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Language of Religion –
Language of the People

Medieval Judaism, Christianity and Islam

unter Mitarbeit von Susanne Röhl

Sonderdruck

München 2006
Wilhelm Fink Verlag
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MAYTE PENELAS

Linguistic Islamization of the ‘Mozarabs’ as attested in
a late ninth-century chronicle

The distance between the language in which the religious texts of a certain community were written and the language spoken and understood by the uneducated people entailed translations of the sacred language into the vernacular to make these texts available to everyone. In the particular case of al-Andalus, the Arabization of the Christians resulted in the translation of a number of texts important for this community into a language so far from Latin as Arabic.\footnote{As David Wasserstein has pointed out, translations from Latin into Arabic in al-Andalus “answer some sort of need in their intended audience”, i.e. the Christians, see Wasserstein, David: The Language Situation in al-Andalus, in: Jones, Alan/ Htchcock, Richard (eds.): Studies on the Muwashsh and the Kharja (Proceedings of the Exeter International Colloquium), Reading 1991, pp.1–15; p.6 (repe. in: Fisch, Manel/Sawer, Julio [eds.]: The Formation of al-Andalus. Part 2: Language, Religion, Culture and the Sciences, Aldershot 1998, pp.3–17).}

Several testimonies indicate an important degree of arabization and cultural Islamization undergone by the Christians of al-Andalus in the late 9th century, and especially from the early 10th century onwards. Albarus de Cordova (d. 861) gives us a good testimony to this process in the well-known passage of the Indiculus luminosus in which he talks about the practice of circumcision among Christians\footnote{This practice is also attested in the Facta Christiani Garantia, in: Strachet, Francisco Javier: Historia de los moárabes de España, Madrid 1997–1993, p. 699.} ob improprentiam ignominiam deuittandam (in order to avoid the ignominy

of being insulted), and he complains about the attraction the young Christians felt towards the Arabic language. He even states that among the Christians of al-Andalus it was easier to find someone who knew the Arabic merical rules than someone who could write a letter in Latin correctly.\footnote{Indicios luminosus, 35, in: Gil, Joan (ed.): Corpus Scriptorum Mozarabicoeum, Madrid 1973, pp. 313ff.}

Be this statement true or, as it seems, a “declaratory exaggeration”, as Ramón Menéndez Pidal puts it,\footnote{Menéndez Pidal, Ramón: El idioma español en sus priméres tiempos, Buenos Aires 1942, p. 56.} the fact remains that in al-Andalus Arabic ended up by prevailing, and, if Christians such as Albarus of Cordova resisted the spread of Arabic among them, others made open defence of its use, as it was the language understood by common people. Thus, in the introduction preceding the three extant Arabic translations of the Psalms made in al-Andalus,\footnote{As we shall immediately see, three different Arabic translations of the Psalms survive: those of the Vatican Library, the British Library and the Ambrosian Library. All three of them are preceded by the same introduction in prose, with slight differences.} translation is defended on Saint Paul’s authority. In the first Epistle to the Corinthians (ch. 14) the apostle asserts that only the person who is understanded is benefitted to
the Church; on the contrary, the person whose words are incomprehensible is like a barbarian to the others. In short, relying on St. Paul’s words, the champion of the Arabic translation of the Psalter claims that people can obtain spiritual good (al-fa‘īl id al-rahīmīyya) from prayers and be of benefit to the community only if their words are comprehensible and they themselves understand what they are reciting, and the only way to achieve that is by using their own tongue.⁶

Therefore, in the Iberian Peninsula the acculturation of the Christians under Muslim rule meant their progressive adoption of Arabic, and the consequent translation into this language of a number of texts regarded as important for them, mainly but not exclusively religious ones. Moreover, these translations show us that this arabizatio was accompanied by an islamization of their language, through the assimilation of Islamic words and formulae. This fact has already been demonstrated by Hanna Kassis and Marie-Thérèse Urvoix – among others – in some articles dealing with the production of the Andalusi Christians: specifically, the Arabic canons of the Church in al-Andalus preserved at the Library of El Escorial (ms. 1623); the three Arabic translations of the Psalms extant at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Arab. 5), the Biblioteca Ambrosiana of Milan (codex & 120 sup.) and the British Library (Add. 9060); and the Arabic translations of the Gospels preserved at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek of Munich (Arab. 238) and the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid (ms. 4971). To a certain extent all of them show the degree of Islamic influence on the language of the Mozarabs.⁷ Along with their arabization, Urvoix, who has edited and studied in depth the Milan translation of the Psalms, refers to “une certaine islamisation de leur religion.”⁸ Kassis for his part has analysed the translations of the Bible⁹ and the Arabic collection of canon law,¹⁰ and he says with regard to the latter: “The

¹⁰ KASSIS: Arabization and Islamization (n.6).
¹² On this text, see also DEBENROUX, Harroig: Notes critiques sur les manuscris arabes de la Bibliothèque

first striking feature of the codex is the degree of arabization and islamization undergone by the Christian community, not only among the laity [...] but more particularly among the educated clergy.”¹²

This paper is intended to add a further example: the text known as Kitāb Harūshiyah, which is the only extant non-biblical translation from al-Andalus.¹³ As a first approach to the linguistic islamization of the K. Harūshiyah, I will show here that many of the features underlined by Kassis and Urvoix are also found in this text.

A copy of the K. Harūshiyah dating from the 13th or 14th century is preserved at Columbia University of New York (X, 893.712 H), but the original was completed in al-Andalus at the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th. The Columbia manuscript contains a world history from the Creation up to the Arab conquest of the Iberian Peninsula,¹⁴ based mainly but not exclusively on the Historiae aduersus pagannem by the 5th-century presbyter Orosius. At the request of his master Saint Augustine, Orosius wrote a world history with the explicit aim of demonstrating that pre-Christian times were much worse than those following Christ’s birth, and that divine providence was behind every historical event. From the contents of the Arabic text it is evident that one of the translators, at least, was a Christian,¹⁵ as Christians were intended the audience on the one hand; he rendered more or less accurately Orosius’ comments in defence of Christianity;¹⁶ on

¹⁰ KASSIS: Arabization and Islamization (n.6).
¹¹ KASSIS, Hanna: Arabic-speaking Christians in al-Andalus in an Age of Transition (Fifth/Eleventh Century until A.H. 478/AD. 1085), Al-Qasr 15 (1994), pp. 401–422. Hanna Kassis, who is preparing an edition of the canons in Arabic, thinks that this collection, compiled in 1049 under the title Kitāb al-Qābīn al-muṣabbak (Book of the Holy Canon), is not a translation of the Latin Hispanica Systematica but an independent Arabic work, parallel to it, ibid., pp. 413f. On this text, see also DEBENROUX, Harroig: Notes critiques sur les manuscris arabes de la Bibliothèque

¹³ KASSIS, Hanna: Arabische sprechende Christen (n.11), p. 415. Kassis demonstrates his statement by analysing the language and the structure of this document, where each entry is ordered according to the Judaeo litterature. As for the language, Kassis points out that a “number of Latin words that were incorporated into the Arabic vocabulary of the Mozarabs […] are entirely ecclesiastical and liturgical in nature”, without an equivalent in Arabic, ibid., pp. 416f.; on the transliterated words, see also ARU-HADAR: A Document of Cultural Symbolism (n.11), p. 229. But, besides these transliterated terms from Latin, he shows that the Christian jurist used other Islamic Arabic words, as we shall see.
¹⁴ For information on this text beyond that given in this paper, see the introduction to the edition: Kitāb Harūshiyah (= Harūshiyah: Traducción árabe de las Historiae adversus pagannem de Orosio), ed. by MAYTE PENELAS, Madrid 2001 (Fuentes Árabes-Hispánicas 26).
¹⁵ The Arabic manuscript finishes with the reign of the emperor Valens (c. 364–378) but internal and external testimonies show that the Arabic text went on to narrate the imperial history until Henry II (c. 810–842), and added the history of the Gothic rule in Hispania up to the last Visigothic king, Roderic, that is until the arrival of the Arabs in 711.
¹⁶ In another article I have pointed out that there is evidence suggesting that Hafs b. Albar al-Qātīn, known for being the author of the Arabic Psalms preserved at the Ambrosian Library, is also the translator of Orosius’ book, possibly in collaboration with Q̄asim b. Aḥbāb. cf. PENELAS, Mayte: A Possible Author of the Arabic Translation of Orosius’ Historian, in: Al-MAŠI, Islam and the Mediterranean 13 (2001), pp. 113–135.
it is particularly with the linguistic islamization of the K. Hurúbihšíyáḥ that this paper is concerned, with the Islamic terms and formulae used by the late-9th-century Andalusi Christian author. And the fact is that the same Islamic words and expressions are found in the rest of the Arabic production of the Mozarabs, from which we can infer that they adopted them and used them in their own way.

Let us examine first the texts studied by Kassis. If with respect to the Arabcanons of the Church in al-Andalus he stressed "the degree of arabization and islamization undergone by the Christian community", with regard to the translations of the Psalms of the Vatican and the British Library Kassis says: "Each demonstrates in its own way the degree of Islamic influence on the translators." As for the remaining copies of the Gospels, a distinction must be made between the translations deriving from that completed in 946 by Ishāq b. Bilashku of Córdova, a copy of which survives at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek of Munich, and others whose main representative would be the translation of the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. The degree of linguistic islamization is much higher in the translations that derive from Ishāq’s, which fact leads Kassis to conclude: "The translation by Ibn Bilashku portrays a society very much at home in its Muslim environment, fully arabized and not uncomfortable with being islamized. On the other hand, the Madrid manuscript portrays an Arabic-speaking Christian community that appears to have defined its arabization to exclude or minimize its islamization."27

Most of the words and formulae underlined by Kassis in the two aforementioned articles are also found in the K. Hurúbihšíyáḥ. The basmala – the introductory Islamic formula bi-‘in Allah al-Rahmán al-Rahîm ("in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful") – is used both in the Munich translation of the Gospels26 and in the Arabic canons of El Escorial.28 In the K. Hurúbihšíyáḥ, after the index of constants, the basmala serves to open the translation itself, followed by a formula of seeking assistance from God, ‘inna ká yâ rabbi ("your help, O God"), as is also found in the manuscript of the Vatican Library.29 The formula ‘azza was-sjāla ("Mighty and Exalted"), which follows the mention of God, is used twice in the K. Hurúbihšíyáḥ in this order, or the other way round,

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26 KASSIS: Arabization and Islamization (n. 6), p. 152.
27 Ibid., p. 155.
28 Ibid., p. 154. The translation of Madrid uses the Christian formula bi-‘in al-dhul ‘ulu’l-miṣrāb (In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit), the same as other introduc-
tions to the Arabic Psalms of London and Milan; Le Pautier mozarabe (n 6, 1) p. 1; KASSIS: Arabi-
zation and Islamization (n. 6), p. 152.
29 SIMONET: Historia de los mozárabes (n. 2), p. 728; ARB: Hadra. A Document of Cultural Sym-
biosis (n. 11), p. 227; KASSIS: Arabic-speaking Christians (n. 11), p. 418; KÖNIGSVELD, P. SJ: van
 Christian Arabic Literature from Medieval Spain. An Attempt at Periodization, in: Christian
Arabic Apologetics during the Al-andalus Period (750–1250), ed. by Samir Khalil Samir/Jürgen S.
30 HUR, p. 17.
far less usual, *jalla wa-s-aaza*. This formula is also found in the collection of canon law of the Church in al-Andalus. In the Arabic canons the term *mushaf*, pl. *masabih* (‘volume, ‘book’), designates each of the ten books into which the text is divided, as well as the Gospels and books in general. In the translation of Ishaq each Gospel is referred to as mushaf. This term usually refers to the Quran, the Book par excellence. For ‘book’ the most frequent word in the K. Hurūshiyūb is *kitab* and its plural *kutub*, which may refer to both normal and special books. In addition to this neutral term the translator employs *mushaf*; pl. *masabih* as well as *sff*; pl. *asfir*, a word that normally designates a holy book, especially for the Jews. And when he employs these terms it seems that he does so in reference to books that are in some way special. Thus, the translator uses them to denote books that, in Orosius’ words, were composed “with the solicitude and the zeal of ancestors” (*matriorum cura studiose*). *Mushaf* applies to books with religious or legal significance such as the Book of the Maccabees, or the Book of Wisdom (*Mushaf al-tin*) by Jesus son of Sirach. *Sff*, or its plural *asfir*, refers not only to the Pentateuch or to books of the Old Testament, e.g. the Book of the Maccabees again, but also to books in a way special, such as the Sibylline Books (*asfir Shabila*), the Christian apologetics by the 2nd-century philosopher Justin Martyr, or even Orosius’ book and the translation itself.

Another Islamic feature of the Mozarabic writings is the use of Yahyā for John instead of the Christian form Yūhanna, as is attested in the Arabic canons, the Munich manuscript, and the K. Hurūshiyūb. Thus, John the Evangelist is called Yahyā b. Sabiṭiya l-bauwari, that is ‘John son of Zebedee, the disciple’. The term *bauwari* is also employed in Ishaq’s translation of the Gospels for disciples. The use of this word, instead of *rashī*, pl. *rasul*, is noteworthy as it is the term employed in the Quran in the plural, *hanāfiyya*, to refer to Jesus’ disciples (3,52; 5,116; 61,14).

Another word largely employed in the writings of the Mozarabs to designate the Book of Psalms is *zabr*, a term used in the Quran in reference to a scripture given by God to David (4,163; 17,55). Kasis points out that in the collection of canon law “the Qur’anic term *zabr* is often used instead of *mazmar*.” *Zabr* is also the word employed in the K. Hurūshiyūb to refer to the Psalter, whereas each Psalm is rendered as *mazmar*.

*Imān*, pl. *‘ima‘ma*, denotes a person who is at the head of a group, whose example is followed, and, particularly in the mosque, the person who leads the prayer. In the Arabic canons this term is employed with the meaning of ‘priest’. Similarly, in the K. Hurūshiyūb *imānā‘ima‘ma* stands for someone with religious authority, whereas the only time the word *imāna‘* – that is, the rank of *imāna‘* – is used, it renders the Latin *sacerdotium*.

The K. Hurūshiyūb also has some features in common with the Arabic translation of the Psalms in verse, a 17th-century copy of which is currently preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana of Milan. This manuscript contains an introduction and a translation of the Psalms both in verse, compiled by Ḥafṣ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Qurṭubi in Cordova in 889. Both introduction and translation in verse are preceded by an introduction in prose by an unknown author, which is also included in the other two extant Arabic translations of the Psalms, those of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana and the British Library. As said before, the Islamic influence on the vocabulary of the Milan manuscript has been analysed by its editor M. T. Urvoy in an independent article. Urvoy provides several examples classifying the vocabulary under three sections: juridical vocabulary, cultural concepts and expressions, and divine names.

With regard to the rest section, Urvoy points out that in the prose introduction to the Arabic translations of the Psalter, ethical vocabulary is classified in accordance with the criteria of *fiqḥ* or Islamic jurisprudence, and adjoins a paragraph in which virtues and vices are qualified according to al-ʿakhkām al-ḥaḍrami, i.e. the five qualifications into which religious law classifies every human act: obligatory, recommended, licit/indifferent, reprehensible and forbidden.

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32: *Hur.* II, par. 1 (jella wa-s-saaza) and 4 (jella wa-s-saalla).
33: *Kassia;* Arabic-speaking Christians (n. 11), p. 418.
36: It is used, e.g., to refer to the Pentateuch (Kitab al-Tawhid) and books of the Old Testament; see, e.g., *Hur.* I, par. 1, 117-118; 417.
38: *Hur.* II, 54; 176, 69.
39: E.g., *Hur.* I, 2; 102; II, 76; 115; III, 114.
41: *Hur.* VII, 114.
43: *Kassia;* Arabic-speaking Christians (n. 11), p. 418; *Kassia;* Arabization and Islamization (n. 6), p. 354.
44: *Hur.* VII, 96, 103.
45: *Kassia;* Arabization and Islamization (n. 6), p. 154.
48: *Hur.* I, 349, 365. In the Arabic Psalms of London and Milan, Psalter is referred to as *zabr* and each Psalm as *mazmar*; cf. Le Pauchard: Mozarabe (n. 6, 3), “the *sibur* contains one hundred and fifty *mazmar* (Vatican: sivulla).” See also Kassia: Arabization and Islamization (n. 6), p. 153.
49: *Kassia;* Arabizing Christians (n. 11), p. 418.
52: Urvoy: Influence islamique (n. 9), pp. 510f; Le Pauchard: Mozarabe (n. 6, 11).
Urvoy notes this "juridisation de l'éthique" in the verse translation of Ḥaṣf al-Qūṣi, particularly in the frequent use he makes of the word fādī to render the Latin in praeceps, mandatum or lex.54 In the K. Harūshiyūḥ this term is also found with the usual albeit not exclusive meaning of 'religious duty', always denoting an order or decree issued by someone with authority.55 For instance, following Isidore of Seville’s Chronica, the compiler reports that the founder of Athens, Cecrops, whose name is rendered as Ġūrīb – the same form as that for Cyrus – was the first to sacrifice a bull as an offering to Jupiter, as well as to order his subjects to worship this god. He uses the verb fārāda (he ordered) to render the Latin praeceps.56 Jupiter is referred to as Yāḥish in the Arabic translation. Two brief comments on this rendering must be made: first, the form Yāḥish is clearly a transliteration of Jupiter’s Latin name in the genitive case, Яivis; secondly, the translator explains that "Yāḥish is a god (wāḥan) by the name of the shining (al-durri) Mūsīḥari, al-Mūsīḥari being the Arabic name for the planet Jupiter. He does the same thing every time he mentions both this god and Saturn – the planet named after this god is called Zobol in Arabic –, possibly out of consideration for an audience that would not recognize the supreme god of the Romans or his father by their Latin names. Both are given the epithet al-durri (‘shining’), a frequent epithet for self-luminous stars, but at times also used for planets.57

The next section according to Urvoy’s division concerns Islamic cultural formulas and concepts. Ḥaṣf al-Qūṣi employs the usual formula for thanking God wa’l-bānd bi-Liḥā, literally ‘praise be to God’, to close the poems in jātū metre (i.e. sūrās) preceding his Arabic translation of the Psalms.58 In the K. Harūshiyūḥ this formula closes the first, second and third Books (jātū, jātū, jātū, lit. ‘part’).59

One of the most frequent words used by Ḥaṣf to translate lex is kīyē, besides others such as sharī’a and nāmīs,60 the Arabic transliteration of the Greek nomos.61 These three terms are also found in the K. Harūshiyūḥ with the meaning of ‘law’. It is noteworthy that the word nāmīs, plural of nāmīs, refers here to a legal sys-

tem of Ancient Greece or of a related people, and on just one occasion of another people, specifically the Romans.62 Sharḥi’s or its plural sharḥi’t, is employed to render ‘religious law’ or simply ‘religion’. For instance, in conjunction with al-kīyē it is once used to render ‘Moses’ law’,63 and the Latin nera religio is rendered as al-sharḥ al-adīda (‘the true religion’),64 namely Christianity for both Orosius and the translator. However, this word is not exclusively applied to Christianity or a monotheistic religion, but also to paganism.65 Thus, when the translator renders panòstekos as d’ānatūm,66 sharrūt i-ḥitn, he is obviously referring to the religious laws of the Romans.67

Somn, pl. nānūn, denotes a rule or custom derived from tradition, and in excellence from the Prophet Muhammad’s or his followers’ way of behaving. In the K. Harūshiyūḥ this term is also used with the meaning of ‘law’ or ‘customary practice’. It is obviously with this sense that it is employed along with kīyē in the next instance. The K. Harūshiyūḥ reports that Mārkūsh with his brother Ħarīlīyūḥ – that is, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Verus and Lucius Aurelius – were the first to levy tributes in accordance with the law (al-sunnā wa-l-kīyē).68 It seems that the rightness of rulers in collecting taxes was a matter of special concern to the translator, as the Latin original does not mention taxes at all: bi primi tēmpūs lēgēdum aevō iure tūtati sunt (‘they were the first to watch over the Republic with equal authority’), says Orosius.69

Just as in the translation of the Psalms by Ḥaṣf al-Qūṣi,70 al-bodē is used with the meaning of ‘right path’ in the K. Harūshiyūḥ. For instance, Orosius reports that Titus destroyed the Temple of Jerusalem because, being exhausted and empty (effatum ac vacuum), it could not be of usefulness in a time when the Church of God was generating everywhere.71 But, according to the Arabic rendering, in Titus’ times the religion of Christ was not in its incipient phase but had already spread throughout the world so that God was worshipped aloud al būdū, with the exception of the Temple of Jerusalem, where it was done ‘alā al-dālīl,72 the right way’ as opposed to the ‘wrong way’.

Therefore, Titus – the Arabic text goes on – set fire to the temple: aṭ-araḥna Ṭīnsh al-mihrīb wa-l-bayt, says the K. Harūshiyūḥ, thus rendering the original templum in Hieropolys incendit. What is meant by the words al-mihrīb wa-

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54 Urvoy: Influence islamique (n. 9), p. 511.
55 Her. I, 185; II, 46; IV, 55; VII, 19.
56 Ibid. Chron. (n. 20), 50; Her. I, 212. Similarly, this word denotes an imposition o’ worship in Her. I, 171; and VII, 40.
57 Her. I, 175.249.261; III, 80; IV, 9.
58 Thus, in the eschatological work by al-Quṣayrāt (d. 1272–73), we are told that the laqat al-durri [shining star] of Quraysh 4a.35 is al-Zaariya (Venus) and, further on, al-Muṣāhir (al-Him; l-šikm al-Quraš, Cairo 1987, XII, p. 258 and p. 263).
59 Le Peutier morazaneh (n. 6), p. 20. As for the introduction in prose, it is closed by the same formula in a larger form al-bānd bi-Liḥā tabb al-ṣalawīn (praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds). See Le Peutier morazaneh (n. 6), p. 13; Urvoy: Influence islamique (n. 9), p. 512.
61 Urvoy: Influence islamique (n. 9), p. 513.
63 Her. I, 198; II, 79; V, 76; VI, 23.
64 Her. I, 218 (cf. Ibid. Chron. (n. 20), 55).
66 For different uses of the term sharḥi’t, see Her. I, 226.393; II, 814.55; V, 9; VII, 29.223.
67 On this word, see supra.
70 Oros. Hist. VII, 15.1. This is not the only instance in which the translator says that a certain ruler ‘levied tribute freely’ (zadda al-maghāb) where Orosius only mentions the ruler’s moderation (see, e.g., Oros. Hist. VII, 8.8; Her. VII, 148).
71 See Urvoy: Influence islamique (n. 9), p. 513.
73 Her. VII, 76.
In this passage, the Temple of Jerusalem has hitherto been called al-bayt, so its meaning seems to be clear. As for the term miṣṣab in the mosque, it denotes the niche indicating the direction of prayer, but both in the K. Harrīshiyah and in the Arabic Psalms it is used to translate the Latin words templum and ara.” 84 So in this instance it may refer to an altar, something else inside the temple. In the next example it is evident that the word miṣṣab stands for something that is in the temple, which is again referred to as bayt. Orosius reports that after his victory against the Romans, Pyrrhus, king of Epirus (c. 318–272 B.C.), engraved an inscription in the temple of Jupiter bemoaning the heavy losses in his army 85 – hence the expression a Pyrrhic victory. The Arabic translator renders this account as follows:

He built a miṣṣab in the temple (bayt) of the god Yīḇḥā, who is the shining Māshāhīr (on this, see supra), and wrote in the threshold of its door [...] 86

However, in other cases the temple is referred to as miṣṣab, pl. māḥārīb. Thus, ‘the Temple of Asclepius’ is rendered once as bayt and once as miṣṣab. 87 With this sense, māḥārīb is also used in conjunction with maqāṣir, plural of maqāṣir, 88 which in the mosque denotes a compartment for the ruler. For ara or altar the term more often used in the K. Harrīshiyah is maḥdbah, i.e. the place where sacrifices are made. For instance, ‘Ba'al’s altars’ built by Manasses are referred to as maḥdbah al-waṭan Banī. 89 Mīḥrajb is also used with this sense. Thus, the oath against the Romans made by Hannibal as a child aste ara is rendered as wa-kān qad balasfa [...] ‘indā miṣṣab aṭhānī-bīn (‘he had sworn [... at the miṣṣab of their gods’). 90 These two terms, mīḥrajb and maḥdbah, are also found in the Arabic canons with the same meaning. 91

Urvoy underlines the use of the word nacala or a derivative to designate revelation in the translation of the Psalms by Hafs. 92 For revelation, the K. Harrīshiyah uses the word in the IV form – nacalā, insalā, etc. – as well as the term rabīn, 93 both employed in the Quran. 94 The third section of Urvoy’s article deals with divine names. She points out that Hafs al-Qāṭī shows, to name or qualify God, the epithets rāḥīm and rabīn, which make reference to His Mercy, as well as others that refer to His power, such as jāhīr, qādir, qāhīr or muṭqadīr, 95 all of which belong to the list of al-asma′ al-husnā, i.e. the most beautiful names of God. 96

In the K. Harrīshiyah only al-rāḥīm, as a part of the basmala (see supra), is employed in reference to God. Al-rāḥim is also used to qualify Octavian Augustus and Antoninus Pius (al-muṣallaq bil-rāḥim, ‘nicknamed Pius’). 97 Other attributes apply to others but God: al-jabbār qualifies Nimrod, Nebuchadnezzar and Hercules, with the sense of ‘giant’ or ‘strong and powerful man’, 98 besides al-rāḥim. Octavian Augustus is given the epithets al-qaṣī – another divine attribute indicating mightiness 99 – al-muṭqadīr. 100 In this latter paragraph are several more examples that demonstrate that the translator was doubtless familiar with the Islamic terminology concerning God’s attributes: al-khāliq, al-kārim and al-muṣaliblī qualify Him as creator and master of all things; God is described as bayt (living) and al-dīn (omniscient); other attributes such as qādir and asdī make reference to His quality of being eternal. 101

Conclusion

Several examples have been offered that show that the Christians of al-Andalus assimilated cultural concepts and incorporated many Islamic words and expressions into their language. 102 In The Foreign Vocabulary of the Quran (Baroda 1938) and other works, Arthur Jeffery has studied the foreign origin of many Quranic words. Jeffery argues that many of them are non-Arabic in origin (Syriac, Aramaic, Hebrew, Ethiopic); others are genuinely Arabic but in the Quran they take a meaning different from the original under the influence of Judaism and Christianity. 103 Be that as it may, Christians in al-Andalus learned certain religious vocabulary through Arabic and with Islamic connotations. They adopted words and

85 Urvoy: Influence islamique (n. 9), pp. 514f.
87 Har., VII, 113.
88 See e.g. Har., I, 169, i, 39, III, 99.
90 Har., VI, pass. 2, pp. 302, ian line but one.
91 Ibid., pp. 302f.
expressions that were familiar to them, and adapted them, when necessary, using them in their own way and giving them their own sense.

In sum, unlike those Christians in al-Andalus who bemoaned the loss of Latin as the sacral language, other Christians, even if they endeavoured to preserve the earlier Christian tradition, did not have any problem in resorting to Arabic, even openly defending its use, and in using religious terms and formulae they knew through this language, especially from the second half of the 9th century onwards. They even translated into Arabic their Scriptures and other books of importance to them, thus making those books available to a community more and more arabized.

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