THROWING THE BOOK AT THEM:
JUAN DE SEGOVIA'S USE OF THE QUR'ĀN

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Abstract

This essay investigates how Juan de Segovia (d. 1458) used the Qur'ān in his engagement with Islam. The essay has three principal aims. First, it identifies certain distinctive aspects of Segovia's use of the Qur'ān. Second, it examines his treatment of sacraments and soteriology in the Qur'ān. Third, it considers Segovia's use of the Qur'ān in light of David Bertaina's recent analysis of Christians and the Qur'ān. It is argued that, just as Segovia read the Qur'ān in various ways, he also used or cited the Qur'ān in various ways, for various ends and even for various audiences.

Keywords

Juan de Segovia; Qur'ān; interreligious dialogue; medieval Christian-Muslim relations

That Nicholas of Cusa and Juan de Segovia shared a keen interest in Islam and, more specifically, in the Qur'ān is not news. Scholars have long recognized this common interest.[1] As students of medieval Christian-Muslim

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[1] See, e.g., Haubst, R., «Johannes von Segovia im Gespräch mit Nikolaus von Kues und Jean Germain über die göttliche Dreieinigkeit und ihre Verkündigung vor den Mohammedanern», *Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift*, 2 (1951), pp. 115-129; Nicolaus de Cusa, *De pace fidei cum epistula ad Ioannem de Segobia*, eds. R. Klibansky and H. Bascour, in Nicolai de Cusa, *Opera omnia*, vol. VII, Hamburg, Felix Meiner, 1959, pp. xlv-lii; Southern, R.W., *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1978; Biechler, J., «A New Face toward Islam: Nicholas of Cusa and John of Segovia», in G. Christianson and Th.M. Izbicki (eds.), *Nicholas of Cusa in Search of God and Wisdom*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 45, Leiden, Brill, 1991, pp. 191- 200; Álvarez-Gómez, M., *Über die Bedingungen des Friedens im Glauben bei Johannes von Segovia und Nikolaus von Kues*, Trier, Paulinus, 2003; Cabanelas Rodríguez, D., *Juan de Segovia y el*

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interaction well know, Cusa and Segovia developed their mutual interest in matters Islamic while at the Council of Basel in the 1430s. In the first prologue to his *Cribratio Alkorani*, Cusa recounts how he lent a copy of the Qur'ān to Segovia prior to departing for Constantinople in 1437.[2] And, in his letter to Cusa dated 2 December 1454, Segovia not only gratefully recalls that loan, he also remembers how the two men had, in their Basel days, often discussed Islamic «rites, observances, and customs, as well as the ways by which Muslims might be converted to Christianity».[3] Although it is noteworthy that Segovia recalls discussing Muslim practices, in addition to doctrines and texts, the focal point of his interest remained the Qur'ān itself.

Thanks to the work of scholars such as José Martínez Gázquez, Davide Scotto, and Ulli Roth,[4] we now know more about Juan de Segovia's tri-lingual

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problema islámico, Granada, Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2007; Sanz Santacruz, V., «Juan de Segovia y Nicolás de Cusa frente al Islam: su comprensión intelectualista de la fe cristiana», *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*, 16 (2007), pp. 181-194; and Wolf, A. M., *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace: Christians and Muslims in the Fifteenth Century*, Notre Dame, IN, University of Notre Dame Press, 2014.

  [2] Nicolaus de Cusa, *Cribratio Alkorani*, ed. L Hagemann, in Nicolai de Cusa, *Opera omnia*, vol. VIII, Hamburg, Felix Meiner, 1986, p. 2: «Dimisi librum apud magistrum Iohannem de Segobia et ad Constantinopolim perrexi... ». See also Johannes von Segovia, *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum: Edition und deutsche Übersetzung mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen*, ed. U. Roth, 2 vols., Corpus Islamo-Christianum, Series Latina 7, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2012, vol. 1, p. XXXVI; and Roth, U., «Juan of Segovia's Translation of the Qur'ān», *Al-Qantara*, 35/2 (2014), p. 562. James Biechler has noted some confusion among scholars (Hagemann and Raeder) about who introduced whom to the Qur'ān and to the *Corpus Toletanum*. See Biechler, J., «Nicholas of Cusa and Muhammad», *Downside Review*, 101 (1983), p. 52 n. 8; and Biechler, «A New Face toward Islam: Nicholas of Cusa and John of Segovia», op. cit., p. 189, n. 13. Echevarria, A., *The Fortress of Faith: The Attitude Towards Muslims in Fifteenth Century Spain*, Medieval Iberian Peninsula 12, Leiden, Brill, 1999, p. 88 contributes to this confusion. On Cusa and Constantinople, see Watanabe, M., *Nicholas of Cusa: A Companion to His Life and Times*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2011, pp. 284-93.

  [3] See Sanz Santacruz, «Juan de Segovia y Nicolás de Cusa frente al Islam: su comprensión intelectualista de la fe cristiana», op. cit., p. 182, n. 4. I have not been able to consult D. Scotto's edition of Segovia's correspondence. See Scotto, D. «Via pacis et doctrine: le Epistole sull'Islam di Juan de Segovia», Ph. D. diss, Università di Firenze, 2012. The publication of Dr. Scotto's work is, however, imminent.

  [4] See Martínez Gázquez, J., «Trois traductions médiévales latines du Coran: Pierre le Venerable-Robert de Ketton, Marc de Tolède et Jean de Segobia», *Revue des Études Latines*, 80 (2002), pp. 223-236; idem, «El Prólogo de Juan de Segobia al Corán (Qur'ān) trilingüe (1456)», *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 38 (2003), pp. 389-410; Scotto, D., «'De pe a pa': Il Corano trilingue di Juan de Segovia (1456) e la conversione pacifica dei musulmani»,

Qur'ān, produced in 1455-56 with the help of Iça de Gidelli,[5] *faqīh* from Segovia.[6] These scholars, as well as others, have underscored Juan's desire for an accurate qur'ānic text and for a more reliable translation than Robert of Ketton's paraphrase. And thanks to Thomas Burman and Anne Marie Wolf, we now know more about how Segovia read the Qur'ān, about his oscillation between philology and polemic, appreciation and disdain.[7] My purpose here is to consider how Segovia used the Qur'ān. Of course, how one uses a text is closely related to how one reads it: both actions involve, or at least imply, evaluation and interpretation. Perhaps we can say that using a text — citing or alluding to it — is putting one's reading to work, making that reading manifest.

For this brief reflection on how Juan de Segovia used the Qur'ān, I will rely mainly on two of his post-conciliar writings, namely the *Liber de magna auctoritate episcoporum in concilio generali*, an ecclesiological work,[8] and the *De gladio*

Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa, 48 (2012), pp. 515-77; Roth, U. and Glei, R., «Die Spuren der lateinischen Koranübersetzung des Juan de Segovia – alte Probleme und ein neuer Fund», *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 11 (2009), pp. 109-154; Roth, U. and Glei, R., «Eine weitere Spur der lateinischen Koranübersetzung des Juan de Segovia», *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 13 (2011), pp. 221-228; and Roth, «Juan of Segovia's Translation of the Qur'ān», op. cit.

[5] On Gidelli, see Wiegers, G.A., *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), His Antecendents and Successors*, Medieval Iberian Peninsula: Texts and Studies 8, Leiden, Brill, 1994.

[6] On the term *faqih*, see *ibid.* pp. 82-84. See also *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v., «Fakīh».

[7] Burman, Th.E., *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560*, Material Texts, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007; Wolf, A.M., «Precedents and Paradigms: Juan de Segovia on the Bible, the Church, and the Ottoman Threat», in Th.J. Heffernan and Th.E. Burman (eds.), *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Leiden, Brill, 2005, pp. 143-60; idem, «Juan de Segovia and the Lessons of History», in S.R. Doubleday and D. Coleman (eds.), *In the Light of Medieval Spain*, The New Middle Ages, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, pp. 33-53; and idem, *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace*, op. cit.

[8] On this work, see Hernández Montes, B., «Obras de Juan de Segovia», *Repertorio de Historia de las Ciencias Eclesiásticas en España*, 6 (1977), pp. 305-306; Krämer, W., *Konsens und Rezeption: Verfassungsprinzipien der Kirche im Basler Konziliarismus*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, Neue Folge 19, Münster, Aschendorff, 1980, pp. 248-51; Sieben, H.J., «Basler Konziliarismus konkret (II). Der 'Liber de magna auctoritate episcoporum in concilio generali' des Johannes von Segovia», in H.J. Sieben (ed.), *Vom Apostelkonzil zum Ersten Vatikanum. Studien zur Geschichte der Konzilsidee*, Paderborn, Ferdinand Schöningh, 1996, pp. 157-195; and Prügl, Th., «Herbst des Konziliarismus? Die Spätschriften des Johannes von Segovia», in H. Müller (ed.), *Das Ende des*

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mittendo in corda sarracenorum,[9] a much-revised and reworked text that defies easy characterization in terms of genre but that represents Segovia's programmatic statement on how to address the «Islamic question». That these two works now exist in admirable critical editions facilitates my task considerably.[10]

In considering how Segovia used the Qur'ān in his *Liber de magna auctoritate* (henceforth: LMA) and in his *De gladio,* I have three principal aims. First, I will identify certain distinctive (but not necessarily unique) aspects of Segovia's use of Islam's holy book. To do so, I will have to compare Segovia, albeit cursorily, with contemporaries such as Cusa and Heymericus de Campo. Second, drawing on suggestions in the work of Santiago Madrigal and Ulli Roth, as well as on my own previous work, I will emphasize the fundamentally soteriological concerns that lie at the heart of Juan's engagement with Islam. I will do this by addressing his discussion of sacraments. Finally, I will connect Segovia's use of Quranic texts with David Bertaina's recent analysis of Christians and the Qur'ān.[11]

Although the fall of Constantinople in 1453 obviously intensified Latin Christendom's engagement with Islam, for Juan de Segovia and Nicholas of Cusa, as noted above, interest in Islam predated that momentous event. In Segovia's case, we know that he was already thinking and writing about Muslims during his teaching days at the University of Salamanca in the 1420s. As Santiago Madrigal, Anne Marie Wolf, and Davide Scotto have shown, Juan's early university writings, most notably his *Repetitio de fide catholica* from 1427, address Islam and religious alterity.[12] Importantly for our purposes, however,

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konziliaren Zeitalters (1440 - 1450): Versuch einer Bilanz, Schriften des Historischen Kollegs. Kolloquien 86, München, Oldenbourg, 2012, pp. 153-174.

[9] On this work, see Hernández Montes, «Obras de Juan de Segovia», op. cit., pp. 310-13.

[10] See Johannes de Segovia, *Liber de magna auctoritate episcoporum in concilio generali*, ed. R. de Kegel, Spicilegium Friburgense 34, Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1995; and idem, *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Sarracenorum: Edition und deutsche Übersetzung mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen*, op. cit.

[11] Bertaina, D., «Christians and the Qur'ān» in D. Thomas (ed.), *Routledge Handbook on Christian-Muslim Relations*, New York, Routledge, 2018, pp. 279-87.

[12] Madrigal Terrazas, S., «La *Repetitio de fide catholica* de Juan de Segovia», *Estudios eclesiásticos*, 78 (2003), pp. 271-299; Wolf, *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace*, op. cit., pp. 74-94 and Scotto, D., «Inseguire l'Islām tra memoria e teologia spigolature su Juan de Segovia intorno al 1427», in D. Rando, P. Cozzo, and D. Scotto (eds.), *Ottant'anni da Maestro: Saggi degli allievi offerti a Giogio Cracco,* Roma, Viella, 2014, pp. 101-139. On the *Repetitio*, see Hernández Montes, «Obras de Juan de Segovia», op. cit., pp. 271-72. For an «edition» of the text, see Madrigal Terrazas, S*., El pensamiento eclesial de Juan de Segovia*

these early writings touching upon Islam make little specific reference to the Qur'ān.

Rather, Segovia's first use of specific qur'ānic texts seems to stem from his work related to the Immaculate Conception of Mary in the 1430s.[13] To wit, in support of his pro-Immaculist stance in his *Allegationes pro sancta conceptione* from 1436, Segovia cited a passage from Sura 3 that he found in Nicholas of Lyra's *Libellum contra quemdam Iudaeum*.[14] Importantly, this citation is indirect; it does not derive from Segovia's own reading of the Qur'ān. However, two

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(1393-1458): *La gracia en el tiempo*, Estudios Universidad Pontificia Comillas 90, Madrid, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2004, pp. 193-225.

[13] See Roth, U. and Scotto, D., «Auf der Suche nach der Erbsünde im Koran: Die *Allegationes de peccatis primi parentis* des Juan de Segovia», *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 17 (2015), pp. 188-92. For background on the use of Islamic theology in support of the Immaculate Conception, see Gay-Canton, R. «Lorsque Muhammad orne les autels: Sur l'utilization de la théologie islamique dans la controverse autuor de l'immaculée conception de la fin du XIVᵉ au début du XVIIIᵉ siècle», *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 94/2 (2010), pp. 201-48. On the role of Mary in Christian-Muslim dialogue, see George-Tvrtković, R., *Christians, Muslims, and Mary: A History*, New York, Paulist Press, 2018. On the discussions regarding the Immaculate Conception at Basel, see Helmrath, J., *Das Basler Konzil 1431–1449. Forschungsstand und Probleme*, Kölner historische Abhandlungen 32, Köln, Böhlau, 1987, pp. 383-94; and Izbicki, Th.M., «The Immaculate Conception and Ecclesiastical Politics from the Council of Basel to the Council of Trent: The Dominicans and Their Foes», *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 96/1 (2005), pp. 145–170.

[14] See Johannes de Segovia, *Ioannis de Segovia ... septem allegationes et totidem avisamenta pro informatione Patrum Concilii Basilëensis ... circa Sacratissimae Virginis Maria Immaculatam Conceptionem ejusque praeservationem a peccato originali in primo suae animationes instanti,* ed. P. de Alva y Astorga, Brussels, Balthasaris Vivien, 1664, pp., 75-76 (cited in Roth and Scotto, «Auf der Suche nach der Erbsünde im Koran: Die *Allegationes de peccatis primi parentis* des Juan de Segovia», op. cit., p. 188 with n. 17). For more on Segovia's work on the Immaculate Conception, see Alcántara, P. de, «La redención y el debito de María según Juan de Segovia y Juan de Torquemada (Concilio de Basilea)», *Revista Española de Teología*, 16 (1956), pp. 3-51; Martín Palma, J. «María y la Iglesia según Juan de Segovia y Juan de Torquemada», *Estudios Marianos*, 18 (1957), pp. 207-30; and Basilio Ricossa, L., *Jean de Ségovie. Son office de la conception, 1439: étude historique, théologique, littéraire et musicale*, Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe XXXVI: Musikwissenschaft 113, Bern, Peter Lang, 1994. According to Gay-Canton, «Lorsque Muhammad orne les autels: Sur l'utilization de la théologie islamique dans la controverse autuor de l'immaculée conception de la fin du XIVᵉ au début du XVIIIᵉ siècle», op. cit., p. 215, Lyra took his qur'ānic texts from the admixture of qur'ānic verses and hadith found in Ramón Martí. On Lyra and Islam, see Krey, Ph. «Nicholas of Lyra and Paul of Burgos on Islam», in J.V. Tolan (ed.), *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays,* Garland Medieval Casebooks 10, New York, Garland, 1996, 153-74.

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years later, in the elaboration of his pro-Immaculist position, Segovia returned to that same qur'ānic passage, but this time did so citing not only Lyra but also a more accurate version of the text *secundum aliam translationem*.[15] What had changed? Between 1436 and 1438, Segovia had obtained two copies of the Qur'ān in Ketton's translation. His careful study of that work resulted in a new and improved citation — a citation that even included a reference to what we might call «chapter and verse».[16] Interestingly, Segovia used this text to support an *a minori ad maius* argument: if even infidels recognize Mary's unique status, how much more should believers do so.[17] Segovia thus employs the Qur'ān to shame his fellow Christians.

By the time Segovia composed his LMA sometime between 1449 and 1453, he had gained significant first-hand knowledge of the Qur'ān. He demonstrates this knowledge in that text by including roughly twenty citations — some direct and verbatim; some just allusions — from the Qur'ān itself.[18]

After 1453, when Segovia was working on the *De gladio* and initiating his well-known correspondence with Cusa and Jean Germain,[19] such citations and allusions flow frequently from his pen. The *De gladio* in particular is replete with qur'ānic references. It is important to emphasize that in all these

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[15] See Roth and Scotto, «Auf der Suche nach der Erbsünde im Koran: Die *Allegationes de peccatis primi parentis* des Juan de Segovia», op. cit., p. 190.

[16] Johannes de Segovia, *Ioannis de Segovia ... septem allegationes et totidem avisamenta*, op. cit., p. 429: «Quantum ad primum dictum hic allegatum in Alchorano secundum aliam translationem sic dicitur: 'Angeli rursus Mariam alloquentes inquiunt: O Maria omnibus viris et mulieribus splendidior et mundior atque lectior soli Deo perseveranter studens ipsum cum humilibus genuaque Deo flectentibus adora'. Haec habentur et Zoara cap. 5 et intitulatur: 'De gente Joachim ducentorum verborum». Segovia was apparently quite interested in the divisions of the Qur'ān. On this point, see Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān,* op. cit., p. 182.

[17] On this argument, see Roth and Scotto, «Auf der Suche nach der Erbsünde im Koran: Die *Allegationes de peccatis primi parentis* des Juan de Segovia», op. cit., p. 191.

[18] See De Kegel, R. «Johannes von Segovia und die verfassungsmäßige Vereinbarkeit von Papst und Konzil, in: J. Dendorfer and C. Märtl (eds.), *Nach dem Basler Konzil: Die Neuordnung der Kirche zwischen Konziliarismus und monarchischem Papat (ca. 1450 – 1475)*, Pluralisierung und Autorität 13, Berlin, LIT, 2008, p. 63. See also Mann, J. D., «Juan de Segovia on the Superiority of Christians over Muslims: *Liber de magna auctoritate episcoporum in concilio generali* 10.6», in I. C. Levy, R. George-Tvrtković, and D. F. Duclow (eds.), *Nicholas of Cusa and Islam: Polemic and Dialogue in the Late Middle Ages*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 183, Leiden, Brill, 2014, p. 148.

[19] On this correspondence, see *ibid*., p. 145 with n. 1; and especially Scotto, «Via pacis et doctrine», op. cit.

instances the Qur'ān Segovia is citing is Ketton's translation. After 1455, Segovia apparently began to revise the *De gladio*, correcting and replacing Ketton's translation with his own recently completed rendering, but he abandoned that onerous and time-consuming task due to poor health and a heavy workload.[20]

From the 1430s to the 1450s, then, Segovia's use of the Qur'ān evolved and deepened. If he began by using the Qur'ān to support and defend a specifically Christian doctrine, namely the Immaculate Conception — thereby showing how the «other's» sacred text might serve an intra- rather than inter-religious purpose[21] — his subsequent use of the Qur'ān reflects a greater variety of strategies and aims. In his landmark book on the medieval image of Islam, Norman Daniel observes that Christian use of the Qur'ān in the Middle Ages was highly selective. Daniel writes, «...it is not surprising that the wealth of material in the Qur'ān... should have been ignored except in so far as it could

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[20] See Roth, «Juan of Segovia's Translation of the Qur'ān», op. cit., p. 559. On Segovia's marginal annotations and additions to the sole surviving «complete» MS of the *De gladio*, see Roth, U. and Glei, R., « Die Spuren der lateinischen Koranübersetzung des Juan de Segovia – alte Probleme und ein neuer Fund», op. cit. ; and Roth, U. and Glei, R., «Eine weitere Spur der lateinischen Koranübersetzung des Juan de Segovia», op. cit.; Johannes von Segovia, *De gladio*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. LIX and Scotto, «'De pe a pa': Il Corano trilingue di Juan de Segovia (1456) e la conversione pacifica dei musulmani», op. cit., p. 519.

[21] On the intra-religious purposes of seemingly inter-religious polemic, see Valkenberg, W.G.B.M., «Polemics, Apologetics, and Dialogue as Forms of Interreligious Communication between Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Middle Ages» in T.L. Hettema and A. Van der Rooij (eds.), *Religious Polemics in Context*, Studies in Theology and Religion 11, Assen, Royal Van Gorcum, 2004, p. 378.

be brought into service».[22] We turn now to some of the ways Juan de Segovia brought the Qur'ān into service.[23]

Of course, Segovia repeats much of the standard medieval Christian polemical line against the Qur'ān: its demonic inspiration, its errors, distortions and misrepresentations, its internal contradictions.[24] The most frequently cited qur'ānic passage in the *De gladio* comes from Sura 33:40, where Muhammed is called the «seal and culmination of the prophets».[25] Not surprisingly, Segovia cites this passage in order to refute it. Like his contemporaries, Segovia used the Qur'ān to denigrate Muhammed and to show how and why the Qur'ān was flawed. «A true seal», Segovia writes, «confirms rather than annuls scripture».[26] Muhammed does not confirm Scripture, ergo...

In the LMA (10.42.10) Segovia invokes Sura 12:8 according to Ketton's rendering (he cites chapter and verse explicitly) in order to advance a related point: by asserting that it simultaneously encompasses both preceding

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[22] Daniel, N., *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*, Rev. ed., Oxford, Oneworld, 1993, p. 286. For a critical assessment of Daniel's work, see Blanks, D., «Western Views of Islam in the Premodern Period: A Brief History of Past Approaches», in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1999, pp. 24-29; and Tolan, J.V., *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2002, pp. xv-xvii. Bobzin, H. «A Treasury of Heresies: Christian Polemics against the Koran», in S. Wild (ed.), *The Qur'ān as Text*, Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science Texts and Studies 27, Leiden, Brill, 1996, p. 167, refers to the «instrumentalization» of the Qur'ān. Importantly, Muslims criticized this selective use of the Qur'ān. See, e.g., Paul of Antioch's opposition to the Muslim argument that proof-texting required Christians to accept *all* qur'ānic verses (cited in Bertaina, «Christians and the Qur'ān», op. cit., p. 280).

[23] For background, see Wolf, *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace*, op. cit., pp. 187-98. Madrigal Terrazas, S., «Judios, moros y cristianos. La visión teologica de Juan de Segovia (1393-1458) acerca de las tres culturas ibericas», in M. Tischler and A. Fidora (eds.), *Christlicher Norden - Muslimischer Süden: Ansprüche und Wirklichkeiten von Christen, Juden und Muslimen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, Erudiri Sapientia 7, Münster, Aschendorff, 2011, p. 500, enumerates some of the ways in which Segovia uses the Qur'ān in the LMA.

[24] See Wolf, *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace*, op. cit., pp. 194-95. LMA 10.6.8: «...loquitur (i.e. liber Alchurani) ita equivoce et multipliciter, ut sepissime sibimet contradicit... » (Johannes de Segovia, *Liber de magna auctoritate*, op. cit., p. 380).

[25] See Johannes von Segovia, *De gladio*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 937, where editor U. Roth lists five references to this passage. Admittedly, some of these references are allusions rather than direct or verbatim citations.

[26] Johannes von Segovia, *De gladio*, 31.418-19, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 702: «Sigillum namque confirmat potius quam annullat scripturam, cui additur, si verum sigillum est... »

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testaments, the Qur'ān misrepresents the relationship between the Old Testament and the New Testament and between these Scriptures and the Qur'ān itself.[27] As Santiago Madrigal has emphasized, in making this claim Segovia endeavors to place Islam within a trajectory of salvation history that moves from natural law to the Mosaic law to the law of grace or Gospel.[28] Interestingly, Segovia uses the qur'ānic text not only to locate Islam in his vision of *heilsgeschichte* and to criticize the Qur'ān itself, but also to challenge Christian theologians to prepare themselves more adequately for debate with Muslims who misconstrue the relationship between Law and Gospel.[29]

As is well-known, desire for peaceful interaction with Muslims characterrized Segovia's engagement with Islam. Accordingly, he uses the Qur'ān to support his irenic *via pacis et doctrinae.* For example, toward the beginning of the *De gladio*, he writes:

> One should not doubt that the Saracens themselves are eager for those things that treat of peace, since their own law enjoins them to seek peace. For it [i.e. the Qur'ān] says: «Do not be despisers, but love peace and invite peace, for in that way you will be worthier and more powerful».[30]

The reference is to Sura 47:35-36. Segovia includes a nearly identical statement with the very same citation from the Qur'ān in his letter to Cusa in 1454.[31] Since this passage is seemingly at odds with the numerous qur'ānic texts Segovia marshals to illustrate how the Qur'ān encourages violence and aggression,[32] this reference to Sura 47 underscores Segovia's ambivalence

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[27] See Johannes de Segovia, *Liber de magna auctoritate*, 10.42.10, op. cit., p. 496.

[28] See Madrigal Terrazas, S., «Lex Christi, lex Moysi, lex Machometi: Juan de Segovia y la polémica anti-islámica», in P. Rodríguez Panizo, S. Castro Sánchez, and F. Millán Romeral (eds.), *Umbra, imago, veritas: homenaje a los profesores Manuel Gesteira, Eusebio Gil y Antonio Vargas-Machuca,* Madrid, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2004, pp. 339-365; and idem, «Judios, moros y cristianos», op. cit. One finds the same trajectory in other medieval authors, notably Hugh of Saint Victor, *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith (De sacramentis)*, transl. R.J. Deferrari, Cambridge, MA, Medieval Academy of America, 1951, p. 149.

[29] See Johannes de Segovia, *Liber de magna auctoritate*, 10.42.10, op. cit., p. 496.

[30] Johannes von Segovia, *De gladio*, 3.71-74, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 60: «Nec diffidendum est Sarracenos ipsos audire velle ea, quae pacis sunt, quoniam, ut ad pacem intendant, lex praecipit eorum. Dicit namque: 'Non sitis contemptores, sed pacem diligite eamque vocate, quoniam vos digniores et potentiores Existitis'». See also Wolf, *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace*, op. cit., p. 179.

[31] Cited in *ibid*., p. 192.

[32] See, e.g. Johannes von Segovia, *De gladio,* 10, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 178-92; and Johannes de Segovia, *Liber de magna auctoritate*, 10.6.2, op. cit., p. 378.

toward Islam and the Qur'ān.[33] He knows and repeats the commonplace Christian view of the violent Muslim, but his plan for peaceful exchange nonetheless drives him to identify and deploy a peace-loving passage that strengthens his case. Intriguingly, Segovia does not use this text, as Petrus Alfonsi might have done, to emphasize the internal contradictions within the Qur'ān.[34] Rather, as Anne Marie Wolf has rightly argued, Segovia uses this text primarily to persuade Christians of the possibility for pacific interaction with Muslims and perhaps also to remind Muslims themselves of this aspect of their own scriptural tradition.[35]

As an integral part of pacific interaction,[36] Segovia envisions a theological exchange between Christians and Muslims that he occasionally calls *contraferentia* or sometimes *collatio*.[37] Here again he uses the Qur'ān to justify and support his vision for interreligious dialogue.[38] Toward this end, Segovia shows a notable fondness for Sura 29:46 — a passage he cites explicitly and verbatim in several different writings.[39] Translated from Ketton's Latin this

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[33] On this ambivalence, see Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān,* op. cit., p. 193. For examples of similar ambivalence in other medieval authors, see George-Tvrtković, *Christians, Muslims, and Mary*, op. cit., chap. 4.

[34] See Monnot, G., «Les citations coraniques dans le 'Dialogue' de Pierre Alfonse», in H. Gilles et al. (eds.), *Islam et chrétiens du Midi (XIIᵉ – XIVᵉ s.)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 18, Toulouse, E. Privat, 1983, p. 265: «Après avoir vilipendé la violence, il [i.e., Petrus Alfonsi] s'emploie par des citations coraniques précises, explicites et multipliées, à souligner que cette violence est opposée à la doctrine même du Coran. Il y a donc contradiction à l'interieur de l'Islam».

[35] See Wolf, *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace*, op. cit., pp. 192-93.

[36] In contrast to Cabanelas, Wolf, *ibid.*, pp. 176ff. argues against an «ordered process» in Segovia's «plan» for such interaction.

[37] On Segovia's occasional and inconsistent use of the term *contraferentia*, see *ibid.*, pp. 177-78. The term *collatio* appears, e.g., in Johannes de Segovia, *De gladio,* 3.76, op. cit., p. 60; and *ibid.*, 7.185, op. cit., p. 144.

[38] Segovia's plan for such dialogue seems to me to belong to the «culture of disputation» described by Alex J. Novikoff. See Novikoff, A.J., «Toward a Cultural History of Scholastic Disputation», *American Historical Review*, 117/2 (2012), pp. 331-64; and idem, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013. Novikoff provides a potential precedent for Segovia's use of the term *collatio* in the work of Peter the Chanter (d. 1197) who «urged fellow theologians to fashion their debates not into altercations (*altercationes*) but into more productive conversations (*collationes*)». See Novikoff, «Toward a Cultural History of Scholastic Disputation», op. cit., p. 349.

[39] See Johannes de Segovia, *Liber de magna auctoritate*, 10.6.5, op. cit., p. 379; *De gladio,* 3.79-81, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 60; and *Replica magne continencie* (= Letter to Germain; cited by U. Roth in Johannes de Segovia, *De gladio,* op. cit., vol. 1, p. 61, n. 29). U. Roth (*ibid.*) has

passage reads, «You [i.e. the Muslim] should speak with all men of laws [a common qur'ānic expression for Christians], except for the evil ones, and always debate with them using honest or sincere words».[40] Clearly Segovia saw in this verse qur'ānic approbation of his plan for interreligious dialogue. When citing Sura 29 in the LMA, Segovia acknowledges that many people (he may have Riccoldo da Montecroce in mind) wrongly think that the Qur'ān prohibits such dialogue.[41] Segovia's citation disproves this perception — at least to his own satisfaction — such that he must find other reasons, notably fear of being bested, for what he considers the Muslim reluctance to engage in theological disputation.[42] Once again, Segovia cites the Qur'ān to persuade both Christians and Muslims, and in that order.

Like his contemporaries, Segovia could use the Qur'ān to rehearse medieval anti-Islamic commonplaces, but he also invokes qur'ānic authority to buttress a distinctive approach to Christian-Muslim relations. Thus, while contemporaries such as Heymericus de Campo might use the Qur'ān to support conciliarist ecclesiology,[43] and others such as Nicholas of Cusa employed *pia interpretatio* to turn the Qur'ān into a source for Christian doctrine,[44] Segovia uses the Qur'ān, admittedly among other uses, to endorse his way of peace and doctrine. Common to all, of course — as Norman Daniel noted — is the assumption that qur'ānic authority can and should serve Christian ends.

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recognized the importance of this passage for Segovia. This is an appropriate place to note that this text is mistranslated in my «Juan de Segovia on the Superiority of Christians», op. cit., p. 155.

[40] «Omnes viri/homines legum preter malos honestis verbis disputando semper alloqui ...». Some authors understood *viri legum* as referring to Jews as well as Christians, see Daniel, *Islam and the West*, op. cit., p. 347.

[41] Johannes de Segovia, *Liber de magna auctoritate*, 10.6.5, op. cit., p. 379 («ut multi putant»). On Riccoldo's view, see Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, *Contra legem Sarracenorum*, c. 15, ed. J.M. Mérigoux, «L'ouvrage d'un frere precheur florentin en orient a la fin du XIIIᵉ siècle», *Fede e controversia nel '300 e '500: Memorie Domenicane,* 17 (1986), p. 133. See also Tolan, *Saracens*, op. cit., p. 253.

[42] See Johannes de Segovia, *Liber de magna auctoritate*, 10.6.5, op. cit., p. 379.

[43] See Hamann, F. «Der Koran als ekklesiologische Autorität bei Heymericus de Campo (†1460)», *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, 50 (2003), pp. 150-62; and idem, «Koran und Konziliarismus: Anmerkungen zum Verhältnis von Heymericus de Campo und Nikolaus von Kues», *Vivarium*, 43/2 (2005), pp. 275-291.

[44] On *pia intepretatio*, see Hagemann, L. *Der Kur'ān in Verständnis und Kritik bei Nikolas von Kues: Ein Beitrag zur Erhellung islamisch-christlicher Geschichte*, Frankfurter Theologische Studien 21, Frankfurt am Main, Josef Knecht, 1976, p. 72; and Biechler, «A New Face toward Islam: Nicholas of Cusa and John of Segovia», op. cit., pp. 199-200.

Although Segovia sometimes employs the language of elimination or extermination in relation to Islam,[45] his ultimate goal was to convert Muslims in order to save their souls.[46] Soteriology was thus fundamental to Segovia's project. While salvation for Segovia meant recognition of and assent to essential doctrines such as the Trinity and the Incarnation, it also involved acceptance of and engagement with practices — practices aimed at remedying sin and communicating grace.[47] In *Consideratio* 16 of the *De gladio*, Juan addresses Islam's lack of sacraments and the corresponding hopelessness resulting from this lack. As he puts it, «it is clear from their law that the Saracens have no sacrament the observing of which would allow them to rejoice as participants in divine grace...».[48]

Segovia's subsequent discussion of baptism, penance and the Eucharist — Christian sacraments that involve respectively remission of sins, absolution of sins committed after baptism, and spiritual nourishment as support against sin — contrasts the two religions by juxtaposing their sacred texts. Much is traditional here.[49] The contrast takes Christian practice as normative and

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[45] For this extermination language, see, e.g., Segovia's letter to Cusa (cited in *ibid.*, p. 191 n. 18).

[46] See Mann, «Juan de Segovia on the Superiority of Christians», op. cit., p. 152.

[47] On the growing importance of sin and salvation in Segovia's thought as a result of his qur'ānic studies, see Roth and Scotto, «Auf der Suche nach der Erbsünde im Koran: Die *Allegationes de peccatis primi parentis* des Juan de Segovia», op. cit., p. 202. On the particular focus of Spaniards on Islamic practices, see Bunes Ibarra, M.A. de, «La evolución de la polémica anti-islámica en los teólogos españoles del primer Renacimiento», in H. Santiago-Otero (ed.), *Diálogo filosófico-religioso entre el Cristianismo, Judaísmo e Islamismo durante la Edad Media en la Península Ibérica*, Brussels, Brepols, 1994, pp. 414-415. Daniel, *Islam and the West*, op. cit., p. 253, suggests that the Christians who cared about Muslim practices were those who had actual contact with Muslims. On Segovia's experience with Muslims, see Álvarez-Gómez, *Über die Bedingungen des Friedens im Glauben*, op. cit., pp. 15-16; and Wolf, *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace*, op. cit. For further background on medieval religious practices from an interreligious perspective, see Martínez Gázquez, J. and Tolan, J.V. (eds.), *Ritus infidelium: Miradas interconfesionales sobre las prácticas religiosas en la Edad Media*, Collection de la Casa de Velázquez 138, Madrid, Casa de Velázquez, 2013, especially the essay by Antoni Biosca i Bas (pp. 29-44).

[48] Johannes de Segovia, *De gladio,* 16.7-8, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 328: «[Sarraceni]..., quantum apparet ex lege eorum, nullum habent sacramentum, quod observantes Gloriari possint divinae gratiae fieri participes... ». Bobzin, H. «A Treasury of Heresies: Christian Polemics against the Koran», op. cit., p. 168, notes the conviction, present in Luther and more recent Christian commentators, that «Islam is barely anything other than ritual, but a ritual without mysteries and sacraments».

[49] On the traditional Christian polemic against Islam's pseudo-sacraments or lack of sacraments, see Daniel, *Islam and the West*, op. cit., pp. 220-254.

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assumes its superiority. Segovia thus cites the Qur'ān in this context in order to reveal Islam's inadequacies.

Of course, practice implies or perhaps provokes a theology. Not surprisingly, Segovia begins his examination of sacrament by invoking a classic medieval definition from Augustine by way of Peter Lombard: «a sacrament is a visible sign of an invisible grace».[50] When Segovia then cites Sura 4:43 and 5:6 verbatim, he does so to conclude that the Islamic ablutions described in these suras do not move beyond common external washing and thus do not rise to the level of sacrament.[51]

Relatedly, according to Segovia, the qur'ānic text demonstrates that Muhammed neither employed the proper form nor displayed a proper sacramental intent when he enjoined such washing. In contrast, Jesus' institution of baptism in John 3:5 («unless a man be born again of water... ») includes proper form, intent, and salvific purpose.[52]

Similarly, in the case of penance, Segovia contrasts John 20:23 (in a conciliarist or at least non-Petrine interpretation) with Sura 5:39-40 to show that while Muhammed only gave general advice about forgiveness in his law, Jesus established the specific authority to forgive sins.[53] Moreover, citing Sura 5:7-8 and Sura 9:102-105, Segovia criticizes the qur'ānic notion of confession as fundamentally different from and inferior to Christian confession, as exclusively internal not oral, and as altogether too easy.[54]

In turning to the Eucharist, that *sacrament of most singular grace*, Segovia notes that Islam has nothing similar and, in fact, he recalls from personal experience that Muslims mock Christians *for eating their God*.[55] Because the Eucharist is a sacrifice as well as a sacrament, Segovia here uses the Qur'ān, notably Sura 22:26-30, to discuss Muslim sacrifices. These he connects with the sacrifices and ceremonies of the Mosaic Law. Particularly noteworthy is Segovia's interest in Muslim practice around animal sacrifice. Citing a certain

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[50] Johannes de Segovia, *De gladio,* 16.28, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 330: «... quod sit invisibilis gratiae visible signum...». Cf. Peter Lombard, *The Sentences*, 4.1.2 transl. G. Silano. 4 vols., Mediaeval Sources in Translation 42-43, 45, 48, Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2007-2010, vol. 4, p. 3.

[51] Johannes von Segovia, *De gladio*, 16.30, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 330.

[52] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 328-30. See also Hugh of St. Victor, *On the Sacraments*, op. cit., pp. 288-293, 301.

[53] Johannes von Segovia, *De gladio*, 1648ff., op. cit., vol. 1, p. 332. For background, see also Wei, J.C., *Gratian the Theologian,* Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law 13, Washington, DC, Catholic University of America Press, 2016, p. 71 with n. 2.

[54] Johannes von Segovia, *De gladio*, 16, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 332-34.

[55] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 334-36.

gloss to Sura 22, he observes that Islam sometimes permits camel sacrifice even while the Mosaic Law (Lev 11:4) views camels as unclean. He writes that, «from the beginning of my qur'ānic studies and in all the intervening years, I could not find any Muslim or anyone knowledgeable about Islamic ceremonies who could tell me whether and how this camel sacrifice occurred».[56] That he even sought such an interlocutor is itself telling.

Segovia's treatment of these three salvific sacraments provides a fine illustration of his polemical purpose as well as his underlying soteriological concerns. He concludes his discussion by saying that Muslims have no hope of salvation in part because they haven't a single sacrament «by which they can be certain to receive forgiveness of their sins».[57] Although not exactly presented in dialogue form, Segovia's use of the Qur'ān in this discussion and his very juxtapositioning of qur'ānic and biblical texts may also be seen as rather unexpected examples of interreligious dialogue. In this case, the dialogue partners are simply texts, not people. As Averil Cameron has argued, commentary and exegesis are themselves forms of dialogue,[58] and Segovia's use of the Qur'ān in the *De gladio* may rightly be considered scriptural commentary or exegesis.

This reliance upon scripture, be it qur'ānic or biblical, should remind us that, despite his well-known confidence in natural reason's role, Segovia also

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[56] *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 336: «Sed utrum hoc et quomodo fiat, non affirmatur. Nusquam enim post coeptum studium huius libri nec a pluribus citra annis horum scriptori avisamentorum opportunum se obtulit de materia sectae huius conferre cum aliquo ex Sarracenis vel alio sciente caeremonias eorum».

[57] *Ibid*, vol. 1, p. 340: «Quocirca per supra exposita patet Sarracenis nullam esse spem beatitudinis obtinendae a deo... quia nullum sacramentum penes se habent, susceptione cuius certi esse possent remissionem habere peccatorum...». The focus on certitude of forgiveness and thus certitude of salvation presages 16ᵗʰ-century debates between Catholics and Protestants. See Schreiner, S., *Are You Alone Wise?: The Search for Certainty in the Early Modern Era*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011.

[58] Cameron, A. «Can Christians Do Dialogue?», *Studia Patristica*, 63 (2012), p. 107. For contemporary examples of a somewhat similar side-by-side presentation and examination of qur'ānic and biblical texts, see Lodahl, M., *Claiming Abraham: Reading the Bible and the Qur'ān Side by Side*, Grand Rapids, MI, Brazos, 2010; and Ipgrave, M. (ed.), *Scriptures in Dialogue: Christians and Muslims Studying the Bible and the Qur'ān Together*, London, Church House Publishing, 2004. Of course, the assumptions and attitudes of these modern efforts at dialogic reading differ significantly from those of Segovia and all other medievals.

recognized the value of scriptural authority in interreligious dialogue.[59] Of course, the twist that Segovia's use of the Qur'ān introduces is that the scriptural authority he invokes is the scripture of the other. Cusa similarly recognized the authority of the Qur'ān among Muslims. As he wrote to Segovia, «thus it seems that we should always strive to invoke this book [i.e., the Qur'ān], that has such authority for them, in ways favorable to us».[60] I'd suggest that in recognizing and invoking the authority of the Qur'ān, Segovia (and perhaps Cusa too) is simply following the rules of academic theological debate as he knew them. According to Thomas Aquinas, for example, «in such theological disputation one must most especially make use of authorities that one's interlocutors accept», particularly when one's aim is to remove doubt about the matter in question.[61] We can thus attribute a pedagogical purpose to Segovia's use of the Qur'ān. However, we might rightly ask just who his students should be.

In the *Summa contra Gentiles* — a work Segovia sometimes drew upon but apparently did not own — Aquinas asserts that when presenting supra-

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[59] On reason in Segovia, see Biechler, «A New Face toward Islam: Nicholas of Cusa and John of Segovia», op. cit., p. 193; Sanz Santacruz, «Juan de Segovia y Nicolás de Cusa frente al Islam: su comprensión intelectualista de la fe cristiana», op. cit., pp. 191-93; and Álvarez-Gómez, *Über die Bedingungen des Friedens im Glauben,* op. cit., pp. 12-13. On the use of scripture in medieval Christian-Muslim debate, see Griffith, S., «Arguing from Scripture: The Bible in the Christian-Muslim Encounter in the Middle Ages», in Th.J. Heffernan and Th.E. Burman (eds.), *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Leiden, Brill, 2005, pp. 29-58, especially, p. 45, where Griffith writes that «...in addition to claiming the authority of the Bible for the positions they espouse, some Christian writers also laid claim to the authority of the Qur'ān...». On Aquinas's exclusive reliance on natural reasoning in interreligious dialogue, see Valkenberg, «Polemics, Apologetics, and Dialogue as Forms of Interreligious Communication between Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Middle Ages», op. cit., pp. 381-82.

[60] Nicolaus de Cusa, *De pace fidei cum epistula ad Ioannem de Segobia*, op. Cit., p. 99: «Unde videtur quod semper ad hoc conandum sit quod liber iste, qui apud eos est in auctoritate, pro nobis allegetur».

[61] Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones de quolibet 4.9. a.3*, ed. Fratres praedicatorum, in Thomas Aquinas, *Opera omnia,* vol. 25/2, Roma, Commissio Leonina, 1996, p. 339: «...in tali disputatione theologica maxime utendum est auctoritatibus, quas recipiunt illi cum quibus disputatur...». On this passage, see Jordan, M. D. *Teaching Bodies: Moral Formation in the Summa of Thomas Aquinas*, New York, Fordham University Press, 2017, pp. 76-77. In this text, Aquinas gives the example of using the Old Testament when debating with Jews. See also Valkenberg, «Polemics, Apologetics, and Dialogue as Forms of Interreligious Communication between Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Middle Ages», op. cit., p. 378.

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rational truths one might adduce certain arguments that are not intended to convince one's adversaries but rather «to exercise and console the faithful».[62] Although the specific context may differ, Segovia's pedagogical purpose clearly shares this aim and audience. That is, in his use of the Qur'ān, Segovia seeks above all to instruct Christians and to prepare them for disputational engagement with Muslims. Mark Jordan's comment on the passage from Aquinas is relevant here: «Resolving doubts by disputation not only strengthens conviction, it stretches memory and builds capacity for recognizing truth across topics and language… Disputation through authorities must also count as consoling meditation on divine truth…».[63] Segovia's use of the Qur'ān serves both to stretch and console his co-religionists. Whether his invocation and appli-cation of qur'ānic authority should prove convincing to Muslims is obviously a different matter, even assuming that Juan thought it would be convincing to them. Of course, defining the self requires encounter with the «other».[64]

According to David Bertaina, in his recent discussion of Christians and the Qur'ān, «Christians have appropriated qur'ānic authority for a variety of usages including apologetics, polemics, translation, theological reflection, evangelization, and academic purposes».[65] Given his aim, Bertaina understandably presents these as discrete usages or approaches. Interestingly, however, Segovia's engagement with the Qur'ān — even within a single text, the *De gladio* — includes almost all of these strategies, though admittedly not all to the same extent. Like an apologist, he «cites the Qur'ān as an authority

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[62] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra gentiles 1.9*, ed. Fratres praedicatorum, in Thomas Aquinas, *Opera omnia*, vol. 13, Roma, Typis Riccardi Garroni, 1918, p. 22: «Sunt tamen ad huiusmodi veritatem manifestandam rationes aliquae verisimiles inducendae, ad fidelium quidem exercitium et solatium, non autem ad adversarios convincendos». On Segovia's use of this *Summa*, see Scotto, «Inseguire l'Islām tra memoria e teologia spigolature su Juan de Segovia intorno al 1427», op. cit., pp 117-18. This work is not included in Segovia's library; see Hernández Montes, B., *Biblioteca de Juan de Segovia: Edición y comentario de su escritura de donación*, Bibliotheca theologica hispana. Serie 2a, Textos 3, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Francisco Suárez, 1984.

[63] Jordan, M. D., *Teaching Bodies: Moral Formation in the Summa of Thomas Aquinas*, op. cit., pp. 87-88.

[64] See Valkenberg, «Polemics, Apologetics, and Dialogue as Forms of Interreligious Communication between Jews, Christians and Muslims in the Middle Ages», op. cit., p. 383: «……the formation of the self requires the presence of the others». Wolf, *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace*, op. cit., pp. 206-207, argues that Segovia was genuinely interested in conversion and not merely in the fortification of Christians' confidence or pride.

[65] Bertaina, «Christians and the Qur'ān», op. cit., p. 279.

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to demonstrate that Christian faith and practice agree with Qur'ānic interpretation».[66] As we have seen, and like a polemicist, Segovia claims that «the Qur'ān is flawed» in various ways.[67] In keeping with the work of other Christian translators, Segovia produces a tri-lingual translation «in order to understand the Qur'ān properly and to refute its content».[68] His is certainly «an attempt to be as accurate as possible in its renderings of lexical and linguistic meanings of the Arabic».[69] Segovia's use of the Qur'ān also involves theological reflection — on the nature of religious practices for example. But unlike the modern theological investigation Bertaina refers to, Segovia's theological investigation of the Qur'ān does not «seek to understand the text fully on its own terms».[70] Although famously skeptical about the efficacy of missions,[71] Segovia envisions an intellectual mission or mission of intellectuals ultimately aimed at learned Muslims, and his use of the Qur'ān, notably the frequent juxtaposition of qur'ānic and biblical texts, serves as preparation for that mission. As regards academic purpose, one cannot attribute to Segovia the supposed academic objectivity of subsequent centuries, but one can see how his criticism of the Qur'ān's inconsistencies and his desire for philological accuracy could contribute to the so-called «higher criticism» of sacred texts.[72]

In sum, Juan de Segovia's use of the Qur'ān suggests or exemplifies each of Bertaina's several strategies for Christian engagement with the Qur'ān. Not surprisingly, just as he read the Qur'ān in various ways, Segovia also used or cited the Qur'ān in various ways, for various ends and even, at least potentially, for various audiences. We end, then, with three summary conclusions. First, Segovia saw in the Qur'ān some justification for his distinctive approach to Muslim-Christian relations, and he cites the pertinent qur'ānic passages to support his position. Second, as he became increasingly concerned with sin and soteriology in connection with Islam, Segovia used a comparison of qur'ānic and biblical texts about practices or sacraments to underscore

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[66] *Ibid.*, p. 283. See the title of Johannes von Segovia, *De gladio*, 7, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 130: «Septima consideratio de spe multitudinis convertendae Sarracenorum eorum lege plurimas, quae inseruntur, affirmante veritates catholicae fidei, quantum vero ad mores virtutes quam plurimas in evangelio contentas persuadente».

[67] Bertaina, «Christians and the Qur'ān», op. cit., p. 283.

[68] *Ibid.* See Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān*, op. cit., pp. 178-197. Interestingly, Bertaina does not include Segovia's work is his list of Christian translations, perhaps because the text has not survived.

[69] Bertaina, «Christians and the Qur'ān», op. cit., p. 283.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 284. This is not to deny that Segovia occasionally showed significant interest in, and appreciation for, *Muslim* interpretation of the Qur'ān.

[71] See, e.g., Wolf, *Juan de Segovia and the Fight for Peace*, op. cit., pp. 153-54.

[72] See Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān,* op. cit., p. 195; and Lazarus-Yafeh, H., *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, 1992.

what he perceived to be Islam's inadequacy around forgiveness of sins. Third, Segovia recognized the importance of Scriptural authority as well as reason in interreligious dialogue. His invocation of qur'ānic authority was intended at least as much to educate and prepare Christians for that dialogue as it was to persuade possible Muslim dialogue partners.

The title of a key source for this brief paper, *De gladio*, may rightly remind some (especially those who cannot quote Ephesians 6:17 or Hebrews 4:12 from memory) that «the pen can be mightier than the sword».[73] In keeping with this adage and its biblical precedents, Juan de Segovia's varied use of the Qur'ān illustrates how texts, above all sacred texts, can indeed be weaponized, even for peaceful purposes.

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[73] This phrase may be traced to Edward Bulwer-Lytton's 1839 play *Richelieu, Or the Conspiracy*, but its roots lie even earlier. See https://www.phrases.org.uk/meanings/the-pen-is-mightier-than-the-sword.html.