

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

Al-Ḥajarī's *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'alā 'l-qawm al-kāfirīn* is a unique eyewitness-report and an impressive record of personal memory in several respects. First of all, it is a primary source for the social and cultural history of Spain's late sixteenth-century's crypto-Muslims, the Moriscos, and their later vicissitudes in North Africa and the Ottoman Empire after their expulsion (1609-1614). In the second place, it provides many otherwise unknown data concerning the contacts between the Islamicate world, especially North Africa, and Western Europe during the early decades of the seventeenth century. In the third place, it provides in great detail the views of a Muslim scholar of Iberian background about several European societies (especially Spain, France and the Netherlands), including their social habits and religious ideas and practices. This view is based on direct observations and personal contacts with many outstanding personalities. In the fourth place, it stands out as an original piece of Islamic-anti-Christian polemic. Finally, the work is an important source for the history of the spoken language of North Africa, in particular among the Moriscos in their Diaspora.

Sixteen years have passed since the first edition of this text was published (see below note 27). Many new studies have appeared which have shed new light on our text, and several new sources have come to light which have enabled us to update our work, even though the most important discovery, that of the primitive version of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* preserved in al-Azhar has not obliged us to abandon the Dār al-kutub manuscript as our basic text. The Azhar manuscript is the first version of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* which al-Ḥajarī, at the advice of the Malikite scholar al-

Ujhūrī (967/1559-1066/1656) compiled in Cairo in the year 1046/1637 as an extract from his more extensive travelogue (also compiled at the request of the shaykh), *Riḥlat al-Shihāb ilā liqā' al-aḥbāb*, of which no manuscript copy is known. Al-Ujhūrī advised al-Ḥajarī to focus the extract on the religious discussions he had had with Christians and Jews during the various episodes of his adventurous life. The extract was written down by a scribe in an oriental handwriting, probably at al-Ḥajarī's own dictation. After he had made some corrections and additions in his own characteristically Maghribi handwriting, it was read by al-Ḥajarī to al-Ujhūrī. Textual corrections suggested by al-Ujhūrī during these reading-sessions were duly added by al-Ḥajarī, again in his own handwriting. Later on, al-Ḥajarī expanded the text in various phases. In doing so, he must have added a lot of materials from his *Riḥla*, which he had left out from the primitive version of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* at al-Ujhūrī's request. This seems to hold true especially for the many details concerning the famous Lead Book Affair of the end of the sixteenth century in Granada which are not to be found in the Azhar manuscript (referred to as respectively A in the general introduction and English translation, and *zāy* in the critical edition) but which do figure in the Dār al-kutub manuscript which he completed in Tunis in 1641 (referred to as manuscript D). This manuscript, which thus remains the basic textual witness for our edition, is throughout an autograph. It represents, as far as we can judge, the most final version of the Arabic text. The fragmentary Paris manuscript (manuscript S) represents a stage of textual development in between the manuscripts of al-Azhar and Dār al-kutub. The Spanish Bologna materials (Biblioteca Universitaria, MS D 565, referred to as B) were also written after the author had settled in Tunis and may represent the last stage of his work on the materials. The Azhar manuscript retains numerous valuable details, which for various reasons were omitted by al-Ḥajarī from his later, more expanded versions, including the final one. The same holds true for manuscript S. All their significant differences with the final version of the Dār al-kutub manuscript have been annotated here in the notes both to the Arabic text and to the English translation. The Spanish Bologna materials are provided in a separate appendix. These and other secondary materials and primary sources which

have been used will be discussed fully in the *general introduction*, the first part of our study. Part two consists of a *critical edition* of the Arabic text (in which we now have included the references to the hitherto unknown manuscript preserved at al-Azhar) and the additional materials in Spanish. The final part, part three, consists of an *annotated translation*, both of the Arabic text and the additional materials in Spanish.

We express our gratitude to all our colleagues and friends who have assisted us in various ways to complete this second edition. Part of research for this edition has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013)/ ERC Grant Agreement number 323316 CORPI project (*Conversion, Overlapping Religiosities, Polemics, Interaction. Early Modern Iberia and Beyond*) and the HERA funded project *Encounters with the Orient in Early Modern European Scholarship* (EOS). We acknowledge the help of our colleague, professor Muhammad Ghaly, who drew our attention to the Azhar manuscript when it appeared for the first time on the website of al-Azhar Library, and to the late don Vicente Redondo, who for many years served as the keeper of the Archive of the Sacromonte Abbey and gave us permission to work in the archive and study the Parchment of the "Torre Turpiana". We also wish to thank Don Juan Sánchez Ocaña, the present keeper, who has always received us with great hospitality. In addition, we like to put on record our great thanks to our colleagues of the University of Granada, Dr. María Luisa Valverde and Dr. Antonio López García Carmona, and the Abbot of the Sacromonte Abbey, Don Federico Rodríguez Ratia. We wish to thank the Archbishop of Granada, Don Javier Martínez Fernández, for granting us the permission to study the Lead Books and prepare a critical edition, the draft version of which we have duly used in the present study. Finally, we thank Professor Pat Harvey (Wellington) for his critical remarks and valuable suggestions and the anonymous reviewers of the Fuentes Árabe-Hispanas series.

P. S. van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai and G. A. Wiegers,  
Leiden and Amsterdam, 2009-2014.