مَا [10] الرَّجُلُ لَا يَعْمَلُ لِلَّذِي خُلِقَ فِي الدُّنْيَا كَمَا يَصْبَطُ لَيْسَ لَهُ مِنْ يَكْسِيهِ
 ⑫ قَالَ أَرَسُطُو أَرْبَعَةَ أَشْيَاءٍ الَّتِي يَنْكَلُ بِصَرِّ [11] الْعَيْنَيْنِ أَوْهَا الْقَنْنُ الَّذِي جَاءَ مِنَ الدَّمَاعِ وَيَنْقَسِمُ
 هُوَ فِي الْمَوْلِدَةِ زَوْجٌ قَنْنَاشٌ وَيَحْيَى الْوَاحِدَةَ مِنْهُمَا لِلْعَيْنِ [12] الْوَاحِدُ * وَالْآخَرَى لِلْعَيْنِ الْآخَرِ * وَالثَّانِيَةُ
 يَكُونُ الْعَيْنَيْنِ حِمْلِيَةً ⑬ وَالثَّلَاثَةُ الضُّوْءُ ⑭ وَالرَّابِعَةُ لَوْنٌ * وَأَنْ نَقَصَ [13] وَاحِدَةً مِنْ هَذِهِ الْأَرْبَعَةِ
 فَلَا يَكُونُ إِكْمَالٌ * قَالَ أَبُو الْوَلِيدِ بْنِ رَشْدٍ جَيْدٌ طَيِّبٌ وَلَيْسَ يَشْفَى الْمَرْضَاءَ جَمِيعَ [14] الْمَرَاتِ ⑮
 مِثَالُ ذَلِكَ * مِثْلُ رَأْسِ الْجَفْنِ وَهُوَ يَجْتَهِدُ فِي اقْتِدَاءِ وَاهْتِدَاءِ جَفْنَةٍ جُهْدَ طَاقَتِهِ * وَأَمَّا الرَّيْحُ الَّذِي [15]
 يَجْرِي الْمَرْكَبُ هُوَ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ ⑯ وَكَذَلِكَ الْحَارِبُ يَجْتَهِدُ فِي سِلَاحِ نَفْسِهِ وَءَالَةِ حَرْبِهِ ⑰ وَأَمَّا النَّصْرُ
 مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ [16] وَكَذَلِكَ صَاحِبِ الْحَرْثِ يَجْتَهِدُ فِي الْحَرْثِ الْأَرْضِ جُهْدَ طَاقَتِهِ ⑱ وَأَمَّا الْأَمْطَارُ
 وَقَالَ مِنْ سَنَبَلِهِ هُوَ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى [17] قَالَ أَرَسُطُو الْوَجْهَ الَّتِي بَأَنَّهُ يَعْلَمُ أَنَّ فِي الْجَسَدِ فِيهِ رُوحٌ
 وَذَلِكَ أَنَّ الْإِنْسَانَ إِذَا كَانَ الشَّيْخُ قَوِيًّا فِي الْعِلْمِ بِسَبَبِ [18] أَنَّ الرُّوحَ قَوِيًّا فِيهِ فِي الشَّيْخُوخِيَّةِ أَكْثَرَ
 مِنَ الصَّبَا وَأَمَّا ءَالَةُ الْجَسَدِ يَضْعَفُ فِي الشَّيْخُوخِيَّةِ وَيَتَثَبُّ وَعَدَمِ [19] وَبِضَعْفِ ءَالَةِ الْجَسَدِ يَضْعَفُ
 الرُّوحُ وَبَعْدَمِهِ يَعْذَمُ الرُّوحُ الَّذِي فِيهِ لِأَنَّ الرُّوحَ قَالِبٌ فِي الْجَسَدِ وَالْجَسَدُ مَادَّةٌ [20] قَالَ أَرَسُطُو أَنَّ
 الْكَيْرُومَةَ مِنَ النَّجَارِ بِسَبَبِ أَنَّهَا حَرِيَّةٌ فِي الْقَطْعِ وَيَعْمَلُ بِهَا النَّجَّارُ جَمِيعَ مَا أَرَادَ بِهَا [21] مِنْ صَنْعَتِهِ الَّتِي
 يَنْسَبُ إِلَيْهَا * يُقَالُ لَهَا حَدِيدٌ جَايِدَةٌ هَذِهِ الْكَيْرُومَةُ وَأَنْ كَانَ لَهَا جَسَدِيَّةٌ يُقَالُ لَهَا حَدُّ رُوحٍ [22] لَهَا

الْمُنْتَاعُ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9
 7 الْمُنْتَاعُ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9
 8 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9
 13 الْمَوْلَادَةُ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9
 16 بِشَفَايَ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9
 18 الشَّيْخُوخِيَّةِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9
 21 الْكَيْرُومَةَ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9
 Elsewhere in the text alternatively written with *qāf*. خَرِيَّةٌ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9 مُتَمَتِّعُ الْمُنْتَاعِ [بِمُتَمَتِّعِ السُّلْطَانِ] 9
 the text alternatively written with *qāf*.

7 [رَشْبَاتَا] resbete, respete, i.e. respect. شُلُوتٌ sulutu, suelto, i.e. free. 11 [القَنْنُ] el cañon, el
 cañón, i.e. the cannon. قَنْنَاشٌ cañones, i.e. cannons.

هذه الكبرومة وسبب ليس هي جسدية فيها فرمش من عوده ويقدر ان يعمل منها راسه أو سكين
 [23] او اشياء اخرى يقال لها كأغود قطع هذه الكبرومة قال ارسطو في فلسفته الطبيعية ان الانسن
 [24] إذا أكل كثيراً أفرطاً كان أحسن لنفسه بان يكون صيماً لأن طبيعة اشغشت الإفرط وإذا
 [25] كان الانسن صيماً اشغشت الطبيعة اللحوم من الانسن اذا لم يجد الطبيعة كأشغشتاً [26]
 مثال ذلك لأن القنديل اذا كان فيه زيتاً كثيراً اشغسته المفتول يحرق قليلاً قليلاً وإذا لم يكن
 في القنديل زيتاً احترق النار المفتول كلها * كذلك النفس للصائم [27] قال ايضاً ارسطو ان الانسن |
 f. 59^v إذا أكل الطعام جيداً يتولد منها دماً جيداً [28] وإذا أكل منها طعاماً ردياً يتولد منها دماً ردياً [29] مثال
 ذلك أن [2] البوادين يأكلون طعاماً ردياً يتولد منها دماً ردياً وهم لا يفهمون ويكونون مجهولين مغار
 يكون الفاعل واحداً [3] في الناس وهي الارواح والاجساد [4] وسبب ذلك أن الروح الذي يكون
 مربي في جسد انسان من طعام جيد يتولد [4] ايضاً من تلك الطعام دماً طيباً ينبغي لروح الذي يكون
 في ذلك الجسد مستريح ليتعلم العلوم أكثر مستريح من الروح [5] الذي يتولد من طعام ردي ويكُون
 الدم ردياً ويكون ذلك الروح في الشقاء [6] مثال ذلك أن لش أرغنش الريج الذي [6] دخل فيه
 بالطاقات كله ريج واحداً [7] وإنما يفعل القنن برم أكثر برم صوت من الشخن * والقنن غلط أكبر
 [7] صوت من القنن برم وكل لشقنوناش هي من الرصاص ولذلك قال عيسى بن مريم في الانجيل
 {ان الاشياء التي كانت [8] في الناس من الله اذا ماتوا الناس الى الله يرجعوا} a [9] والاشياء التي

22 Elsewhere in the text alternatively written with *qāf*: [الكبرومة 22]

22 [رأسه] rešah, (Cat.) firmas, to be read as ormas, i.e. form (in the sense of mould). [فرمش 22]
 reixa, (Cast.) reja, i.e. grid. [قطع 23] que aguda, ¡qué aguda!, i.e. what sharp!
 [اشغشت 24] esgastar, i.e. to be consumed. [اشغشت 25] esgasta, i.e. is consumed. [اشغشتاً 25] que esgaste,
 i.e. that is consumed. [اشغسته 26] esgastalo, i.e. it is consumed. [البوادين 2] See Bedouin.
 [أرغنش 5] los arginos, los rugidos, i.e. the roar. [برم 6] cañón primo, cañón primo (Cat. prim),
 cañón delgado, i.e. light-calibre cannon. [برم] prima, (Cat.) prim, i.e. thin, light calibre.
 [والقنن] cañón, i.e. cannon. [برم 7] cañón primo, (Cat.) prim, cañón delgado, i.e. light-calibre canon.
 [لشقنوناش] los cañones, i.e. the cannons.

a Cf. John 16:28.

كَانَتْ مِنَ التُّرَابِ إِلَى التُّرَابِ يَرْجِعُوا الأرواح هم [9] من الله واللحوم من الأجساد الأدميين هم
 مِنَ التُّرَابِ^a قال أرسطو في فلسفته الطبيعية الجسد الذي كان [10] مَرْبِيَّةً بطعام طيب مثل من
 يَأْكُلُ اللحم الكباش والدجاج والحمال ليس هو ذلك الجسد كالجسد الذي كان مَرْبِيَّةً [11] بطعام
 رَدِيٍّ مثل من يَأْكُلُ الثوم والبصل نياً لأن الجسد يأكل طعاماً يستحل دماً طيباً والجسد الذي يأكل
 طعاماً [12] رَدِيًّا يستحل دماً رَدِيًّا * مثال ذلك النار الذي يحرق في حطب شجرة البلوط والنار التي
 يحرق من التبن كلها واحد * [13] وأما أكثر الحرارة في النار التي يحترق في حطب البلوط من الذي
 يحترق في التبن قال العالم في الطبائع ما بال [14] الجيفة لا يتن في أول امره ⊙ ثم يتن إذا ضرب بها
 الشمس * لأن الشمس حمى بها الرطوبة ويعفن ويتن [15] ويحيى الريح وحمل ذلك التبن ويتن
 الجيفة في الصيف قبل لا في الشتاء ويذيب الجيفة في الصيف قبل الآ في زمان [16] الشتاء لأن
 الحرارة الصيف يذيبها * مثال ذلك أن الجيفة وقع في النار * الوقت يذيبها النار ⊙ الأشياء الزمانية
 [17] قبضها الناس في قبضتهم وذلك النار والريح والماء والتراب لأن منها خلق الانسن ⊙ والأشياء
 السماوية [18] لم يأخذها الناس وذلك الشمس والقمر والأرواح إذا يخرجون من الناس لأن تلك
 الأشياء الروحانية قال [19] العالم في الطبائع ما بال أنسانا لا يبصر بالنهار ويبصر بالليل وذلك بسبب
 أنه صفروي وكان الصفراء [20] في طبيعته حارة يابسة ⊙ والشمس حارة يابسة فإذا كان الليل
 يبصر بوجه أن الليل هي رطوبة ⊙ والرطوبة [21] هبط الحرلان الرطوبة هي مثقلة والحر هي خفيفة
 ⊙ والانسن الذي يبصر بالنهار ولا يبصر بالليل بسبب أنه [22] بلغمي وإن البلغم هي رطوبة يغلب
 حرارة الشمس ويهبط الحرارة ويغلبها ويبصر فإذا كان الليل لم يبصر [23] بسبب أن الليل هي رطوبة
 في طبيعتها والبلغم رطوبة في طبيعته ويتلاصق الثقلة مع الثقلة ولم يبصر بالليل [24] قال أرسطو في
 فلسفته المدنية السلطان ليس له طاقتين طاقة مطلق وطاقة عدل * فأما المطلق [25] يعني شلوت ⊙

11 [استحل] The reading of this word is difficult. 14 حمى [حمى] 21 أنه There is a word repetition here and the next line also begins with: أنه

14 [الرطوبة] humour (moisture). 19 [صفروي] choleric. 25 [شلوت] sulotu, suelto, i.e. free.

a Cf. Eccles. 12:7; also, Gen. 3:19.

وقال أيضاً السلطان على رعيته ثلاثة طاقات اي الطاقات لم ينبغي لرعيته إلا له ① وألها يتبعه [26] الرعية وينصره في الحروب ② والثانية لم يصنع أحداً في ملكه سكة إلا له ③ والثالثة يقبله في كل موضع [27] من ملكه بسيد وعجز جميع الأحكام إلا له ④ قال أرسطو أن العلماء الهندسة يدركون بالبرهان أن الدنيا ليس هي برفات إلا بستة أشياء ينكل فيها الدنيا ⑤ وألها أدوار السماوية * والرجل f. 60r والتراب والماء والرياح [2] والنار * وان نقص منها واحدة فليس هي الدنيا برفات ⑥ أيضاً إن كان الشمس تدوم في موضع واحد لا يتحرك لم يكن ليلاً * [3] او يتحرك الشمس في الصيف كمثل الشتاء فلا يكن معمورة في الارض او يطلع الشمس على قدر حالها ومتحركها فلا يسخن [4] في الارض او يهبط من حالها تحرق الارض لا معمورة لها ⑦ ومن يعمل هذه الأشياء في الدنيا فهي كاملة يعني بارفات * [5] وان جميع السلاطين لم يقدرُوا ان يعمل شي من اصغر الدنيا ولا قدرة لها وبسبب ذلك ليس يجعل لقرت الزمانية [6] بقرت السماوية باب في النبي عليه السلام زعم النصرى كيف يثبت المسلمون ان محمداً [7] كان النبيء وان القران جاء إليه بوحي من الله * قل لهم حقاً انه نبيء بأقوال المتواترة خلقاً كثيراً أنهم قالوا ان [8] رجلاً كان اسمه محمداً ابن عبد الله صلى الله عليه وسلم كان نبياً * مثال ذلك ان جميع الناس من الدنيا قالوا ان في [9] الارض بيت تسمى لها يرشلم يتبع بذلك الاقوال كثيراً انها حقاً ويصدقونه التي لم يدخلوها وبذلك قال [10] ارسطو الاشياء المتواترة السمعية هي مصدقة ⑧ وأما في القران حقاً انه جاء بوحي من الله ولا يقدر يكن [11] أترمانت فيه اشيا من العلوم لا يدركها العقول من الناس * قل لهم أيضاً ان موسى قالوا جميع الناس بالسمع [12]

Here, there is damage to the paper that affects parts of the word. 3 [الارض] الرعيه [الرعية] 26 ثلاثه [ثلاثة] 25 of the word. fa-hiya is quite blurred. 6 [المسلمون] This word and also the last word in this line are quite blurred. 7 [ان] The last five words are quite blurred. 8 [صلى] Alif of elongation comes out of *lām* and is connected to it, preceding it. 9 [قال] The last six words in this line are quite blurred. 10 [من] The word is quite blurred. 11 [يرشلم] Here, there is damage to the paper that affects parts of the word. 11 [بالسمع] The last four words in this and the next line are quite blurred.

[برفات] berfeto, perfecto, i.e. perfect. 9 [يرشلم] Yrusalam, Jerusalén, see Jerusalem. 11 [أترمانت] atrament, altrament (Cat.), otramente Cast., i.e. otherwise.

المتواترة انه يفتح في البحر اثنا عشرة طريقاً ويصدقون الناس بالسَّمع المتواترة وليس تقدروا تجربوا
 [13] أتم كيف يفتحها موسى وبأي وجه كانت مفتوحة فهذه حجة قوية فتدبرها فانها من اكبر الحجج
 عليهم [14]... قال النبي عليه السلام لا تصدق اليهود ولا تكذبونهم فربما تصدقونهم فيما يكذبونهم وربما
 تكذبونهم [15]..... هم وليس هم يهتدوكم وقد اضلوا ☉ وبسبب هذا يهون العلماء المسلمون أن يقرؤن
 [16] ... ود قال أبو الوليد بن رشد أن الانسن ليس يضد الحق كم يضد الحق تتت أكثر ثبت هي *
 [17] ال..ذوت أكثر يضد الكذبة أكثر تذيب * وبسبب ذلك قال أبو الوليد بن رشد ما بال العلماء
 [18] المسلمون يهون عن المجادلة بالقران مع اليهود والنصارى لانهم لا يفهمون المجادلة ويخوف لم
 [19]... النصارى واليهود فاذا يضرّونهم النصرى واليهود لم يقدروا ذافانداله ويخافون أن يجادلوا به *
 [20] وظنّ النصارى واليهود أن المسلمين كانوا أشه يجادلون به * والوجه التي كانوا أشه يجادلوا به
 * بانهم [21] روى كتب المنطق والفلسفة باب في القران * القران ينفرز في ثلاثة وجوه الاول من
 الازلي [22] والثانية إلى النبي عليه السلام * والثالثة إلى امته الذين كتبوه ويقرؤنه * جاء اعرابي الى
 علي بن ابي [23] طالب ... الله عنه وقال يا اعرابي * لولا خوف الله لامرأت بضرب عنقك كيف
 قلت القران مخلوق أو غير [24] مخلوق... في ثلثة وجوه هو كلمة ازلية لانه جاء من الازلي ☉ والثانية
 جاء في مخلوق في النبي [25] عليه السلام فيه ابتداءً وطرف ☉ والثالثة أيضاً المداد والكعد فيما
 مخلوقان * فيبغني للعاقل [26] أن يترك الخوض في الكلام التي لم يدركها عقله ويجتهد في وحداً تبيره
 ويعبده حتى عبادة تمت [27] قال النصارى للمسلمين في أرضهم يشتمه يا كلاب * قل لهم الكلاب
 التي يشبهون [28] الكلاب انلراش قندسيوناش انظروا من يأكل دماً ويمشي بغير ختانة وبغير طهر
 ويا كل الميتة وإن زعمتم بأن الكلاب يا كلون ويشربون ويجمعون ويدركون في الدنيا مثل ما أدركنا

f. 60v

14 [النبي] There is a small, vertical repair on the right side and there is a darker strip that it makes the reading of the first words in this line up to line 30 difficult. 21 *Alif* of elongation comes out of *lām* and is connected to it, preceding it. لا اول [الاول] يتيره [نتيره] 26

16 [تنت] tanto, i.e. so much. 19 [ذافانداله] defendello, defenderlo, i.e. to defend it. 20 [أشه] que non es, que no es, i.e. that there is no. 28 [انلراش] en-lures, en lures, i.e. in their. [قندسيوناش] condiciones, condiciones, i.e. conditions.

* كذلك [2] أتم في الدنيا تاكُلون ويشربون وتجامعون مع أزواجكم مثل ما أدركنا لأن الكلاب من جنس الحيوان * مثال ذلك قال [3] إنسان إلى إنسانٍ جدُّ تشبه إلى فلان لأنه يعودُ ذاششُقندسيوناش من الآخر والذي لا يعودُ ذالاش قندسيوناش الآخر [4] ليس يشبهه إلى الآخر ولا يطرحه الناس إليه بِشتمه قال فالب في الإنجيل ليسوع * {أورينا الأب ويكفاننا} ^a [5] قل للنصرى كيف سئل فالب هذا ليسوع لأنه في طلبه حمق * كيف ديش زرزله أو عصفور ان يسوقه يسوع [6] في سلةٍ أيضاً ☉ {قال موسى للربِّ ارني وجهك} ^b * {فأجابهُ الربُّ لا يقدر أن يراني بعين لا يموت} ^c تمت باب [7] في كتاب الجمل * قال أبو القاسم عبد الرحمن بن اسحق الزجاجي النحوي * انقسم الأفعال [8] في وجهين فعلٌ ماضي * وفعلٌ مُستقبلٌ * ولا يسمى فعلٌ في الحال * وفي آخر موضع من الكتاب انقسم الأفعال [9] ثلاثة فعلٌ ماضي وفعلٌ مُستقبل وفعلٌ في الحال يسمى الدائم * لان الانسن ليس هو موجودٌ الا في الحال يعني [10] الحاضر مثال ذلك ان الانسن ليس هو موجودٌ الا في الحال ابدأ لا في الماضي ولا في المستقبل الا في الحال قال بطايوس [11] أن فعلٌ في الحال * موجودٌ الانسن لا في الماضي ولا في المستقبل * مثال ذلك فلان هل هو موجودٌ غدا فلا يقدر أن [12] يكون الإنسان موجودٌ في المستقبل الا في الحال ولذلك يسمى الدائم لان الانسن هو موجودٌ فيه لأن فعل الماضي و [13] المستقبل هما من ازيد لان الانسن ليس هو موجودٌ فيهما الا في الحال * واتفق عبد الرحمن في المقالة الأولى في أنه [14] انقسم الأفعال في وجهين * فعلٌ ماضيٌ والمُستقبلٌ ولا يسمى فعلٌ في الحال ءلاية من القرآن

3 [إنسان] Here, there is damage to the paper that affects parts of the word. 6 [في] Here, there is damage to the paper that affects parts of the word. 9 [لأفعال] This word and the first three words in this line are quite blurred. 10 [بطايوس] Paper damaged, affecting parts of the word. 11 [موجود] Paper damaged, affecting parts of the word. 12 [الإنسان] الانسن

3 [ذاششُقندسيوناش] de las condiciones, de las condiciones, i.e. (of) the conditions. 10 [بطايوس] Baṭalyūs, see Ibn as-Sid al-Baṭalyawṣī (444 H–1052 CE/521 H–1127 CE).

a Cf. John 14:8.

b Cf. Ex. 33:28.

c Cf. Ex. 33:20.

حيث يقول بعلم هابين [15] أيديهم وما خلفهم يعني أيديهم في فعل الماضي وما خلفهم في المستقبل *
 واتفق عبد الرحمن أيضاً في ال.... [16] في انقسام الأفعال في وجهين في الماضي والمستقبل ولا يسمى
 الدائم الى فلسفة ارسطوا لانه قال في ... [17] الزمان يدور ولا يكون الدنيا إلا في الماضي والمستقبل
 * وليس يكون بين الماضي والمستقبل مهلة ... [18] وان يكن مهلة بين الماضي والمستقبل يكون بينهما
 فعل في الحال وليس بين الماضي والمستقبل مهلة * مثال [19] ذلك لان الدورة التي يعمل الدائرة ليس
 لها ابتداء ولا طرف كذلك الزمان ليس له مهلة لانه يدور في الماضي [20] والمستقبل ولا يقع بينهما
 واسط ○ مثال ذلك كما جرى حروف واحد كلمة الاخرى بعد الاخرى مثل من [21] قال حضر
 يجري بعد حرف الحاء الضا وبعد حرف الضاء الراء وذلك بلا مهلة حتى قال ارسطوا ليس بين [22]
 بين الاسقام والصحة مهلة ○ إذا خرج الانسان من السقيمة دخل في الصحة ○ وإذا خرج الانسان
 من الصحة [23] دخل في المرض ○ وان اصحاب الاطباء جعل بين المرض والصحة مهلة ○ بسبب
 ان الانسان اذا قام من مرضه [24] ليس هو يحسب بصحيح * كما كان قبل وقع في المرض ○ وليس
 يحسب أيضاً بمرضى كما كان وقت المرض [25] وسبب ذلك امر الاطباء ان يعطيه الاغذية ليس
 برجل صحيح قوي وليس بمرضى ضعيف الأقدريقبل [26] طبيعته ومرآجه * واتفق عبد الرحمن في
 المقالة الثانية من كتاب الجمل حيث انقسم الأفعال في ثلاثة [27] فعل ماضي وفعل في الحال وفعل
 مستقبل بأية من القرآن حيث يقول في محكم وحيه الكريم يعلم ما بين أيدينا [28] وما خلفنا وما من
 ذلك * يعني ما بين أيدينا فعل الماضي وما خلفنا فعل مستقبل وما بين ذلك فعل في حال | كيف f. 61r
 تفعل هذا انا ظننا حين نزلت من جوادك لتدهن رجل ضانية انك حمق كيف تنزل لتدهن [2] رجل

14 Paper damaged, affecting parts of the last words on this and the following lines up to
 17. 16 [لانه] This word is quite blurred. 21 [حرف] Words quite blurred. وذلك Word quite
 blurred. 22 [بين بين] Word repetition 23 [مرضه] Here, there is damage to the paper that affects
 parts of the word. 24 [يحسب] Word quite blurred. 25 [الأقدر] Word quite blurred. 26 [ثلاثة]
 Alif of elongation comes out of *lām* and is connected to it, preceding it. 27 [وحيه] Word quite
 blurred. 28 [حال] The paper has been cut at this spot because of
 binding. Some *nūn* or *lām* in this line are somewhat cut. 1 [كيف] This word and the first word
 of the next line are quite blurred.

دَنَانِيَةً فَأَجَاءَ إِلَيْهِمْ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَبْدُ الْمَلِكِ بْنِ مَرْوَانَ لَا تَفْهَمُونَ التَّفْسِيرَ مِنَ الْأَمْرِ يَنْبَغِي لِأَنْسَنِ أَنْ يَحْفَظَ [3] مَتَاعَهُ بِدَقَائِقٍ وَإِنْ يُعْطِيهِ بَرَّغَرَنْدُ وَمَنْ لَا يَحْزَنُ بِدَقَائِقٍ لَيْسَ يَقْدِرُ أَنْ يُعْطِيَهُ بَرَّغَرَنْدُ ٥ قَالَ كَانَ فِي [4] زَمَانِ عُمَرَ بْنِ الْخَطَّابِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ صَبِيًّا صَغِيرًا يَصَلِّي قَالَ لَهُ عُمَرُ يَا صَبِي تَصَلِّي وَأَنْتَ عَادٌ لَمْ تَحْتَمِلْ قَالَ يَا عُمَرُ كَثِيرًا [5] يُمُوتُونَ وَلَمْ يَبْلُغِ الْحِلْمَ قَالَ عُمَرُ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ فِي نَفْسِهِ كُلُّ أَنْسٍ خَيْرٌ مِنْكَ يَا عُمَرُ قَالَ أَبُو حَامِدٍ الْغَزَالِيُّ [6] رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ لَيْسَ يَصُومُ بِحَقِّ يَنَالِ الْجَنَّةَ أَوْ يَفُوزُ مِنَ النَّارِ وَأَمَّا الصَّائِمُ الَّذِي يَصُومُ بِاسْتِعْبَادِ رَبِّهِ كَيْ يَنْبَغِي لَهُ [7] أَنْ يَعْبُدَهُ حَقَّ عِبَادَتِهِ لِأَنَّهُ رَبُّهُ لَا يَنْتَالِ الْجَنَّةَ وَلَا مِنْ خَوْفِ النَّارِ ٥ قَالَ أَبُو حَامِدٍ الْغَزَالِيُّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ كَانَ [8] رَجُلًا صَالِحًا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى أَرْبَعِينَ سَنَةً فِي الْجَبَلِ ثُمَّ قَالَ فِي دُعَايَةِ يَا رَبِّ مَا هَذَا الَّذِي يَنَالُ مِنْكَ مِنْ عِبَادَةٍ لَأَرْبَعِينَ [9] سَنَةً الَّتِي عَبْدتَكَ فِي هَذَا الْجَبَلِ تَرَكْتُ زَوْجَتِي وَأَوْلَادِي وَجَمِيعَ النَّاسِ بِحَقِّكَ وَعِبَادَتِكَ فَلَمَّا كَانَ عِنْدَ طُلُوعِ [10] الْفَجْرِ يَظْهَرُ لَهُ رَجُلٌ نَخَافُ الْعَابِدَ جَدًّا فَقَالَ لَهُ الرَّجُلُ لَا تَخَفْ يَا عَابِدُ أَنَا رَجُلٌ مَرْسَلٌ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى أُرِ [11] سَلْنِي إِلَيْكَ لِأَنَّكَ دَعَوْتَ اللَّهَ فَقُلْتُ فِي دُعَايِكَ يَا رَبِّ مَا هَذَا الَّذِي تَعْطِينِي مِنَ التَّوَابِ بِعِبَادَةِ الْأَرْبَعِينَ سَنَةً [12] بَانِي فِيهَا تَرَكْتُ زَوْجَتِي وَأَوْلَادِي وَزَهَدْتُ الدُّنْيَا مِنْ أَجْلِ عِبَادَتِكَ قَالَ لَهُ الرَّجُلُ جَمِيعَ هَذَا مِنَ الْهَمِّكَ أَنْ تَرَكْتَهُ [13] جَعَلَ قُلُوبَ النَّاسِ أَنْ يَجِبَكَ وَيُعْطِيكَ فِي هَذَا الْمَوْضِعِ مَا تَأْكُلُهُ فِيهِ كُلِّ يَوْمٍ فَاجَابَهُ الْعَابِدُ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ [14] ... الرَّجُلُ ... عَطَاكَ الْحَيَاةَ فِي ... هَذِهِ الْأَرْبَعِينَ سَنَةً قَالَ لَهُ الْعَابِدُ اللَّهُ سَبَحَنَهُ فَانظُرْ اللَّهُ الَّذِي الْهَمَّكَ [15] ... وَتَهْدِيكَ بِهِ وَجَعَلَ فِي قُلُوبِ النَّاسِ أَنْ يَجِبَكَ وَيُعْطِيكَ رِزْقًا تَأْكُلُهُ فِي كُلِّ يَوْمٍ مِنْ أَشْ [16] إِذَا أَهْبَطَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ عِبَادَةِ الْأَرْبَعِينَ سَنَةً قَالَ لَهُ الْعَابِدُ الْآنَ أَذْرِي لَيْسَ أَحَدًا أَنْ يَدْخُلَ الْجَنَّةَ بِعِبَادَتِهِ إِلَّا [17] ... لَهُ وَأَرَادَ الرَّجُلُ أَنْ يَمْشِي * قَالَ لَهُ

2 [إِلَيْهِمْ] This word is quite blurred. 3 [كان] Here, there is damage to the paper that affects parts of the word. 8 [تعالى] *Alif* of elongation comes out of *lām* and is connected to it, preceding it.

11 [أرسلني] [الناس] This folio has been repaired on the right side, small and vertical, and there is a darker strip that it makes the reading of the first words in this line up to line 27 difficult.

14 [هذه] Here, there is damage in the paper and affects parts of the word.

3 [برغرنند] *por garando*, (Cast.) *por grande*, i.e. (take) for big. 15 [أش] *es*, i.e. *is*.

العابد نسلك بالله العظيم ان تخبرني بالاشياء التي نع..ل [18] كي يكون الله ان ملتزم بان يعطيني الجنة * قال له الرجل الان قلت موصوب * اجب اجابه وابغض [19] بغضاه قال له العابد من اين اني نعرف اجابه وابغضه ٥ قال له الرجل اذا رايت الذين يكونون [20] لتزم تحت الشريعة فهم اجباء الله * واذا رايت الذين يكونون مخارجون من الشريعة فهم ابغضا الله [21] حكاية اخرى كان في زمان المنصور اسير فارسا نصرانيا من ارض اشتريش فلما كان [22] ذات يوم كلم الفارس المذكور بتملكه بسبب ان يدفعه للندية فاجابه له وافق بينهما [23] ستة عشرة ألف دينار عين على ان يدفع هو لتملكه بالكمية المذكورة ضامنا الى امر شهرين [24] ...يسوق الكمية المذكورة من ارضه فنظر الفارس المذكور في الفرسان من المنصور ووقع عينه [25] فارس كان حفيد المنصور قال له اضمن لي في هذه الكمية قال له نعم اعطني رهنا فاعطاه [26] ... شعرة من لحيته فمضى الفارس الى ارضه وجاء بالكمية المذكورة قبل الامر بيومين وكان [27] قبل ذلك قال المنصور لحفيده ما هذا صنعت ان تضمن لذلك الفارس النصراني بتلك الكمية المذكورة | هل تعرفه قبل الان قال لا ٥ قال يبسما صنعت ٥ قال له يا مولاي الان لا نقدر ان نرد عليك جوابا فان [2] ثم يجي الفارس فهي احد خصام وان يجي فهو خصام اخذ * فلما جاء الفارس بالكمية المذكورة الى متملكه [3] قال له ضيفه اعطني الكمية قال له لا اعطيك شيا الاقوام الضمان فاعطاها الكمية امام المنصور وامام [4] الضمان * وقال الضمان ابن الرهن الذي رهنت عندك قال له الضمان عندي مرفوع في حكي فلما رأى ذلك [5] المنصور * قال الفارس النصراني انت احمق ان ترجع بالكمية بعد ما كنت في ارضك قال الفارس يا مولاي ليس [6] هذا الحمق وان لم نجى بتلك الكمية وقع بسببي قرية ردية في فرسان من اشتريش وجميع النصارى ليس [7] توافيتم احد وقال ايضا الحفيده بما صنعت هذا قال له نظر الفارس الي من

f. 61^v

17 وأبغضاه [وابغضاه] Here, there is damage to the paper that affects parts of the word. [نع..ل] 19
 20 أبغضا [أبغضا] Here, there is damage to the paper that affects parts of the word. [بسبب] 22
 27 *tā' marbūṭa* is cut in half. [هل] 1 The first word in this line and in the next lines up to 5 are quite blurred. [فهي] 5 Blurred word. [النصراني] 5 الفارس للنصراني

21 [أشتريش] Esturyas, see Asturias.

بَيْنَ فُرْسَانِكَ وَأَخْتَارِنِي مِنْ بَيْنِهِمْ [8].. ن. اضْمَنَّهُ فَأَضْمَنَّتُهُ وَارِيدُ أَنِي أَكْثَرُ أَنْ يَحْسَرَ الْكَمِيَةَ وَالْإِدَارِكُ
 وَفُرْسَانِكَ بَقِيَ مَنْقُوصِينَ وَبِكْرَامَتِكَ فَعَلْتُ [9] ذَلِكَ فَأَمَرَ الْمَنْصُورَ فِي الْحَيْنِ أَنْ يَنْصَفَ مِنْ مَالِهِ جَمِيعَ
 الْكَمِيَةِ الْمَذْكُورَةِ الَّتِي وَجَبَ الْفَارَسُ النَّصْرَانِي لِمُتَمَلِّكِهِ [10] وَرَجَعَ الْفَارَسُ بِكَمِيَتِهِ * وَدَفَعَ لَهُ الْمَنْصُورُ
 مِائَةَ دِينَارًا ذَهَبَ عَيْنَ لِنَفَقَتِهِ حِكَايَةَ أُخْرَى [11] أَنْ النَّصَارَى دَخَلُوا فِي بِلَادِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَأَسْرُوا فِيهَا
 إِنَاسًا كَثِيرًا وَفِي جُمْلَتِهِمْ أَسْرًا وَاحِدًا فَارَسٌ كَبِيرٌ [12] وَحَمَلُوهُ إِلَى أَشْبِيلِيَّةَ ٥ فَلَمَّا كَانَ يَوْمًا مِنَ الْيَوْمِ
 خَرَجَ الْإِسِيرُ لِيَبْعَ حِمَصٍ مَقِيًّا إِلَى الرَّحْبَةِ وَدَمَعَ عَيْنَاهُ [13] وَدَفَعَ عَيْنَاهُ وَخَطَرَ بِذَلِكَ الْمَوْضِعِ فَارَسًا
 كَبِيرًا فَلَمَّا رَأَاهُ يَدْمَعُ عَيْنَاهُ ٥ قَالَ لَهُ يَا رَجُلُ جِي مَعَنَا [14] إِلَى قَصْرِنَا فِجَاءً مَعَهُ ٥ وَقَالَ الْفَارَسُ
 لِرُؤُوحِهِ وَجَوَارِيهِ وَفُرْسَانِهِ هَذَا الْحِمَصُ يَبِيعُ بِكُلِّ حِمَصٍ دِينَارًا [15] ذَهَبَ عَيْنَ وَأَخَذَ الْفَارَسُ مِنْ تِلْكَ
 الْحِمَصِ كَثِيرًا وَأَعْطَاهُ بِكُلِّ حَبَّةٍ دِينَارًا ذَهَبًا ع... [16] زَوْجَتَهُ وَجَوَارِيَهُ وَفُرْسَانِيَهُ وَخَرَجَ الْإِسِيرُ بِجَمَلَةٍ
 كَثِيرَةٍ مِنْ ذَهَبٍ وَأَفْتَدَا بِهَا مِنْ مُتَمَلِّكِهِ وَ... [17] إِلَى أَرْضِهِ وَبَلَدِهِ ٥ كَانَ مِنْ قَضَاءِ اللَّهِ أَنَّ الْفَارَسَ
 النَّصْرَانِيَّ الْمَذْكُورَ أُسِيرَ فِي بِلَادِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَسَمِعَ مِنْهُ ض... [18] الْحِمَصُ وَشَبِعَ لَهُ مَعَ غَلَامٍ لَهُ خَمْسَمِائَةَ
 ذَهَبَ عَيْنَ وَأَوْصَى إِلَى غَلَامِهِ أَنْ يَقُولَ لَهُ أَنْفَقَ هَذِهِ الدِّينَارِ [19] الذَّهَبِ * وَإِذَا كَانَتْ هَذِهِ مَنْفَقَةٌ
 فَالذِّي شَبِعَ لَكَ هَذِهِ يُرْسِلُ لَكَ أَكْثَرَ وَلَا تَقُولَ مِنْ يُرْسِلُهَا [20] لَهُ فَشَبِيَ الْغَلَامُ كَمَا أَمَرَهُ مَوْلَاهُ وَحَمَلَ
 الذَّهَبَ الْفَارَسُ وَقَالَ لَهُ خُذْ هَذِهِ الذَّهَبَ فَالذِّي شَبِعَ لَكَ هَذَا [21] أَكْثَرَ يُشَبِعُ لَكَ قَالَ لَهُ الْفَارَسُ
 مَا أَخَذْتَ مِنْكَ شَيْئًا حَتَّى قُلْتَ لِي مِنْ أَرْسَلِ إِلَيَّ هَذِهِ الذَّهَبَ فَرَجَعَ [22] الْغَلَامُ بِدِينَارٍ إِلَى مَوْلَاهُ
 وَقَالَ لَهُ يَا مَوْلَا مَا أَرَادَ هَذَا الْفَارَسُ أَنْ يَقْبِضَ ضَيْبِي هَذِهِ الدِّينَارِ ذَهَبَ [23] حَتَّى قُلْتُ لَهُ مِنْ أَرْسَلُهَا
 لَهُ ٥ قَالَ مَوْلَاهُ مَنْ وَارْجِعَ إِلَيْهِ بِهَذِهِ الْكَلِمَةِ وَقُلْ لَهُ أَنْ صَاحِبَ الْحِمَصِ الْمَقْلِي [24] شَبِعَهَا لَهُ وَهُوَ

8 ن..] This folio has been repaired on the right side, small and vertical, and there is a darker strip that it makes the reading of the words on this spot difficult. 10 [أخري فَأَضْمَنَّتُهُ فَأَضْمَنَّتُهُ] This word cut in half. 14 [قَصْرِنَا] This word is quite blurred. [دِينَارًا] Here, there is damage to the paper that affects parts of the words, blurring or cutting them. The same phenomenon occurs at the end of lines 15–18 and 20. 16 [زَوْجَتَهُ] This word is cut in half, so are the first words in lines 16–18, 20–22 and 24–26. 18 [خَمْسَمِائَةَ] This word is cut in half and *hamza* with *alif* of support is missing. 22 [ذَهَبَ] This word is cut in half.

12 [أَشْبِيلِيَّةَ] Isbilyah, i.e. Sevilla.

يُرْسَلَهَا أَكْثَرَ وَلَا يَخْفَ مِنْ نَقْصِ شَيْءٍ ٥ فَجَابَ الْفَارِسَ إِلَى الْغَلَامِ مَا سَمِعَ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُ الْآنَ [25] قُلْتُ
 لَكَ مَا أَخَذْتُ بِمَعْرُوفٍ عَمِلْتُ فِي الدُّنْيَا كَفَايَةً وَلَا نَزْتَجِي مِنْهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ سَبَّحْنَهُ أَمْشِي لِأَخَذْتُ [26]
 مِنْكَ شَيْئًا ٥ حِكَايَةٌ أُخْرَى أَنَّ عَبْدَ الْمَلِكِ بْنِ مَرْوَانَ مَشَى إِلَى الشَّامِ لِيُبَايِعَهُ أَهْلَ الشَّامِ | نَفَرَ جَ أَهْلُ
 الشَّامِ لِتَلْقَائِهِ فِي الطَّرِيقِ فَقَدِمَ أَهْلُ الشَّامِ أَنْ يَكْلِمَ الْمَلِكَ عَنْهُمْ صَبِيًّا صَغِيرًا وَكَانَ الصَّبِيِّ [2] مِنْ سَهْلِ
 الْعَقْلِ وَالْأَدَابِ وَقَدِمَ لِيُكَلِّمَ الْمَلِكَ فَلَمَّا رَأَهُ عَبْدُ الْمَلِكِ بْنِ مَرْوَانَ تَبَسَّمَ وَقَالَ يَا أَهْلَ الشَّامِ [3] ائْتَسْتَهْزِي
 بِي إِنْ تَقْدِمُوا لِي صَبِيًّا صَغِيرًا يَكْلِمُ مَعِيَ فَقَالَ الصَّبِيُّ إِنْ كَانَ الْأَمْرُ وَالْفِعْلُ بِالشُّيُوخِ فَآ... [4] لِذَيْنِ
 يَمْشُونَ مَعَكَ مِنْهُمْ أَكْثَرَ الشُّيُوخِ مِنْكَ * قَالَ عَبْدُ الْمَلِكِ لَا اخْلِنِي اللَّهُ مِنْ وَعْظِ حِكَايَةِ أُخْرَى [5] أَنَّ
 أَعْرَابِيًّا كَانَ لَهُ وَلَدٌ بَطْلٌ وَكَانَ فِي خِدْمَةِ الْمَلِكِ وَكَانَ الْمَلِكُ يَحِبُّهُ حُبًّا كَثِيرًا فَخَسَدَهُ وَاحْتَالَ [6] عَلَيْهِ
 جَبَلَةً بِمَكْرٍ وَخَدِيعَةٍ حَتَّى قَتَلَهُ الْمَلِكُ وَقَطَعَ رَأْسَهُ وَأَمْرَانِ يَحْمِلُهَا لُوَالِدِهِ فِي طِسْبَةٍ فَلَمَّا زَاهَا [7] الْأَعْرَابِيُّ
 أَشَارَ إِلَيْهَا بِأَصْبُعِهِ وَقَالَ أَنْتَ وَاللَّهِ قَاتِلَ الْفُسْقَةِ وَلسَيْفِكَ يَكُونُ مَخُوفِينَ أَعْدَايَكَ وَمَوًّا [8] تَمْرُونَ أَحْبَابِكَ
 وَكَانَ يَكْفِيهِ سُوءُهُ اجْتِنَابَهُ حِكَايَةٌ أُخْرَى أَنَّ صَالِحًا عَبْدَ اللَّهِ تَبَرَكَ وَتَعَالَى [9] فِي الْجَبَلِ فِي صَوْمَعَةٍ لَهُ
 فِيهِ وَكَانَ يَهْبِطُ مِنْ صَوْمَعَتِهِ مِنْ جَمْعَةٍ إِلَى جَمْعَةٍ لِيَنْسَ مَعَ أَهْلِهِ وَأَوْ [10] لِأَدُهُ وَكَانَ مِنْ سِيرَتِهِ إِنْ
 يَصْلُحُ بَيْنَ الْمُتَشَاخِضِينَ فَلَمَّا كَانَ ذَلِكَ يَوْمَ يَظْهَرُ لَهُ ابْلِيسُ اللَّعِينُ بِمَنْظَرٍ [11] مَخُوفٍ نَخَافُ الْعَابِدَ مِنْهُ *
 قَالَ لَهُ لَا تَخَفْ أَنَا ابْلِيسُ وَإِنِّي جِئْتُ إِلَيْكَ إِنْ تَصْلُحُ بَيْنَ مُتَشَاخِضَانِ [12] فَإِنَّ أَنْتَ تَصْلُحُ بَيْنَهُمَا إِنِّي
 قُلْتُ لَكَ أَنْتَ فَعَلْتَ كَثِيرًا وَارَابْتَ جَمِيعَ الَّذِينَ وَقَعَتْ بَيْنَهُمُ الشُّحْنُ وَالْعَدَاوَةُ [13] أَنْتَ إِذَا أَهْبَطْتَ مِنْ
 صَوْمَعَتِكَ أَنْتَ عَمَلْتَ الصَّلْحَ بَيْنَهُمْ فَيَنْبَغِي لَكَ الْآنَ أَنْ تَجْتَهِدَ فِي هَذَا الصَّلْحِ [14] وَالْآنَ أَنْتَ لَا تَتَفَرَّقُ
 مِنِّي إِلَّا بِسُوءٍ قَالَ لَهُ الْعَابِدُ وَمَنْ هُمْ قَالَ ابْلِيسُ إِذَا وَاللَّهِ قَالَ لَهُ الْعَابِدُ اعْطِنِي [15] أَمْرًا قَالَ لَهُ ابْلِيسُ
 اعْطِيكَ حَتَّى غَدًا فَلَمَّا كَانَ بِاللَّيْلِ جَاءَهُ مُلْكٌ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ قَالَ لَهُ الْمَلِكُ قَالَ [16] لَا ابْلِيسُ إِنْ اللَّهُ عَجَبٌ
 إِنْ هُوَ يَتُوبُ فَلَمَّا كَانَ عِنْدَ الْغُدُوِّ جَاءَ ابْلِيسُ لَعَنَهُ إِلَى الْعَابِدِ فَقَالَ لَهُ مَا رَأَيْتَ [17] مِنَ الَّذِي قُلْتُ

Alif [وتعالى] مؤتمرون [تمرون] 8 [لذين] This word is cut in half. 4 [فأ...] 3
 of elongation comes out of *lām* and is connected to it, preceding it. 10 أولاده [لأده] 11 [نخاف]
 These words and the first three words in the next line are quite blurred. 13 [انت] This word is
 cut in half.

14 [ابليس] See Iblīs.

لك قَالَ انَّ الله يعجبه بوجه ان تعرف ذنبك وتوب اليه قَالَ له ابليس اللعين له اَنْ [18] يتعرف ويتوب لا اَنْي ولاكن ينبغي لي ان يعطيك اجداً من الذي مشيت فلما اصبح العابد وجد [19] من الحرزة من الضواير قال العابد هذا اجرة من يخدم مثله حكاية اخرى اَنْ الزجاج [20] يصنع قاروره من زجاج فرأى يوماً بين القارورة فارة فاشترى قطاً فرأى القط الفارة بين [21] قطوع الزجاج فوثب اليه القط فكسر جميع القطوع ويقول المثل في عافية كان الزجاج [22] حتى يشتري القط قال العالم ارفع المال خير من كسبه قال ارسطو في فلسفته الطبيعية [إرفاع المال ليس أدنى برئت من كسبه f. 62^v فاذا هي ليس أدنى برئت ظهراً هي كان قد الكسب أو أكبر [2] وقال ايضاً ارسطو في هذه الدنيا في الانفاق في ثلثة اوجوه اولها مبرزاً * والثانية موسطاً يعني تانبرد [3] فهذا هو احسن من الاولى * والثانية والثالثة شحيح ☉ وفي القران من ذلك ايضاً تذكيراً حيث يقول في محكم [4] وحيه الكريم * والذين لم يسرفوا ولم يقتروا وكان بين ذلك قواماً تمت الحكايات والحمد لله رب العالمين * [5] باب في الامثال لا تعطوا مقدسكم الى الكلاب ولا تضع جواهركم بين [6] رجل الخنازير ☉ باب المجادلة في الشرايع * قل للنصرى واليهود حذوا جميع [7] الكتب الثلاثة بانها من ديش ونجربكم بأن القران اكمل من التورية والانجيل لان في التورية ثلاثة نفاصي [8] اولها ما جاء التورية الا لاسرايل خاصة وهو جزء يعني بلتين برتقلر والثانية ليس [9] لهم فيه يوم الحكم ولا بعث يعني البعث بلتين الرديسيون والثالثة الجنة والنار [10] وكل كتاب الشريعة لم يذكر فيه يوم الحكم ولا جنة ولا نار لآي وجه يكون الانسن ملتزم بحفظ الاوامر [11] الشريعة ويجتنب عن المعاصي انتم لا ينتظر بعمل الحسنة الجنة ولا بعمل الذنوب النار * وفي لاناجيل [12] ينذر فيها يسوع يوم الحكم والجنة والنار ☉ وفي التورية ايضاً لم يذكر فيها الا الاشياء الجسمانية [13] حيث يقول ان كنتم صالحين تاكلون وتشبعون ☉ والاشياء التي نقص في التورية يكملها يسوع في الاناجيل [14] وذلك مذكور في انجيل متى في الباب الرابع منه

التورية [التورية 13] الكتب [الكتب 7] This word is cut in half. [قطوع 21]

1 [برتت^١] par tot, (Cat.) per tot, (Cast.) por todo, i.e. throughout (everywhere). 2 [تانبرد^٢] tenprado, (Cast.) templado, i.e. tempered, with the meaning of moderate. 8 [برتقلر^٨] bi-latín particular; en latín "particular", i.e. in Latin, "particular". 9 [الرديسيون^٩] bi-latayn al-radiçion, en latín "la redención", i.e. in Latin, "redemption".

حَيْثُ يَقُولُ يَسُوعُ لِإِسْرَائِيلَ إِنِّي لَمْ أبعثْ لِنَقْصِ الْكِتَابِ الْا [15] لِيَكْطَلَهَا * وَخَيْرَ كِتَابِ الشَّرِيعَةِ الَّذِي جَاءَ إِلَى جَمِيعِ النَّاسِ عَامَةً إِلَّا الَّذِي جَاءَ إِلَى خَاصَّةِ النَّاسِ مِثْلَ التَّوْرَةِ [16] وَالْإِنْجِيلِ لِأَنَّ مُوسَى لَمْ يَبْجِي إِلَّا إِسْرَائِيلَ خَاصَّةً وَكَذَلِكَ يَسُوعُ لَمْ يَبْجِي إِلَّا لِإِسْرَائِيلَ خَاصَّةً لِأَنَّهُ يَهُودِيٌّ وَأَمَّهُ [17] كَذَلِكَ وَجَمِيعِ الْحَوَارِيِّينَ * وَتَجْرِيْبُ ذَلِكَ مَا قَالَ يَسُوعُ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ حَيْثُ قَالَ إِنِّي لَمْ أبعثْ إِلَّا الضَّانَ التَّالِفَةَ [18] مِنْ إِسْرَائِيلَ * وَآمَّا الْقُرْآنُ جَاءَ إِلَى عَامَّةِ النَّاسِ كَمَا قَالَ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ الْعَزِيزِ حَيْثُ يَقُولُ فِي الْاَعْرَافِ {قُلْ [19] يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنِّي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ إِلَيْكُمْ جَمِيعًا الَّذِي لَهُ مَلِكُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ} * وَالْقُرْآنُ أَيْضًا عَهْدَ يَوْمِ الْحُكْمِ [20] وَالْجَنَّةِ وَالنَّارِ وَكَيْفَ وَعَدَّ اللَّهُ لِأَهْلِ الْجَنَّةِ مِنَ النَّعِيمِ وَكَيْفَ وَعَدَّ اللَّهُ لِأَهْلِ النَّارِ مِنَ الْعَذَابِ ☉ [21] بَابُ إِنْ قَالُوا النَّصَارَى لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ هُوَ حَقٌّ أَنْ يَكُونَ فِي قُرْآنِكُمْ أَنَّ يَسُوعَ نَبَأُ الْاِتِيَةِ مُحَمَّدٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ [22] قُلْ لَهُمْ نَعَمْ حَيْثُ يَقُولُ فِي مُحْكَمٍ وَحْيِهِ الْكَرِيمِ * وَإِذَا قَالَ عَيْسَى ابْنُ مَرْيَمَ

للضَّانِ التَّالِفَةِ [التَّالِفَةُ] 17 The first words in lines 20–22 are quite blurred. وَالْجَنَّةِ] 20

Contents of The Book of Disputation

ff.	
31 ^v –35 ^r	Introduction ¹
35 ^r –35 ^v	Chapter about Adam, when he sinned in Paradise, he and his wife Hawā
35 ^v	Chapter about the claims of the Christians, namely: that Yasū‘ was king on the throne of his father, Dāwūd, and that his Kingdom will have no end
35 ^v –36 ^r	Chapter about Peter, he was Šama‘ūn, and Paul, he was Šawal, the Apostle of Yasū‘, the Nāširī
36 ^r	Chapter on Paul ²
37 ^r –37 ^v	Chapter in which the Christians tell Muslims that in the book of God, noble, temporal, physical wealth is promised in Paradise
37 ^v	Chapter on how God will gather all the creatures on the Day of Resurrection and of what kind of flesh they will be created because people in Paradise are eternal
38 ^r	Chapter about wine
38 ^r	Chapter about eating pork by the Christians
38 ^r –38 ^v	Chapter about the Day of Resurrection
38 ^v –39 ^r	Chapter about the many stories about Adam, peace upon him, about the vision of Aš‘iyā’, the sayings by Dāwūd in the Zabūr, the book of the Torah and the book of the Gospel
39 ^r –39 ^v	Chapter on what Abū l-Walīd ibn Rušd said: the one who sleeps is like one who is dead, he does not recover his senses until he awakens from his sleep

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- 1 Here, I only provide the chapters (*bāb*) explicitly referred to as such by the author. This does not mean that the *bābs* reflect all the contents in this polemic. The ‘Introduction’, for example, is confined to f. 31^r, after which the author discusses various Christian arguments and refutes them. On f. 46^v, between the treatises (*maqālāt*) by Aristotle and Ibn Rušd, we find a verse (*bayt*) by ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Many parts are also introduced as questions (*mas’ala*) and also as stories (*ḥikāya*) on ff. 61^r–62^r which deal with pious subjects but in which we also find episodes about the wars during the Muslim conquest of the Iberian territory. Among the facts we are told is what happened to a Christian slave from Esturyaš (Asturias) when he was taken prisoner by al-Manšūr (f. 61^r).
 - 2 Here there is an interruption in the *abwāb* but the polemic about Paul and baptism continues.

- 39^v–40^r Chapter on what Abū l-Walīd ibn Rušd said in the Logic: that the ignorant among the ‘*ulamā*’ among the Muslims do not know the explanation (*tafsīr*) of the words which are the text (*naṣṣ*) of the book of God, the Noble, and this is because they do not acknowledge that the books of logic are similar to God’s essence (*ka-naḥs Allāh*)
- 40^r–40^v Chapter about the Christians, who claim that Dios has a son
- 40^v Chapter explaining that every man has three ways of assenting to something
- 40^v Chapter on the purity of the Jews
- 40^v–41^v Chapter about Predestination
- 41^v Chapter about the Day of Resurrection
- 41^v–42^r Chapter about Predestination
- 42^r–42^v Chapter on the interpretation of the Prophet (*tafsīr an-nabī*)
- 42^v–43^r Chapter about Paradise in which Adam and his wife, Hawā, lived
- 43^r–44^r Chapter about the controversy (*tanāzaʿa*) with Christians and Jews who claim that the tribulations and serious harm which are visited upon men were determined prior to the sins committed on Earth
- 44^r–47^r Chapter on the treatises (*maqālāt*) of Aristotle and Abū l-Walīd b. Rušd
- 47^r–47^v Chapter on the treatises (*maqālāt*) of Abū l-Walīd b. Rušd, called the “comentador” (commentator) in Logic by the Christians
- 48^v Chapter on the stories about the Prophet (upon him be peace)
- 48^v–49^v Chapter about the marriage of Hāḡar to Ibrāhīm, upon him the peace
- 49^v Chapter about the phrase “we have made human beings in Our likeness” and the explanation (*tafsīr*) of “in Our likeness”
- 49^v–51^v Chapter about the question of the baptism (*taḡtīs*)³ of Christians
- 51^v–53^r Chapter concerning the divine decree and determination (*al-qadar wa-l-qadāʿ*)
- 53^v Chapter on Abū l-Walīd b. Rušd’s assertion that common people should not attempt “to understand and know how things occur [...] because people are not rationalists”
- 53^r–54^v Chapter about the Christian claim that ʿĪsā b. Maryam was God and human
- 54^v–56^r Chapter about the claim of the Christians that their Sacred Law (*šarīʿa*) is the faith⁴ derived from Paul and other saints⁵

3 Read *taḡtīs*.

4 fe (Aljamiado).

5 santos (Aljamiado).

- 56^r–60^r Chapter on the treatises (*maqālāt*) of Aristutālis (Aristotle), the Philosopher
- 60^r Chapter about the Prophet, upon him the peace
- 60^r–60^v Chapter about the Qurʾān
- 60^v Chapter on the Résumé of Grammar (*Kitāb al-Ġumal*)⁶
- 62^v Chapter on the proverbs (*al-amṭāl*)
- 62^v Chapter on the polemic (*muġādala*) about the *šarīʿa*

6 By Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq az-Zaġġāġī, in ÖNB MS AF 58 referred to as an-Naḥwī (ca. 245–256H/860–870CE–337–340H/948–950CE). *ET*² s.v. “az-Zajjājī” (Versteegh). There might be a break in the text between ff. 60^v and 61^r. As noted above, on ff. 61^r–62^r we find some stories (*hikāya*).

Source Overview

Aġuštīn¹

source not mentioned	32 ^r , 53 ^r , 54 ^v
Aġuštīn (Epistle)	50 ^v , 54 ^r

Aristotle

Falsafat aṭ-Ṭabī‘a	31 ^v , 34 ^r , 38 ^r , 46 ^v , 56 ^r , 57 ^r , 59 ^r , 59 ^v
al-Falsafa	42 ^r , 43 ^r
Kitāb Āṭār al-‘Ulwīya	43 ^r
al-Manṭiq	40 ^{v2} 45 ^r , 56 ^r
Kitāb al-Manṭiq	45 ^r
Falsafat al-Madaniyya	59 ^v
al-Madaniyya	46 ^r

al-Baṭalyawsī³

Source not mentioned	60 ^v
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Galen

Kitāb at-Talḥiṣ	48 ^r
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al-Ġazzālī

source not mentioned	48 ^r , 50 ^v , 57 ^v , 61 ^r
Kitāb Tahāfut al-Falāsifa ⁴	53 ^v

Ibn Abī Ṭalīb

Bayt	45 ^v , 46 ^v , 61 ^r
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- 1 Here, I have omitted the references from which the identity of the person can be only inferred, such as those to “sultān Awšāb” (Eusebius of Caesarea) on f. 44^r or to “al-manṭiqī Bīṭr” (perhaps Peter of Spain, 13th c.) on f. 54^v.
 - 2 The author does not mention Aristotle here.
 - 3 Andalusī grammarian and philosopher born in Badajoz (Baṭalyaws, 1052–1127). *ET*² s.v. “al-Baṭalyawsī” (Lévi-Provençal).
 - 4 In the manuscript rendered as: *Tahāṭuf al-Falāsifa*.

Ibn Rušd

al-Mantiq	39 ^v , 42 ^r , 44 ^r , 45 ^r , 46 ^r , 53 ^v , 56 ^v , 59 ^r
Kitāb al-Mantiq	45 ^v
Kitāb aḍ-Ḍarūra	47 ^r
Kitāb Tahāfut al-Tahāfut ⁵	53 ^v

Saḥīḥ al-Buḥārī (?)

source not mentioned	34 ^r
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Seneca

Source not mentioned	57 ^v
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as-Siġistānī⁶

Source not mentioned	48 ^v
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az-Zaġġāġī

Kitāb al-Ġumal ⁷	44 ^v , 60 ^v
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5 In the manuscript rendered by metathesis as: *Tahaṭuf al-Tahāṭuf*.

6 We are here most probably dealing with the ninth-century traditionist and *ḥadīth* compiler Abū Dāwūd as-Siġistānī (202H/817CE–275H/888CE). For the arguments for such identification, see Colominas Aparicio, *The Religious Polemics*, p. 160 note 24.

7 Not mentioning the author on f. 44^v, just “bāb al-‘aṭaf” from *Kitāb al-Ġumal* and referring on f. 60^v to “al-maqāla-l-awwal” and “al-maqāla-t-tāniyya min Kitāb al-Ġumal” by az-Zaġġāġī. A translation by Kees Versteegh of *Kitāb al-Ġumal fī an-Naḥw* [Explanation of Linguistic Causes] by az-Zaġġāġī is found in az-Zaġġāġī, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq; Versteegh, Kees (trans. and intr.), *The explanation of linguistic causes: Az-Zaġġāġī’s theory of grammar*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1995.

Qur'ān Verses

Verses follow the text in ÖNB MS AF 48.

f. 31 ^r	Q. 17:43	عَلَوْا كَبِيرًا
	Q. 42:52	كَذَلِكَ أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ رُوحًا مِنْ أَمْرِنَا
	Q. 58:22	وَأَيْدِهِمْ يَرْوِجُ مِنْهُ
	Q. 4:171	أَنَّ يَكُونَ لَهُ وَلَدٌ
f. 37 ^r	Q. 4:64	وَلَوْ أَنَّهُمْ إِذْ ظَلَمُوا أَنفُسَهُمْ جَاؤُكَ فَاسْتَغْفَرُوا اللَّهَ وَاسْتَغْفَرَ لَهُمُ الرَّسُولُ لَوَجَدُوا اللَّهَ تَوَّابًا رَحِيمًا
f. 37 ^v	Q. 56:61	وَنَنْشُكُّرُ فِي مَا لَا تَعْلَمُونَ
ff. 39 ^{r-v}	Q. 39:42	اللَّهُ يَتَوَقَّى لِأَنْفُسٍ حِينَ مَوْتِهَا وَالَّتِي لَمْ تَمُتْ فِي مَنَامِهَا فَيُمْسِكُ الَّتِي قَضَىٰ عَلَيْهَا الْمَوْتَ وَيُرْسِلُ الْأُخْرَىٰ إِلَىٰ أَجَلٍ مُّسَمًّى
f. 39 ^v	Q. 5:116	تَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِي وَلَا أَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِكَ إِنَّكَ أَنْتَ عَلَّامُ الْغُيُوبِ
f. 40 ^r	Q. 5:116	تَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِي وَلَا أَعْلَمُ مَا فِي نَفْسِكَ
f. 42 ^r	Q. 7:178	مَنْ يَهْدِ اللَّهُ فَهُوَ الْمُهْتَدِي
	Q. 6:35	وَلَوْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ لَجَمَعَهُمْ عَلَى الْهُدَىٰ
	Q. 42:52	وَكَذَلِكَ أَوْحَيْنَا إِلَيْكَ رُوحًا مِنْ أَمْرِنَا مَا كُنْتَ تَدْرِي مَا الْكُتُبُ وَلَا الْإِيمَانُ وَلَا كُنْ جَعَلْتَهُ نُورًا يَهْدِي بِهِ مَنْ يَشَاءُ مِنْ عِبَادِنَا

- f. 42^v Q. 2:36 اهبطوا بعضكم لبعض عدو ولكم في الارض مستقر ومتاع الى حين
- Q. 2:61 اهبطوا مصر فان لكم ما سألتم
- Q. 2:30 واذا قال ربك للملكية اني جاعل في الارض خليفة
- Q. 3:133 سارعو الى مغفرة من ربكم وجنة عرضها السموات والارض
- Q. 57:21 جنة ع[...] كعرض السماء والارض
- Q. 7:40 لا تفتح لهم ابواب السماء ولا يدخلون الجنة حتى يلج الجمل في سم الخياط
- f. 43^r Q. 25:48 وتزلنا من السماء ماء طهورا
- f. 44^r Q. 73:9 رب المشرق والمغرب
- f. 44^v Q. 41:9 لتكفرون بالذي خلق الارض في يومين
- Q. 41: 11 ثم استوى الى السماء
- Q. 36:80 الذي جعل لكم من الشجر الاخضر نارا فاذا انتم منه توقدون
- Q. 16:68 واوحى ربك الى النحل
- Q. 20:50 ربنا الذي اعطى كل شي خلقه ثم هدى
- f. 45^r Q. 26:23 وما رب العلمين
- Q. 26:24 رب السموات والارض
- f. 47^r Q. 20: 50 ربنا الذي اعطى كل شي خلقه ثم هدى
- f. 47^v Q. 2: 29 هو الذي خلق لكم ما في الارض جميعا ثم استوى الى السماء وهو بكل شي عليم

- f. 48^v Q. 36:36 خَلَقَ الْاَزْوَاجَ كُلَّهَا
- Q. 37:22 أَحْسُرُوا الَّذِينَ ظَلَمُوا وَاَزْوَاجَهُمْ
- Q. 2:30 وَإِذْ قَالَ رَبُّكَ لِلْمَلِكَةِ إِنِّي جَاعِلٌ فِي الْأَرْضِ خَلِيفَةً
- f. 49^v Q. 32:7 خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ طِينٍ
- Q. 32:9 ثُمَّ سَوَّاهُ وَنَفَخَ فِيهِ مِنْ رُوْحِهِ
- f. 50^r Q. 7:185 أَوَلَمْ يَنْظُرُوا فِي مَلَكُوتِ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ
- f. 50^v Q. 49:14 لَمْ تُؤْمِنُوا
- f. 51^r Q. 61:6 يَا بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ إِنِّي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ إِلَيْكُمْ مُصَدِّقًا لِمَا بَيْنَ يَدَيَّ مِنَ التَّوْرَةِ
وَمُبَشِّرًا بِرَسُولٍ يَأْتِي مِنْ بَعْدِي اسْمُهُ أَحْمَدُ
- f. 52^r Q. 16:33 وَمَا ظَلَمَهُمُ اللَّهُ وَلَا كُنَّا أَنْفُسَهُمْ يَظْلِمُونَ
- f. 53^r Q. 21:23 لَا يَسْتَلْ عَمَّا يُفْعَلُ وَهُمْ يُسْتَلُونَ
- f. 58^v Q. 55:14 خَلَقَ الْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ صَلْصَالٍ كَالْفَخَّارِ
- f. 62^v Q. 7:158 قُلْ يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنِّي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ إِلَيْكُمْ جَمِيعًا الَّذِي لَهُ مَلِكُ السَّمَوَاتِ
وَالْأَرْضِ

Bible Verses

Verses follow the text in ÖNB MS AF 48.

- f. 31^r Cf. Gen. 2:7 نَسَمَةَ الْحَيَوَةِ
- Cf. Luke 1:26–38
 حِينَ بَشَّرَهَا بِمَجْلِ الرَّحْمَةِ الرَّبِّ عَعَطْتِكِ الرَّحْمَةَ يَعْنِي لَعْرَسِيَهْ وَمِنْ رُوحِ الْقُدُسِ تَكُونُ حُبْلَى كَمَا كَانَ صَهْرُكَ غِشْبَالَ حُبْلَى مِنْ رُوحِ الْقُدُسِ
- Cf. Ex. 4:22–23 قُلْ لِفِرْعَوْنَ أَنْ يَطْلُقَ ابْنِي بِكَرِي إِسْرَائِيلَ يَذْبَحُ لِي
- Cf. Deut. 6:4, Mark 12:29 سَمِعْ يَا إِسْرَائِيلَ أَنَّ الْإِلَهَكَ وَاحِدٌ
- f. 31^v Cf. Matt. 27:46 إِلَهِي إِلَهِي لِمَ تَسْلِبْنِي
- Cf. Luke 22:42 إِنْ كَانَ وَرَبِّمَا هَذَا الْكَاسِ لَيْسَ نَشْرَبُهُ
- f. 32^v Cf. John 14:8–11
 أَرِنَا الْآبَ وَيَكْفِينَا ٥ أَجَابَ لَهُ عَيْسَى تَمَّتْ الزَّمَانُ نَعِيشُ مَعَكُمْ وَلَا تَعْرِفُونِي الْآبَ فِي وَأَنَا فِي الْآبِ وَالْكَلَامُ الَّذِي أَقُولُهَا لَكُمْ لَيْسَ قُلْتَهَا عَنِّي
- Cf. John 17:21 أَنْتُمْ فِي وَأَنَا فِيكُمْ
- Cf. Matt. 16:15–17 إِنَّ يَسُوعَ يُسَمِّي نَفْسَهُ وَوَلَدُ اللَّهِ
- Cf. Luke 20:33–36
 لَمَنْ تَكُونُ تِلْكَ الْمَرْأَةُ مِنْهُمْ فَاجَابَ يَسُوعَ فِي الْجَنَّةِ لَا يَنْكَحُونَ وَلَا يَتَنَاحُونَ وَيَكُونُونَ كَامِثَالِ الْمَلِيكَةِ وَيَسْمَوْنَ الصَّالِحُونَ أَوْلَادَ اللَّهِ
- Cf. Ex. 6:10–11 قُلْ لِفِرْعَوْنَ أَنْ يَطْلُقَ ابْنِي بِكَرِي

f. 33^r Cf. Luke 1:31 من رُوحِ القُدسِ تَكُونُ حُبْلَى فَاذَا وُلِدَتْهُ فَسَمِّهِ يَسُوعَ

Indirect reference to Isa. 7:14 followed by Matt. 1:23

عَذْرَاءُ حُبْلَى تَكُونُ عَمَّ مَنُوَالِ

Cf. Gen. 1:26

نَصْنَعُ إِنْسَانًا عَلَى مِثَالِنَا

f. 33^v Cf. Gen. 1:26

نَصْنَعُ إِنْسَانًا عَلَى مِثَالِنَا

Cf. Gen. 1:26–28

تَكُونُ مَسْلُطًا عَلَى جَمِيعِ طُيُورِ السَّمَاءِ وَبِهَائِمِ الْأَرْضِ وَوَحُوشِ الصَّحْرَاءِ وَالْحَيَاتَانِ
الْبَحْرِ يَكُونُ الْكُلُّ مُسَخَّرًا لَكَ وَمَسْلُطًا عَلَيْهَا

f. 34^v Cf. Matt. 22:32

أَنَا الْإِلَهَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَالْإِلَهَ اسْحَقَ وَالْإِلَهَ يَعْقُوبَ الْإِلَهَ الْحَيَّاءِ

Cf. Matt. 26:39; Mark 14:36; Luke 22:42

الْإِلَهَ لَمْ تَسْلَمْنِي إِنْ كَانَ وَرَبِّمَّا هَذَا الْكَاسِ لِلْمَوْتِ لَمْ نَشْرِبْهُ

f. 35^r Cf. Gen. 4:1–15

بَذَنْبٍ يَذَنْبُ ابْنِ آدَمَ قَايِنَ حِينَ قَاتَلَ أَخِيهِ أَبَانَ

Cf. Gen. 3:16–19

قَالَ الرَّبُّ لِآدَمَ مِنْ عَرُوقِ جَبِينِكَ تَعْيِسُ أَنْتَ وَنَسْلُكَ الَّتِي تَخْرُجُ مِنْكَ فِي الْأَرْضِ
مَلْعُونًا يَكُونُ الْأَرْضُ بِسَبَبِكَ تَزْرَعُ الزَّرْعَ وَتَقْنَطُ الشَّوَاكِ ⊙ وَقَالَ أَيْضًا لِحَوَى
بَأَوْجَاعٍ تَلِيدُ أَنْتَ وَنَسْلُكَ مِنَ النِّسَاءِ الَّتِي تَخْرُجُ مِنْكَ إِلَى الْأَبَدِ وَإِلَى بَعْلِكَ تَرْجَعُ
وَتَكُونُ مُسَخَّرَةً إِلَى زَوْجِكَ ⊙ أَنْتَ وَنَسْلُكَ مِنَ النِّسَاءِ

Cf. Gen. 2:16–17

قَالَ الرَّبُّ لِآدَمَ لَا تَأْكُلْ مِنْ شَجَرَةِ الْعِلْمِ الْخَيْرِ وَالشَّرِّ الْيَوْمَ الَّذِي تَأْكُلُ مِنْهَا تَمُوتُ مَوْتًا

Cf. Gen. 2:9 في الجنة الارضية شجرتين تسمى الواحدة منهما شجرة علم الخير والشر
والاخرى شجرة الحيوة

Cf. Gen. 3:24 ان الشجرة الحيوه محروزة يملك من الكارويم

f. 35^v Cf. Deut. 24:16 (a similar idea is conveyed in Ezek. 18:20)
لا تقتل الابن بذنب الاب ولا الاب بذنب الابن

Cf. Gen. 2:8, 15 and Gen. 3:19
غرس لله جنة الارضية واسكن فيها ادم ليعجلها ويصلحها فكل من يحفر ويحتر
فلا بد ان يشقى ويعرق جبينه

Cf. Luke 23:3 أنت الذي تزعم أنك سلطان إسرائيل

I couldn't find this verse but it is interesting to compare it with
what is said in Matt. 27:42

ان كان اني سلطان إسرائيل لم يرؤوني في يدك

f. 36^r Cf. Matthew 5:17 اني لم ابعث ان نقص شي من الكتب يعني تورية موسى

f. 36^v Cf. Matt. 16:19 مفاتيح السماء ملقى تكون في يدك الذي تغفر انت في الارض يكون مغفوراً في
السماء

f. 37^v Cf. Lev. 19:11 لا تسرق

Cf. Matt. 26:29 اشربوا من هذا الكأس فاني أقول لكم لم نشرب نحرماً نخرج من الدرجون حتى نشربها
في ملكوت ابي السماوي

Cf. Matt. 22:25–30 (paraphrase)

وَقَالَ أَيضًا عَيْسَىٰ بِنِ مَرْيَمَ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ حَيْثُ يُسْتَلُّ لِلْمَكْدِينِ عَنْ امْرَأَةٍ تَزَوَّجَ مَعَ سَبْعَةِ إِخْوَةٍ لِمَنْ تَكُونُ تِلْكَ الْمَرَأَةُ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ فَاجَابَ لَهُمْ يَسُوعُ أَنَّ فِي يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ لَا يَنْكِحُونَ وَلَا يَتَنَاحُونَ وَيَكُونُونَ كَأَمْثَالِ الْمَلَائِكَةِ

f. 38^r

Cf. Luke 11:13–15

رُوحٌ قُدْسٌ يَدْخُلُ بِكَ وَتَكُونُ حُبْلَىٰ مِنْ صَبِيٍّ اسْمُهُ يَحْيَىٰ الْكَوْلُ حَرُّهُ مِنْ نَخْرٍ وَسِدْرِيهِ وَمِنْ كُلِّ شَيْءٍ يَسْكُرُ

Cf. Lev. 10:8–11 (where Aaron is addressed)

الرَّبِّ قَالَ لِمُوسَىٰ لَا يَقْرَبُ الْخَمْرَ وَلَا تَشْرَبُ مِنْهُ وَلَا تَأْكُلُ شَيْءًا يَخْرَفُ مِنْهُ

Cf. Matt. 5:17

أَنِّي لَمْ أَرْسَلْ لِيَنْقُصْ شَيْءٌ مِنْ كِتَابِ مُوسَىٰ إِلَّا لِأَكْمَلُهُ

f. 38^v

Cf. Deut. 24:16 (a similar idea is conveyed in Ezek. 18:20)

لَا تَقْتُلُ الْآبَ بِذَنْبِ الْإِبْنِ وَلَا الْإِبْنَ بِذَنْبِ الْآبِ الْكُلُّ وَاحِدٌ بِذَنْبِهِ

Cf. Gen 3:8–24

نَرَىٰ أَشَّ تَرْلَهُمَا دِيشَ بَعْدَ مَا أَخْرَجَهُمَا مِنْ جَنَّةِ الْأَرْضِيَّةِ أَشَّ زَيْدٍ لُهُمَا

Cf. Isa. 7:14

عَدْرَاءُ حُبْلَىٰ تَكُونُ عَمَّ مَنَوَالٍ

f. 40^r

Gen. 15:1

لَا تَخَفْ يَا إِبْرَاهِيمَ أَنَا تُرْسَكَ

f. 40^v

Cf. Lev. 15:16

كُلُّ رَجُلٍ يَضَاجِعُ مَعَ امْرَأَتِهِ مَضَاجِعًا [ه] النَّسَالُ أَوْ يَحْلِمُ وَيَخْرُجُ مِنْهُ النَّطْفَةُ فَهُوَ مَنَجَسٌ وَيَنْبَغِي لَهُ أَنْ يَطَّهَّرَ بِمَاءٍ وَيَكُونُ مَنَجَسٌ إِلَى الْمَغِيبِ

Cf. Lev. 10: 9–10

لَا تَقْرَبُوا الْخَمْرَ وَلَا شَيْءًا يَخْرُجُ مِنْهُ وَلَا تَدْخُلُوا فِي الْبَيْتِ الْقُدْسِ يَعْنِي قَبَةَ الزَّمَانِ وَأَنْتُمْ إِذَا أَصَابَتْكُمْ جَنَابَةٌ فَطَهَّرُوا قَبْلَ أَنْ تَدْخُلُوا بَيْتَ الْمُقَدَّسِ

Cf. 1 Kings 11:6–9 (paraphrase)

أَذْنَبَ سُلَيْمَنُ فِي تَرْكِ جَوَارِهِ أَنْ يَسْجُدْنَ وَيَعْبُدْنَ إِلَى صَنْمٍ

Cf. 1 Kings 11:11–13 (paraphrase)

قَالَ لَهُ النَّبِيُّ النَّسَمُ عَنْ أَمْرِ الرَّبِّ لَيْسَ السُّلْطَانُ مَأْشُ شَائِدٍ مَشْ فِكْرَامَةِ أَبِيكَ دَاوُدَ
لَمْ نَخْلَعْ الْمُلْكَ مِنْكَ وَإِنَّمَا نَخْلَعْ لَابْنِكَ رُغُوبَ الَّذِي مَلَكَ يَعْدُكَ مِنْ إِثْنَا عَشَرَ سِبْطًا
لَا حُدَى عَشْرَ سِبْطًا لَا تَكُونُ مَعَهُ إِلَّا سِبْطٌ وَاحِدٌ

f. 41^r

Paraphrase of Book of Kings (1 Kings 12:6–14; 12:28, 1 Kings 2:5–6) and Book of Samuel (2 Sam. 16:15–22, 2 Sam. 18, particularly verses 9 and 14–16)

f. 41^v

Paraphrase of Book of Samuel (2 Sam. 18, particularly verse 33, 2 Sam. 19, particularly verse 9)

The beginning is reminiscent of God's words after the flood (Gen. 9:11 and 9:15), I have not been able to find this verse which perhaps belongs to the rabbinic tradition

مِنَ الْإِنْسَانِ مَا عَاهَدْتُ أَنْ لَا أُقْتَلَ كُلُّ نَفْسٍ كَمَا فَعَلْتَ لِأَنَّ الْإِنْسَانَ مِنْ صَغَرِهِ مُسِيءٌ
وَلَا يَبْطُلُ اللَّيْلَ عَنِ النَّهَارِ وَلَا الشِّتَاءَ مِنَ الصَّيْفِ وَلَا يَكُونُ إِلَّا لَيْلًا وَنَهَارًا

Cf. Gen. 20, particularly 2 and 12

حِينَ يَأْخُذُوا أَهْلَ مِصْرَ امْرَأَةَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ سُئِلَ لَهَا مِنْ خَلْوَةِ مَالِكِ لِإِبْرَاهِيمَ فَأَجَابَتْ لَهُمْ أَنَّهُ
زَوْجِي ○ وَسُئِلَ أَيْضًا لِإِبْرَاهِيمَ فَأَجَابَ أَنَّهَا أُخْتِي بِنْتُ أَبِي لَيْسَتْ مِنْ أُمِّي

f. 42^r

Cf. Luke 22:67

الَيْسَ تَوْمَنَ التِّي أَقُولُ لَكُمْ

Cf. Deut. 18:18

أَنْيَ أَقِيمَ لِنَبِيِّ إِسْرَائِيلَ نَبِيٌّ مِنْ بَعْضِ إِخْوَاتِهِ كَمَثَلِكَ

Cf. Deut. 34:10

وَلَمْ يَقُمْ فِي بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ نَبِيٌّ كَمُوسَى نَبِيِّ كَمُوسَى

Cf. John 14:16

بَارَقْلِيظَ أَخْرَلَكُمْ بَعْدِي

- f. 42^v Cf. Gen. 49:10
 وقال ليهودا الا يعدم قضيب من سبط يهوذا والراسم تحت يده حتى ياتي الذي له
- f. 43^v Cf. Pslm. 94:3 (it is, however, unclear to which Psalm the author is referring to)
 الى متى يا رب تصلح طرأيق الصالحين
 Cf. Gen. 1:26 نصنع انسانا على مثالنا
- f. 44^r Cf. Matt. 26:27, 29
 اشربوا من هذا الكاس اني اقول لكم اني ليس تشرب من شي يخرج من نسل الزرجون حتى اشربها في مايدة ابي السماوي
- ff. 48^v-49^r Cf. Gen. 16:1-3
 ثم ان سارة زوجة ابرم لما لم تلد له وكان لها امه مصرية واسمها هاجر فقالت لابرم هوذا قد حبسني الله الولد ادخل الان الى امي لعل بينا بيتي منها فاقبل ابرم قول سارة فأخذت سره زوجة ابرم هاجر المصرية أمها بعد عشر سنين من مقام ابرم في بلاد كنعان فأعطتها لابرم بعلها لتكون له زوجة
- f. 49^r Cf. Gen. 1-4 (yet all very blurred)
 ثم عاد ابراهيم واتخذ زوجة واسمها قطورة فولدت له زمران ويقشن ومدن ومدن ويشبق وثموح ويقشن اولد شبا وددن وبني ددن كانوا اشورييم ولطوشيم والاميم وبني مدن عيف وعفر وخنوخ وءايدغ وءالدعة جميع هولاء بني قطورة
 Cf. Gen. 16:3
 فأخذت سري زوجة ابرم هاجر المصرية أمها بعد عشر سنين من مقام ابرم في بلاد كنعان فأعطتها لابرم بعلها لتكون زوجة

Cf. Gen. 20:1-12

ثُمَّ رَحَلَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ مِنْ ثَمَّ إِلَى بِلَادِ الْقَبْلَةِ وَأَقَامَ بَيْنَ رَقِيمَ وَبَيْنَ الْجَبَارِ وَسَكَنَ فِي الْخُلُوصِ
وَلَمَّا قَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ عَنْ سَارَةَ زَوْجَتِهِ هِيَ أُخْتِي فَبَعَثَ أَبِي مَالِكُ الْمَلِكُ الْفِلَسْطِينِيِّينَ فَأَخَذَهَا
جَفَاءً مَلِكُ اللَّهِ إِلَى أَبِي مَالِكِ فِي حِلْمِ اللَّيْلِ فَقَالَ لَهُ إِنَّكَ مَيِّتٌ بِسَبَبِ الْمَرْأَةِ الَّتِي أَخَذْتَهَا
وَهِيَ ذَاتَ بَعْلِ وَكَانَ أَبُو مَالِكٍ لَمْ يَقْرُبْ إِلَيْهَا فَقَالَ يَا رَبِّ أَنْتَ الْإِنْسَانُ زَكِيٌّ تَقْتُولُهُ
الْأَنَّهُ قَالَ لِي هِيَ أُخْتِي وَهِيَ أَيْضًا قَالَتْ هُوَ أَخِي بِصِحَّةٍ قَلْبِي وَنَبِيَّتِي كُنْفِي صَنَعْتُ

ذَلِكَ وَصَدَّرْتُكَ بِالْتَّعْرِيفِ مِنْ أَنْ تَخْطِي لِي وَلِذَلِكَ لَمْ أَدْعَكَ أَنْ تَدَنَّ مِنْهَا وَالآنَ
رُدِّ زَوْجَتَهُ أَنَّهُ نَبِيٌّ يَدْعُو عَلَيْكَ وَنَحْيِي وَإِنْ لَمْ تَرُدَّهَا أَعْلَمُ أَنَّكَ مَالِكٌ أَنْتَ وَجَمِيعَ مَالِكِ
فَادْلُجْ أَبُو مَالِكٍ بِالْغَدَاةِ وَدَعَا بِجَمِيعِ قَوَادِهِ كَلِمَتَهُمْ بِهَذَا الْكَلَامِ فَفَزِعَ الْقَوْمَ جِدًّا ثُمَّ دَعَا
إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَقَالَ لَهُ مَا صَنَعْتَ بِنَا وَمَا أَخْطَيْتَ لَكَ إِذَا جَلَبْتَ عَلَيَّ وَعَلَى مُمْلِكِي خَطِيئَةً
عَظِيمَةً وَأَعْمَلْ لَا يُصْنَعُ مِثْلُهَا ضَعْفًا مَعِي ثُمَّ قَالَ لَهُ مَا رَأَيْتَ إِذَا صَنَعْتَ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ *
قَالَ إِنِّي قُلْتُ لَعَلِّي لَيْسَ مَخَافَةُ اللَّهِ فِي هَذَا الْمَوْضِعِ فَيَقْتُلُونِي بِسَبَبِ زَوْجَتِي وَعَلَى حَقِيقَةٍ
هِيَ أُخْتِي مِنْ أَبِي لَأَكُنَّ لَيْسَتْ مِنْ أُمِّي فَصَارَتْ لِي

ff. 49^r-49^v Cf. Gen. 30:1-13

كَانَ لِيَعْقُوبَ امْرَأَتَيْنِ وَأُمْتَيْنِ اسْمُ أَحَدِهِمَا بِلَهَهُ وَالْآخَرَى زَلْفَهُ وَكَانَ لِيَعْقُوبَ مِنْ بِلَهَهُ
أُمَةٌ رَاحِلَ دَانَ وَنَفْتَلِي وَمِنْ زَلْفَةَ أُمَةٌ لِأَذْغَدِ وَءِاشِرُ

In reference to Gen. 35:1-13 and Gen. 37:1

وَهَوْلَاءُ بَنُوا الْأُمْتَيْنِ يَرْتُونَ فِي أَرْضِ كَنْعَانَ كَمَا يَرْتُونَ أَوْلَادِ لِأَهْ وَرَاحِلَ كَمَا قَالَ فِي
كِتَابِ تَوْرِيَةِ فِي السَّفَرِ الرَّابِعِ مِنْهُ

f. 49^v Cf. Gen. 2:7 وَنَفَخَ فِيهِ الرَّبُّ نَسْمَةَ الْحَيَاةِ

f. 51^r Cf. Mark 1:9-11 وَعَمَدَ يَحْيَى ابْنَ زَكَرِيَّا لَيْسُوعَ النَّاصِرِي فِي وَادِ الْأَرْدُونِ

f. 52^v

Cf. Gen 15:13

(this and the following are paraphrase)

نَسْتَلِّكَ يَكُونُ فِي الْأَسْرَارِ بَعْمَاةَ سَنَةٍ

Cf. Exod. 13-15

ثُمَّ أَخْرَجَهُمُ اللَّهُ لَهُمْ بِيَدٍ مَنِيعَةٍ مِنْ طَاقَةِ فِرْعَوْنَ

Cf. Exod. 11:10

فَقَسَا الرَّبُّ قَلْبَ فِرْعَوْنَ وَلَمْ أَبَا أَنْ يَطْلُقَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ حَتَّى يَكْبَلَ الرَّبُّ جَمِيعَ
الْمُعْجَزَاتِ الَّتِي صَنَعَ فِي بَلَدِ مِصْرَ بِفِرْعَوْنَ وَجُنُودِهِf. 53^v

Cf. Exod. 4:22-23

أَبْنِي بَكْرِي إِسْرَائِيلَ

Cf. Mark 12:28-29

سُئِلَ لَهُ الْعَالَمُ مِنْ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ أَخْبِرْنِي عَنْ أَوَّلِ الْعَهْدِ الَّذِي أَخَذَ الرَّبُّ مِنْ إِسْرَائِيلَ
قَالَ لَهُ يُسُوعُ اسْمِعْ يَا إِسْرَائِيلَ أَنَّ إِصْلَاهُكَ وَاحِدٌf. 54^v

Cf. John 14:9

تَنْتُ زَمَانٌ أَشَايِدُ مَعَكُمْ وَلَيْسَ تَعْرِفُونِي

Cf. Matt. 11:11

لَمْ يَنْفَسْ امْرَأَةٌ فِي الدُّنْيَا مِثْلَ يَحْيَى وَهُوَ أَصْغَرُ مَنْ فِي مَلَائِكَةِ السَّمَاوِيَّةِ

f. 55^r

Cf. Matt. 22:23-32, particularly verse 32

يَقُولُ يُسُوعُ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ لِلْمُكَذِّبِينَ عَنْ يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ لِأَنَّ الرَّبَّ رَدَّ الْمِرَاجَةَ بِالْمَطَالِبَةِ بِمَدْحِ
مَنْ أَبْرَهُيمَ وَاسْتَحَقَّ وَيَعْقُوبَ حَيْثُ يَقُولُ فِي الْإِنْجِيلِ عَلَى لِسَانِ يُسُوعِ النَّاصِرِيِّ أَنَا الْإِلَهَ
أَبْرَهُيمَ وَالْإِلَهَ اسْتَحَقَّ وَالْإِلَهَ يَعْقُوبَ الْإِلَهَ الْأَحْيَاءِf. 56^r

Cf. Gen. 1:6-7

فِي أَوَّلِهِ أَنَّ فَوْقَ سَمَاءٍ مَاءً

f. 57^r

Cf. John 7:24

لَا تَنْظُرُوا إِلَى الْمَلْبَسِ ثِيَابِ حَسَنٍ وَلَا تَحْكُمُوا عَلَيْهِ بِأَنَّهُ رَجُلٌ جَيِّدٌ وَلَا كُنْ أَحْكَمُوا
عَلَيْهِ بِعَمَلِهِ

f. 59^v

Cf. John 16:28

أَنَّ الْأَشْيَاءَ الَّتِي كَانَتْ فِي النَّاسِ مِنْ اللَّهِ إِذَا مَاتُوا النَّاسُ إِلَى اللَّهِ يَرْجَعُونَ

Cf. Ecclesiastes 12:7; also, Gen. 3:19

وَالْأَشْيَاءَ الَّتِي كَانَتْ مِنَ التُّرَابِ إِلَى التُّرَابِ يَرْجَعُونَ الْأَرْوَاحُ لَهُمْ مِنَ اللَّهِ وَاللُّحُومُ مِنَ
الْأَجْسَادِ الْأَدَمِيِّينَ هُمْ مِنَ التُّرَابِ

f. 60^v

Cf. John 14:8

أَوْرِينَا الْأَبَّ وَيُكْفِنَانَا

Cf. Exod. 33:18

قَالَ مُوسَى لِلرَّبِّ ارْنِي وَجْهَكَ

Cf. Exod. 33:20

فَأَجَابَهُ الرَّبُّ لَا يَقْدِرُ أَنْ يَرَانِي بَعِينَ لَا يَمُوتُ

Words in Aljamiado

- a (prep.) f. 33^r, 38^v
- abese (hubiese; haber, verb) f. 38^v, 54^r;
 abeyes f. 31^v; abra f. 37^v; an f. 36^v;
 aura f. 35^v; auri f. 52^r; aya f. 52^v;
 afeyes f. 36^v
- abitos (hábitos) f. 55^v
- acayeçimiyentos f. 51^v
- acçidentes f. 54^r
- acorrer (most likely to be read as socorrer) f. 31^v
- aguda f. 59^r
- albidriyyu (albedrío) f. 40^v; albidrio, bidriyyo, bdriyo, bidriyuh, alpidrio/alpadrio, alpardriyo/albardrio f. 52^r
- alcamıştas (alquimistas) f. 50^r
- amețales, f. 32^r, 54^r, 54^v (see also, mețales)
- animales f. 56^r
- antemo (extremo) f. 31^v, f. 47^r
- aqueello f. 52^r
- arginos (rugidos) f. 59^v
- arma f. 40^r
- armado f. 54^v
- asi f. 52^r
- atemarsi (exterminarse) f. 55^v
- atemo (extremo) f. 31^v (see also, etemo)
- atrament (altrament Cat.; otramente Cast.) f. 60^r
- atramenti (altrament) f. 60^r
- bafus (vahos) f. 43^r
- bapah (Papa) f. 36^r, 36^v, 54^v (see also, papah)
- barg (embarga) f. 39^r
- beredicato (predicado) f. 56^r
- beredicatorin (predicados) f. 56^r
- bistolihı (su epistola) f. 54^r; bistolhi f. 50^v (see also, pistola)
- bibiryah (Biblia) f. 31^r
- bibriyah f. 35^r
- busțı (busto) f. 48^r
- cabalgato f. 56^r
- cabe f. 32^r, 33^r, 53^r, 53^v, 54^r
- caber f. 42^v
- cabese f. 32^r, 33^r
- cabıça f. 48^r
- cada f. 53^v
- caledades (cualidades) f. 53^v
- cañon f. 59^r, 59^v
- cañones f. 59^r, 59^v
- caños f. 37^v
- capițol f. 36^r
- cardenales f. 54^v
- cațolica f. 50^v
- cbre (cubre) f. 46^v
- çeçar f. 39^r
- cereçimenti (crecimiento) f. 46^r
- çarrajas (cerrañas): common sow-thistle family of the dandelion, f. 48^v
- çertus, çirtus (ciertos) f. 48^r
- çidrih (sidra) f. 38^r
- cofesar (confesar) f. 36^r
- cofesarvos (confesarvos) f. 36^v
- come f. 43^v
- comendađor f. 47^r

- comun f. 44^v
 conçebida f. 58^r
 conclusiyon (conclusión) f. 55^v; con-
 clasion f. 55^v
 condemnaçiyon (condenación) f. 35^r
 condiçiones f. 60^r, 60^v
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 creador f. 33^v
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 cual f. 36^v, 38^r, 54^r, 54^v
 cuanto f. 46^v, 53^r
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- da f. 38^v, 42^v, 43^r, 47^r
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 deidat f. 31^v, 32^r, 37^v
 defendello (defenderlo) f. 60^r
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 39^r, 40^r, 53^r, 53^v, 54^r, 54^v, 55^r,
 55^v, 58^r, 60^v, 62^v; dias (Dios)
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 54^r; ensensiah f. 53^r; ensensiyah,
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- neçeçario (necesario) f. 47^r
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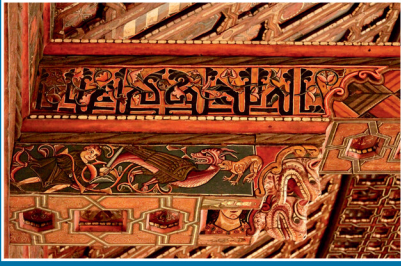
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Mònica Colominas Aparicio, Ph.D. (2016) University of Groningen, is the author of *The Religious Polemics of the Muslims of Late Medieval Iberia: Identity and Religious Authority in Mudejar Islam* (Brill, 2018) and numerous other studies of religious minorities in pre-modern Iberia.

This is the first critical edition and study of a unique and important Muslim polemic against Christians and Jews. *The Book of Disputation* was written in Arabic by a Mudejar (subject Muslim living under Christian rule in late medieval Iberia) and offers new insight into the cultural and intellectual life of this Muslim minority. The text advances arguments drawn from natural philosophy – largely from Aristotle and Averroes – along with more traditional revealed sources such as the Qur’ān and the Bible.

Mudejar communities suffered a diminution of religious and political intelligentsia over time. This text, however, highlights the author’s particular conception of the world as the creation of God in his defense of Islam, demonstrates the vitality of intellectual life among Muslims in medieval Christian Iberia, and documents the continued cultivation of natural philosophy within these Muslim communities.

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