

Koningsveld, P.S., Q. Al-Samarrai, and G.A. Wiegers (eds.) Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī. *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn ‘alā ‘l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn*. (The Supporter of Religion against the Infidels). 2nd ed. (Fuentes Arábico-Hispanas, 35). Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC), Madrid, 2015.

*Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn ‘alā ‘l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn*, composed in 1637 in Egypt at the request of the Malikite Azhar scholar al-Ujhūrī, is the autobiographical account of the life of Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, a Morisco from Hornachos, (b. ca. 1569–1570) born under the Christian name of Diego Bejarano. Al-Ḥajarī lived in Spain for thirty years and then sailed from Cádiz to Mazagan to finally reach Marrakech in 1599, where he was received by Al-Manṣūr. After settling in, he was appointed by Muley Zaydan as his secretary and translator in 1608. Al-Ḥajarī’s biographical accounts are described in the *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* including the journey he took to France and Holland on a diplomatic mission. During his itineraries—which were also narrated in his other book, *Riḥlat al-Shihāb ilā liqā’ al-aḥbāb*, now lost—he engaged in interreligious debates and had contact with European scholars such as French physician Étienne Hubert (1614) and Arabist Thomas Erpenius (1567–1614). Al-Ḥajarī played a significant role as an intellectual agent and mediator in Spain and in exile, in contact with both Moriscos and Christian authorities like the Archbishop of Granada, Pedro Castro Vaca y Quiñones (1534–1623), who involved him in the translation and interpretation of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte.

Van Koningsveld, Al-Samarrai and Wiegers were well aware of al-Ḥajarī’s significance when they published the first critical edition and English translation of the text back in 1997 (CSIC, Madrid). At the time, just one of the manuscripts containing al-Ḥajarī’s complete text was known, corresponding to the autograph copy from the Dār al-Kutub library in Cairo, written in Tunisia in 1641–2, and used by the editors as the primary text. Another two later manuscripts were known but comprised just fragments, namely the National Library of France’s Ar. 7024, a 73 ff. scribal copy containing the last four chapters of the book, and the University of Bologna’s D 565, which includes a number of paraphrases written in Spanish by the author (ff. 149v–170r). It was not until just a few years ago when al-Azhar Library digitized part of their collection that prof. Muhammad Ghaly drew the editors’ attention to manuscript num. 30714. After the editors studied the al-Azhar manuscript, the copy proved to be not just a complete version of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* (ff. 247r–284r), but also the most primitive one, which was written in Egypt and most probably never left the country (p. 73). The discovery of this new copy motivated the present improved and expanded second edition, which is very much appreciated. First, because the book will once more become readily available, but also because of the new additions, as well as the new readings of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* provided by the al-Azhar manuscript.

The al-Azhar text differs from that of Dār al-Kutub in that it is not fully vocalized, it lacks some development in passages related mainly to the finding of the Parchment and Lead Books of Granada, and it contains several descriptive passages that were later removed. Written sources were corrected in the subsequent versions and fragments from his *Riḥla* were added to the original text. The editors’ choice of preserving the Dār al-Kutub version as the main text for the edition is justified in their preliminary note (71–74) by the fact that it is the most developed form of the text. Thus, the paleographic edition of the Arabic text and the English translation both contain an apparatus of variants in the footnotes that, alongside the variants contained in the Paris fragments, have now been enriched with al-Azhar’s version. Importantly, the latter has also provided a reading of illegible passages in the Dār al-Kutub version, which were simply left blank in the first edition. Moreover, brackets help to mark

passages that differ from one version to the other. These editorial choices seem to suit the nature of the text and help visualize the process of composition, as well as the way in which the different contexts of production and interlocutors themselves also exerted textual agency.

Since the first edition, Van Koningsveld et al. have shown interest in al-Ḥajarī's textual production as a source to study intellectual networks in the early modern period and the role Western Islam and the Moriscos had in the exchanges with Europe. Both the General Introduction to the text (13–74) and the critical edition reflect this very same question. The preliminary study, other than providing a summary of the new discoveries concerning al-Ḥajarī's biography and offering a great introduction to the character and his writings, also contains several very interesting remarks about al-Ḥajarī's process and context of writing, to which they pay close attention. He first composed his text in Egypt, under the supervision of al-Ujhūrī, but then kept editing and writing in Tunisia (p. 52, 1997), where he added what he "thought to be useful" (p. 241/116v).

Based on these additions to the Dār al-Kutub ms. (written in Tunisia), which are missing from the older al-Azhar ms. (written in Egypt), the Tunisian milieu seems to have been a very interesting source of both readings and readers. The inclusion of fragments of the Lead Books and references to Cipriano de Valera's Bible, for example, are due to their accessibility and circulation in Tunis. The Paris manuscript also states that the Sharif Aḥmad al-Hanafī, mufti of the so-called Mosque of the Turks, read and studied al-Ḥajarī's book, which as the editors suggest could be the reason for the changes in the Paris manuscript (p. 241, note 28). Conversely, we may also note how various episodes of al-Ḥajarī's life in Spain, related for example to his childhood (studied by al-Outmani) that were included in the al-Azhar manuscript were subsequently left out of the Dār al-Kutub manuscript. One such episode recounts the way he learned to read in Arabic (in just one day!) and the difficulties of studying Arabic in Spain under persecution, where they were not able to write on boards, but only on bits of paper. All of these considerations show that the interest is in the process by which the text came to be, more than in one particular state of the text. Accordingly, even though the last and most complete version is preferred, this does not mean that the editors opted for any sort of "intentionalism" by offering a final version of the text intended as ideal and perfect.

Formally, the present edition of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'alā l-Qawm al-Kāfirīn* preserves the 1997 edition's distribution into two main sections, although these are now divided by the photographic reproductions of the primitive version from the Library of al-Azhar, which is another welcome addition to the present publication, despite increasing the overall length of the book to 700 pages. In terms of the display, the book includes the Arabic text and translation in two separate sections, an editorial decision that follows the guidelines of the collection of the Fuentes Arábico-Hispanas CSIC, which usually uses this structure. However, for a bilingual edition it may be preferable to adopt a side-by-side text and translation instead. To close the volume, the Spanish Bologna materials are provided in a separate appendix as they were in the first edition. Also, a full list of the names of individuals, places and terms is given in the indexes at the end, which constitutes an improvement over the previous edition by including new references and amending previous mistakes.

Finally, it must be said that the almost two decades that have passed grant some perspective on the state of the art regarding al-Ḥajarī's historical figure to which the editors devote part of the General Introduction. However, I also believe it is a good moment to recall the importance of the contribution by Van Koningsveld, Al-Samarrai, and Wieggers to this development. Scarce testimonies from learned Moriscos in Arabic have been preserved, and even less have been

translated into English. Concerning al-Ḥajarī's production, there were just fragmentary translations by L.P. Harvey in 1950, who translated the introduction of the *Kitāb al-'izz wa-l-manāfi'* and C. Sarnelli Cerqua's Italian versions of fragments of Ḥajarī's work. The editors contributed enormously to making Morisco-related primary sources more accessible in English and to widening the area of interest in al-Ḥajarī. Studied first in the eighteenth century by the Moroccan scholars al-'Ayyāshī and al-Ifrānī, and then followed in the twentieth century by al-Kanunī and Provençal, among others, the main focus of the research on al-Ḥajarī had been his involvement in Maghrebian courts, with particular attention to his participation in the Sa'did courtly translation movement. Later on, a new area of interest related to his presence in Spain emerged after Spanish Arabist Saavedra described the Bologna manuscript (1889), which Oliver Asín later studied in depth (1955). Mikel de Epalza then devoted attention to al-Ḥajarī's involvement in the Lead Books affair, opening up a line of research that has led to very relevant studies in recent years, such as the work by García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain* (2013, 1st Spanish edition 2010). As such, this last period has seen al-Ḥajarī's text increasingly quoted and referenced in academic works about Iberian studies and interreligious interaction in the Mediterranean context.

The new edition of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn by Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī* is highly significant for both Morisco studies and scholarship on Mediterranean interactions in the modern period. The improvements made to the first edition, and the finding of an earlier complete version, are a remarkable achievement. However, the interest of the book goes beyond academics. In fact, it continues to be regularly republished in Arabic. In 1987, Muhammad Razzouq published the first edition in Casablanca (based, as with Van Koningsveld et al., on the Dār al-Kutub manuscript), and recently a new edition was released in Beirut (2015). Tunisian author Abdelwahab Braham wrote a historical novel based on the book in 2001, which was translated into Spanish in 2007, demonstrating the draw of the text even today. Indeed, Al-Ḥajarī's book, by venturing well beyond the traditional confines of polemical literature to engage with travel narration, autobiography, religious treatise, and disputation, offers a wide-ranging text that, together with the author's vivid style, makes his first-person narration a fascinating read for scholars and non-specialists alike.

Teresa Soto ILC-CSIC, Madrid