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Language of Religion – Language of the People

Medieval Judaism, Christianity and Islam

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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 from the sacral language into the vernacular to make those 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.¹

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 of 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 Christians² *ob improperantium ignominiam deuitandam* (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 metrical rules than someone who could write a letter in Latin correctly.³

Be this statement true or, as it seems, a “declamatory exaggeration”, as Ramón Menéndez Pidal puts it,⁴ 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,⁵ 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 understood can be of benefit to

1 As David Wasserstein has pointed out, translations from Latin into Arabic in al-Andalus “answer some sort of need in their intended audiences”, i. e. the Christians, see WASSERSTEIN, David: The Language Situation in al-Andalus, in: JONES, Alan/HITCHCOCK, Richard (eds.): Studies on the Muwašṣah and the Kharja (Proceedings of the Exeter International Colloquium), Reading 1991, pp. 1–15, p. 6 (repr. in: FIERRO, Maribel/SAMSÓ, Julio [eds.]: The Formation of al-Andalus. Part 2: Language, Religion, Culture and the Sciences, Aldershot 1998, pp. 3–17).

2 This practice is also attested in the *Vita Johannis Gorzensis*, in: SIMONET, Francisco Javier: Historia de los mozárabes de España, Madrid 1897–1903, p. 609.

3 *Indiculus luminosus*, 35, in: GIL, Juan (ed.): Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum, Madrid 1973, pp. 313ff.

4 MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, Ramón: El idioma español en sus primeros tiempos, Buenos Aires 1942, p. 36.

5 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.

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-fawā'id al-rūḥāniyya*) 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 arabization 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 Urvoy – among others – in some articles⁷ dealing with the production of the Andalusī 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 8 & 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.⁸ Along with their arabization, Urvoy, who has edited and studied in depth the Milan translation of the Psalms, refers to “une certaine islamisation de leur religiosité.”⁹ Kassis for his part has analysed the translations of the Bible¹⁰ and the Arabic collection of canon law,¹¹ and he says with regard to the latter: “The

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 Hurūshiyūsh*, which is the only extant non-biblical translation from al-Andalus.¹³ As a first approach to the linguistic islamization of the *K. Hurūshiyūsh*, I will show here that many of the features underlined by Kassis and Urvoy are also found in this text.

A copy of the *K. Hurūshiyūsh* 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 adversus paganos* 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 the intended audience: on the one hand, he rendered more or less accurately Orosius' comments in defence of Christianity;¹⁶ on

6 Le Psautier Mozarabe de Hafs le Goth, ed. and transl. by Marie-Thérèse URVOY, Toulouse 1994, pp. 2f. See the English translation of the passage by KASSIS, Hanna: The Arabization and Islamization of the Christians of al-Andalus. Evidence of Their Scriptures, in: BRANN, Ross/OWEN, David I. (eds.): Languages of Power in Islamic Spain, Bethesda 1997, pp. 136–155, pp. 147f.

7 Two of the articles appeared in the monographic section, *Cristianos de al-Andalus y mozárabes*, in: *Al-Qanṭara* 15 (1994).

8 On this term and the problems it raises, see HITCHCOCK, Richard: El supuesto mozarabismo andalusí, in: *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía*, diciembre de 1976. *Andalucía medieval*. Vol. 1: Andalucía islámica, pp. 149ff.; CHALMETA, Pedro: Mozarab, in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New edition (EI²) 7 (1993), pp. 246–249; URVOY, Dominique: Les aspects symboliques du vocable “mozarabe”. Essai de réinterprétation, in: *Studia Islamica* 78 (1993) pp. 117–153; LAPIEDRA, Eva: Cómo los musulmanes llamaban a los cristianos hispánicos, *Alicante* 1997, pp. 308–312.

9 URVOY, Marie Thérèse: Influence islamique sur le vocabulaire d'un Psautier arabe d'al-Andalus, in: *Al-Qanṭara* 15 (1994), pp. 509–517, p. 517.

10 KASSIS: Arabization and Islamization (n. 6).

11 KASSIS, Hanna: Arabic-speaking Christians in al-Andalus in an Age of Turmoil (Fifth/Eleventh Century until A.H. 478/A.D. 1085), *Al-Qanṭara* 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-Qānūn al-muqaddas* (Book of the Holy Canon), is not a translation of the Latin *Hispana Systematica* but an independent Arabic work, parallel to it, *ibid.*, pp. 415f. On this text, see also DERENBOURG, Hartwig: Notes critiques sur les manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque

Nationale de Madrid, in: Homenaje a D. Francisco Codera en su jubilación del profesorado, Zaragoza 1904, pp. 571–618, pp. 607–610; ABU-HAIDAR, Jareer: A Document of Cultural Symbiosis. Arabic Ms. 1623 of The Escorial Library, in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1987), pp. 223–235.

12 KASSIS: Arabic-speaking Christians (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 *ḥadīth* literature. 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 ABU-HAIDAR: A Document of Cultural Symbiosis (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.

13 For information on this text beyond that given in this paper, see the introduction to the edition: *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* [= Hur.] Traducción árabe de las *Historiae adversus paganos* de Orosio), ed. by Mayte PENELAS, Madrid 2001 (*Fuentes Árabe-Hispanas* 26).

14 The Columbia manuscript finishes with the reign of the emperor Valens (r. 364–378) but internal and external testimonies show that the Arabic text went on to narrate the imperial history until Heraclius (r. 610–642), and added the history of the Gothic rulers in Hispania up to the last Visigothic king, Roderic, that is until the arrival of the Arabs in 711.

15 In another article I have pointed out that there is evidence suggesting that Hafs b. Albar al-Qūṭī, 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 Qāsim b. Aṣḥab, cf. PENELAS, Mayte: A Possible Author of the Arabic Translation of Orosius' *Historiae*, in: *Al-Masāq. Islam and the Mediterranean* 13 (2001), pp. 113–135.

16 On this, see PENELAS, Mayte: Del latín al árabe. Una traducción ‘mozárabe’ del siglo IX/X, in: *Actas III Congreso Hispánico de Latín Medieval* (León, 26–29 de septiembre de 2001), vol. 1, coord. by Maurilio PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ, León 2002, pp. 423–432.

the other, he completed and continued Orosius' book by turning to the Bible and other sources, such as the *Chronica* or the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville.¹⁷

Notwithstanding, the text shows an important degree of acculturation, which is reflected, for example, in the way proper names are constructed according to the Arabic onomastic system,¹⁸ or in the interpolation of data or reports belonging to the Islamic tradition. For instance, following the *Chronica* of Isidore of Seville, the *K. Hurūshiyūsh* reports that Noah's Ark (*al-safīna*)¹⁹ rested on a mount of Armenia called *Arārāth*.²⁰ The Arabic compiler explains that "it is the mount *al-Jūdī*" (*jabal al-Jūdī*), as it appears in the Quran (11,44), thus identifying – not for the first or the last time – the Biblical Mount Ararat with the Quranic Mount al-Jūdī.²¹ Furthermore, the *K. Hurūshiyūsh* gives the Quranic form of those Biblical names also mentioned in the Quran. Thus, *Tālūt* stands for Saul, *Jālūt* for Goliath and *'Uzayr* for Ezra. Likewise, Abraham is called *Ibrāhīm Khalīl Allāh*, or *al-Khalīl*²² (cf. Quran 4,125), the *amicus Dei* of the Bible.

There are quite a few other instances in the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* that demonstrate the influence of Islamic culture on the Christians of al-Andalus. In his fundamental article on the Arabic translation of Orosius' *Histories* Giorgio Levi Della Vida explained this fact by the possible participation of a Muslim, namely Qāsim b. Aṣṣagh,²³ in the translation.²⁴ However, in a subsequent article he stated that it was difficult to determine how much was due to the Muslim collaborator and how much to the permeation of Islamic culture into the Christian environment.²⁵ But

17 This fact may indicate that he intended to provide the arabized Christian community of al-Andalus with an Arabic world history from the Creation until the Arab conquest, written from a Christian point of view. This is in my opinion the main goal of this compilation-cum-translation.

18 Thus the name is made up by the *ism*, or individual name, and the *nasab*, or list of ancestors' names, each introduced by *ibn* (son of), besides other elements that do not concern us here. E.g. Joseph is called *Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm* (Hur., p. 58), that is, Joseph son of Jacob son of Isaac son of Abraham. In this instance the *nasab* would be real but in many others it appears to be a mere invention by the author. On this, see PENELAS, Mayte: Introduction, in: *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* (n. 13), pp. 45f.

19 Here the translator uses the word *al-safīna* for Noah's Ark, but the term *al-tābūt* is also employed with this sense (Hur.I, par. 143–147). The usual term in the Quran is *al-fulk* (e.g. 7,64; 10,73), although *al-safīna* is used once (29,15). However, in the Arabic literature *al-safīna* appears more frequently than *al-fulk*. As regards the term *tābūt*, its meaning is 'chest', 'box', 'Ark of the Covenant', and with this latter sense it is also found in the *K. Hurūshiyūsh* (e.g. Hur. I, par. 323f; VII, 42). The Arabic translation of the Bible used by the 11th-century Cordovan polygraph Ibn Hazm also employed *tābūt* for Noah's Ark, and Ibn Hazm is compelled to explain that it is the *safīna*, *Al-Fiṣal fī al-mīlāl wal-ahwā' wal-nihāl*, vol. I, ed. by A. SHAMS AL-DIN, Beyrouth 1996, p. 147.

20 Isidori Hispalensis *Chronica* (= Isid. Chron.), ed. by José Carlos MARTÍN, Turnhout 2003 (Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina 112), p. 17; Hur. I, par. 145.

21 See STRECK, M.: *Djūdī*, in: EI² (n. 8), vol. 2 (1965), pp. 573–574.

22 See, e.g., Hur., p. 52.

23 See n. 15.

24 LEVI DELLA VIDA, Giorgio: La traduzione araba delle Storie di Orosio, in: *Al-Andalus* 19 (1954), pp. 257–293, pp. 285ff. (repr. in: NALLINO, Maria [ed.]: *Note di storia letteraria arabo-ispánica*, Rome 1971, pp. 79–107, pp. 101f.).

25 LEVI DELLA VIDA, Giorgio: I Mozarabi tra Occidente e Islam, in: *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'Alto Medioevo* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'Alto Medioevo 12), Spoleto 1965, pp. 667–695, p. 690, (repr. in: NALLINO: *Note di storia letteraria* [n. 24], pp. 55–77, p. 72).

it is particularly with the linguistic islamization of the *K. Hurūshiyūsh* that this paper is concerned, with the Islamic terms and formulae used by the late-9th-century Andalusī 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 Arabic canons 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".²⁶ As for the main remaining copies of the Gospels, a distinction must be made between the translations deriving from that completed in 946 by Ishāq b. Bilashku of Cordova, a copy of which survives at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek of Munich, and others whose main representative would be the translation of the Biblioteca Nacional of 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 arabicized 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. Hurūshiyūsh*. The *basmala* – the introductory Islamic formula *bi-sm Allāh al-Rahmān al-Rahīm* ('in the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful') – is used both in the Munich translation of the Gospels²⁸ and in the Arabic canons of El Escorial.²⁹ In the *K. Hurūshiyūsh*, after the index of contents, the *basmala* serves to open the translation itself, followed by a formula of seeking assistance from God, *'awna-ka yā rabb* ('your help, O God'),³⁰ as is also found in the manuscript of the Vatican Library.³¹

The formula *'azza wa-jalla* ('Mighty and Exalted'), which follows the mention of God, is used twice in the *K. Hurūshiyūsh*: in this order, or the other way round,

26 KASSIS: Arabicization and Islamization (n. 6), p. 152.

27 Ibid., p. 155.

28 Ibid., p. 154. The translation of Madrid uses the Christian formula *bi-sm al-Ab wal-Ibn wal-Rūh al-Quddūs* [In the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit], the same as the prose introduction to the Arabic Psalms of London and Milan; Le Psautier mozarabe (n. 6), p. 1; KASSIS: Arabicization and Islamization (n. 6), p. 152.

29 SIMONET: *Historia de los mozarabes* (n. 2), p. 728; ABU-HAIDAR: *A Document of Cultural Synthesis* (n. 11), p. 227; KASSIS: *Arabic-speaking Christians* (n. 11), p. 418; KONINGSVELD, P. S. van: *Christian Arabic Literature from Medieval Spain. An Attempt at Periodization*, in: *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period (750–1258)*, ed. by Samir Khalil SAMIR/Jorgen S. NIELSEN, Leiden/New York/Cologne 1994, pp. 203–224, p. 222.

30 Hur., p. 17.

31 KASSIS: Arabicization and Islamization (n. 6), p. 153.

far less usual, *jalla wa-'azza*.³² This formula is also found in the collection of canon law of the Church in al-Andalus.³³

In the Arabic canons the term *muṣḥaf*, pl. *maṣāḥif* ('volume', 'book'), designates each of the ten books into which the text is divided, as well as the Gospels and books in general.³⁴ In the translation of Ishāq each Gospel is referred to as *muṣḥaf*.³⁵ This term usually refers to the Quran, the Book *par excellence*.

For 'book' the most frequent word in the *K. Hurūshiyūsh* is *kitāb* and its plural *kutub*, which may refer to both normal and special books.³⁶ In addition to this neutral term the translator employs *muṣḥaf*, pl. *maṣāḥif*, as well as *sif*, pl. *asfār*, 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" (*maiorum cura studioque*).³⁷ *Muṣḥaf* applies to books with religious or legal significance such as the Book of the Maccabees, or the Book of Wisdom (*Muṣḥaf al-'ilm*) by Jesus son of Sirach.³⁸ *Sif*, or its plural *asfār*, refers not only to the Pentateuch or to books of the Old Testament,³⁹ e.g. the Book of the Maccabees again, but also to books in a way special, such as the Sibylline Books (*asfār Shabīla*),⁴⁰ the Christian apology by the 2nd-century philosopher Justin Martyr,⁴¹ or even Orosius' book and the translation itself.⁴²

Another Islamic feature of the Mozarabic writings is the use of Yaḥyā for John instead of the Christian form Yūḥannā, as is attested in the Arabic canons, the Munich manuscript,⁴³ and the *K. Hurūshiyūsh*. Thus, John the Evangelist is called *Yaḥyā b. Sabadhāy al-ḥawārī*,⁴⁴ that is 'John son of Zebedee, the disciple'. The term *ḥawārī* is also employed in Ishāq's translation of the Gospels for disciple.⁴⁵ The use of this word, instead of *nasūl*, pl. *rusul*,⁴⁶ is noteworthy as it is the term

32 Hur. II, par. 1 (*jalla wa-'azza*) and 4 (*'azza wa-jalla*).

33 KASSIS: Arabic-speaking Christians (n. 11), p. 418.

34 DERENBOURG: Notes critiques (n. 11), p. 609; ABU-HAIDAR: A Document of Cultural Symbiosis (n. 11), p. 228; KASSIS: Arabic-speaking Christians (n. 11), p. 415; KONINGSVELD: Christian Arabic Literature (n. 29), p. 222.

35 The Madrid translation employs *kitāb*, a neutral term for book, KONINGSVELD, P. Sj. van: The Latin-Arabic glossary of the Leiden University Library, Leiden 1977, p. 55b.

36 It is used, e.g., to refer to the Pentateuch (*Kitāb al-Tawrā*) and books of the Old Testament; see, e.g., Hur. I, par. 117.256; IV, 2.

37 Hur. VI, 74 (cf. Orosius, *Historiae aduersus paganos* [= Oros. Hist.], ed. and trans. by Marie-Pierre ARNAUD-LINDET, 3 vols., Paris 1990, VI, 15, 31; Hur. VII, 123 (cf. Oros. Hist. VII, 16, 3).

38 Hur. II, 54; IV, 69.

39 E.g. Hur. I, 282; II, 76.115; III, 114.

40 Hur. III, 118; IV, 24.

41 Hur. VII, 114.

42 Hur. IV, 185; V, 69; VII, 21.

43 KASSIS: Arabic-speaking Christians (n. 11), p. 418; KASSIS: Arabicization and Islamization (n. 6), p. 154.

44 Hur. VII, 96.103.

45 KASSIS: Arabicization and Islamization (n. 6), p. 154.

46 See GRAF, Georg: Verzeichnis arabischer kirchlicher Termini, Louvain 1954, p. 52.

employed in the Quran in the plural, *ḥawārīyyūn*, to refer to Jesus' disciples (3,52; 5,111f; 61,14).

Another word largely employed in the writings of the Mozarabs to designate the Book of Psalms is *zabūr*, a term used in the Quran in reference to a scripture given by God to David (4,163; 17,55). Kassis points out that in the collection of canon law "the Qur'anic term *zabūr* is often used instead of *mazmūr*".⁴⁷ *Zabūr* is also the word employed in the *K. Hurūshiyūsh* to refer to the Psalter, whereas each Psalm is rendered as *mazmūr*.⁴⁸

Imām, pl. *a'imma*, 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'.⁴⁹ Similarly, in the *K. Hurūshiyūsh* *imām/a'imma* stands for someone with religious authority, whereas the only time the word *imāma* – that is, the rank of *imām* – is used, it renders the Latin *sacerdotium*.⁵⁰

The *K. Hurūshiyūsh* 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, completed by Ḥafṣ b. Albar al-Qūṭī 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.-Th. Urvoy in an independent article.⁵¹ Urvoy provides several examples classifying the vocabulary under three sections: juridical vocabulary, cultural concepts and expressions, and divine names.

With regard to the first 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 *fiqh* or Islamic jurisprudence, and adduces a paragraph in which virtues and vices are qualified according to *al-aḥkām al-khamsa*,⁵² i.e. the five qualifications into which religious law classifies every human act: obligatory, recommended, licit/indifferent, reprehensible and forbidden.⁵³

47 KASSIS: Arabic-speaking Christians (n. 11), p. 418. On *mazmūr* see GRAF: Verzeichnis (n. 46), p. 55.

48 Hur. I, 349.365. In the Arabic Psalms of London and Milan, Psalter is referred to as *zabūr* and each Psalm as *mizmār*, cf. Le Psautier mozarabe (n. 6), p. 1: "the *zabūr* contains one hundred and fifty *mizmār* (Vatikan: *sūra*)". See also KASSIS: Arabicization and Islamization (n. 6), p. 153.

49 KASSIS: Arabic-speaking Christians (n. 11), p. 418.

50 Hur. I, 436 (cf. 4 Regum 12,2; VI, 31 (cf. Oros. Hist. VI, 6, 2–4); VII, 218).

51 The influence of the Quranic style on the translation of the Psalms by Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī had already been dealt with by SAMIR, Khalil: Al-Turāth al-'arabi al-masīḥī al-qadīm wa-tafa'ulu-hu ma'a al-fikr al-'arabi al-islāmī, in: Islamochristiana 8 (1982), pp. 1–35, pp. 20f.

52 URVOY: Influence islamique (n. 9), pp. 510f.; Le Psautier mozarabe (n. 6), p. 11.

53 On this, see FARUKI, Kemal: Al-Aḥkām al-Khamsah. The Five Values, in: Islamic Studies 5 (1966), pp. 43–68.

Urvoy notes this "juridisation de l'éthique" in the verse translation of Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī, particularly in the frequent use he makes of the word *farḍ* to render the Latin *praeceptum*, *mandatum* or *lex*.⁵⁴ In the *K. Hurūshiyūsh* 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 *Jirush* – 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 *farāḍa* ('he ordered') to render the Latin *praecepit*.⁵⁶

Jupiter is referred to as *Yūbish* in the Arabic translation. Two brief comments on this rendering must be made: first, the form *Yūbish* is clearly a transliteration of Jupiter's Latin name in the genitive case, *Iovis*; secondly, the translator explains that "*Yūbish* is a god (*wathan*) by the name of the shining (*al-durrī*) *Mushtari*", *al-Mushtari* 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 *Zuḥal* in Arabic –,⁵⁷ 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-durrī* ('shining'), a frequent epithet for self-luminous stars, but at times also used for planets.⁵⁸

The next section according to Urvoy's division concerns Islamic cultural formulae and concepts.

Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī employs the usual formula for thanking God *wal-ḥamd li-Llāh*, literally 'praise be to God', to close the poem in *rajaz* metre (i. e. *urjūza*) preceding his Arabic translation of the Psalms.⁵⁹ In the *K. Hurūshiyūsh* this formula closes the first, second and third Books (*juz*, pl. *ajzā*, lit. 'part').⁶⁰

One of the most frequent words used by Ḥafṣ to translate *lex* is *kitāb*, besides others such as *sharī'a* and *nāmūs*,⁶¹ the Arabic transliteration of the Greek *nomos*.⁶² These three terms are also found in the *K. Hurūshiyūsh* with the meaning of 'law'. It is noteworthy that the word *nawāmis*, plural of *nāmūs*, refers here to a legal sys-

54 URVOY: Influence islamique (n. 9), p. 511.

55 Hur. I, 185; II, 46; IV, 55; VII, 19.

56 Isid. Chron. (n. 20), 50; Hur. I, 212. Similarly, this word denotes an imposition of worship in Hur. I, 171; and VII, 40.

57 Hur. I, 175.249.261; III, 80; IV, 9.

58 Thus, in the exegetical work by al-Qurṭubī (d. 1272–73), we are told that the *kawkab durrī* (shining star) of Quran 24.35 is *al-Zubra* (Venus) and, further on, *al-Mushtari* (al-Jāmi' li-ahkām al-Qur'ān, Cairo 1987, XII, p. 258 and p. 263).

59 Le Psautier mozarabe (n. 6), p. 20. As for the introduction in prose, it is closed by the same formula in a larger form *al-ḥamd li-Llāh rabb al-'ālamīn* (praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds). See Le Psautier mozarabe (n. 6), p. 13; URVOY: Influence islamique (n. 9), p. 512.

60 Hur., p. 125, p. 160, p. 201.

61 URVOY: Influence islamique (n. 9), p. 513.

62 Apart from the Greek loanword, there is another genuine Arabic word *nāmūs* with various meanings: 'hiding place', 'mosquito', 'confidant', as an epithet for the archangel Gabriel, etc.; see PLESSNER, M./VIRÉ, F.: *Nāmūs*, in: EI², vol. 7 (1993), 953–956.

tem of Ancient Greece or of a related people, and on just one occasion of another people, specifically the Romans.⁶³

Sharī'a, or its plural *sharā'i*, is employed to render 'religious law' or simply 'religion'. For instance, in conjunction with *al-kitāb* it is once used to refer to 'Moses' law',⁶⁴ and the Latin *vera religio* is rendered as *al-sharī'a al-ṣādiqa* ('the true religion'),⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ Thus, when the translator renders *pontifices* as *a'immat*⁶⁷ *sharā'i-i-him*, he is obviously referring to the religious laws of the Romans.⁶⁸

Sunna, pl. *sunan*, denotes a rule or custom derived from tradition, and *par excellence* from the Prophet Muhammad's or his followers' way of behaving. In the *K. Hurūshiyūsh* 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 *kitāb* in the next instance. The *K. Hurūshiyūsh* reports that "*Markush* with his brother *Aurāliyush*" – that is, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Verus and Lucius Aurelius – were the first to levy tributes in accordance with the law (*al-sunna wal-kitāb*).⁶⁹ 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: *hi primi rempublicam aequo iure tutati sunt* ('they were the first to watch over the Republic with equal authority'), says Orosius.⁷⁰

Just as in the translation of the Psalms by Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī,⁷¹ *al-hudā* is used with the meaning of 'right path' in the *K. Hurūshiyūsh*. For instance, Orosius reports that Titus destroyed the Temple of Jerusalem because, being exhausted and empty (*effetum ac uacuum*), it could not be of usefulness in a time when the Church of God was germinating everywhere.⁷² 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 worshiped '*alā al-hudā*, with the exception of the Temple of Jerusalem, where it was done '*alā al-ḍalāl*':⁷³ the 'right way' as opposed to the 'wrong way'.

Therefore, Titus – the Arabic text goes on – set fire to the temple: *fa-ahraqa Ṭiṭush al-mihrāb wal-bayt*, says the *K. Hurūshiyūsh*, thus rendering the original *templum in Hierosolymis incendit*. What is meant by the words *al-mihrāb wal-*

63 Hur. I, 198; II, 79; V, 76; VI, 23.

64 Hur. I, 218 (cf. Isid. Chron. [n. 20], 55).

65 Oros. Hist. I, prol., 14; Hur. I, 6.

66 For different uses of the term *sharī'a*, see Hur. I, 236.393; II, 9.14.55; V, 9; VII, 29.223.

67 On this word, see *supra*.

68 Oros. Hist. V, 18.27; Hur. V, 106.

69 Hur. VII, 116.

70 Oros. Hist. VII, 15.1. This is not the only instance in which the translator says that a certain ruler 'levied tribute fairly' (*addala al-maghārim*) where Orosius only mentions the ruler's moderation (see, e.g., Oros. Hist. VII, 18.8; Hur. VII, 148).

71 See URVOY: Influence islamique (n. 9), p. 513.

72 Oros. Hist. VII, 9.5.

73 Hur. VII, 76.

bayt? In this passage, the Temple of Jerusalem has hitherto been called *al-bayt*, so its meaning seems to be clear. As for the term *mihrāb*, in the mosque it denotes the niche indicating the direction of prayer, but both in the *K. Hurūshiyūsh* and in the Arabic Psalms it is used to translate the Latin words *templum* and *ara*.⁷⁴ So in this instance it may refer to an altar, or something else inside the temple.

In the next example it is evident that the word *mihrāb* 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 army⁷⁵ – hence the expression a Pyrrhic victory. The Arabic translator renders this account as follows:

He built a *mihrāb* in the temple (*bayt*) of the god *Yūbish*, who is the shining *Mushtari* (on this, see *supra*), and wrote in the threshold of its door [...].⁷⁶

However, in other cases the temple is referred to as *mihrāb*, pl. *maḥārīb*. Thus, 'the Temple of Asclepius' is rendered once as *bayt* and once as *mihrāb*.⁷⁷ With this sense, *maḥārīb* is also used in conjunction with *maqāṣir*, plural of *maqṣūra*,⁷⁸ which in the mosque denotes a compartment for the ruler.

For *ara* or *altar* the term more often used in the *K. Hurūshiyūsh* is *madhbah*, i.e. the place where sacrifices are made. For instance, 'Baal's altars' built by Manasses are referred to as *madhbah al-wathan Ba'al*.⁷⁹ *Mihrāb* is also used with this sense. Thus, the oath against the Romans made by Hannibal as a child *ante aras* is rendered as *wa-kāna qad ḥalafa [...]* 'inda *mihrāb awṭhāni-him* ('he had sworn [...] at the *mihrāb* of their gods').⁸⁰ These two terms, *mihrāb* and *madhbah*, are also found in the Arabic canons with the same meaning.⁸¹

Urvoy underlines the use of the word *nazala* or a derivative to designate revelation in the translation of the Psalms by Ḥafṣ.⁸² For revelation, the *K. Hurūshiyūsh* uses the word in the IV form – *anzala*, *inzāl*, etc. – as well as the term *wahy*,⁸³ both employed in the Quran.⁸⁴

The third section of Urvoy's article deals with divine names. She points out that Ḥafṣ al-Qūṭī uses, to name or qualify God, the epithets *rahmān* and *rahīm*, which make reference to His Mercy, as well as others that refer to His power, such

74 URVOY: Influence islamique (n.9), p. 514.

75 Oros. Hist. IV, 1, 14.

76 Hur. IV, 9.

77 Hur. IV, 183; VI, 8.

78 Hur. I, 169; cf. Isid. Chron. (n. 20), 22: *Describunt ibi templa [...]*.

79 Hur. I, 493; cf. 4 Regum 21,3: *aras Baal*.

80 Oros. Hist. IV, 14,3; Hur. IV, 91.

81 ABU-HAIDAR: A Document of Cultural Symbiosis (n. 11), p. 228.

82 URVOY: Influence islamique (n.9), pp. 513f.

83 See e.g. Hur. I, 234; VII, 1f.

84 For the use of these two terms, see WENSINCK, Arent Jan/RIPPIN, Andrew: *Wahy*, in: EI², vol. 11 (2002), pp. 53–56.

as *jabbār*, *qādir*, *qabbār* or *muqtadir*,⁸⁵ all of which belong to the list of *al-asmā' al-ḥusnā*, i.e. the most beautiful names of God.⁸⁶

In the *K. Hurūshiyūsh* only *al-rahmān*, as a part of the *basma* (see *supra*), is employed in reference to God. *Al-rahīm* is also used to qualify Octavian Augustus and Antoninus Pius (*al-mulaqqab bil-rahīm*, 'nicknamed Pius').⁸⁷ Other attributes apply to others but God: *al-jabbār* qualifies Nimrod, Nebuchadnezzar and Hercules, with the sense of 'giant' or 'strong and powerful man';⁸⁸ besides *al-rahīm*, Octavian Augustus is given the epithets *al-qawī* – another divine attribute indicating mightiness⁸⁹ – and *al-muqtadir*.⁹⁰ 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-bārī* and *al-mudabbir* qualify Him as creator and master of all things; God is described as *ḥayy* (living) and *ʿālim* (omniscient); other attributes such as *qadīm* and *azalī* make reference to His quality of being eternal.⁹¹

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.⁹² In *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an* (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.⁹³ 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. 514ff.

86 See GIMARET, Daniel: *Les noms divins en Islam. Exégèse lexicographique et théologique*, Paris 1988, index.

87 Hur. VII, 113.

88 See e.g. Hur. I, 169, 194; III, 99.

89 GIMARET: *Les noms divins en Islam* (n. 86), pp. 237f.

90 Hur. VI, par. 2, p. 302, last line but one.

91 Ibid., pp. 301f.

92 Also the Mozarabic world history of Kairouan/Raqqada (see ROISSE, Philippe: *Redécouverte d'un important manuscrit 'arabe chrétien' occidental: le ms. Raqqāda 2003/2 (olim Kairouan 120/829)*, in: *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 1 (2004), pp. 279–285), which I am currently working on, shows the linguistic islamization undergone by the Andalusī Christians. This fact has already been pointed out by LEVI DELLA VIDA, Giorgio: *Un texte mozarabe d'histoire universelle*, in: *Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, vol. 1, Paris 1962, pp. 175–183, p. 183 (repr. in: *Note di storia letteraria arabo-ispánica*, Rome 1971, pp. 123–192, p. 131).

93 E.g. *zabūr*, 'an Arabic corruption of the Hebrew word *mizmōr*, doubtless under the influence of the genuine Arabic word *zabur*', see JEFFERY, Arthur: *The Qur'an as Scripture*, New York 1952, p. 67; or *ḥawārī*, a word borrowed from the Ethiopic *ḥawāryā*, see id.: *Foreign Vocabulary*, pp. 115f.; WENSINCK, A. J.: *Hawārī*, in: EI², vol. 3 (1971), p. 285.

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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