The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Salamanca in the Early Modern Period*

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In the foreword to the *Breve compendio de nuestra santa ley y sunna*,¹ a treatise on the Muslim faith written in the early sixteenth century, we are introduced to a Morisco known as the Mancebo de Arévalo. He is ‘a young Castilian student, from Arévalo [province of Ávila], very expert and trained in reading Arabic, Hebrew, Greek and Latin; and very skilled in *Aljamía* [i.e. in Spanish]’.² On the basis of this description, we might assume that the Mancebo (‘Young Man’)³ could have been a student trained in one of the great European universities where the teaching of Oriental languages was supposed to be put into effect in the years following the Council of Vienne (France) in 1311–1312.⁴ Or, being Castilian, he could have been an alumnus who attended the courses of the Chair of Arabic at the Trilingual College of the University of Salamanca, which was mainly focused on the teaching of the Biblical languages: Hebrew, Greek and Latin.

The Mancebo, far from being an example of a situation commonly found in Spain, turns out to have been an exception. We actually only know of very few scholars with a fair knowledge of Arabic in early modern Christian Spain and there do not seem to have been any others at an earlier date. None of them appear to have been taught this language at a university.

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1 ‘Brief summary of our holy law and sunna’.

2 ‘un mancebo escolano castellano, natural de Arévalo [provincia de Ávila], muy e[x]perto y doctrinado en la lectura arábica, [h]ebraica, griega y latina; y en la aljamiada muy ladino’, *Aljamiado manuscript*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Dd. 9.49, fol. IV. For a better understanding of the text, I have standardized the spelling, both here and in the rest of the transcripts of manuscripts or documents of modern times. Here and throughout, unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

3 For further interpretations of the word ‘Mancebo’, see L.P. Harvey, ‘Castilian “Mancebo” as a calque of Arabic ‘*Abd*, or how el Mancebo de Arévalo got his name’, in *Islamic Culture in Spain to 1614: Essays and Studies*, eds N. Martínez de Castilla and T. Dadson, Oxford, 2016, pp. 43–6.

4 For further information, see section 2.2 of this article.

A century later, in an undated letter from the Marqués de Mondéjar, Gaspar Ibáñez de Segovia Peralta y Mendoza (1628–1708), to the scholar Tomás de León (1613–1690), we find a clear reflection of the lack of experts in Oriental literature in Spain: ‘I confess that I value your opinion more than that of anyone else that I know and communicate with in Spain. I respect them all for their professional knowledge, but it is extremely rare to possess such breadth and depth of understanding of Oriental languages, which is the key to true wisdom’.⁵

The situation of early modern Spain is paradoxical. Throughout the sixteenth century a series of prohibitions concerning Arabic reached a peak with the Pragmatic Sanction of 1567, which decreed that all Moriscos had to stop speaking and writing in Arabic within three years and all books in Arabic had to be handed over to the authorities for inspection.⁶ These books seized by the authorities were burned in public bonfires, or simply disappeared in the inquisitorial prisons.⁷ However, it was in this very century that, at the oldest universities of the Peninsula, the teaching of Arabic received the strongest support, first in Salamanca and later in Alcalá de Henares. Scholars interested in Arabic and in scientific knowledge transmitted through this language were constantly looking for books in Arabic that could help in their research. This is attested in a letter by the Flemish humanist scholar and traveller Nicolaes Cleynaerts Beken (Nicolaus Clenardus or Nicolas Clénard, 1495–1542), professor of Greek and Hebrew, who went to Salamanca hoping to learn Arabic at the university. The letter was written on 17 January 1540 and was addressed to the Emperor Charles V, whom Clénard begged to give him all the Arabic books that were being burned in Spain: ‘Because we need books for this purpose, in which the mysteries of the sect are contained, and many that would help us

5 ‘venero a todos [cuantos conozco y comunico en España] por doctos en su profesión, pero rarísimos que en todas tengan con extensión la profundidad y la comprensión de las lenguas orientales, llave del verdadero saber’. *Varias cartas de erudición*, Madrid, BNE, ms. 9881, fol. 25, in M. García-Arenal and F. Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español. Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma*, Madrid, 2010, p. 336. (I have modernized the language.) Translation by C. López Morillas in *The Orient in Spain. Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*, Leiden, 2013, p. 333.

6 N. Martínez de Castilla, ‘Hacer libros no tiene fin. Los moriscos y su patrimonio manuscrito’, in *El texto infinito. Tradición y reescritura en la Edad Media y el Renacimiento*, Salamanca, 2014, pp. 749–58 (752).

7 ‘Un rincón donde hay muchos libros sueltos [...], podridos en el aposento’. A. Labarta, ‘Inventario de los documentos árabes contenidos en procesos inquisitoriales contra moriscos valencianos conservados en el Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid (legajos 548–56)’, *Al-Qanṭara* 1, 1980, pp. 115–64 (125).

very much are being burnt everywhere by the Inquisitors, I have moved every stone to make sure that books of this sort should be of service to me, because I wish to use them to increase the Faith rather than to allow them to perish in the flames'.⁸

We should not forget that in the sixteenth century, in certain parts of Spain, Moriscos were still speaking Arabic and continued to copy books into Arabic, albeit secretly.⁹ In spite of this Arabo-Islamic presence in the Peninsula, it was difficult to find an 'old Christian' with a command of Arabic sufficient to enable him to teach. A major problem was the considerable difference between classical Arabic and the spoken language, as shown by Clénard in his comments about the uses of the *Vocabulista árábigo en letra castellana* (1505) by Pedro de Alcalá, or by Arias Montano (1527–1598) when he referred to two Morisco physicians speaking in the Andalusian ('Andaluz') or Modern African ('African modern') language, but completely unaware of the 'grammar'.¹⁰ Consequently there were few individuals capable of teaching at universities, and the chairs available remained vacant or were only occupied temporarily.

1 Why Study Arabic in Medieval and Early Modern Spain?

The study of Arabic has a particular link with the medieval history of Spain for two main reasons. The first is the foreign and domestic missionary projects of the medieval Spanish kingdoms, efforts largely motivated by the presence of Muslim kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula from 711 until 1492. The second is the quest for a better understanding of biblical texts, mainly from the latter half of the fifteenth century onward. The idea that Arabic and Hebrew were closely related – the origins of this can be traced back to the early twelfth century – was highlighted in the selection process of Hernán Núñez de Toledo y Guzmán. We shall see how the Professor Arias Barbosa argued in favour of

8 'Caeterum quia ad hanc rem nobis opus esset libris, in quibus mysteria sectae continentur, et passim ab Inquisitoribus multi cremantur qui nobis plurimum conducerent, omnem lapidem moui ut huiusmodi codices mihi seruirent, quia illis in fidei augmentum uti uellem, potius quam ut sinerentur perire flammis', *Nic. Clénardi Epistolarum libri duo. Quorum posterior iam primum in lucem prodit*, Antwerp, 1566, in *Correspondance de Nicolas Clénard I*, ed. A. Roersch, Paris, 1940, p. 202 (from now on *Correspondance I*).

9 See J. Fournel-Guérin, 'Le livre et la civilisation écrite dans la communauté morisque aragonaise (1540–1620)', *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 15, 1979, pp. 241–59; and C. Barceló and A. Labarta, *Archivos moriscos: Textos árabes de la minoría islámica valenciana 1401–1608*, Valencia, 2009.

10 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente*, p. 342.

Hernán Núñez' application for the Chair of Languages of Salamanca on the basis of his knowledge of Hebrew and Greek.¹¹

Clénard too made his début in the study of Arabic through the collation of an Arabic text with Hebrew and Greek. He describes this process in great detail in the already-mentioned letter which he wrote at the end of his life to the Emperor Charles V.¹² But if the perfect understanding of Hebrew was his main aim when his interest in Arabic began, later in life, having read the Qur'an with an emancipated Muslim slave in Granada,¹³ Clénard showed an acquired understanding of the uses of the knowledge of Arabic for missionary purposes.¹⁴ As we shall see below, the use of Arabic for missionary purposes was nothing more than the continuation of a process begun in Christian Europe in the twelfth century, even if Clénard saw his project as something exceptional.¹⁵

These reasons, to which must be added the understanding of scientific texts (especially medical ones) and commercial objectives,¹⁶ do not seem to have been sufficient to establish an effective institutionalized teaching of Arabic. In spite of various attempts to set up chairs of the language at different universities, these frequently remained vacant for many years, since it was impossible to find teachers competent enough to occupy them. This, however, does not mean that there was no interest – quite the opposite.

11 See the section 2.3 of this article.

12 'Linguae Arabicae [...] affinem esse Hebraicae et alteram alterius iuuari praesidio' (The Arabic language is close to Hebrew and one is helped by the support of the other); 'maximam esse Arabicis cognationem cum Hebraicis' (The closest relation is between Arabic and Hebrew); 'eam mirifice conferre censerem rectius intelligendis Hebraicis' ('I would judge that [the study of Arabic] contributes wonderfully to the understanding of Hebrew'), *Correspondance I*, pp. 200–2.

13 See n. 91 of this article.

14 'Cum Machometistis in arenam dogmatum descendere [...] hac mente ut etiam in Africam ipsam disputaturi et morituri non reformident proficisci' ('to descend to the followers of Muhammad into the arena of beliefs [...] with this intention: that [the missionaries] do not fear to advance into Africa in order to dispute with them, and to die'), *Correspondance I*, p. 202.

15 'Quamuis enim haec mea de iuuanda Religione sententia plerisque uideatur noua, non est tamen eius generis, a quo Caesar qui continenter bellum gerat cum Machometo, ulla ratione debeat abhorrere' ('Although my opinion concerning helping the Religion seems new to most people, it is not of the same kind as that which the Emperor, who wages war with Muhammad all the time, should shy away from in any way'), *Correspondance I*, p. 204.

16 With the religious and territorial unification reached after the conquest of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, Spain radically changed its foreign policy and focused much of its efforts on the New World, but without losing its interest in the Western Mediterranean.

1.1 *A New Way of Using Arabic: The Erudite Approach*

In both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a small number of scholars had a great interest in Arabic, as was the case with the Hebraist and director of the library of the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598), the translators of Arabic Diego de Urrea (c. 1559–1616) and Marcos Dobelio (c. 1575–?), or the Jesuit specialist in Oriental languages, born in Ireland, Tomás de León (1613–1690). But this interest was not shared by most of the Spanish population. All these scholars had an ‘erudite’ approach to the use of Arabic, different from the purely religious identification that had been common in the Middle Ages. This new approach is reflected by Arias Montano in a letter about the books which could be bought in Rome for the library of El Escorial. He here emphasizes two fundamental points: the usefulness of Arabic for the understanding of scientific books and for remaining in contact with Christians living in the Middle East.¹⁷

We can therefore observe in the sixteenth century a trend that will become more entrenched in the seventeenth century: an intellectual movement, which is entirely distinct from missionary processes and which shows a deep interest in the Arab Muslim world based on the reading of original texts and on editions and translations of them. The aim of the study of Arabic from that moment on veers towards objectives of scientific humanism and communication with the Christian communities of the Middle East – new goals that are directly linked to the European Orientalist movement.

In the seventeenth century a great interest in Oriental studies was developed by a Spanish scholarly circle centred round the figure of the Marqués de Mondéjar, Gaspar Ibáñez de Segovia. The members included the theologians and Jesuits Tomás de León (1613–1690) and Tirso González de Santalla (1624–1705); the precursor of the modern bibliography Nicolás Antonio (1617–1684); or the chaplain to the King Martín Vázquez Siruela (1600–1664).¹⁸ In their daily social gatherings in the library of the Marqués de Mondéjar, they discussed literature, politics and other relevant issues.¹⁹ They deplored the lack of sources

17 ‘Cuanto se sabía y estudiaba en Europa [...] mana de libros arábigos, y así hay tesoro encerrado en ellos, el cual podrá ser que se halle en nuestro tiempo a lo menos en edad que los estudiosos quieran emplearse en trasladar los libros, y para esto aprender el arábigo, que también es provechoso para comunicarse las disciplinas entre los latinos y una innumerable muchedumbre de cristianos de Asia que usan aquella lengua’, G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* v, Madrid, 1910–1923, p. 16, in L. García Ballester, *Historia social de la medicina en la España de los siglos XIII al XVI*, Madrid, 1976, p. 83.

18 García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente*, passim.

19 Ibid., p. 335.

or editions in Arabic and studies in this field, and thus paid special attention to what was published abroad. A good example of their acquaintance with foreign publications is reflected in the Marqués de Mondéjar's work, the *Examen chronológico del año en que entraron los moros en España* (1687), which refers to 'Jacobo Golio', 'Abrahan Eccelense', 'Juan Seldeno', 'Gabriel Sineita' [sic], 'Guillermo Pocokio', 'Juan Enrique Hotingero', 'Thomas Erpenio', 'Juan Hesronita', 'Josepho Scaligero', 'Gigeo', and many others.²⁰ While we know that members of this group around the marquis, such as Tomás de León, spoke and read Arabic, we do not know where they studied, the names of their teachers, or the books used for this purpose. But this lack of information is not exceptional since there is very little specific material on the teaching of Arabic in Spain before the nineteenth century.

2 Teaching of Arabic in Salamanca

2.1 *Antecedents*

The teaching of Arabic in the Iberian Peninsula started in the thirteenth century, when King Alfonso X created a few *studia* or schools to teach Latin and Arabic in Seville.²¹ In Mallorca, the Miramar monastery was founded in 1276 at the request of Ramón Llull (1232–1316) with one principal aim: to learn Arabic in order to convert infidels (i. e. the Muslims).²² The interest in setting up these new schools for the teaching of Arabic (among other languages) seems to have been part of the Lullian critical programme directed against the Dominicans.²³ Indeed, a few years earlier the Dominican Raimundo de Peñafort (d. 1275) was commissioned to establish a Hebrew (sic) school, with the support of the Kings of Castile and Aragon where at least twenty friars of his order were trained. The aim was to acquire enough Arabic to convert Muslims, and these Dominicans did it well. They allegedly converted more than ten thousand Muslims, both in Spain and in Africa, and they propagated the Christian faith in such a way that

20 Since they are referred to in a Hispanicized form it is sometimes difficult to identify them.

21 P. Linehan, *History and Historians of Medieval Spain*, Oxford, 1997, p. 451.

22 'in eodem tredecim fratres Minores institui, qui linguam ibidem discerent arabicam pro conuertendis infidelibus (ROL VIII, 282)', in R. Szpiech, 'La disputa de Barcelona como punto de inflexión', *Studia Luliana*, 54, n. 109, 2014, pp. 3–22 (6), and the bibliography given there for the Monastery of Miramar.

23 'Se puede entender que una parte de esta justificación del método fue para distanciarse de los métodos misioneros opuestos, sobre todo del preconizado por los dominicos'. Ibid., p. 5.

many others were also willing to convert.²⁴ However, Robert I. Burns notes that the students of the *studia linguarum* already knew Arabic beforehand, probably as a result of working with colleagues in the Middle East. He consequently emphasizes that the purpose of these centres was not to teach the rudiments of Arabic, but to strengthen them.²⁵ Yet, as indicated by Antonio Giménez Reillo, it would be surprising if the Spanish friars had had to go to the Middle East in order to learn Arabic, with so many Arabic-speaking Muslims present in different parts of the Iberian Peninsula.²⁶

Despite all the initiatives related to the teaching of Arabic in various Iberian kingdoms during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the results do not seem to have always been satisfactory, and the communicative competence of the missionaries can be questioned in many cases.²⁷ It is within this context of missionary objectives that we have to locate the teaching of Arabic in Salamanca. As mentioned before, the idea of this pedagogical experiment goes back to the Council of Vienne.²⁸ The proposal of the Majorcan Ramón Llull to create colleges to teach Oriental languages at the best European universities was approved by Pope Clement v. From that moment on, the University of Salamanca – along with those of Bologna, Oxford and Paris – was obliged to include the teaching of Arabic, Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek in its curriculum, in order to get access to the literature in those languages and to promote the Christian faith among the infidels.

Thus Salamanca was the first university where Arabic was taught in Spain, followed by Alcalá de Henares. The surviving sources are sparse and leave many questions open: was Arabic actually taught in the courses at Salamanca? If so, what was the quality of the teaching? There are two conflicting views: one

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- 24 A. Giménez Reillo, 'El árabe como lengua extranjera en el S. XIII: medicina para convertir', in *El saber en al-Andalus. Textos y estudios* IV, Sevilla, 2006, pp. 147–87 (151). As the author states, in the Peña (1601) and Balme and Paban (1898) editions, it does not read 'Hebrew', but '*studium lingue arabice*'. See *Diplomatario (Documentos, Vida antigua, Crónicas, Procesos antiguos)*, ed. J. Rius Serra, Barcelona, 1954, p. 271, in Giménez Reillo, 'El árabe', p. 151, n. 12.
- 25 R.I. Burns, 'Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion', *The American Historical Review*, 76, n. 5, 1971, pp. 1386–434 (1402).
- 26 Giménez Reillo, 'El árabe', p. 159, n. 40.
- 27 See examples indicated by Giménez Reillo ('El árabe', pp. 66–7), illustrating the lack of knowledge of Arabic among missionaries in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.
- 28 C. Fasolt, 'The Manuscripts and Editions of William Durant the Younger's *Tractatus de modo generalis concilii celebrandi*', in id. *Past Sense: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern European History*, Leiden, 2014, pp. 109–51.

by Marcel Bataillon²⁹ (followed by most scholars) who denied the existence of a true Chair of Arabic at Salamanca; and the other by Luce López-Baralt, who focused one of her studies on the teaching of Arabic by the *maestro* Cantalapiedra.³⁰

Both positions seem to have grounds. While no formal and systematic courses appear to have been taught at Salamanca, we know of teachers who sporadically gave courses of Arabic at the University, but also provided private tuition, using the knowledge and the apparently scarce bibliographic resources at their disposal. However, this should not lead us to think that specialized teachers of Arabic, both spoken and written, with a good grammatical training, were ever active at Salamanca: those who came to occupy the Salamanca Cátedra de (tres) lenguas (Chair of (Three) Languages) – also known as the Cátedra Trilingüe (Trilingual Chair) – were above all Hellenists or Hebraists with some basic knowledge of Arabic that allowed them to teach the rudiments of the language.

2.2 *The Trilingual Chair*

In spite of the resolution of Vienne, a Chair of Arabic at the University of Salamanca is not documented until a century later, when Pope Benedict XIII renewed the university statutes in 1411. At that point, the Trilingual Chair – Hebrew, Aramaic and Arabic – appears explicitly.³¹ The theologian Juan de Segovia (1395–1458), student and teacher at Salamanca, strongly supported the inclusion of Arabic in the university syllabus.³² Juan, who conducted the

29 M. Bataillon, 'L'arabe à Salamanque au temps de la Renaissance', *Hesperis*, XI, 1931, pp. 1–17.

30 L. López-Baralt, with the collaboration of R. Iversen, 'A zaga de tu huella'. *La enseñanza de las lenguas semíticas en Salamanca en tiempos de san Juan de la Cruz*, Madrid, 2006.

31 *Constituciones y bulas complementarias dadas a la Universidad de Salamanca por el pontífice Benedicto XIII (Pedro de Luna)*, eds P. Urbano González de la Calle and A. Huarte y Echenique, Saragossa, 1932, p. 39. L.E. Rodríguez-San Pedro, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca. II: Estructuras y flujos*, Salamanca, 2004, p. 563. However, M.^a Concepción Vázquez de Benito indicates that the Trilingual Chair is established on 1381, see her 'El inicio de la enseñanza del árabe en Salamanca y la Cátedra de Avicena', in *Séptimo Centenario de los Estudios Orientales en Salamanca*, eds A. Agud et al, Salamanca, 2012, pp. 321–329 (322). She adds that the teachers of Arabic in the language schools of the Dominicans and Franciscans in Spain, but also in North Africa and the Middle East, had taken courses of this language at the University of Salamanca. See M.^a Concepción Vázquez de Benito, 'Prólogo', *Actas XVI Congreso UEAI*, eds C. Vázquez de Benito and M.Á. Manzano Rodríguez, Madrid, 1995, pp. 7–9 (7). However, this claim seems difficult to prove.

32 See the recent book by A.M. Wolf, *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace: Christians and Muslims in the Fifteenth Century*, Notre Dame, 2014, and the bibliography given there.

project of the trilingual Qur'an (Arabic, Latin, and Spanish) in 1462,³³ bitterly lamented the situation of Arabic at Salamanca in the deed of donation of his personal library to the University.³⁴

Mention is made, therefore, of the Trilingual 'Chair'. As suggested by the name in the singular, there was not a single chair for each of the three languages; and of course, it was not two teachers who were hired for each of the languages, as had been agreed upon by the Council of Vienne, but only one. However, in the sixteenth century, at a time of economic prosperity, the attribution of the posts remained unchanged. This situation arose from the difficulty in finding someone capable of teaching the three languages, Arabic and Aramaic in particular. Since it was easier to find a scholar with a good command of Greek and Hebrew (fundamental to the study of the Bible), the Chair would be entrusted to a specialist in one of these two languages, rather than to someone with a comparable command of Arabic. The result of this general ignorance of Arabic was that the Chair remained vacant for extended periods, or was occupied only temporarily with a proportionate salary.

2.3 Teachers

In 1406 a Chair of Hebrew and Aramaic was established at the university of Salamanca, although there was no notable increase in interest in biblical studies until the second half of that century. Throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth century we know the names of some teachers of Hebrew, but they do not seem to have taught any Arabic.³⁵

33 This was a synoptic edition of the Qur'anic Arabic text with Latin and Spanish translations. The latter was provided by the *faqih* of Segovia, 'Isā de Jābir. The text is now lost: only the Latin prologue is preserved. See J. Martínez Gázquez, 'El prólogo de Juan de Segovia al Corán (Qur'an) trilingüe (1456)', *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 38/1-2 (2003), pp. 389-410, and U. Roth and R.F. Gleis, 'Die Spuren der Koranübersetzung des Juan de Segovia – alte Probleme und ein neuer Fund', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 11, 2009, pp. 109-54.

34 Salamanca, University Library, mss. 211, 3^v, in V. Beltrán de Heredia, 'Nebrija y los teólogos de San Esteban de principios del siglo XVI', *Ciencia Tomista*, 61, 1941, pp. 37-65; 46, n. 28. See also B. Hernández Montes, *Biblioteca de Juan de Segovia. Edición y comentario de su escritura de donación*, Madrid, 1984, p. 82.

35 'Sunt praeterea in Salmanticae gymnasio et graecae et hebraicae linguae professiones. Chaldeam autem et arabicam aliasque barbaras linguas, veluti non necessarias, penitus contempsit' ('There are moreover in the University of Salamanca Chairs of Greek and Hebrew, but [the university] completely despised Aramaic and Arabic and other barbaric languages, as being unnecessary'). M. Siculus, *De laudibus Hispaniae*, Burgos, [c. 1497], pp. 20-1.

In 1508 Father Peñafiel left the Chair of Hebrew and in the same year the Chair of Languages was advertised. The Italian Jaime or Diego de Populeto, the priest Juan Rodríguez de Peralta, the Dominican Juan de Vitoria, the *bachiller* Parejas, the *licenciado* Juan de Ortega and the convert and Hebraist Alonso de Arcos or Alfonso de Zamora applied for it.³⁶ Among these candidates the main competition was between Rodríguez de Peralta and Populeto, the latter of whom would occupy the position for two years, 'and not with full wages,³⁷ but with a part for himself and a part for the person lecturing with him' who is one of the turncoats well-versed in Hebrew, one being the shoemaker [Alfonso de Zamora] and the other Diego Lopes, a minstrel'.³⁸ Finally, Populeto was appointed to the post.

Some members of the board disagreed with this decision, claiming that Populeto did not know Hebrew. The Chair of Languages of the University of Salamanca consequently remained vacant for a while. On 2 October 1511 Alfonso de Zamora was hired as professor of Hebrew for two years. In the same year, however, the Rector of the University was replaced, and his successor preferred the *Comendador griego*, Hernán Núñez de Toledo y Guzmán, '*el Pinciano*' (c. 1475–1553), as professor of the Chair of Languages.

The Rector said about Hernán Núñez that he was 'a person-well versed in the grammar of Greek, Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic, and who has teaching skills'.³⁹ However, most of the board opposed this choice and Fray Alonso de Valdivieso said that 'it is quite possible that he knows the languages he says he knows, but he does not speak any of them',⁴⁰ an aspect corroborated by Clénard when

36 Bataillon also refers to Diego López de Vera, who submitted an application for the chair of Arabic. We have not found any other information about this demand ('L'arabe', p. 3).

37 This half salary indicates that he only taught Hebrew: 'Mientras no se hallare persona con las calidades de la dicha constitución y que tenga y sepa todas tres lenguas, que todo el salario de la dicha cátedra sin quedar cosa alguna se divida e distribuya entre dos o más personas que sepan las lenguas que la dicha constitución requiere, aunque ninguna de las tales personas tengan juntamente todas las dichas tres lenguas'. A.U.S., lib. 13, fol. 17, in *Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca (1218–1600) II*, ed. V. Beltrán de Heredia, Salamanca, 1970–1972, p. 605.

38 '[y no con todo el salario, salvo con parte de ello, y que parte se dé a quien platique con él, que sea uno de los tornadizos que saben bien el hebraico: uno el zapatero [Alonso de Zamora] y el otro Diego Lopes, tañedor]', Beltán de Heredia, 'Nebrija', p. 48.

39 'persona dotta en lo de la gramática de las lenguas en griego, arábigo e hebraico e caldeo, e que tiene maña de enseñar'. Ibid., p. 51.

40 'bien puede él saber las lenguas que se dice saber, pero que en ninguna de ellas habla' Ibid. This lack of conversational ability is stressed by Clénard who describes in his letters the way in which he learned Arabic with Hernán Núñez, always on the basis of the grammar and word lists. He would only acquire training in spoken Arabic later in Granada

he was his student.⁴¹ But this was of no concern to the Portuguese Hellenist Arias Barbosa, who had been educated in Italy. For him, teaching Arabic was a strictly philological matter that could be approached through the deductive method, based on the knowledge of the classical languages.⁴² He added that nobody in the whole university was conversant enough with these three languages to judge whether a prospective teacher was competent or not.

However, some members of the board defended the application of Hernán Núñez, such as the grammarian Antonio de Nebrija or the doctor Salaya. For the latter it was essential that an Arabist be appointed, because, he argued, there was a great need of Arabic, especially for doctors.⁴³

The friction between these opposing forces did not benefit the University of Salamanca, since neither the convert Alfonso de Zamora, nor the *Comendador* Hernán Núñez was elected, leaving the Chair of Languages vacant once again.⁴⁴ Shortly after these events, *'el Pinciano'* and Zamora met once more at Alcalá de Henares, but this time working on the Cisnerian project of the Polyglot Bible, for the Greek and Hebrew respectively.⁴⁵ Some years later, in 1522, *'el Pinciano'* left Alcalá and returned to Salamanca, but not as a teacher of Arabic.

thanks to his classes and conversations with the emancipated slave found for him by the Marqués de Mondéjar.

41 See the section 2.3 of this article.

42 'cuanto al arte de las lenguas e sentir sus primores e dar razón de las partes de la oración para mostrar correspondencia del arábigo e hebraico al latín [...], el Comendador tenía mucha ventaja, porque sabiendo muy bien latín y convenientemente el griego, podría hacer comparación de las lenguas'. Ibid. p. 52.

43 García Ballester, *Historia social*, p. 84.

44 Lucio Marineo Sículo, who had been the royal historian at the court of the Catholic Kings, lamented this in a letter to Hernán Núñez in 1512–1513. J. Signes Codoñer, C. Codoñer Merino and A. Domingo Malvadi, *Biblioteca y epistolario de Hernán Núñez de Guzmán (El Pinciano). Una aproximación al humanismo español del siglo XVI*, Madrid, 2001, p. 260.

45 Alfonso de Zamora takes over the Chair of Hebrew at the University of Alcalá in July 1512, see AHN, lib. 1093, fol. 11^v, in A. de la Torre, 'La Universidad de Alcalá, datos para su historia: cátedras y catedráticos desde la inauguración del Colegio de S. Ildefonso hasta San Lucas de 1519', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 21 (1909), pp. 261–85 (284), and Hernán Núñez is incorporated in 1519 as a professor at the University of Alcalá in the Chair of Greek, see Signes et al, *Biblioteca*, p. 226, but he had gone to Alcalá earlier at an uncertain date around 1512–3. For the suggested dates, see A. de la Torre, 'La Universidad', p. 274. In Alcalá, four chairs of languages were scheduled – Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Aramaic – but only two were provided; Greek and Hebrew. See A. de la Torre, 'La Universidad de Alcalá, datos para su historia: cátedras y catedráticos desde la inauguración del Colegio de S. Ildefonso hasta San Lucas de 1519', *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 21, 1909, pp. 405–33.

We know virtually nothing about the childhood and early youth of Hernán Núñez, not even the place and date of his birth. Nor, of course, do we know where he learned Arabic, though it is likely to have been in Italy. In 1494, his family had settled in Granada, just after the conquest of the Nasrid kingdom, but it took Hernán Núñez two more years to move there from Italy. It seems likely that he was trained at the University of Bologna, although the dates of his stay there are not known with certainty. Much of his library was acquired in Italy, containing books of various kinds, including several volumes of a scientific nature by Arab authors. However, it is doubtful whether the collection contained any books in Arabic, since the list of the extant books of *‘el Pinciano’s* collection⁴⁶ (over two hundred volumes, some of which are composite, preserved in the library of the University of Salamanca and other Spanish public libraries) only mentions manuscripts and printed works in Latin, Greek and Castilian.

When Hernán Núñez returned from Italy, he became part of the intellectual circle of Íñigo López de Mendoza, 3rd Marqués de Mondéjar and 4th Conde de Tendilla (1512–1580). With such a patron the *Comendador* could improve his knowledge of the classical languages and expand his library, which meant another trip to Italy for the acquisition of new volumes. The Count’s confidence in the *Greek Comendador* was such that he entrusted him with the education of his son, Luis Hurtado de Mendoza, later governor of the Alhambra and commander in chief of the army in Andalusia. So Hernán Núñez was not hired as a professor of Arabic at the University of Salamanca, but acted as private teacher of the young Nicolas Clénard in 1532.⁴⁷

A single candidate did apply for the Chair of Hebrew and Aramaic on 21 October 1521, Gerónimo San Heliz,⁴⁸ but there is no evidence that he ever took possession of it.⁴⁹ In 1530, the *licenciado* Fidelfo or Filelfo resigned. Although his name already appears in Salamanca in 1518, we do not know when he started teaching as professor of languages; nor whether he taught anything other than Hebrew.⁵⁰

In the second half of the sixteenth century Hebrew studies flourished in Spain, but Arabic remained neglected. In fact, during a meeting of the teachers

46 Signes et al, *Biblioteca*, pp. 445–66.

47 See below, section 2.3.1.

48 Bataillon, ‘L’arabe’, p. 7.

49 There are many gaps in the archives of Salamanca for these years; data from this period need to be handled with caution.

50 E. Esperabé Arteaga, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca. II. La Universidad de Salamanca: maestros y alumnos más distinguidos*, Salamanca, 1917, p. 315.

on 7 May 1543, Juan de la Puebla protested that the Chair of Languages had not been fully occupied for the last 35 years, and, as a consequence, that some classes were usually taught over short periods. According to Bataillon a reader of Arabic was active until 8 September 1542 in Salamanca, but we do not know his name: 'It was decided to give a salary of eight ducats "to the one was at the time teaching Arabic, that he should teach Arabic here on the day of our Lady of September"'.⁵¹

In 1542, the name of Fray Pedro de Salazar is suggested as the next professor. His exam had to be sent to Granada since, as indicated by Arias Barbosa years earlier, there was still nobody at the University who would have been able to evaluate the candidates' performance.⁵² The exam consisted of the translation of two texts, one a fragment of the second chapter of the Gospel of Saint John from Arabic into Latin, the other, a translation of a small text in Spanish into Arabic.⁵³ Unfortunately the content of this Spanish text is unknown. The choice of the Arabic text was made by the rector and the members of the board, from books in Arabic and Hebrew that Salazar himself had brought with him.⁵⁴ From this we can infer that the candidates owned some books in Arabic, or at least had them at hand.

Salazar's appointment was questioned because of his limited knowledge of Arabic. In the board meeting of 31 August 1543, the *maestro* San Millán argued in favour of a double appointment to this Chair, to be divided between the *bachiller* Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra and Fray Pedro de Salazar. But Hernán Núñez de Toledo objected to this solution. He argued for a single salary, apparently without realizing that no one scholar was prepared to provide teaching in all three languages. Finally, it was suggested that Pedro de Salazar, commander of the order of the Vera Cruz, should be paid 20,000 *maravedis* due to his experience in the job and his humble background, and Martínez de Cantalapiedra 10,000 *maravedis*.⁵⁵ Despite this arrangement Pedro de Salazar never seems to have succeeded in getting the job.

51 'mandaron que se den ocho ducados de salario al que ahora lee arábigo porque lea el arábigo de aquí al día de Nuestra Señora de septiembre'. Register of University, 13 May 1542. Spanish text and French translation in Bataillon, 'L'arabe', p. 14.

52 *Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca (1218–1600) II*, pp. 597–605.

53 'Claustro de diputados "para proveer cosas tocantes a la cátedra de Tres Lenguas"' ['Board meeting "to provide things pertaining to the Chair of Three Languages"']. AUS, lib. 12, fols 236–7. Salamanca, 6 May 1543, *ibid.*, pp. 597–598.

54 'Trajo ciertos libros de hebraico y arábigo y otros libros para que los dichos señores averiguasen en cualquier libro de ellos que a sus mercedes les paresciesen cerca de lo que se debía de hacer para mostrar cómo era hábil para la oposición'. *Ibid.*, p. 597.

55 *Ibid.*, pp. 600–61.

In 1543 Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra (1519–1579), Hebraist and expert in Biblical studies with some knowledge of Arabic,⁵⁶ began to teach as professor of the Chair of Languages in Salamanca, but without having tenure. At the teaching board of 29 January 1545, it was decided that this Trilingual Chair should be vacated, because it was impossible to find a person with a good command of Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic, neither in Salamanca, nor in Alcalá or Granada.⁵⁷ But Cantalapiedra continued teaching until 1561, the year he received tenure with the support of the *Comendador griego*, until his death in 1579. Although he primarily taught Hebrew, Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra also taught Arabic, as Hernán Núñez did to Clénard, from the grammar known as *Ājurrūmiyya*, that is to say, the *Muqaddima* by Ibn Ājurrūm al-Šinhājī (d. Fez, 722/1322). In spite of this he is unlikely to have had much knowledge of this language since he compiled a grammar of Hebrew and one of Aramaic, but not of Arabic. Moreover, in his courses, he usually spent more time teaching Hebrew than Arabic⁵⁸ – as confirmed by the statements of the *visitadores* during the years 1563 and 1564. He read Isaiah and Job and taught the grammar by Ibn Ājurrūm, following the orders of the Rector,⁵⁹ but in 1563 it was stated that Arabic was only to be taught in alternate years:⁶⁰ '[Cantalapiedra was

56 As well as Cristóbal de Madrigal, Martínez de Cantalapiedra 'conocían hebreo, caldeo y algo de árabe', L.E. Rodríguez-San Pedro, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca, I. Trayectoria histórica y vinculaciones*, Salamanca, 2002, p. 121.

57 'se vauque la dicha cátedra de Tres Lenguas [...ya que] ha tratado de ello en Alcalá y en Granada y aquí en Salamanca y no hay persona en quien concurran todas las calidades de las tres lenguas que requiere la constitución.' *Ibid.*, p. 602.

58 'el dicho maestro Martínez comenzó a leer por el San Lucas en esta lección al profeta Isaías en hebreo [...] Después que ha leído media hora, poco más o menos, en hebreo, lee otra lección en arábigo en lo restante de la hora, que se llama *Jurrumía*. Y que de esta lengua habrá las más veces nueve oyentes, poco más o menos. Y que originariamente lee más de hebraico que no de arábigo', AUS 940, 1562, fols 204^r–205^v, in López-Baralt, '*A zaga de tu huella*', p. 26.

59 *Ibid.*

60 However, the Libro de claustro reads: 'en la cátedra de Tres Lenguas d'esta universidad, que al presente tiene y posee el maestro Martín Martínez, sería bien que en ella se leyese lo que manda la constitución d'esta universidad; conviene a saber: un año hebraico, y en otro caldeo, y en otro arábigo'. Libro de claustro, fol. 107, in López-Baralt, '*A zaga de tu huella*', p. 38, n. 59. The position expressed in the Libro de claustro is different from what had been agreed on according to the Libro de visitas (see the note below). In any case, we have been unable to find the reference of the book or the date of this meeting, because it is not fully identified in López-Baralt's work.

ordered] to give always a lesson of Hebrew until the same time, and the next hour, one year a lesson of Aramaic and the following one of Arabic'.⁶¹

What seems clear is that the teaching of Hebrew was much more prevalent than Arabic. This is also reflected in the way in which the Chair was referred to. In many cases the Chair is indistinctly called 'Trilingual' and 'of Hebrew'. Thus, in the list compiled by Esperabé, we read: 'Chair of Hebrew: due to the lack of competent people, according to the statement in the Libro de Claustro, this Chair was not given in tenure until 1561'.⁶² In that year, Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra was hired and, as we have seen before, he also taught some Arabic. Other teachers are listed up to 1600 under the Chair of Hebrew: Cristóbal Madrigal, Diego González Aguayo, Fidelio or Filelfo, Pablo Coronel, *licenciado* Sánchez, Diego Sánchez de la Fuente, Fray Pedro de Salazar and Fray Juan Beltrán, Gerónimo Muñoz, and Fray Alonso de Montemayor.⁶³ Shall we then assume that those teachers also taught Arabic? Or does it depend on the case? Due to the lack of information it is difficult to suggest a reliable hypothesis.

At the board meeting of 11 December 1568 the teaching of Arabic was assigned to the Vice-rector of the Trilingual College, José Fajardo, who had to provide 'a class of Arabic every school day'.⁶⁴ The Trilingual College was founded in 1550, an entirely separate entity from the Chair of Languages, although the similarity in their names is somewhat confusing. Fajardo's proficiency in Arabic was apparently high, since he wrote in this language and translated texts into it.⁶⁵ However, the *maestro* Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra argued against his appointment because he was already professor of languages at Salamanca where one of his tasks was to teach Arabic⁶⁶ and thus no other professor was needed. He held that the money could be better spent investing in books since there were not enough books in Arabic to teach the language and for students to learn it.

61 'mandaron [a Cantalapiedra] que lea siempre hasta la misma hora lectura de hebreo, y la otra hora un año de caldeo y otro año de árabeto', AUS 940, 1561, fol. 39^r, in López-Baralt, *A zaga de tu huella*, p. 38.

62 'Cátedra de Hebreo: Por falta de persona suficiente, según expresión de los Libros de Claustro, estuvo esta cátedra sin proveer en propiedad hasta 1561', Esperabé, *Historia de la Universidad II*, pp. 314–5.

63 Ibid.

64 'una lección de ordinario de árabeto cada día lectivo en escuelas', AUS lib. 37, fols 8–9, in *Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca (1218–1600) IV*, ed. V. Beltrán de Heredia, Salamanca, 1970–2, p. 245.

65 Ibid., p. 246.

66 'tiene obligación de leer [árabe] en cierto tiempo'. Ibid.

The teaching of Arabic in Salamanca did not last long. After Cantalapiedra's death in 1579, Cristóbal Madrigal held the Chair from 1580 to 1592, after which the teaching of Arabic disappeared from the University.⁶⁷

2.3.1 The Case of Nicolas Clénard

A separate section should be dedicated to the theologian and Cardinal Nicolas Clénard (1495–1542) and his enthusiasm for the study of Arabic, especially at Salamanca. The young and restless Clénard had travelled to Spain hoping to find someone who could help him learn Arabic since he could find no one able to do so in his hometown or in Paris.⁶⁸

The opportunity to go to Spain was offered to him by Fernando Colón (Christopher Columbus's son) who was looking for someone to help him organize the library he wanted to open in Seville. Both Clénard and his college classmate Johannes Vasaes were hired by Columbus for three years, but Clénard asked to terminate his contract earlier in order to study Arabic at Salamanca. Clénard chose this city because he had heard that there were many notable scholars specialized in different fields, and among them a teacher of Greek, of Hebrew, of Aramaic and even of Arabic.⁶⁹

When Clénard arrived in Spain he already knew some Arabic. He had learnt the alphabet by himself before leaving Leuven, because 'no one knew a single letter of Arabic [...] or could even teach me the alphabet'.⁷⁰ He studied at the Collège de l'Écolâtre, or Houterlé College, and one of his schoolmates, a philology student, showed him the *Psalterium Nebiense*, the first Polyglot Psalter, edited by Agostino Giustiniani in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic and Aramaic,

67 Rodríguez-San Pedro, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca* 1, p. 121.

68 'inter Hispanos augurarer posse me feliciter Arabicari' ('I guessed that among the Spanish I could happily "Arabize"'). *Correspondance* 1, p. 201.

69 'Ex instituto Franciscanorum, Rochus Almeida [...] nunc attollendis in coelum Cathedris Academiae Salmanticensis, siquidem et ipse multum etiam uiae permensus fuerat studiorum causa. [...] Postquam autem de Salmanticensium Professoribus fabulari coepisset, et tam optimos prouentus doctis uiris constitutos affirmaret, nullamque partem disciplinarum quae non honorem suum sortita esset Salmanticae. [...] est Professor Graecus, est Hebraeus, est Chaldaeus, atque etiam Arabicus' ('Rochus Almeida of the Franciscan Order [thought that] the professors of the University of Salamanca should be raised to the sky, and he himself had spent much of his pursuing studies. But after he had begun to talk to the professors in Salamanca, he could affirm that the very best results had been established by these learned men, and that there was no part of the disciplines which had not received its due honour in Salamanca [...]. There is Greek, Hebrew and Syriac professor, and even an Arabic professor.'). *Correspondance* 1, pp. 215–6.

70 'Ne literam quidem ullus nouerat Arabicam [...]; tametsi nihil adesset quod saltem alphabetum commonstraret', *Correspondance* 1, pp. 199–200.

and printed in Genoa in 1516 by Petrus Paulus Porrus. In Psalm 82, several names are listed, and through the comparison between the Arabic version and those in languages he had already mastered, Clénard began to identify the letters of the Arabic alphabet.⁷¹ From that date on he dreamt of going to Spain to study Arabic.

Not long after his arrival in 1532 he realised that there was no teacher of Arabic at the University of Salamanca. However, he heard from a student that Hernán Núñez had studied there and so Clénard contacted him.⁷² The *Comendador* Hernán Núñez 'el Pinciano' was indeed his first teacher of Arabic. With him Clénard learnt the rudiments of the language, and until the end of his life he remained grateful to him and praised him.⁷³

As previously mentioned, however, the *Comendador* relied on written texts, following the *Ājurrūmiyya*. Clénard was especially interested in the oral aspect of the language, but there was no speaking practice in the *Comendador's* courses, and his knowledge of Arabic did not progress much. Nonetheless, Clénard still went to see the *Comendador griego* every day, out of gratitude for his efforts to teach him Arabic. While he considered that his progress was insufficient, he recognized that after six months of studying Arabic he had learnt enough for him to be able to teach it himself.⁷⁴ As it turned out, in the spring 1537, Leopold of Austria, the Emperor's uncle, offered him the Chair of

71 It is Psalm 82, not 83, as indicated by Ronny Vollandt. 'Similar testimonies have come down by Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563), Guillaume Postel (1510–1581), Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) and Etienne Fourmont (1683–1745). Moreover, it was in these printed Arabic versions of the Bible that early dictionaries, such as Bedwell's unpublished dictionary, Raphelengius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, Schindler's *Lexicon Pentaglotton* and Duval's *Dictionarium Latino-Arabicum*, found much of their lexicographic material', in R. Vollandt, 'Some Historiographical Remarks on Medieval and Early-Modern Scholarship of Biblical Versions in Arabic: A Status Quo', *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World*, 1, 2013, pp. 25–42 (32).

72 *Correspondance I*, p. 220.

73 'Optimus uir alphabetum postremo depinxit [...]. Discrimina praeterea docuit inter nonnullas [...]. Hic mihi in Arabis primus inuentus est praeceptor [...] ut quemadmodum literas Graecas tibi debet uniuersa Hispania, sic et omnes quotquot Arabicantur nomen celebrent Fernandi Nunii' ('The excellent man finally wrote the alphabet [...]. He taught us the differences between a few [letters...]. This was the first teacher of Arabic that I found [...] so that, just as the whole of Spain owes to you Greek letters, so all those who Arabicize celebrate the name of Hernán Núñez'), *Correspondance I*, pp. 221–2.

74 'spacio sex mensium sic promoui ut non formidassem profiteri linguam Arabicam' ('within six months time, I made such a progress that I would not have been afraid of teaching Arabic'), *Correspondance I*, p. 201. On p. 230, he refers to nine months as the period that he has been in Salamanca.

Languages.⁷⁵ Clénard was reluctant to accept the post since he had wanted to return to his own country to publish some books which would help to develop Arabic studies there.⁷⁶ He did begin to teach Greek and Latin, but twelve days later he went to Portugal to work for the King and his brother D. Henrique. Clénard spent five years there (1533–1537), during which time he did not hear a single word of Arabic.⁷⁷ And yet he continued working on the language: he finished his glossary, and he compiled a small grammar, *Rudimenta Linguae*, in 1535. This he lent to Philippe, the doctor who initiated him into Arabic science, because Clénard deemed it necessary for a professional physician to know some Arabic. Thus, in February 1537, he gave him some lessons in the hope of enabling him to read Avicenna. They only spent thirteen hours together, but this was apparently enough for the doctor to read Avicenna with some ease.⁷⁸ After Philippe's departure Clénard could compare the Greek and Arabic *Commentaries* on the Hippocratic Aphorisms. His knowledge was still limited to written Arabic, and, with an increasing desire to speak Arabic he decided to find a teacher. After having been authorized to leave Evora, he began a journey that led him to Braga, Coimbra, Seville and Granada. Once in Granada, and thanks to the support of the Marqués de Mondéjar, Íñigo López de Mendoza, Clénard was able to read the Qur'an with the help of an emancipated slave.⁷⁹ It was the first time he had the chance to converse in Arabic, and his linguistic competence soon improved considerably – so much so that Juan Martínez Silíceo, the tutor of Charles V's son, pressed him to open a School of Languages in Granada. Clénard refused, arguing that if he ever would teach Arabic he

75 'Patruus Caesaris Leopoldus ab Austria, qui nunc Rectorem agit Salmanticae, missis literis honestissimis, ad Cathedram Linguarum me uocauit' ('Leopold of Austria, the uncle of the Emperor, who now is Rector of the University of Salamanca, having sent a very kind letter, invited me to the Chair of Languages'), *Correspondance I*, p. 116.

76 'Cupere enim me patriam, et ea illic typis mandare, quae prouehendis studiis faciant' ('[I said that] I desired my homeland and to commit those things which would advance knowledge to type there'), *Correspondance I*, p. 117.

77 'Nam hactenus uiuam uocem non audiueram' ('Up to this moment, I had not heard a voice [in Arabic]'), *Correspondance I*, p. 202.

78 'Traditis rudimentis linguae, quae iam ante biennium conscripseram, enarraui caput primum III. libri Canonis' ('After having taught the rudiments of the language, I had written down more than two years before, I explained the first chapter of the third book of [Avicenna's] *Canon*'), *Correspondance I*, p. 117.

79 'si [...] ut doctissimum multis aureis emptum Alfakium donaret. Cuius consuetudine dum utor, et lectitando simul cum ipso Alcorano [...]' ('to such an extent that he [the Marqués] presented me with very learned fakih bought for many gold coins. While living with him and reading with him the Qur'an [...]'), *Correspondance I*, p. 202.

would do so in his native Louvain.⁸⁰ His primary concern was to acquire books in Arabic, not only with the aim of learning the language, but also to be able to learn more about Muslim traditions and institutions. With this purpose he travelled to Fez but, fifteen months later, he was unable to bring any manuscript with him on his return to Spain. During his stay there, he discovered that there were no book shops in the city and that it was only possible to buy books on Fridays in the vicinity of the Great Mosque. Soon, Clénard also realised that the manuscripts were not only few, but also unavailable for him as a non-Muslim. However, in spite of all these difficulties, Clénard succeeded in purchasing a few volumes, but reached Spain without them since he was assaulted on his way back and was robbed of everything in his possession. Although he claimed that he wanted to open a language centre in Louvain, he never went back there and died in Granada. It was probably Clénard's unfulfilled desire of acquiring books in Arabic that prevented him from leaving southern Spain or Morocco.

2.4 *The Instruction Books*

In almost two centuries of the history of Arabic studies at Salamanca – from 1411 (when for the first time the Trilingual Chair at Salamanca was mentioned explicitly in the statutes of the University), until 1592 (when the teaching of Arabic seems to have disappeared completely until long after) – we only know of a handful of teachers of Arabic. The problem was not only to find specialists who were also competent in Hebrew and Aramaic, but the lack of books with which to learn and teach Arabic also hampered the development of its study.

If we know little about teachers of Arabic at the University of Salamanca during the early modern period, we know even less about the books used during the courses. What is clear is that the educational interests revolved around two types of books: Christian religious books, especially the Gospel, and grammars, mainly the *Ājurrūmiyya*.

As we have seen, Clénard had deplored the lack of Arabic books in Spain, and he was well aware that it was impossible to learn any language, let alone Arabic, without a supply of books.⁸¹ Other scholars too, were frustrated by this

80 'Ego uero tenebar desiderio patriae, et nusquam uidebam me commodius hanc professionem inuecturum quam Louanii' ('As for myself however I was longing for my homeland and I was not conceiving that I would introduce this career anywhere more easily than in Lovain'), *Correspondance 1*, p. 203. 'iam abunde me paratum crederem, ut redditus patriae professionem hanc instituerem' ('I believed myself to be well prepared to establish this career once I would be back in my homeland'), *Correspondance 1*, p. 230.

81 *Correspondance 1*, p. 202.

situation. Arias Montano is reported to have said that, apart from the grammar, 'I have not worked in the other disciplines written [in Arabic] because of the lack of time and books'.⁸² So books were the first thing Clénard asked Hernán Núñez for when they met in Salamanca. He repeated the same request to the Emperor Charles v shortly before his death: 'oro ut libri qui per Hispaniam comburuntur meis studiis posthac seruiant'.⁸³

2.4.1 Christian Religious Books

In response to Clénard's request to provide him with books in Arabic, Hernán Núñez presented him with a copy of the printed Gospels:⁸⁴ 'Look, he said, the four Gospels in beautiful writing are for you! I have not been able to find the rest, even though I have looked for them for a long time'.⁸⁵ Thanks to this text, especially to the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew, the 'Liber generationis Iesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraham', Clénard started learning the vowels in Arabic, a task which was made easier by the fact that the vowels were written in red.⁸⁶ Did Hernán Núñez add the vocalization in red for his own studies? Was it specifically done in order to help Clénard? Or were the vowels already present on the copy he had? In any case, they must have been added by a later hand, for pedagogical reasons, since there is no evidence of any Arabic printed book of that period in which the vowels are printed in red; a technically very complicated process. Whoever added the red vowels played a decisive role in Clénard's study of Arabic, and, as Hernán Núñez later recalled, he was extremely pleased about having access to such a text.⁸⁷

The Gospels in Arabic were well known in Salamanca at that time. In 1542, as we have seen, Salazar had to bring his own books and papers in Arabic when

82 'en las demás disciplinas que en ella están escritas no he trabajado por falta de tiempo y de libros', *Diario del viaje desde Valencia a Andalucía hecho por don Francisco Pérez Bayer en este año de 1782*, BNE 5953, fol. 174^r, in García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente*, p. 341.

83 *Correspondance I*, p. 204.

84 'Cras, inquit [Hernán Núñez], redibis, et ex aceruo meorum codicum eruemus Arabica; siquidem in praesentia ubi lateant ignoro, tam in obliuionem abierunt mihi chartae Machometicae' ('Return tomorrow, he said, and you will unearth some Arabic things from the heap of my manuscripts. At the moment I do not know where they are hidden: so much have the Muhammadan sheets fallen out of my mind!'), *Correspondance I*, p. 221.

85 'En tibi, inquit, quatuor Euangelia, pulcherrimis characteribus. Alia reperire non potui, etsi diu quaesita', *Correspondance I*, p. 220.

86 'minio depictis uocalium notis' ('with vowels in red'), *Correspondance I*, p. 222.

87 'O te felicem Clenarde, qui conspecturus sis uocales' ('Happy you, Clénard, who will see the vowels'), *Correspondance I*, p. 221.

he applied for the Trilingual Chair. Unfortunately, we have no information about the books Salazar brought with him, but we know that the Gospel of John was chosen for his exam and that one of the exercises that Salazar was confronted with was to translate a fragment of this Gospel into Latin. It is remarkable that a translation of an excerpt of the Gospel of John instead of a text from the Qur'an should have been chosen as a test in order to evaluate the candidates' level of proficiency in Arabic. Since most of the students in Salamanca were clerics, with an outstanding knowledge of Scripture, it was certainly easier to translate an excerpt from the Bible than an excerpt from the Qur'an. However, the Arabic Psalms were commonly used to learn Arabic; and with the translation of the Gospels, they were a mandatory reading for the first level of tuition in this language in Rome,⁸⁸ at least until the eighteenth century.⁸⁹ The Qur'an, nonetheless, was never directly read, because of his possible negative influences on the students.

In Spain, in spite of the sixteenth-century prohibition of the Sacred book of Islam, copies of the Qur'an, with or without a translation, were circulating not only among Spanish Muslims,⁹⁰ but also among Christians.⁹¹ As we have seen, Clénard too, while in Granada, succeeded in learning Arabic with the help of the Qur'an. Moreover, the Iberian Peninsula was the place where the Qur'an was first translated, not only into Latin, but also into a vernacular language. In 1462, the trilingual Qur'an (Arabic-Latin-Castilian) was completed. No copy of it has been preserved, although one was presented to the University of Salamanca by the patron of this venture, the theologian Juan de Segovia. We have seen above that Clénard had consulted the *Polyglot Psalter* in Louvain, having been able to identify the consonants, but there is no record of the use of this book in Salamanca for the teaching of Arabic.

2.4.2 Grammars

In addition to the Gospels, grammar books are known to have been in use. Hernán Núñez also provided Clénard with a copy of the already mentioned *Muqaddima* of Ibn Ājurrūm, 'a book of rudiments, without which you could

88 See A. Girard, 'Teaching and learning Arabic in early modern Rome: Shaping a missionary language', in this volume.

89 A. Girard, 'L'enseignement de l'arabe à Rome au XVIII^e siècle', pp. 216–7.

90 N. Martínez de Castilla, 'Qur'anic Manuscripts from Late Muslim Spain: The Collection of Almonacid de la Sierra', *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 16.2, 2014, pp. 89–138.

91 N. Martínez de Castilla, 'Traduire et commenter le Coran dans la Péninsule Ibérique (XIII^e–XVII^e s.)', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie de Novembre et Décembre 2013*, 4, 2013 [2015], pp. 1723–39.

not achieve anything'.⁹² This Grammar, widely used in the Maghreb and al-Andalus until Morisco times, is very basic,⁹³ and Clénard seemed to have profited much more from his readings of the Gospels in Arabic.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, this work must have been of some importance for Clénard's studies since he later suggested that it should be printed. After he convinced a Flemish colleague to carve the wooden Arabic characters required for the edition, he entered into negotiations with Juan de Junta, the son of the famous Florentine printer Filippo di Giunta and nephew of Lucantonio di Giunta – the prolific and extremely successful Venetian publisher of liturgical and legal works. Juan de Junta (he changed his name when he reached Spain) settled in Salamanca in 1531–1532 after a period in Burgos.⁹⁵ He must have become acquainted at that time with Clénard who was about to convince him to carry out such an undertaking. But Juan de Junta changed his mind, probably because he thought that the study of Arabic only had a limited appeal, and did not want to lose money.⁹⁶ How right he was. The students of Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra, who read the *Ājurrūmiyya* as a textbook during the Arabic courses, do not seem to have been numerous enough to make the publication of this text a success.

Clénard got hold of the grammar of Pedro de Alcalá, *Vocabulista árábigo en letra castellana. Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua árábica* (1505), but he questioned its usefulness for the learning of classical Arabic.⁹⁷ He began

92 'libellum rudimentorum, sine quo nihil queas efficere', *Correspondance* 1, p. 223.

93 See López-Baralt, 'A zaga de tu huella', and J. Zanón, 'Los estudios de lengua árabe entre los moriscos aragoneses a través de los manuscritos de la Junta', *Sharq al-Andalus* 12, 1995, pp. 363–74 (370).

94 'Iussit ut [...] ad ipsum commearum, [...] et *Gurremiam* interpretaturum. [...] domi uero tractandis Euangeliiis, uere discendi rationem meditabar' ([Núñez] told me to go to his own place [...] and he would explain the *Jurruniyya*. [...] however, at home, I was working with the Gospels, and trying to conceive a learning method'), *Correspondance* 1, p. 223.

95 W. Pettas, *A Sixteenth-Century Spanish Bookstore: The Inventory of Juan de Junta*, Philadelphia, 1995 (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 85.1).

96 *Correspondance* 1, p. 226.

97 'Sed antequam pergam, obiter hic admonitos uelim quotquot Arabicari decreuerint, ne quem dico librum eo numero ponant quasi faciat ad tradendam linguam Arabicam. Iis modo conducit, qui uernaculum gentis sermonem expetunt; a quo tam dissidet Arabismus, quo sapientum et eruditorum monumenta sunt prodita, quantum interest discriminis inter dictionem Homeri et istorum mercatorum qui hodie negociantur in Graecia' ('But before I go on, I want to warn in this place however many have decided to Arabicize, that they should not add this book [of Pedro de Alcalá] to that number, as if it can transmit the Arabic language. It is useful only to those who seek to know the vernacular speech of the people, from which that Arabic in which the monuments of the wise and learned

to work with the Grammar of Abulcasim, an author who has been identified recently as al-Zamakhsharī.⁹⁸ But can we be certain that Abulcasim is al-Zamakhsharī?⁹⁹ There are actually two authors of grammars known by the *kunya* Abulcasim who enjoyed much success in the Western Islamic world: Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b.ʿUmar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143), known for his *tafsīr*; and Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ishāq al-Zajjājī (d. 337/949). In the library of the Escorial approximately the same number of codices of both grammars are preserved. This indicates that they were both well-known and widespread in the Muslim West, especially in Morocco, until the early seventeenth century.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, two copies of the *Kitāb al-jumal fī l-naḥw*, by the Basra grammarian al-Zajjājī survive among the grammatical manuscripts found in Almonacid de la Sierra, which belonged to an Aragonese Morisco community of the sixteenth century – but there is no copy of al-Zamakhsharī’s work.¹⁰¹ Taking into account the diffusion of these two works in the West, Abulcasim could refer to either of the two authors cited. We only know that ‘everything in Abulcasim is about syntax, i.e. what enjoys being in what cases’¹⁰² and that the copy he used conveyed a large amount of text in Latin and Spanish.¹⁰³

Clénard apparently did not consult the *Sharḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* by al-Zamakhsharī, since this is a highly erudite work, an extensive grammatical explanation of classical Arabic. Thus, if this Abulcasim has to be identified with al-Zamakhsharī, we should rather think of another text by this author, *al-Unmūdḥaj fī l-naḥw*, which is an abridged version of the *Mufaṣṣal*.¹⁰⁴ The compendium focuses on

are handed down, differs as much as the language of Homer differs from that of those merchants who barter in these days in Greece’, *Correspondance I*, p. 209.

98 Bataillon was the first scholar who identified Abulcasim as al-Zamakhsharī (‘L’arabe’, p. 11). So did later Roersch in his translation of Clénard’s letters (*Correspondance I*, p. 189), as well as more recent authors.

99 *Correspondance I*, p. 189.

100 H. Derenbourg; H.P. Renaud and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les manuscrits arabes de l’Escorial*, Paris, 1884–1928, 3 vols.

101 Zanón, ‘Los estudios de lengua árabe’, p. 370.

102 ‘Abulcasim [...] omnis res in eo de Syntaxi, hoc est quae quibus gaudeant casibus’, *Correspondance I*, p. 224.

103 ‘Interpretamentum Grammatici Latinum erat, et iuuare poterat, in progressu autem nihil repperi nisi linguam Hispanicam, quam aequae ignorabam atque Arabicam’ (‘The interpretation of the grammar was Latin, and could be useful. In the following however I found nothing except in the Spanish language, which I was just as ignorant of as I was of Arabic’), *Correspondance I*, p. 224.

104 D. Kouloughli, *Le résumé de la grammaire arabe par Zamaḡṣarī*, Lyon, 2007, p. 7.

the morphosyntax (*naḥw*), and is clearly theoretical.¹⁰⁵ However, despite the brevity of the work – it is only twenty pages long –, its eminently theoretical nature does not make it suitable for someone beginning to learn Arabic, although its use was quite widespread in the schools of Arabic in Damascus at the beginning of the sixteenth century.¹⁰⁶

These considerations make it more probable that the grammatical text Clénard was consulting is the short and accessible work of al-Zajjājī's, which was circulating in the Iberian Peninsula as demonstrated by the presence of copies of this treatise in the Morisco trove in Almonacid de la Sierra.

2.4.3 Glossaries

In addition to these two kinds of books (grammars and multilingual texts) glossaries are also needed to study a language properly, but there were none, as is again corroborated by Arias Montano, who complained about the lack of this kind of resource.¹⁰⁷ We can assume that there were no Arabic glossaries in the classrooms or libraries of Salamanca, since Clénard would certainly have mentioned them had they existed. In fact he prepared one when he was in Portugal, and we can imagine that if he could have referred to an existing one, he would not have needed to compile his own.¹⁰⁸ Nowhere else in Europe were glossaries such as that produced by Clénard available during the sixteenth century:¹⁰⁹ the first great Arabic-Latin dictionary would not appear until the publication of Raphelengius's work in 1613.

By the mid-seventeenth century, bookstores and libraries in Salamanca had not increased their Arabic holdings – quite the contrary: there were no books in Hebrew or Arabic in the bookstores of the city of Salamanca. Actually, the traces of Arabic seem to have been deleted from the classrooms as well as from

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁰⁶ Talal al-Azem, 'Nu'aymī's (d. 927/1521) Educational Milieu', unpublished presentation at IMPAcT Colloquium on Late Medieval and Early Modern Islamic Intellectual History, University of Oxford, St Cross College, Oxford, 25 July 2015.

¹⁰⁷ 'falta de buenos vocabularios, que no los hay entre nosotros', *Diario del viaje desde Valencia a Andalucía hecho por don Francisco Pérez Bayer en este año de 1782*, BNE 5953, fol. 174^r, in García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente*, p. 341. However, as S. Brentjes pointed out in her article published in this volume, 'several anonymous Arabic-Latin or Arabic-Castilian dictionaries were compiled [in Spain] much earlier than in other European regions', but they were apparently unknown in Spain in the sixteenth century.

¹⁰⁸ 'Lexicon rude contraho, hinc inde arreptis uoculis, quae saepius obuiaē mihi essent familiares' ('I have compiled a rough glossary, taking words from here and there, whenever I came across words which I was familiar with'), *Correspondance 1*, p. 200.

¹⁰⁹ See S. Brentjes' article in this volume.

the University Library, because from 1690 onward no book in Arabic can be found in it.¹¹⁰

3 Conclusion

From 1411 (when, for the first time, the Trilingual Chair at Salamanca was mentioned explicitly in the statutes of the University), until 1592 (when the teaching of Arabic seems to disappear completely for a long time), we only know a handful of names of teachers of Arabic. Of these scholars most knew more Hebrew than Arabic, but there are indications that some of them taught a few hours of Arabic. Diego de Populeto (strangely criticized because he did not know Hebrew) was appointed to the Chair of Languages that had just been left vacant by Peñafiel in 1508. In 1511, he was replaced by Alfonso de Zamora who only taught Hebrew. Shortly afterwards Hernán Núñez de Toledo y Guzmán was offered the Chair in order to replace Zamora as professor of Hebrew; but neither of them were kept by the University of Salamanca, because they did not know all three of the languages, and both went to the University of Alcalá around 1512. Núñez de Toledo did return to Salamanca and he was Clénard's first professor of Arabic. In private lessons he taught him the rudiments of the language, providing him with some books in Arabic.

A few years later, in 1537, Clénard was offered the Trilingual Chair, but he refused to take it, apparently because he was planning to be back in Belgium by the summer of 1538 (although he ultimately died in Spain in 1542). In the same year of 1542, the Trilingual Chair was offered to Pedro de Salazar, who did not get the job owing to his ignorance of Arabic. In 1543, Martín Martínez de Cantalapiedra was hired to take the Chair of Languages, but he would have to wait until 1561 to obtain tenure. His teaching of Arabic in this position does not seem to have been adequate, since in 1568 the University took the step of proposing José Fajardo to teach this language, while Cantalapiedra was still active. Cristóbal de Madrigal then held the Chair of Languages in 1580, a year after the death of Cantalapiedra. After 1592, the year of Madrigal's death, we lose track of the teaching of Arabic at the University of Salamanca until many years later.

For their teaching, they primarily used two kinds of books: religious books, especially the Gospels, and grammars, mainly the *Jurruniyya*. Evidently, these were not enough to learn Arabic properly. However, we know that there were books in Arabic in Spain in that period, both in Christian libraries and in

110 Á. Rodríguez Cruz, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, Salamanca, 1990, in Vázquez de Benito, 'El inicio', p. 324.

Morisco hands. Some of the Moriscos were still copying manuscripts, because in many cases they knew Arabic. But since this ran contrary to the various prohibitions enforced by the authorities, this segment of Spanish society could not provide the universities with the teachers they needed. When the Chair of Salamanca was occupied, its holder proved either unable to give lessons in Arabic, or could offer nothing more than introductory courses of a very low level. Even if some circles may have been aware of the value of the knowledge of classical Arabic, unfortunately these were too small in number and could not affect a change in the situation.