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I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Geoffrey Kyle Martin entitled "Mozarab Readers of the Bible, From the Córdoban Martyrs to the *Glossa Ordinaria*." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in History.

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Mozarab Readers of the Bible, from the Córdoban Martyrs to the *Glossa Ordinaria*

A Dissertation Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Geoffrey Kyle Martin
December 2016

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Dedication

For My Parents

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I would first like to thank my family: my mom, dad, and sister, Katie. I first started thinking about the Mozarabs as an undergraduate at Northern Michigan University, so I therefore owe much to Keith Kendall. My graduate advisor, Thomas Burman, patiently read many drafts and greatly improved my research and writing. He is the epitome of what a scholar should be. I also owe much thanks to the other committee members who each aided this project in their own way: Maura Lafferty, Jay Rubenstein, and Robert Bast. Many other wonderful scholars have helped me along the way: Charles Burnett and Nuría Martinez-de-Castilla were gracious hosts in Madrid and London, as was Miri Rubin. Juan Pedro Monferrar Sala offered much encouragement when I presented parts of this dissertation in Uppsala, Sweden, as did Sabine Schmidkte, Miriam Hjalm, and Camilla Adang. Miguel Gomez has offered advice at every step of my graduate career, in Tennessee and across Spain. Stefan and Katie Hodges-Kluck and Leah Giamalva too aided me in formulating my thoughts. At the the Warburg Institute, I owe special thanks to Eleanor Giraud, the kindest office mate one could imagine, and to Pelagia Vera-Loungi, with whom I had many wonderful conversations. I owe much as well to the following libraries and institutions who granted me fellowships that helped me along the way: Colegiata de San Isidoro de León, BNE, Biblioteca Capitular, The Marco Institute, The Tennessee Humanities Center, The Hill Library, The Vatican Film Library, and The Medieval Academy of America.

Abstract

In this dissertation, I offer four case studies in how medieval Iberia's Arabic-speaking Christians (Mozarabs) appropriated Latin, Arabic, and Islamic culture. I have focused upon the Mozarabs' reading of the Bible: (1) how they translated it from Latin to Arabic, (2) how they thought about the Last Days, (3) how they read it with a foremost interest in the meaning of individual words and phrases, and (4) how they employed biblical commentaries to understand scripture better. As the reader will see, the Mozarabs' translations of the Bible into Arabic and the Latin manuscripts which they annotated in that language have much to tell us about these Arabic-speakers and inter-communal relations in the medieval Mediterranean more broadly. Indeed, what we see in these manuscripts are Christians acting ethnically Arab—and at times employing Qur'ānic vocabulary—concretely on manuscript folios.

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Introduction

In the shadow of one of Spain's two greatest witnesses to the power of Muslim rule, the Alhambra, Francisco Javier Simonet wrote a lengthy history of medieval Iberia's Arabic-speaking Christians, although he did not live to see its publication in 1897. His book, *La Historia de los Mozárabes* took on new life after 1898, as Spain lost its colonies following the end of the Spanish-American war. Indeed, Spain's gradual fall from the world political stage in the nineteenth century had certainly influenced his writing.[1] He deemed Mozarabs, Christians who effectively made themselves Arab while living under Muslim rule, as those who had caved to Muslim influence and culture, a turn that weakened the true Spanish spirit. Simonet in general saw the Muslims' culture, broadly speaking, as an attack on Christian life there, although he nevertheless noted the splendor of al-Andalus (Muslim Spain).

For all of his typically nineteenth-century essentialist rhetoric, Simonet knew something about the Mozarabs that few since him have undersood so well: the Mozarabs were equally at home reading Latin, the written language of Christian Europe, and Arabic. They even partook to some degree in Islamic culture, sharing for example religious vocabulary with Muslims. Few scholars who have studied the Mozarabs since Simonet have illuminated the balance between Latin, Arabic, and Islamic culture in the Mozarabs' intellectual life as well as he did. Even fewer scholars, until very recently, have done what Simonet did, and what I will do here: immerse themselves in the world of the Mozarabs' books, in both Latin and Arabic, to capture the richness and rigor of their intellectual life.

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[1] Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de Los Mozárabes de España* (Madrid: 1897) ; Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008); Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes: Christianisme, Islamisation et Arabisation en Péninsule Ibérique (IXe-XIIe Siècle)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010); Maser, Matthias and Klaus Herbers, eds. *Die Mozaraber: Definitionen und Perspektiven der Forschung*, Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt Vol. 7 (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2011).

Simonet furthermore knew better than most scholars that manuscripts, and especially the notes in their margins, have much to offer for the writing of intellectual history.[2] This is quite simply because both copyists and later annotators put down in these margins their thoughts, for example references to other authors whom they had consulted. My mining of the Mozarabs' Bible manuscripts—Arabic translations of the Bible and Latin manuscripts with hundreds of Arabic notes--for what they can tell us about these Arabic-speakers' reading and how they thought about Latin, Arabic, and Islamic culture, owes much to Simonet and his epic tome, the book that kickstarted my graduate studies.[3]

Indeed, my argument that the Mozarabs appropriated Latin, Arabic, and Islamic culture draws upon biblical manuscripts which circulated among them between the ninth and twelfth centuries. They knew that this mixing of Arabic-Islamic and Latin culture offered a strong, flexible framework through which to think of Christendom's most important book both lexically and spiritually. When translating the Psalms from Latin into Arabic, for example, one Mozarab employed phrases directly from the Qur'ān in order to express Christian belief. They also continued making Latin manuscripts, and when they did so, they wrote Arabic marginal notes which draw upon Latin exegesis, and even translated metaphors which Latin authors employed when reading the Bible, such as that of a reader chewing upon and digesting scripture. What I am offering here, in sum, is effectively a new intellectual history of anonymous scribes, annotators, and readers, which makes clear the importance of their manuscripts for understanding how these Arabic-speakers moved between Arabic, Latin, and Islamic culture.

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[2] Although cf. Pieter Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic glossary of the Leiden University Library: A contribution to the study of Mozarabic manuscripts and literature*. (Leiden: Labor Vincit, 1976); Van Koningsveld, "Christian-Arabic Manuscripts from the Iberian and North Africa: A Historical Interpretation." *Al-Qantara* Vol. 15 (1994): 423-451.

[3] For a recent survey of the literature on the Mozarabs, cf. Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, Ch 1.

This all suits what the word "Mozarab" seems to have meant quite well. The Latin *muzarave* transliterates the Arabic *mustaʿrab*, which means "one having become Arab."[4] No one in Iberia employed the Arabic term, and the Latin first appears only in the eleventh century, all of which has led to endless discussion about how fittingly it describes Arabic-speaking Christians before the eleventh century.[5] Indeed, not once in these Bibles did someone write the Latin *muzarave* or the Arabic *mustaʿrab*. Yet since many scholars still employ the term Mozarab, I have too, especially because these scribes and annotators embody the meaning of Mozarab so well.

Alvarus, the Córdoban Martyrs, and the Bible

The earliest Mozarabs lived in al-Andalus, the region over which Muslims ruled after they invaded and conquered much of Iberia beginning in 711. This conquest was so effective that by 715, Christian kings held only a sliver of land across the north of the peninsula. The Visigothic people whom the Muslims had conquered likely began speaking Arabic relatively quickly—perhaps a few generations—after this initial conquest[6]. By the 850s, one Christian layman, Paulus Alvarus, lamented that hardly any Christians in Córdoba wrote Latin properly.[7]

This lament is the most famous part of his *Indiculus luminosis*, meaning something like "The Little Light-giving Sign," the book he wrote in the aftermath of what scholars now call the

---

[4] Cf. Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*; Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*; Richard Hitchcock, *Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*.

[5] Cf. Ann Christys, *Arabic-Speaking Christians in al-Andalus*

[6] ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Dhannūn Ṭāḥā, *The Muslim Conquest and Settlement of North Africa and Spain* (London: Routledge, 1989); Richard Hitchcock, *Muslim Spain Reconsidered: from 711 to 1502* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014).

[7] Alvarus of Cordoba, *Albari Indicululus Luminosus*, ed. Juan Gil, *CSM*, 1:314-5. "What pain (*heu pro dolor*), the Christians do not know their own religion (*legem*) and the Latins do not heed their own language, so that among the whole gathering of Christians hardly one in a thousand is found who is able to dictate (*dirigere*) a greeting to a brother properly, and he who explains the Chaldean (Muslim) ostentation of words is found without number among the many crowds…" "Heu pro dolor, legem suam nesciunt Xpiani collegio et linguam propriam non aduertunt Latini, ita ut omni Xpi collegio uix inueniatur unus in milleno hominum numero qui salutatoris fratri possit ratjionauiliter dirigere litteras, et repperitur absque numero multiplices turbas qui erudite Caldaicas uerborum explicet pompas…"

Córdoban martyr movement.[8] In this movement of the 850s, roughly fifty Christians in Córdoba sought their death from their Muslim rulers on separate occasions. As Alvarus told it, these Christians were a minority who actively opposed Islam by slandering Muḥammad in Arabic, the *lingua franca* of Muslims, Christians and Jews.[9] Alvarus, however, knew the complexity of Christian-Muslim relations in that city, for among many other things, even the martyrs spoke Arabic. He even complained that Arabic was an exceedingly vague language, which suggests that he may have known some of that language himself.[10]

Many scholars have grappled with what Alvarus and the martyrs' actually tell us about the realities of life in Córdoba in the mid-ninth century.[11] In the four- volume reprint (1983) of *Historia de los Mozárabes*, Simonet fills nearly an entire volume with this rhetoric on the martyrs, in which he closely read the Latin writings of Alvarus and the martyr whose life he wrote, Eulogius of Córdoba. Simonet also knew the importance of both Latin and Arabic culture among the Mozarabs better than many scholars who followed him, and he certainly understood the importance of manuscript studies. We should not let his nationalist-essentialist rhetoric overshadow his close readings of the Mozarabs' handwritten codices and documents.

For while Simonet came to his conclusions in the late nineteenth century, Dominique Millet-Gerard wrote much the same of the martyrs in the 1980s, without reading the Arabic

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[8] Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 134-5, offers a little more context. Furthrmore, Simonet knew that Alvarus' lament was simply wrong. The statement offered evidence of the martyrs' strong will against their Muslim rulers, but he also knew well that Latin culture had not died off, for he formed his deep knowledge of the Mozarabs in part through their Latin books.

[9] On the languages of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in al-Andalus, see David Wasserstein, "The Language Situation in al-Andalus," in Alan Jones and Richard Hitchcock, eds., *Studies on the Muwaššaḥ and the Kharja: Proceedings of the Exeter International Colloquium* (Reading: Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Oxford, 1991):1-15.

[10] A point brought to my attention at "Christianity and Judaism in the Language of Islam" in Uppsala, Sweden, 28 March-3 April 2016.

[11] Dominique Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens mozarabes et culture islamique dans l' Espagne des VIIIe-IXe siècles* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1984); Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Jessica A. Coope, *The Martyrs of Cordoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).

sources for further context. Employing language that was on scholars' minds then, he saw a virtual apartheid in Córdoba during the 850s.[12] Building upon this, Kenneth Baxter Wolf offered a more nuanced account, noting that these Christians sought to redefine the meaning of martyrdom: where early Christians had died against their will at the hands of the Romans—the degree to which is debateable—in Córdoba they willingly met their death.[13] With wonderful concision Jessica Coope, meanwhile, explored the familial tensions of the martyrs, many of whom had Muslim fathers and formerly Christian mothers.[14] For Ann Christys, the martyrs were a nuisance to the rest of Córdoba, Muslim and Christian alike.[15]

The writings of Alvaus and Eulogius form a very different source base than that which I employ. Indeed, the Bibles which I treat here date roughly between the later ninth and the twelfth centuries. We furthmore more have Bibles—whether Arabic translations or Latin Bibles with Arabic marginal notes—which Mozarabs read not only in Córdoba, but also in communities in the north and in Toledo which developed a little later than those in al-Andalus. This is a quite important point, for many studies of the Mozarabs have looked only at the community in Córdoba or in León in the north, for example, and they did so with very different types of evidence for those communities. These Bibles not only illuminate the later ninth through twelfth century world of the Mozarabs, but they also offer a relatively common source base—no two manuscripts are exactly alike—for Mozarabs across the Peninsula.

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[12] Dominique Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens Mozarabes et Culture Islamique dans l' Espagne des VIIIe-IXe siècles* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1984). Millet-Gerard focuses upon Latin sources that give little to no evidence of how comfortably the Mozarabs worked in Arabic.
[13] Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).
[14] Jessica Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995). Cf. as well Janina Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).
[15] Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus (711-1000)* (Richmond: Curzon, 2002); Cf. as well Janina Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013).

In what follows, I offer four case studies in which Mozarabs appropriated the Arabic language, Latin culture, and at times Islamic culture. Doubtless much work remains—I have only scratched the surface here—but these examples nevertheless illuminate Mozarabs who revered Latin culture, felt at home writing Arabic, and at times aggressively wrote of Christian theology with phrases from the Qur'ān. The flexible framework in which they appropriated these languages and cultures allowed them to pour over the Bible in a number of ways, reading it spiritually, of course, but also with an interest in the meaning of words and phrases. They likewise thought of their books as objects of value. These four examples are the tip of the iceberg, as it were, for much work remains in studying the Mozarabs' Arabic-annotated Latin manuscripts especially, and indeed in how the sources which the Mozarabs wrote only in Arabic mesh with their Arabic-annotated Latin manuscripts.

Case Study 1: Translating the Psalms into Arabic

Chapter 1 of this dissertation lets us watch a very learned Mozarab translating the Psalms into Arabic prose in the wake of the martyr movement. In a remarkable prose prologue, this anonymous author-translator praised God with phrases directly from the Qur'ān, and even warned readers and singers of the Psalms to guard their hearts against demons with much the same language as Islamic scripture does. He was, I argue, aggressively including Islamic culture in his prologue, effectively rebutting Chrstians such as Alvarus of Córdoba who favored Latin learning.

Futhermore, as he translated the Psalms, this anonymous Mozarab saw himself fulfilling the Apostle Paul's goal of spreading Christian scripture, as he even cited part of Paul's letter to

the Corinthians.[16] He knew that Mozarabs needed scriptures in Arabic, just as other Christian communities in the Mediterranean World needed the Bible in Greek, Syriac, and Latin, for example. Interpreting this a little further, we see that the Mozarabs of al-Andalus had much in common with these other Christians. The Mozarabs were, I suggest, wholly part of a multilingual Mediterranean Christendom.

The anonymous author-translator, moreover, drew upon Latin culture as well, as when he put Arabic allegorical summeries before nearly every Psalm: these Arabic *argumenta* are very reminiscent of Latin *argumenta* which circulated in Latin Psalters at roughly the same time. Scholars such as Marie Thérèse-Urvoy, who edited these *argumenta*, wrote little of them otherwise, but they hold the key to understanding how reverently the anonymous author-translator thought of Latin culture.

All of this Arabic, Islamic, and Latin culture together shows us a very learned Mozarab at work in the wake of the Córdoban martyr movement. He was opposed to Paulus Alvarus, it seems, in his aggressive placement of Qur'ānic vocabulary into his translation, and yet, he clearly owed much to Latin culture as well. Therefore, he also reminds us that Latin learning had not died out in Córdoba in the 850s, but rather that at times it was just beneath the surface of Arabic script.

Case Study 2: The Mozarabs' Apocalyptic Gift

Equally important as the anonymous author-translator of the Arabic Psalms, other Mozarabs also made Latin manuscripts that help us reinterpret the thought world of Córdoba. For example, a Mozarabic copiest made the Seville Bible (c. 989; Madrid, BNE MS VITR 13.1),

[16] Anonymous author-translator, in Hafs le Goth, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 2-3. "Fa-inna idhā ijtamaʿtum kull wāhid min-kum ʿinda-hu mizmār wa-ʿinda-hu sharīʿah wa-ʿinda-hu waḥy…" "And truly the whole gathering, each one, has its Psalter and law and revelation…"

a complete Vulgate—the most popular Latin translation in tenth-century Europe—in whose margins he put copious Arabic notes. This codex, moreover, brings us back to Simonet, for he certainly knew of it, but he focused upon the manuscript's colophons for dating it, rather than upon its 200-some Arabic notes.[17] Indeed, while scholars such as Simonet, E.A. Loewe, and Pieter Van Koningsveld have focused upon the date and origin of this manuscript, I will be drawing far different conclusions from its marginal notes.[18]

In the manuscript's Book of Isaiah, a scribe (Scribe A) not only copied the Latin text but put many apocalyptic, anti-Judaic notes in the margins: he made a separate text to read along with the Bible. A second annotator who was not a scribe furthermore made Arabic notes in the Book of Jeremiah that continued Scribe A's apocalyptic, anti-Judaic thinking. In examining these notes, I present the Seville Bible as an apocalyptic gift—it was a gift for the bishop of Córdoba—that lets us watch Mozarabs who engaged thoroughly in Latin, Arabic, and Islamic thought, well after the martyr movement.

These annotators indeed thought about the Books of Isaiah and Jeremiah in a manner very reminiscent of Latin Christian biblical exegesis. Much of what Scribe A wrote in his

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[17] I will discuss the specifics of this colophon in Chapter 3, while here I focus upon the larger significance of the manuscript.

[18] Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*; Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*. 45. E.A. Loewe argued that the manuscript has two distinct forms of Visigothic handwriting. The first of these dates to the ninth century. He points, for example to "the striking compactness, the broad proportions of the shaftless letters, the arcs of **m**, **n**, and **h** being low with the last stroke turning inwards, the use of the semi-colon above **b** and **q** for 'bus' and 'que', and the poor separation of words." Later versions of the script, Loewe argues, are tall and narrow, with the final strokes of **m**, **n**, and **h** turning outward, and "a little hook or mallet-head" on the shafts of tall letters. Cf. "On the Date of the Codex Toletanus," in *Palaeographical Papers* Vol. 1, 136.

Loewe also argued that beginning in the later ninth century and certainly by 900, **-ti** has an elongated **i** when assibilated and a normal **i** when un-assibilated. León, Archivo de la Catedral, MS 6, the León Bible of 920, has these two forms of **i**. Loewe went even further in discussing the **–ti** ligature in the Seville Bible. He responded to scholars of the medieval Bible and paleographers such as Samuel Berger, C.U. Clark and Dom De Bruyne who dated the entire manuscript to the ninth century. He stated that the manuscript had an older part dating to the ninth century and a newer part from the later tenth century. The manuscript thus shows Visigothic script changing over roughly a century. Cf. Loewe, "Studia Palaeographica: A Contribution to the History of Early Latin Minuscule and to the Dating of Visigothic Manuscripts," in *Paleographical Papers*, ed. Ludwig Bieler, Volume 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 2-66.

Arabic notes, for example, reads like St. Jerome's biblical commentary on the Book of Isaiah. Certainly, Mozarabs read Arabic exegesis from Eastern Christians, but since this scribe was making a Latin Bible, his marginal notes likely come from a Latin source as well. He furthermore employed an at times Islamicized vocabulary, much like the anonymous author-translator of the Psalms. In al-Andalus, then, Mozarabs not only worked in Arabic, Latin, and Islamic thought when they translated the Psalms, but also in this Latin Bible.

As a final point, the Seville Bible also helps us understand the last great community of Mozarabs, which was not in Seville or Córdoba, but in Toledo, in the center of Iberia.[19] This city was the old Visigothic capital until Muslims conquered it, and when Alfonso VI conquered it from Muslims in 1085, Mozarabs moved there from al-Andalus. When they re-located, they brought manuscripts such as the Seville Bible with them. That they did so illuminates another way in which Mozarabs revered Latin manuscript culture, and Toledan Mozarabs almost certainly took in an apocalyptic, anti-Judaic message in the twelfth century as Andalusian Mozarabs had in the tenth century.

Case Study 3: Lexical Reading in León

Looking to Mozarabic readers of the Bible, then, offers a strikingly new view of al-Andalus in the wake of the martyr movement. We can see a similar picture in other parts of the Peninsula as well. In the wake of the martyr movement, for example, at least some Córdoban Mozarabs headed north and settled in the Duero River Valley. They thus lived on the frontier between al-Andalus and slowly expanding Christian kingdoms, most notably that of León, where we have a mountain evidence for Mozarabic biblical reading.[20] Take, for example, the León Bible of 960 (León, Biblioteca de La Colegiata de San Isidoro MS 2): this Vulgate Bible comes

[19] Cf. González Palencia, *Los Mozárabes de Toledo*.
[20] Cf. Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, Part 3.

from the hand of Sanctius, who did not know Arabic but lived among Mozarabs at the monastery of Valeránica. In making an interpretive guide for later readers of this Bible, Sanctius put hundreds of Latin notes into this manuscript, many of which offer verses from the Vetus Latina, an Old Latin translation of the translation of the Bible, which readers could compare to the León Bible of 960's Vulgate text with almost no emphasis upon spiritual understanding. This mode of reading was much like what St. Augustine had encouraged readers to do when they came across biblical verses which they were not sure how to interpret.

A Mozarab at Valeránica, moreover, left around 300 Arabic notes in this manuscript that illuminate a reader working in a manner reminiscent of Sanctius. His Arabic notes largely translate individual Latin words, rather than explain how those words apply to Christ's life, Jerusalem, or the Last Days. This León annotator, as I call him, read Isaiah and left copious notes there, as well as in the Book of Revelation and other biblical books, including parts of the manuscript whose folios lack Latin notes. While he read apocalyptic parts of the Bible, he did so in a very different way, largely taking interest in the meanings of words and phrases, rather than any spiritual meaning.

What we see with Scribe A of the Seville Bible and Sanctius in the León Bible of 960, then, are two scribes making very effective paratexts, a term which describes the parts of a manuscript besides the text itself that aided readers, including headings, chapter titles, tables of contents, initials, and not least marginal notes. The paratext that a scribe laid out--or that someone added to--could certainly change the way a later reader approached that book: if he saw copious Arabic notes in the Book of Isaiah, for example, he would know that someone had turned his mind to it, and perhaps he should do the same.[21] Scribe A and Sanctius intentionally

[21] Gérard Genette, "Introduction to the Paratext," *New Literary History: a Journal of Theory and Interpretation* Vol. 22, 2 (Spring 1991):261-72.

offered their readers paratext in their respective Bibles, and these later readers of their manuscripts provided additional notes that function like a paratext. Thinking about how these scribes and annotators approached the paratext of their manuscripts is furthermore one way to bring out their agency in creating and changing these manuscripts.

Case Study 4: Latin Exegesis in a Mozarabic Bible

The León Bible of 960, moreover, is not the only manuscript from León by which Mozarabs engaged with scripture. Indeed, the Toledan Mozarabic Bible (Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, MS Cajon 2.2), a manuscript which scholars have scarely examined, offers fresh evidence of the Mozarabs' reading. As with the other manuscripts here, this is a Latin (non-pandect) Bible with both Latin and Arabic notes. Indeed, they certainly had Latin exegetical works at hand as they made and read the Bible. Most prominently, one of these annotators had a copy of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*—a biblical commentary which functioned much like scripture—nearby as he pondered the meaning of the Book of Job. Pondering, in some respects, does not do his reading justice, for he carefully looked up words relating to the natural world, such as types of birds, but also thought about salvation and morality at length. In sum, this annotator and others in the manuscript show us a Mozarab who knew Latin and Arabic culture deeply, even if he does not deploy the Islamic vocabulary that Andalusian scribes and annotators do.[22]

In this case study, we will furthermore see an annotator going against the grain of the notes which earlier annotators had placed in the Toledan Mozarabic Bible's margins. For while several annotators in this manuscript clearly read Latin exegesis—at times even leaving bilingual

[22] We will see other annotators in this manuscript as well.

Latin-Arabic notes—we also have in this manuscript a reader who left one-word Arabic notes that read nothing like the earlier marginalia. These one-word Arabic notes are imperative, commanding readers to see, understand, and even digest biblical verses, the last of which imperatives vividly translates the Latin metaphor of *ruminatio*, chewing and digesting the Bible's words.

Here, then, I treat the importance of Latin exegesis among the Mozarabs of León and Toledo, where a likely Mozarab brought this manuscript after 1085. The Mozarabs' reading of Latin exegesis is clearer here than in the Seville Bible, and this case study of the Toledan Mozarabic Bible furthermore shows interest in more than apocalyptic, anti-Judaic material. Indeed, in discussing this Latin exegesis, I also treat a Latin manuscript of Pope Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, which a Mozarabic scribe annotated in Arabic, and which someone brought to Toledo. We simply do not know if this was the manuscript that the Mozarab who annotated the Toledan Mozarabic Bible's Book of Job had at hand as he wrote, but this *Moralia* manuscript has a clear place in a chapter on the Mozarabs' reading of Latin exegesis.

In the Epilogue, I will conclude this dissertation with some observations on the changes that we see in Toledan biblical culture during the twelfth and especially the thirteenth century. Put simply here, I will suggest that Toledan readers turned increasingly to a multi-volume series of biblical commentaries, the *Glossa ordinaria*, during this time. Even more so than the Mozarabs' Latin Bibles, these *Glossa* manuscripts had a fixed format, with marginal and interlinear notes from scribes but none from later readers. We have no *Glossa* manuscripts with Arabic notes in them, although Arabic-speakers certainly thrived in Toledo during the thirteenth century. This was in part because the margins of *Glossa ordinaria* manuscripts, no matter what biblical book they treated, always had margins full of notes.

The Mozarabs and the Mediterranean

As a recurring theme in this dissertation, we will see how the Mozarabs' biblical reading helped them participate in the intellectual life of the medieval Mediterranean world, a cohesive multi-cultural region that fed all sorts of cultural exchange.[23] Therefore, while the following chapters focus upon the Mozarabs, we must remember that they can tell us much about intercommunal relations around the Mediterranean.[24] Their experiences reading the Bible were not so different from those of Christians in North Africa or the Eastern Mediterranean, or of Europe for that matter.[25] They even employed language that Persian Muslims also invoked when they thought about their own cultural standing vis a vis the Arab Muslims who had conquered them.

Manuscripts do indeed help us see these cultural exchanges undergirding Mediterranean history. It should not surprise, for example, that the earliest Arabic Gospels (9th Century) come not from Iberia, but from the monastery of Mar Sabas near Mt. Sinai. What is more, we know of at least one Christian, George of Mar Sabas, who carried books from Mar Sabas to Iberia when he moved there. Juan Pedro Monferrar Sala has even demonstrated that the earliest Arabic Gospels in Iberia had clear readings from a Greek manuscript: that is, the makers of the Arabic Gospels in Iberia had access to Greek texts, but equally importantly, Eastern Christians (in Iberia

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[23] Much as S.D. Gotein did. Cf. his *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Genizah*, 5 Vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967-).

[24] By which here I simply define as landmasses with borders on the Mediterranean, like Iberia, North Africa, Italy, or Jerusalem.

[25] Cf. Sidney H. Griffith, "The Gospel in Arabic: An Inquiry into Its Appearance in the First Abbasid Century," *Oriens Christianus* Vol. 69, No. 1: 126-67. Henri Bresc and Anneliese Nef, "Les Mozarabes de Sicilie (1100-1300)," in Errico Cuozzo and Jean-Marie Martin, *Cavalieri alla Conquista del Sud: Studi sull' Italia Normana in memoria di Léon-Robert Ménager* (Rome: Editori Laterza, 1998). Mayte Penelas has explored the links between Iberia and North Africa. See *Kitāb Hurūšiyūš (Traducción árabe de las "Historia adversus paganos"de Orosio)*, Ed. Mayte Penelas (Madrid: CSIC, 2001); Hanna E. Kassis, "Arabic-speaking Christians in al-Andalus in an age of turmoil (fifth/eleventh century until A.H. 478/A.D. 1085)," *al-Qanṭara* Vol. 15, No. 2 (1994): 401-22; P.S. van Koningsveld, "Christian-Arabic manucripts from the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa: a historical interpretation," *al-Qanṭara* Vol. 15, No. 2 (1994):423-51.

and elsewhere) lived among Mozarabs and Latin-Romance-speaking Christians.[26] For both Mozarabs and Eastern Christians, Arabic became an everday language, and both groups needed—indeed craved--scriptures in that language. Both groups furthermore had to come to terms with Islam: as a political power, as a rival religion, and as a source of advanced philosophy and science.[27]

Without doubt, the Mozarabs' making and close reading of Arabic manuscripts merits comparison with Eastern Christians, yet we still know little about the basic details of the Mozarabs' Bibles.[28] This dissertation fills in these details, while also making clear that these Iberian Arabic-speaking Christians actively participated in Mediterranean intellectual life. At the same time, they also owed much to Latin thought—Christianity was a Mediterranean religion--although scholars have paid less attention to this than to their deep understanding of Arabic and Islamic culture.[29] I am thus connecting the Mozarabs not only with Christians across the Mediterranean, but also and much more firmly with Christians from across the Pyrennees.

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[26] Juan Pedro Monferrar Sala, "Traductalogia Muzarabica: Notas a Propósito de un fragment del Codex Arabicus Monachensis Aumer 238," *Meridies* Vol. 5-6 (2002):29-50; on the Arabic Gospels, see as well Daniel Potthast, *Christen und Muslime im Andalus: Andalusische Christen und ihre Literatur nach religionspolemischen Texten des zehnten bis zwölften Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013).

[27] Dimitri Gutas, *Greek thought, Arabic culture: the Graeco-Arabic translation movement in Baghdad and early 'Abbāsid society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries)* (London: Routledge, 1998), illuminates the interplay between Muslims and Eastern Christians.

[28] Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050-1200* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), offers another example of the close ties between Eastern Christianity and the Mozarabs; Luis A. García Moreno, "Elementos de tradición bizantina en dos Vidas de Mahoma mozárabes," in *Bizancio y la Península Ibérica: de la Antigüedad a la Edad Moderna*, ed. Immaculada Pérez Martín y Pedro Bádenas de la Peña (Madrid: CSIC, 2004):247-71.

[29] Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs*, and Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, have explored the links between the Mozarabs and Latin Culture, but much work remains. The numerous scholars in the *Biblia Arabica* project in Munich, Tel Aviv, and elsewhere have further taught me that Eastern Christians and Jews living in the Islamic world had similar approaches to manuscripts as the Mozarabs did. That is to say, scholars such as Juan Pedro Monferrar Sala, Camilla Adang, and Miriam Hjälm are doing Mediterranean history without calling it so: they simply know that scholars who study minority communities in the Islamic world have much to say to each other. To that end, I am grateful to have shared my research with them, and while I am still digesting all that I learned at the project's annual meeting, nevertheless much of what follows ties in quite strongly with the group's ongoing conversations.

Let me conclude, then, by saying again that the Mozarabs' appropriation of Latin, Arabic, and Islamic culture fits well in the growing field of Mediterranean studies. Many scholars now treat the Mediterrean as a cohesive region in which goods, languages, and people of all sorts moved freely. Yet much work remains in understanding the Mozarabs themselves, especially when we have only really begun to look at their manuscripts, even though these books show us strong links between the different religious groups in the Mediterranean world. In writing such a detailed analysis of the Mozarabs' bookmaking and reading, I place them more firmly in the Mediterranean world than Simonet, Van Koningsveld, Ann Christys or Aillet did.

Part One: Mozarabic Translators, Scribes, and the Bible from al-Andalus to Toledo

Chapter 1: Reading and Translating the Psalms in Medieval Córdoba

The earliest evidence for Mozarabic biblical study comes from ninth-century Córdoba, a city of great learning. It was at that time the most advanced city in Europe, where a line of independent Muslim military commanders ruled while the Muslim ʿAbbasid dynasty oversaw much of the Islamic world from Baghdad. In 929, with the ʿAbbasid dynasty still held power, one of these Córdoban rulers, Abd al-Raḥman III, declared himself Caliph, the religious and political leader of the Islamic world. He thereby made Córdoba a rival to the Islamic heartlands in the East.

Although its mosque and its palace complex, the *madinat al-Zahrā'*, best testify to Córdoba's power, its intellectual wealth also captivated medieval Christians.[30] For Córdoba's Mozarabs, life was rich, even while living under Muslim rule. Muslims and Christians lived peaceablely most of the time, but Muslims also made clear that Christian religious life was below their own, as when they joined the Church of St. Vincent to the city's largest mosque.[31] The

[30] On *madinat al-Zahrā'*, see Manuel Acíen Almansa, "Madīnat al-Zahrā' en el urbanismo musulmán," *Cuadernos de Madīnat al-Zahrā'* 1 (1987): 11-26; Antonio Vallejo Triano, "Madīnat al-Zahrā': Transformation of a Caliphal City," in Glaire D. Anderson and Miriam Rosser-Owen, eds., *Revisiting al-Andalus: Perspectives on the Material Culture of Islamic Iberia and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 3-26. María Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2002), 79-100 offers a very accessible introduction to the splendor of the Córdoban Caliphate. Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Moors in Spain* (London: T. Fisher Unwinn, 1888), is representative of nineteenth-century authors who emphasized the exotic at *medinat al-Zahrā'*: "The Slav pages and eunuchs were three thousand three hundred and fifty, to whom thirteen thousand pounds of flesh meat were distributed daily, some receiving ten pounds each, and some less, according to their rank and station, exclusive of fowls, partridges, and birds of other sorts, game and fish" (141); "The quiet flow of the Guadalquivir was a constant delight to the inhabitants; for the Eastern (and the Moors of Spain were Eastern in everything but longitude) loves nothing better than a view over a rippling stream" (135). The scholarship on Orientalists is enormous: see especially Karla Mallette, *European Modernity and the Arab Mediterranean: Toward a New Philology and a Counter-Orientalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

[31] Jean-Pierre Molénat, "La place des chrétiens dans la Codoue des Omeyyades, d' après leurs églises (VIIIe-X^{e})," *Al-Qanṭara* 33:1 (2012): 147-68.

Muslim call to prayer as well drowned out Christian bells.[32] Christians were inferior, but could practice their religion.

Occasionally, some outbreaks of violence boiled over in Córdoba, like the so-called martyr movement of the 850s, when nearly fifty Christians sought death by publically slandering Muhammad in Arabic. The sources for this best-known episode involving Córdoba's Christians, the writings of the layman Alvarus of Córdoba and the martyred monk whose vita he wrote, Eulogius of Córdoba, present thorough difficulties for understanding the life and circumstances of Córdoba's Mozarabs, not least their intellectual life, with both authors slandering the Arabic language and Islam. Alvarus, moreover, famously decried the lack of Latin learning in Córdoba, where Arabic books had become all the rage:

> "What pain (*heu pro dolor*), the Christians do not know their own religion (*legem*) and the Latins do not heed their own language, so that among the whole gathering of Christians hardly one in a thousand is found who is able to dictate (*dirigere*) a greeting to a brother properly, and he who explains the Chaldean ostentation of words is found without number among the many crowds…" [33]

His quote is certainly problematic, and reads very differently than the Psalm translation of an anonymous author-translator upon whom I focus in this chapter. For while the martyr movement has captured the interest of scholars and deeply shaped how they have understood Christian life in Córdoba, we nevertheless have more than Alvarus and Eulogius' writings to tell of the rich learning of the Córdoban Mozarabs. Indeed, as I argue at length in this chapter, the anonymous-author translator of this Arabic prose Psalter translation offers a firm rejoinder to Alvarus'

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[32] Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Oxford, One World: 1993), 233; Olivia Remie Constable, "Regulating Religious Noise: The Council of Vienne, the Mosque Call and Muslim Pilgrimage in the Late Medieval World," *Medieval Encounters* 16 (2010): 64-95.

[33] Alvarus of Cordoba, *Albari Indicululus Luminosus*, ed. Juan Gil, *CSM*, 1:314-5. "Heu pro dolor, legem suam nesciunt Xpiani collegio et linguam propriam non aduertunt Latini, ita ut omni Xpi collegio uix inueniatur unus in milleno hominum numero qui salutatoris fratri possit ratjionauiliter dirigere litteras, et repperitur absque numero multiplices turbas qui erudite Caldaicas uerborum explicet pompas…"

lament, because he shows us the Mozarabs' deep affinity for Latin, their immersion in the Arabic language, and their willingness to employ vividly Islamic phrases in Christian contexts.

His Psalter is the earliest attestable Arabic translation of the Bible from Iberia. This is, more importantly, the strongest case we have of a Mozarab employing phrases from the Qur'ān, with these phrases making clear the Mozarabs' willingness to bring Islamic thought into their worship. He did so in a prologue to his Psalms, that is, as an author, rather than as a translator: for this reason, I call him the anonymous author-translator. Yet while he knew Qur'ānic phrases and how to fit them to Christian contexts, he also followed his Latin translation of the Psalms closely: so that in opposition to Alvarus' lament, he could not not only read that language, but also revered Latin culture. The Arabic summeries or *argumenta* at the head of each Psalm, for example, mimic the Latin *argumenta* in contemporary Latin Psalters. We have only begun to understand the importance of these *argumenta*, but this much is clear: we cannot understand this prose translation without them, just as we cannot understand the Mozarabs' intellectual life without treating their debt to Latin, Arabic and Islamic culture.

An Arabic Prose Prologue to the Psalms

Two late medieval manuscripts bear witness to the anonymous author-translator's Arabic Prose Psalter: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS. Ar. 5 and London, British Library, MS. Add. 9060, hereafter the Vatican and British Library Psalters[34] The two manuscripts of his translation have many variants, making it difficult to know which manuscript best shows his original work. For this reason and for convenience, what I deem the work of the anonymous author-translator follows Marie Therésè-Urvoy's edition for his prose prologue, and

[34] Eric Reiter's discussion of a reader-author has helped me think about the anonymous author-translator. See his "The reader as author of the self-produced manuscript: reading and rewriting Latin Theology in the late Middle Ages," *Viator* 27 (1996): 151-69.

the Vatican Psalter for the text of the prose Psalms, which she did not edit. While this method poses problems, Cyrille Aillet nevertheless also employed the Vatican Psalter for the prose Psalms' text.[35]

Table 1: Manuscripts of the Anonymous Author-Translator and Ḥafṣ ibn Albar's Translations

Manuscript	Prose Prologue	Verse Prologue	Argumenta	Version of Psalms
BAV MS. Ar. 5 (s. xiii)	X		X	Prose
BL MS. Add. 9060 (s. xiii?)	X		X (for some Psalms)	Prose

What little we know of the anonymous author-translator nevertheless helps us understand the Mozarabs' thought world better. Most importantly, he had a deep understanding of Arabic, the Qur'ān, and Latin, with which linguistic skill he completed his translation in Córdoba before 889.[36] He thus likely lived through the martyr movement during the 850s.[37] His life, what we can gather from his translation at least, thereby offers a clear window into Córdoba in the years after the martyr movement. These prose Psalms complicate our understanding of Córdoban Christians attitudes to Latin, Arabic, and Islam, in the way they show a Mozarab bringing all three intellectual traditions together to a far greater degree than many scholars have realized.

[35] Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 186. I have also studied BL MS. Add. 9060 *in situ*.
[36] Ḥafṣ' poetic translation, which he finished in 889, improved upon the prose translation's style, so the earlier translation must predate 889.
[37] On the martyr movement, see among others Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*; Dominique Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens mozarabes et culture islamique dans l' Espagne des VIIIe-IXe siècles* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1984); Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Jessica A. Coope, *The Martyrs of Cordoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995).

As I move into a discussion of the prose prologue, I should note that not all Arabic words are particularly Islamic. This is especially important because Mozarabs drew upon the writings of both Arabic-speaking Eastern Christians (the term Mozarab refers to Arabic-speaking Christians in Iberia) and Muslims who shared some religious vocabulary, with no further significance.[38] When the Mozarabs translated *evangelium* (gospel) as *al-injīl*, for example, they employed a term common among all Muslims and Christians. To cite three examples, Arabic-speaking Christians of the eastern Mediterranean employed it, and it is in both the Qur'ān and the Muslim polemicist Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm's (d. 1064) refutation of Christian scripture.[39] *Al-injīl* thus offers a good example of shared vocabulary that tells us very little about the Mozarabs' intellectual life.

What we see in the prose prologue goes further than this: it demands our attention because few Christian texts have Islamic vocabulary, including entire Qur'ānic phrases, in a Christian framework more so than it does. When praising God, the anonymous author-translator did so in Qur'ānic language, just as he did when professing Christ's divinity, a particularly striking point, since for Muslims Christ was a human prophet. In making this Psalter, then, and especially in writing his prologue, he actively and aggressively engaged with Islam and its accompanying culture, which simultaneously attracted and repulsed him, but as we will see, in other places in his translation he made clear his reverence to Latin culture as well.

Indeed, for all the theological arguments in which they engaged, the Mozarabs and Muslims both knew they worshipped the same God. It only makes sense, then, that they praised him similarly. In addition to the Trinitarian *basmalah*, the anonymous author-translator also

[38] Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs*, 95-124.
[39] Ibn Hazm, *Kitāb al-faṣl fī al-milal wa- al-ahwā' wa- al-niḥal* (Baghdad: Maktabat al-Muthanna, 1964).

professed his love of God through the common Islamic phrase "wa- al-ḥamd lil-ilah rabb al-ʿālamīn," or "praise be to God, Lord of the worlds," which is in many ṣuras.[40] In the prose prologue, it comes as the author-translator writes of how the Psalms foretell of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection—many of the *argumenta* also frame the Psalms in this way--both of which Muslims denied.[41] Here the author-translator fit overtly Islamic praise of a non-triune God to Christ, who was for Muslims a human prophet. Surely, this Mozarab knew how to deploy Islamic language, masking subtle polemic and Latin theology underneath overt Islamic praise.

Another even more telling bit of this praise closes the prologue: "and God is most-knowing and most just, he has no partner, and he is Lord of the Great Throne. The sources (maṣādir) are complete, praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds."[42] The Qur'ānic language here is certainly worth close analysis. In Qur'ān 9:129, God states: "Now, if they turn away (O Muhammad) say: God suffices for me. There is no God save Him. In Him I have relied, and He is Lord of the Tremendous Throne."[43] Qur'ān 23:86, praises God in a similar way: "Say, who is the Lord of the Seven Heavens and the Lord of the Great Throne?"[44] Qur'ān 13:36 teaches that God has no partner (sharīk): "Say, I am commanded only that I serve Allah and ascribe unto Him no partner."[45] For Muslims, this last phrase denies Christ's divinity, yet the author-translator of the prologue had no difficulty employing the phrase "lā sharīk la-hu (he has no partner)" in

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[40] Hafs le Goth, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 11.
[41] Hafs le Goth, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 11. "Wa-ʿajā'ib allah fil-zabūr maktūbah wa-qaltu al-masīḥ wa-qiyām-hu" "And the miracles of God are written in the Psalter and the death of the Messiah and his rising"
[42] Ibid., 13. "wa- allah aʿlam wa- aḥkam lā sharīk la-hu wa- huwa rabb al-ʿarsh al-ʿaẓīm. Tammat al-maṣādir wa- al-ḥamd li-lah rabb al-ʿālamīn."
[43] Qur'ān 9:129. "fa in tawallū ifqul ḥasibā allah lā ilah ilā huwa ʿalayhi tawakkaltu wa- huwa rabb al-ʿarsh al-ʿaẓīm." In translating the Qur'ān I follow the English translation of Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall, which I have checked against the Arabic.
[44] Qur'ān 23:86. "qul man rabb al-samawat al-sabʿa wa- rabb al-ʿarsh al-ʿaẓīm"
[45] Qur'ān 13:36. "qul innamā umirtu an aʿabud allah wa- lā ushrik bi-hi".

praise of a triune God. That is, he manipulated the Qur'ān's language, perhaps even combining several verses of that scripture so that it fit the Mozarabs' liturgical needs.

The anonymous author-translator, moreover, said similar things of Christ: "the word who created the heavens and the Earth and that which is between them."[46] In the Qur'ān, a thoroughly non-Trinitarian God appears as the creator of the "Heavens and the Earth and that which is between them."[47] The anonymous author-translator, who likely knew this, took a Qur'ānic description of God and applied it to Christ, who in the Qur'ān is a human prophet, and the Son of Mary rather than God. Clearly, this very learned Mozarab moved easily between Latin, Arabic, and Islamic thought. While the evidence for this is strong, scholars had long thought of the Mozarabs as Arab and Islamic in all parts of their life except religious practice.[48]

Unfortunately, pinning down the source(s) from which the author-translator learned these phrases poses problems. He could have simply heard Muslims praising God, for he lived in the medieval Muslim world. Yet let us not write off the chance that he learned from the Qur'ān or other Arabic books as well. Muslims in ninth-century Cordoba, the translator's home, knew well the Islamic sciences, including Qurʾānic study.[49] Indeed, Christians in that city eagerly read Arabic texts, although we cannot pinpoint a specific manuscript with which the author-translator worked. Even so, however, the prologue demonstrates his Islamic vocabulary. Phrases such as

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[46] Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 1. "Al-kalimah allatī khaliqat al-samawāt wa- al-arḍ wa- ma bayna-humā"
[47] Cf. Qur'ān 30:8, "Have they not pondered upon themselves? Allah created not the heavens and the earth, and that which is between them, save with truth and for a destined end…"; 32:4, "Allah it is who created the heavens and the earth, and that which is between them, in six days…" ; 46:3, "We created not the heavens and the earth and all that is between them save with truth, and for a term appointed."
[48] Philippe Roisse, "Célébrait-on les offices liturgiques en arabe dans l' Occident musulman?' Étude, édition, et traduction d' un *Capitulare Evangeliorum* arabe (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Aumer 238)," in Cyrille Aillet, Mayte Penelas y Philippe Roisse, eds., *¿Existe una identidad mozárabe?*, Collection de la Casa de Velázquez 101 (Madrid: 2008), 211-53; Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, *passim*.
[49] D. Urvoy, *Le Monde des Ulémas Andalous du Ve/ XIe au VIIe/XIIIe siècle. Etude* sociologique (Genève: Droz, 1978) tracks down the circles of learned men who lived in al-Andalus, working primarily with Muslim biographical dictionaries. We unfortunately lack them for the Mozarabs.

"Lord of the Worlds" or "Lord of the Great Throne" prove that Mozarab intellectuals actively brought Islamic culture into their religious writings during the height of Muslim rule at Córdoba, even as they made clear that they thought of God differently than the majority of the city did.

The above phrases are ubiquitous in the Qur'ān, but at least one part of the prologue really marks the anonymous author-translator's learning. Saul and the Israelites, the author-translator notes, had chanted the Psalms "to expel from him the spirits (*al-jinn*) and the evil whisperings (*al-wasāwis*) which are is in his heart."[50] The "whisperers" here, *al-wasāwis*, is the plural form of a Muslim name for Satan, *al-waswās*. They tempt as well in Ṣura 114, the last in the Qur'ān: "I seek refuge in the heart of mankind… from the evil of the sneaking whisperer (*al-waswās*), who whisperith in the hearts of mankind, of the Jinn and of mankind."[51] Now, many Christian Arabic texts employ *al-shayṭān* for Satan, while the Qur'ān itself also calls him *iblīs*. For the author-translator to write the much rarer *al-wasāwis* is quite stunning. He astutely did so only once in the prologue, likely because the word infrequently dots the Qur'ān.[52] In addition to Ṣura 114, where the noun *al-waswās* appears, Qur'ān 7:20 and 20:120 have a verbal form of this root.[53] Indeed, what is perhaps most remarkable is the chanting of scripture to protect one's heart from evil in both the Arabic Psalms and the Qurʾān.

This shows beyond doubt that the author-translator was aggressively active in putting Islamic phrases into his translation. Much like when he referred to Christ as "the word which created the heavens and the Earth and that which is between them," he here fit a Qur'ānic phrase

[50] Hafs le Goth, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 9. "yanfī al-jinn ʿan-hi wa- al-wasāwis allatī kānat fī ṣadrihi."
[51] Qur'ān 114: 4-6 (Pickthall translation).
[52] Although he strikingly employs this language again in the Arabic *argumenta*, or allegorical summaries, to the Psalms, as I discuss below. There, he does so in the same context of warding off evil.
[53] Qur'ān 7:20, "Then Satan whispered to them that he might manifest unto them that which was hidden from them of their shame, and he said: Your Lord forbade you from this tree only lest ye should become angels or become of the immortals" and 20:120, "But the Devil whispered to him, saying: O Adam! Shall I show thee the tree of immortality and power that wasteth not away?"

to Saul, stories of whose just rule edified Christians. As a rare word, *al-wasāwis* furthermore goes well in a prologue, where the author-translator and other many medieval authors flaunted their linguistic skill. Indeed, the deployment of Islamic language, and the bending of it to conform to the Mozarabs' spiritual belief, marks the anonymous author-translator's intellectual prowess.

In sum, the prose prologue illuminates the religious vocabulary of the Mozarabs. These Islamic words and phrases show the Mozarabs' willingness to praise God much like Muslims did. The anonymous author-translator deploys Islamic vocabulary so precisely, and in such similar ways as the Qur'ān, that it is difficult to read the evidence otherwise. Yet also of foremost importance for the author-translator was making Islamic language, rather than simply Arabic, fit the Holy Trinity, in which Muslims did not believe. This prologue, finally, is a fine example of the Arabophile culture that Alvarus of Córdoba railed against, although as we will see, the anonymous author-translator also owed much to Latin learning.

From Córdoba to a Mediterranean Christendom in the Prose Prologue

Quite strikingly, the anonymous author-translator lets us watch the mixing of Latin, Arabic, and Islamic culture in the wake of the martyr movement. Yet he thought not only of the Mozarabs' place in Córdoba, but also in Christendom as a whole. Certainly, the anonymous author-translator knew well that Christians like himself had helped spread the religion in many langauges. Indeed, a heading for part of his prologue reads: "all of the nations (*al-shuʿūb*) pray in the Psalms."[54] This offers evidence that the Mozarabs referred to themselves as a distinct nation (*shʿab* or *shʿib*). While *shʿab* or *shʿib* can take on a variety of meanings, including people, tribe,

[54].Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier* Mozarabe jamīʿa al-shuʿūb taṣalā fil-zabūr"

or race, what is most important here is that the Mozarabs viewed themselves as different both from Latin Christians and from Muslims.

In thinking about these different nations, moreover, the anonymous author-translator linked the Arabic Psalter to Paul's preaching. He wrote: "the Apostle related to us…that they prayed to their Lord in a language which they knew, the Greeks in Greek, the Syrians in Syriac, and the *ʿajamīyah* in Latin, in order that all the languages acknowledge the command of God."[55] He knew well that the Mozarabs needed Arabic texts, much as Syrian-speaking Christians did Syriac works. For him, Hebrew was the root language of the Psalms, but by his reasoning, if Christians had already translated the Psalms from Hebrew into Latin and other languages, then he could render them in Arabic. The end goal was the same as Paul's, the spread of Christianity:

"And therefore the Christians pray in the eastern places of the world and its west, with their bishops, and their kings and their patriarchs and their monks, and the gathering of their men from the Franks and the Arabs and the Syrians who believe in the messiah, all their prayers are with a Psalter translated from Hebrew into many languages: Greek and Latin and Syrian and Hindi and Arabic, and many other tongues."[56]

Like many other medieval and modern Christians, the Mozarabs absorbed the Bible through translation. Pushing this interpretation further, we see that the anonymous author-translator's defense of his translation illuminates how he knew the Mozarabs' Arabophile culture made them different from—not better or worse than-- Latin Christians. Yet equally importantly here, he and other Mozarabs read in Arabic and Latin, and even their Arabic writings owe much to Latin exemplars.

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[55] Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 3. "fa-akhbarnā al-ḥawārī wa- an awl mā āmunū al-rūm wa- al-yahūd wa- al-ʿajam wa- al-rūmāniyūn innamā āmunū wa- ṣallū ilā rabbihim bil-lughah allatī yaʿarifūnha. Man kāna rūmiyyā fa-bil-rūmiyyah wa- man kāna siriyāniyyā fa-bil-siriyāniyah wa- man kāna ʿajamiyyā fa-bil-lāṭīniyyah li-kaimā yuqirru kull lisān b-iymān allah."

[56] Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 3. "Wa- ka-dhalika ṣalat al-naṣārī fī mashāriq al-arḍ wa- maghāribiha, min asāqifihim wa- mulūkihim wa- baṭārqtihim wa- ruhbānihim, wa- jamhār rijalihim min al-afranj wa- al- ʿarab wa- al-siriyāniyīn al-muminīn bil-masīḥ, ṣalātuhum kull-ha bil-zabūr al-mutarjim min al-ʿibrānī fil-lughāt al-kathīrat min-ha: al-rūmiyah wa- al-lāṭīniyah wa- al-siriyāniyah wa- al-hindī wa- ghair-ha min al-alsun."

In the above description of a multilingual Christendom, one word stands out: indeed, both the anonymous author-translator referred to *al-ʿajam*, a term with a basic meaning of "the barbarians." In Iberian sources, *al-ʿajam* are either Mozarabs--Muslims called them such--or Latin Christians.[57] This was not necessarily hostile, especially when Arabic-speaking Mozarabs called Latin speakers *al-ʿajam*. For as Travis Zahdeh has pointed out, this word slowly lost its pejorative meaning after the Arab conquest of Persia.[58] Certainly, the anonymous author-translator had this non-pejorative meaning in mind, for Latin was not foreign to him, but he quite clearly thought of Latin Christians differently than Mozarabs.[59]

He, moreover, owed much of his learning to Latin books. The anonymous author-translator pored over a Latin Psalter as he made his translation, indeed, he saw himself doing Paul's work. On a broader level, this deep Latin learning drove the Mozarabs to approach books, theology, and translation much like other Christians had done before, even as the Mozarabs incorporated Islamic thought into their worship. The Arabic Prose Psalter illuminates the ways in which Córdoba's Mozarabs thought about religion and language, indeed, how they meshed the two. Arabic for them was a "metropolitan language," to borrow the phrase of Karla Mallette. Speakers of these languages moved rather easily across the Mediterranean World.[60] The anonymous author-translator was thinking not only of the Mozarabs' place in medieval Córboba, then, but also in a Christendom which had blossomed through linguistic diversity.

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[57] Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs*, 174-5.
[58] Zahdeh, *The Vernacular Qur'an: translation and the rise of Persian exegesis* (London: The Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2012).
[59] I explore the Mozarabs' work with Latin culture more fully in the remaining chapters.
[60] Karla Mallette, "The Metropolis and Its Languages," forthcoming.

Translating the Psalms into Arabic Prose

In the prose prologue, the anonymous author-translator taught the spiritual importance of the Psalms though rich Islamic vocabulary, as well as the importance of preaching these songs in Arabic. Yet what makes this even more interesting is the anonymous author-translator's reverence for Latin culture as well. We can see this perhaps most clearly in the way he translated the Psalms faithfully from Latin into Arabic. [61]

This Prose Psalter, even with all its Islamic vocabulary, is an Arabic copy of a Latin Psalter. When the anonymous author-translator made this Arabic scripture, there were several Latin versions of the Psalms from which to choose. The most popular of these in early medieval Iberia was the so-called Mozarabic Psalter, a Latin version which translated the Greek Septuagint version of the Psalms. The Vetus Latina Hispana, the most common version of the Bible (as opposed to a Psalter) in early medieval Iberia, also had this Mozarabic version of the Psalms. The Vetus Latina Hispana and the Mozarabic Psalter circulated in Iberia long after reforms in the Carolingian kingdom (ca.800) made St. Jerome's Vulgate the standard Latin Bible in Iberia and northern Euorpe.[62] That is, while the anonymous author-translator doubtless had access to a Vulgate version of the Psalms, he followed the Vetus Latina Hispana.

When we look closely, we see that Vatican Psalter, one manuscript of the prose Psalms, renders the Mozarabic Psalter's Latin very literally. Psalm 1 makes this very clear: "ṭūbā lil-rajul alladhī lam yasluk fī mu'āmarat al-munāfiqīn wa- fī ṭarīq al-khātīn lam yaqim." This maps

[61] My understanding of the Mozarabs' reading practices owes much to Anthony Grafton, whose scholarship on early-modern reading and book culture is lucid, accessible, and erudite. Cf. his *Worlds Made by Words: Scholarship and Community in the Modern West* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

[62] We should note as well that St. Jerome also translated the Greek version of the Psalms into Latin, and made a third version that brought together the Hebrew and Greek versions. The so-called Seville Bible, Madrid, *Biblioteca Nacional de España*, MS. Vitr 13.1, meanwhile, is one example of a tenth-century Bible with readings from an Old Latin Version and the Vulgate.

precisely onto the Latin: "Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum et in via peccatorum non stetit," or "Blessed is the man who does not enter the advice of the impious and does not stand on the path of sinners."[63] Not only are the meanings of the Latin and Arabic versions the same, but the Arabic syntax mirrors the Latin's exactly. For example, the verbs *lam yasluk* and *non abiit* have exactly the same position in their sentences, as do *lam yaqim* and *non stetit*. This shows the method by which the author-translator worked, but also how especially diligent readers of the Psalms could move between the two languages as they engaged the text.

Table 2 : Latin Versions of the Bible and Psalter

Author	**Version of Bible**	**Corresponding Psalter**
Anonymous Author(s)	Vetus Latina Hispana	The Mozarabic Psalter
St. Jerome	Vulgate Bible	Psalterium ex hebraico

In contrast to the anonymous author-translator, Ḥafṣ ibn Albar translated the opening of Psalm 1: "the man thrives who does not go // on the way of the people of sin who do wrong // and [the man thrives] who does not stand upon the path of the sinful // and who does not sit amongst the darkness."[64] He employed poetry and different words, opening this first Psalm with the fourth-form of the root f-l-ḥ, meaning to be blessed, rather than the ṭ-w-b root in the Arabic prose Psalms, which means largely the same thing. Where the anonymous author-translator rendered *via peccatorum* as *tarīq al-khāṭīn*, Ḥafṣ had *sabīl al-athamah*. Where the Prose Psalms has *mu'āmirat al-mu'nāfiqīn* for *consilio impiorium*, the consel of the unjust, Ḥafṣ has *ra'y ahl*

[63] BAV MS. Ar. 5, Fol. 10^{v}; Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 186-7.
[64] Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 21. "Qad afalaḥa al-marʾ alladhī lam yadhhab // fī raʾy ahl al-jurm faʿala al-mudhnib // wa- lam yaqum (*sic*) ʿalā sabīl al-athamah // wa- lā yakun yajlasu baina al-ẓalamah"; Cf. the opening lines of Psalm 1 in BAV MS Ar. 5: "ṭūbā lil-rajul alladhī lam yasluk fī muʾāmarat al-munafiqīn wa- fī ṭarīq al-khāṭīn lam yaqim (sic) wa- ʿalā majlis al-mufsidīn lam yajlas"

al-jurm, "the command of the people of sin." While both of these Arabic renditions emloyed an *idafa construction*—x of y--to render the Latin genitive case, Ḥafṣ goes further from the Latin translation than the anonymous author-translator does in writing of the "command of the people of sin." Perhaps Ḥafṣ envisioned these people in opposition to the *ahl al-kitāb*, the "People of the Book," a Muslim term for those of the Abrahmic religions.[65]

The anonymous author-translator, then, approached his project differently than Ḥafṣ did his own. Indeed, Psalm 63 offers conclusive evidence his prose Psalter followed the so-called Mozarabic Psalter. This opens: "Exaudi Deus orationem meum cum deprecor a timore inimici eripe animam meam." The Vulgate is quite different: "Audi Deus vocem meam loquentis a timore inimici serva vitam meam."[66] The Arabic in the Vatican Psalter follows the Mozarabic Psalter, stating: "Istajib ya allah ṣalatī fī ḥarnī wa- min khauf al-ʿadū anjī nafsī."[67] While the Arabic fourth-form imperative *anjī* fits either *eripe* (Vetus Latina) or *serva* (Vulgate), the word ṣalatī, meaning "my prayer," goes far better with *orationem meam* than *vocem meam*, as does *nafsī*, my soul, with *animam meam*, rather than *vitam meam*, my life, in the Vulgate. Furthermore, the Vatican Psalter has Latin marginal notes offering *incipits* to the Arabic Psalms. Psalm 63's marginal notation has "Exaudi orationem meam."[68]

In Psalm 63 and elsewhere, moreover, this translator moved very carefully between two very different languages. When translating *a timore inimici eripe animam meam*, "rescue my soul from the fear of the enemies," for example, the author-translator perfectly captured the sense

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[65] Eva Lapiedra Gutiérrez, *Cómo los musulmanes llamaban a los cristianos hispánicos* (Generalitat Valenciana-Istituto de Cultura "Juan Gil Albert," Diputación Provincial de Alicante: Alicante, 1997).
[66] Ps. 63:2.
[67] BAV MS Ar. 5, Fol. 58^{v}.
[68] BAV MS. Ar. 5, Fol. 58^{v}.

of the ablative construction *a timore inimici*, rendering it as "*min khauf al-ʿadū*."[69] Now, a literal translation often reads awkwardly in comparison to a translation *ad sensum*. Yet the Vatican Psalter nevertheless witnesses the anonymous author-translator's precision and care. Cyrille Aillet has recently made this point: "The literal character of the translation, piercingly critiqued by Ḥafṣ [ibn Albar, a later translator of the Psalms], reveals therefore an obvious prejudice of faithfulness to the source."[70] Phrased differently, the author-translator, in creating a working text which drew from a Latin Psalter, reverently moved between the Latin Psalter and his own translation.[71] As Aillet further noted, the author-translator also "occasionally seems to have compared the Vetus Latina Hispana [la traduction hispanique] to that of St. Jerome, if one believes certain semantic choices and lexical relations of the Psalterium ex hebraico of the Vulgate."[72] Yet this is to my mind uncertain: Aillet argues that a phrase at the end of Psalm 1, "*majlīs al-mufsidīn*," "the temple of the rotten ones," fits the Vulgate's "*cathedra derisorum*," the "temple of the mocking ones," better than the Mozarabic Psalter's "*cathedra pestilentiae*," the "temple of the diseased one." It is true *mufsidīn* and *derisorum* (Vulgate) are both plural, but the Arabic is closer to *pestilentiae* (The Mozarabic Psalter) in meaning. At the very least, then, the anonymous author-translator followed the Mozarabic Psalter for the majority of the translation.

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[69] BAV MS. Ar. 5, Fol. 58^{v}.

[70] Cf. Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 186-7. "Le caractère littéral de la translation, âprement critiqué par Ḥafṣ, relève pourtant d' un parti-pris evident de fidélité de la source." Aillet here discusses Psalm 1, although the same could be said for the other Psalms.

[71] Persian translators employed similar principles when rendering the Arabic of the Qur'ān. See Travis Zadeh, *The Vernacular Qur'an: Translation and the Rise of Persian Exegesis* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012), 253-301.

[72] Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 187. "Occasionnellement, ils semblent avoir compare la traduction hispanique à celle de saint Jérôme, si l' on croit quelques choix sémantiques et lexicaux proches du *Psalterium* ex hebraico de la Vulgate." Pieter Van Koningsveld has edited and compared Psalms 119 and 120 in the Psalterium ex hebraico, Ḥafṣ ibn Albar's translation, the Latin Mozarabic Psalter, BAV MS. Ar. 5, and British Museum MS. 9060, concluding that BAV MS. Ar. 5 followed the Mozarabic Psalter closely, while Ḥafṣ ibn Albar drew upon the Psalterium ex hebraico. See Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, 52-4.

Table 3: Arabic Versions of the Psalms

Author	**Latin Psalter from which the author translates**
Anonymous Author-Translator (Arabic Prose Psalter)	The Mozarabic Psalter (w/ occasional readings from the Vulgate/ Psalterium ex hebraico)
Ḥafṣ ibn Albar (Versified Arabic Psalms)	Psalterium ex hebraico

The anonymous author-translator thus delved deep into Latin and Arabic, as well as Islamic thought as he translated. This is an illuminating contrast, in that this unknown Mozarab knew how to deploy Islamic, indeed at times Qur'ānic, phrases in very Christian contexts, all the while following the Mozarabic Psalter's Latin when he shifted from writing his prologue to translating the Psalms. All of this linguistic skill and cultural awareness helped him create a Psalter which Mozarabs could read and listen to, but from they could also absorb very Islamic language which taught Christian theology.

Latin and Islamic Culture in the Argumenta of the Prose Psalms

Mozarabs like the anonymous author-translator furthermore intrepreted these Arabic Psalms much like Latin Christians did. Indeed, the anonymous author-translator, like many Medieval Latin scribes, knew that he needed a strong interpretative framework to teach the spiritual significance of the songs he had just translated. We know this because the Arabic prose Psalter manuscripts have Arabic *argumenta* divulging the Psalms' allegories. All the Psalms in the Vatican Psalter and the *Biblioteca Ambrosiana* manuscript of Ḥafṣ ibn Albar's translation have these *argumenta*, while the British Library Psalter, the other family member, has them for

some Psalms.[73] These *argumenta* indicate the Psalm's author—David, for example-- and generally how a reader / listener can understand the rise of the Church (*al-bīʿah*) or lessons from Christ's life in that song. Indeed, these Arabic *argumenta* without doubt follow the Latin *argumenta* that became part of contemporary Latin Psalters. This merits a closer look because the Arabic *argumenta* again illuminate Arabic, Islamic, and Latin culture in the Mozarabs' worship.[74]

These Latin and Arabic *argumenta* formed an integral part of their Psalters' paratexts, the parts of a manuscript beyond the text itself. The anonymous author-translator, for all of his Islamic vocabulary, framed his Psalters with a very Latin paratext, part of which—the *argumenta*—he translated into Arabic. As we will see in later chapters, Mozarabs across the Peninsula knew just how important a paratext was in laying this material out for readers. This attitude toward the paratext, moreover, helps us see the links between the Mozarabs Arabic scriptures treated here, and the Arabic-annotated Latin Bibles in the following chapters.

The best proximate source for the Latin *argumenta* in Iberia is Cava dei Tirreni, Biblioteca della Badia, MS 14.1, which I hereafter call the Cava dei Tirreni Bible. A ninth-century Leonese scribe named Daniela manufactured this pandect Bible (one with all the canonical biblical books), although someone later brought it to Italy. Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela edited its Latin *argumenta*, but to my knowledge, nobody has put them alongside the Arabic *argumenta*.[75] The Arabic *argumenta* follow the Cava dei Tirreni Bible's Latin *argumenta*

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[73] Catherine Alder, "Arabic Versions of the Psalter in Use in Muslim Spain," Ph. D. dissertation (University of St. Andrew, 1953).

[74] On interpretative frameworks, see Thomas E. Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), esp. pp. 60-148.

[75] Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela, *La Biblia Visigótica de la Cava dei Tirreni: contribución al estudio de la Vulgate en España* (Madrid: J. García Moreno, 1956). Marie Thérèse-Urvoy has not placed the Arabic *argumenta* alongside the Latin; nor did the Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela treat the Arabic. Here especially we see the importance of knowing

closely, and while we have no evidence that this Latin manuscript from northern Spain supplied the Latin *argumenta* from which the anonymous author-translator worked, nevertheless this remains important. Indeed, this relatively new evidence from the *argumenta* confirms that even as the anonymous-author translator aggressively adding Islamic influences to his Psalter, he nevtheless had strong ties to Latin culture as well.

The Latin *argumenta* in the Cava dei Tirreni Bible, moreover, form only one Latin group of these teaching tools. While the Arabic *argumenta* largely match that Bible's Latin *argumenta*, in other places in medieval Europe Christians learned largely the same message through different families of Latin *argumenta*. For example, Martin McNamara has argued for at least six different groups of *tituli* (*argumenta*) which scribes and readers circulated in Ireland. Unsurprisingly, all these families frame the Psalms as Christological, but the *tituli* or *argumenta* of St. Columba are especially so. This is unsurprising, as J.N. Hillgarth furthermore pointed to the strong links in early medieval religious life between Ireland and Iberia. I, in turn, am not arguing for links between Ireland and Iberia here, but rather further confirming that the Mozarabs took strong interest in Latin culture.[76] Indeed, the message in these *argumenta* relates to the Apostles' vision of an inclusive Christendom, and as we will see, to what the anonymous author-translator discussed in his prologue: different nations (*al-shuʾūb*) taking up the same Christological message in their own languages.

We thus have all the tools to compare the Latin and Arabic *argumenta*, even if the Latin manuscript with which the anonymous author-translator worked escapes us. This lost

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both Latin and Arabic in studying the Mozarabs. Yet nor did Francisco Javier Simonet treat them in his *Historia de los Mozárabes*, or Pieter Van Koningsveld in his study of a Latin-Arabic glossary, or Cyrille Aillet in *Les Mozarabes*.

[76] Martin McNamara, *The Psalms in the early Irish Church* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); J.N. Hillgarth, "Visigothic Spain and Early Christian Ireland," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 62 C (1962): 167-94, cited in McNamara, *The Psalms*, 103.

manuscript hardly poses a problem for the larger picture, in which we get to watch a Mozarab who knew the importance of both Latin and Arab-Islamic thought in making an accessible yet learned Psalter. Put simply, we cannot understand the anonymous author-translator and his project unless we acknowledge, or rather pour over, these Arabic *argumenta* and their Latin precedents.

When we look closer, we see that both the Latin and Arabic *argumenta* treat the Psalms as the telling of Christ's life. In Psalm 1:3, for example, readers and listeners learned of a tree in the ground, which will later blossom.[77] The Latin *argumentum* in the Cava dei Tirenni Bible thoroughly explains this tree, and indeed the Psalm, Christologically: "this Psalm is generally for all the saints, and speaks especially on Joseph who buried the body of the Lord."[78] When the body of the Lord, the tree or seed in the ground, returns it will bear fruit. The Arabic *argumentum* too interpets the Psalm as "a prophecy concerning the Messiah" that likewise stands for "Joseph of Arithemea, who buried the body of the Messiah."[79] In this case, the Arabic follows the Latin closely but not exactly, much as the text of the Arabic Psalms renders the Vetus Latina text faithfully.

Psalm 2 opens altogether more chaotically with nations plotting against one another and against the Lord.[80] The Latin *argumentum* makes clear that Latin versions of the Bible foretold

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[77] Ps 1:3 (Septuagint): "et erit tamquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo." Vulgate: "et erit tamquam lignum tansplantatum iuxta rivulos aquarum quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo" BAV MS ar. 5, Fol. 10^{v}. "wa- yasīru mithl al-ʿūd al-maʿrūsh ʿalā majār fil miyāh alladhī yaʿṭī ṭaratahu fī ḥīnihā."

[78] Ayuso Marazuela, ed., *La Biblia Visigótica*, 93. "psalmus iste quum generaliter homnibus sanctis specialiter de ioseph dicit qui corpus dni sepeliuit."

[79] Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 21. "nubūwah fil-masīḥ"; "wa- yata'wwal [Cf. Lane for Form V] fī yūsuf al-azmar alladhī dafana jasad al-masīḥ".

[80] Ps. 2:1-2: Septuagint: "Quare fremerunt gentes et populi meditati sunt inania, adstiterunt reges terrae et principes convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum et adversus christum eius" Vulgate: "Quare fremuerunt gentes // et populi meditate sunt inania // adstiterunt reges terrae et principes convenerunt in unum // adversus Dominum et adversus

these events as an uprising against Jesus Christ, while Jews believed the song concerned King David in the past.[81] The Arabic *argumentum* builds upon the Latin: "the voice of the Apostles about Pilate, Herod, and the crowd of the Jews."[82] More explicitly than the Cava dei Tirreni Bible, the Arabic names Herod, the crowd of Jews whom in Christian eyes had eagerly condemned their Lord, and Pilate who washed his hands clean of the matter. Broadly speaking, the prose prologue thus illuminate the anonymous author-translator's knowledge of the Qur'ān, but these *argumenta*—while they too make clear his understanding of Islamic scripture, as we will see--also strongly suggest that he and other Mozarabs imbued themselves with Latin exegesis, even if they translated it into Arabic.

Psalm 16, among others, again shows similar thinking in the two sets of *argumenta*. In this song, King David prays that God keep him safe from his enemies who have captured him.[83] This again offered ample material for Christians reflecting allegorically upon Christ's life and death. The Cava dei Tirreni Bible does precisely this: "the Church in persecutions and Christ in his passion."[84] Certainly, Christians believed the Church was an embodiment of Christ, so it only makes sense that they thought the Psalm fit both Christ and the Church which grew from his teaching. The Arabic *argumentum* comes to much the same conclusion, albeit with different phrasing: "the voice of the Messiah concerning his death and his dispersion of the Jews, and the

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christum eius//". BAV, MS. ar 5, Fol. 10^{r}. "Li-mādhā istaṭālta al-umam wa- al-shuʿūb hadhat lil-bātil qāmat mulūk al-arḍ wa- al-salaṭīn ijtamʿat jamīʿān ʿalay al-rabb wa- ʿalay masīḥihi"

[81] Ayuso Marazuela, La Biblia Visigótica, 93. "totus hic sensus de futuro loquitur id est turbabantur consurgent tractabunt pariter quum in gr de praeterita dicant"

[82] Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 21. "ṣaut al-hawārīyin ʿan bīlāṭus wa- harūdus wa- jamhūr al-yahūd". The *argumentum* for Psalm 69 says much the same: "the conquest of the Messiah with the people (al-ummah) and concerns the curse of the Jews and their fear" ; Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe* 113: "wa- ghalibat al-masīḥ ʿinda al-ummah wa- fī laʿnat al-yahūd wa- jazaʿhum."

[83] Ps. 16.

[84] Ayuso Marazuela, *La Biblia Visigótica*, 37. "aeclesia in persecutionibus et xps in passion sua."

Church after its conquest."[85] The Arabic specifically names the Jews here, while the Latin does not, and the church is more triumphant in the Arabic than in the Latin, but nevertheless the same message pervades here. Indeed, these *argumenta* help us talk about the Mozarabs' Bibles across Iberia, because they appear not only in these Arabic Psalms—which circulated all over Iberia—but also in Latin Bibles from León, such the Cava dei Tirreni Bible.

The above examples frame the Jews as the enemies of Christ and his church. Yet nothing about this anti-Judaic material is uniquely Iberian, as it fits rather well with intellectual trends across Latin Christendom. While the Visigothic kings of the sixth and seventh centuries admittedly enacted harsh laws against the Jews, what undergirds the *argumenta* is a strand of early medieval anti-Judaism that informed Christians across Europe.[86] Certainly, the allegories here tell readers and listeners about the world of ninth and tenth-century al-Andalus, but more importantly for our purposes, the author-translator of the prose Psalter offered a common understanding of the Psalms which he had read in a Latin manuscript. That is, even though these Mozarabs in Córdoba likely saw Jews around them, they understood Judaism and its relationship to Christianity through the Bible.

Now, not all these polemical *argumenta* target the Jews alone. Psalm 10, where God punishes sinners with fire and sulfer, offers an excellent example.[87] The Latin *argumentum* in Cava dei Tirreni Bible casts this as revenge against the Church's persecutors, with no mention of Jews or Judaism.[88] The Arabic, meanwhile, denounces "evil-doers (*al-shurār*)…" while also offering "a prophecy on the coming of the Messiah on the Day of the Resurrection," again

[85] Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 37. "ṣaut al masīḥ ʿan mautihi wa- tafrīquhu al-yahūd wa- al-bīʿah ʿinda ghalibatihi" Marie Thérèse Urvoy has translated: "La voix du Christ. La dispersion, par Lui, des Juifs. L'Église lors de son triomphe…" She has thus missed the important part where Christ speaks of his passion.
[86] On the Visigoths and the Jews, see E.A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).
[87] Ps. 10:6-7.
[88] Ayuso Marazuela, *La Biblia Visigótica*, 93. "Aeclesia contra persecutores suos et de futuro iudicio dicit."

without naming the Jews. Along these general lines of persecution, Late Antique authors such as Tyconius, who had written a series of rules for interpreting scripture, argued that the Church would suffer through a series of persecutors. These included the polytheist Roman Emperor Diocletian, who indeed had killed at least some Christians in the third century. The Book of Revelation made clear to Christians like Tyconius that this ongoing violence would eventually usher in the Last Days. As thoroughy medieval Christians, the Mozarabs partook in something quite like this worldview, in which Jews were a significant enemy but not the only one worthy of polemic.

Psalm 35 too offered ample material for targeting other enemies of Christendom. Here, David asks for protection from his enemies and their words. The Latin *argumenta* here states: "a prophecy on the spirit concerning Judas and the Jews or the philosophers, and it speaks on the Gentiles to be saved through grace." The Arabic again follows nearly exactly: "A prophesy on Judas Iscariot and the Jews and philosophy of the world."[89] In this case, the Arabic *argumentum* likely reminded Mozarabs that they should not seek worldly things like philosophical wisdom (as opposed to religious learning), but as we will see later, some Mozarabs who read the Bible were eager to understand God in philosophical terms. The evidence here suggests that the anonymous author-translator and other Mozarabs had no single philosopher or branch of philosophy in mind, yet this shows him copying the Latin faithfully and indeed seeing enemies of Christ all around him, with philosophers standing in for those who live a worldly, un-religious life.[90]

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[89] PS 35:4. "Verba oris eius iniquitas, et dolus; noluit intelligere ut bene ageret." Ayuso Marazuela, *La Biblia Visigótica*, 94. "propheta in spiritu de iude et de populo iudeorum siue de gentium philosophis et de saluandis per gratiam gentibus dicit." Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 65. "nubūwah fī yahūdhā al-iskhariyūtī wa- fil-yahūd wa- fī falāsifat al-dunyā…"

[90] Indeed, as Thomas Burman has demonstrated, learned Mozarabs and Muslims in the North African Almohad Dynasty (fl.12th-13th Centuries) employed the same rationalist philosophical vocabulary and method—*al-kalam*,

We have, then, *argumenta* in Arabic and Latin which focus primarily but not exclusively on anti-Judaic material. Indeed, the Psalms as a whole taught the meaning of Christ's life, and when teaching about his passion, medieval Christians blamed the Jews. Furthermore, these *argumenta* also cast the Church as long-suffering through persecutions, whether Roman or otherwise, which would only end on Judgment Day. The Mozarabs adhered to this common belief as Latin Christians did. In understanding Christ and the Church's suffering, they also learned how he would redeem their sins. All of this suggests that the anonymous author-translator did not blindly copy the Arabic *argumenta* into his manuscript, but rather that he did so deliberately because he knew how effectively they would help Mozarabs spread a very Latin Christian message that rang out across Iberia.

As in the prose prologue, moreover, he again deployed a shared Christian-Muslim religious vocabulary in these *argumenta*. In Psalm 49, a Song of Asaph, God warns Israel to heed his commands.[91] Here the Latin *argumentum* teaches that this is "the voice of the Father concerning the Son and the apostles." The Arabic is altogether more apocalyptic: "the voice of the apostles on the coming of the Messiah, the second coming."[92] While God does not speak in the Arabic *argumentum*, in his place are the apostles, who here are *al-hawariyūn*, just as in the Qur'ān. In other Arabic *argumenta*, meanwhile, Mozarabs learned of the "day of the resurrection," *yaum al-qiyāmah*, a common Islamic term for the Last Days.[93]

Even more strikingly, Psalm 90 employs Islamic vocabulary to reinforce a major message of the Arabic prose prologue: that one can ward evil away through chanting the Psalms. This

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literally meaning talking—to argued over their shared God's nature and essence. Cf. his *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs*.

[91] Ps. 49:6-15

[92] Ḥafṣ le Goth, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 85. "vox patris per prophetam de filio et de apostolis praelocuta"; "ṣaut al-ḥawariyīn fi qudūm al-masīḥ, qudūm al-thānī";

[93] Ps. 11, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 33 ; Ps. 71, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 115 ; Ps. 89, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 144.

Arabic *argumentum* fits the prose prologue so well that the anonymous author-translator may have written it himself, rather than copied it from a Latin exemplar.[94] God is protective in Psalm 90, keeping evil at bay from the temple (*tabernaculo*).[95] The Cava dei Tirreni Bible lacks an *argumentum* here, but the Arabic on its own is illuminating: "a prophecy concerning the just ones and of the Messiah whom Satan (*iblīs*) tested. And the prophecy tells that Iblis has to test him and measure him by compelling him three times to his face, by food and desire and grandeur. [It is also] the voice of the Church concerning its enemies, the spirits (*al-jinn*) who whisper evil in the dreams of mankind."[96]

This without doubt links the Psalm to the temptation of Christ, and it does so through rich Qur'ānic imagery. *Al-jinn*, for example, are spirits who do both good and evil in the Qur'ān, although here they are clearly evil. *Iblīs*, a Muslim name for Satan, also has a clear place in Islamic scripture. Yet what is most striking is the way this *argumentum* fits perfectly with the prose prologue: here we can further watch the prose prologue's message meeting Mozarabs' eyes and ears. There, he wrote that one could expel *al-jinn* and the evil whisperers (*al-wasāwis*) through chanting the Psalms. Satan, the evil whisperer, *al-waswās* in the singular, appears in the last surah of the Qurʿān, again in the context of tempting Muslims' hearts. Here, the jinn whisper evil, with a verbal form of the same root which gives *waswās*.

This Arabic *argumentum*, then, does at least three things. First, it perfectly captures the anonymous author-translator's shared Muslim-Christian vocabulary. Second, it reinforces the prologue's message that chanting the Psalms wards off evil, just as the Qur'ān does for Muslims. Third, it, like many other *argumenta*, brings Christ's life to the forefront of Mozarabs' minds,

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[94] The Cava dei Tirreni Bible does not have an *argumentum* for Psalm 90.
[95] Cf. Ps. 90:2, 90:10.
[96] Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier* Mozarabe, 145. "Nubūwah fil-ṣālḥīn wal-masīḥ alladhī jarrabahu iblīs. Akhbarat al-nubūwah anna lā budd lil-iblīs anna tamtaḥana-hu wa- taqāyisa-hu ʿalā thalāthah aujuh: bil-akl wa- al-raghbah wa-al-kibriyā'. Wa- ṣaut al-bīʿah ʿalā aʿdā'iha min al-jinn alladhī yuwaswisūn fī manām al-ādāmiyīn…"

which here can ponder the spiritual significance of Christ's triumph over his temptations. Clearly, he followed Latin *argumenta* for many of the Psalms, and although the Cava dei Tirreni Bible lacks this *argumentum* in Latin, the Arabic *argumentum* reads like the sixth-century commentator Cassidorus' exposition on Psalm 90.[97]

Psalm 109's Arabic *argumentum*, in turn, deserves mention alongside Psalm 90's, for its Qur'ānic phrasing pushes the limits of Christian theology. In this Psalm, God has his Lord—Christ in Christian interpretations—seated at his right side.[98] Yet where in the Vatican Psalter the *argumentum* for Psalm 109 treats "the Messiah, Son of God," the British Library Psalter and the Ambrosiana manuscript of Ḥafṣ ibn Albar's translation both call Christ "the Messiah, Son of Mary." All three manuscripts also note Christ's "kingdom, his episcopate (*usqufītihi*) and his guardianship and his throne at the right hand of the Father."[99] To call Christ the Son of Mary rings Islamic, for the Ṣūra Mary, the Qur'ān's 19th, helped Muslims argue against Christ's divine nature. Qur'ān 19:37 goes so far as stating that those who believe Christ to be God's son, rather than a human son of Mary, will perish in the Last Days.[100] *Al-masīh ibn maryam* is a phrase unlike many of the previous examples of Islamic vocabulary in the prose prologue. Here the anonymous author-translator, or perhaps a later scribe, is not praising Christ with Islamic language, but rather referring to him in Islamic language that goes against Christian theology.[101]

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[97] Marie Thérèse-Urvoy said nothing of the similar language between the prose prologue and this argumentum. Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum*, CCSL 90, wrote similarly: Amoenus admodum et ipsarum promissionum uarietate dulcissimus: cuius undecimum et duodecimum uersum diabolus ipsi domino saluatori, cum eum tentasset, obiecit. Hunc hymnum daemonibus pia confidentia semper opponimus, ut a nobis potius inde uincantur, unde contra creatorem suum dolose aliqua dicere tentauerunt.

[98] Ps. 109:1.

[99] Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 177. "al-masīh ibn maryam".

[100] Qur'ān 19:37.

[101] The British Library Psalter also teaches that Christ is "creator not created (*khālq lā makhlūq*)," where the Vatican Psalter reads "that the Son is God (ilah) and Man, Creator and Created." MS Ar. 5, Fol. 101v. "wa- an al-ibn ilah wa- insān khālq wa- makhlūq".Dominique Urvoy has argued that the Vatican manuscript's wording comes from the Adoptionist Controversy in Spain, in which Elipandus of Toledo argued that Christ, as a created human son of David, was the adopted son of God. The Vatican Psalter, however, refers to Jesus as the "Son of God," not the "Son

To my mind, this effectively sums up cultural life among the Mozarabs: we have many *argumenta* where Mozarabs could partake in the almost timeless Latin Christian tradition of arguing against Judaism, but at times they were so comfortable thinking of Christ in an Islamic fashion that they could also write things which could sound heretical to Christian ears. Mozarabs like the anonymous author-translator were so attuned to their religious landscape—Christian, Muslim, and Jewish—that they had few qualms saying or writing of Christ's human and divine nature very differently from Christians of the Pyrennees. Yet at the same time, they frequently employed an invocation at the head of their texts stating, "in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one God" which cleary took aim at the Muslim *basmalah* beginning nearly every Islamic work: "In the name of the God, the merciful, the compassionate."[102] Perhaps the best way to think of the Mozarabs, then, is as a thoroughly Christian group who could invoke all sorts of Latin Christian and Islamic-tinged messages about God when they saw fit.

In conclusion, whatever their differences in content, nevertheless all these *argumenta* guided readers spiritually. Translating the Psalms into Arabic alone did not suffice. That is to say, the anonymous author-translator created a framework that helped readers understand their Arabic Psalters. The *argumenta* formed part of the translation's paratext.[103] He and the copyists of his work knew that an effective paratext would make the reading more palatable. Indeed, the Arabic *argumenta* are largely translations from a Latin Psalter, further showing how closely the anonymous author-translator modeled his translation on the Vetus Latina Hispana. Even if the

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of David," while the British Library has "Son of Mary." Cf. D. Urvoy, "La Pensée religieuse des Mozarabes face à l' Islam," *Traditio* 39 (1983): 419-32. An edition and Spanish translation of Elipandus of Toledo's works are available in *Obras de Elipando de Toledo: Texto, traducción, y notas*, eds. Gonzalo del Cerro Calderón and José Palacios Royán (Toledo: Diputación Provincial de Toledo, 2002). The prolific monk Beatus of Liebana refuted Elipandus: Cf. Beati Liebanensis et Eterii Oxomensis, *Adversus Elipandum Libri Duo*, ed. Bengt Löfstedt, CCCM Vol. 59 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984).

[102] Recall that the Muslim *basmalah*, In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate…, rang out across the Islamic World.

[103] Cf. G.R. Genette, "Introduction to the Paratext," *New Literary History* 22 (1991): 261-72.

exact Latin Psalter which informed this translator escapes us, he quite clearly had a Latin text at hand and a deep understanding of Latin manuscript culture. Therefore while not every Latin Bible with which the Mozarabs worked has Latin *argumenta*, the Cava dei Tirreni manuscript and the Toledan Mozarabic Bible nevertheless do.[104] With this in mind, the *argumenta* make clear a common approach to biblical reading among different populations of Mozarabs, in both al-Andalus and León.

Furthermore, in copying the Vetus Latina Hispana Psalms, the anonymous author-translator carried on a strain of anti-Judaic thought that undergirded Christian religious life. Indeed, these Arabic and Latin Psalms educated Chrstian listeners and readers on how Christ would redeem them and punish his enemies, whom contemporary Christian thinkers most often cast as the Jews, but also as other groups like polytheists or philosophers. These Arabic *argumenta* furthermore illuminate how the Mozarabs thought about the Psalms' place in their own worship. They felt at home deploying Islamic vocabulary as a way to understand Latin theology, but clearly still revered Latin books, and, not least, cast the Jews as enemies of Christendom just like other medieval Christians.

Why a Self-Styled Jerome Reworked the Prose Psalms

The anonymous author-translator's Arabic Prose Psalms brilliantly illuminate the Mozarabs' mixing of Latin, Arabic, and Islamic culture, in ninth-century Córdoba no less, a time and place when Latin culture had supposedly faded. Yet this was not the only translation of the Psalms in medieval Iberia. Indeed, Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, quite possibly the most learned Mozarab on record, reworked a prose version of the Psalms—quite likely the Vatican manuscript's—into

[104] Although the Toledan Mozarabic Bible's Latin *argumenta* are in such poor shape that I have not been able to transcribe them.

Arabic verse.[105] He did so in the year 889, or, less likely, 989.[106] D.M. Dunlop, writing in the 1950s, argued that Ḥafṣ recorded the date of his work by writing letters that had numerical value- ṭa' equaled 9, fa' 80, and ẓ 900- for 989. Others, including Aillet, have argued that in Maghribi script, in which Ḥafṣ would have written, the numbers add to 889. Complicating all of this further is' dedication of his work to the bishop Valens, who is likely bishop Valentius of Córdoba,whose episcopate, 862-64, does not match either 889 or 989.[107] I discuss Ḥafṣ here because he left a clear record of his movement between Latin and Arabic in a verse prologue (not the prose prologue), and indeed, because he too knew the importance of the prose prologue and the *argumenta*.[108] That is, while scholars have focused upon his criticism of the Prose Psalter's style, nevertheless even this critic knew that the anonymous author-translator had effectively melded Latin, Arabic, and Islamic culture.[109] He therefore actually owed much to this earlier translator.

Without doubt, Ḥafṣ was very learned, and very deliberate in how he worked, for he laid out his principles of translation in a verse prologue which followed the prose prologue. In this fascinating moment, we can watch someone moving between two very different languages, but also explaining how he did so. Ḥafṣ states that a translator must flexibly shape these two

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[105] Cf. Pieter van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, 54.

[106] Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 186-7, and Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, 54, date the versified Psalms to 889. This is a revision of the date 989 that D.M. Dunlop proposed in, "Ḥafṣ b. Albar: The Last of the Goths," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 3-4 (Oct., 1954):137-51.

[107] Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 179.

[108] A Scottish Arabist working at El Escorial, David Colville, copied Ḥafṣ' translation in 1625-6, and then left that wonderful library and monastery for Rome. He settled in Milan, where the manuscript now resides in the *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*. Colville likely knew of the prose Psalter translation because Ḥafṣ lashed against so vehemently in his verse prologueOn Colville, see Dunlop, "David Colville, A Successor of Michael Scot," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 28 (1951-2): 38-42; M.-Th. Urvoy, in Hafs le Goth, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, iii-v.

[109] D.M. Dunlop, "Ḥafṣ b. Albar: The Last of the Goths," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 3-4 (Oct., 1954):137-51 (148), noted that The Muslim historian Ibn al-Qutiyah ("Son of the Gothic Woman," d. 977), called him *qadi al-ʿajam*, or the judge of the Latins. This job would have likely put him in contact with the Muslim government of Córdoba. His verse translation was famous enough to catch the eye of the twelfth-century Jew Moses b. Ezra, who shot down its style, just as Ḥafṣ had done Arabic prose Psalms.

languages because of their different grammars: "in one language there are things that do not have a name in another, and every statement (qawl) when translated becomes different from [the original statement]."[110] In a jab against the earlier prose translation, almost certainly the Vatican Psalter, he wrote: "that which moves word for word [from Latin] into Arabic is less than wondrous."[111] In his mind, Ḥafṣ also captured more accurately the Vulgate's spiritual quality, where the prose Psalter had "subjugated the sense" of the scripture.[112]

Ḥafṣ furthermore fashioned himself in the mold of one of Christianity's most famous translators. For while he worked alone, he strikingly followed in the footsteps of Jerome, who was "preferred in his knowledge (ʿilm), and the interpreter of the Torah and Gospel, and these two are the letter and the interpretation."[113] That Ḥafṣ knew the importance of translation in Christian history is hardly surprising, for translators like St. Jerome helped create Latin Christendom through their texts, as Thomas Burman has argued.[114] In this regard, Ḥafṣ and his project are not so distant from the anonymous author-translator, who worked from the Vetus Latina Hispana but also owed much of their learning to Latin book culture.

Similar to Ḥafṣ and Jerome, the anonymous author-translator had seen himself doing Paul's work. To justify their translation, both Ḥafṣ and the anonymous author-translator had turned to Christian authorities who had known well the importance of spreading Chrirstianity in different languages. Pushing this interpretation a little further, we see that Ḥafṣ was not so different from the anonymous author-translator, although scholars have worked with the verse

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[110] Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 17. "idh fī lisān wāhid ashyā' // laisa la-hā fī ghair-hi asmā' // wa- kul qawl faidha mā turjima // ṣāra khalāf mā ʿalay-hi nuẓim //".

[111] On MS Ar. 5, see Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*; 53-4. Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 15. "idh rām anna yukhrijuhu fil-ʿarabiyyah // lafẓā bil-lafẓ faʿl ghair muʿajib //"

[112] Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 15. "tayyʿa al-maʿānī"

[113] Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 17. "huwa alladhī fī ʿilmi-hi yuqaddimu // mufassara al-tawrah wa- al-injīl // fa-huma li naṣṣ al-qawl wa- al-tāwīl".

[114] Thomas E. Burman, "The Cultures and Dynamics of Medieval Latin," in Ralph J. Hexter and David Townsend, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

Psalter far more than the prose. We should think of the two translators together, as Mozarabs who seamlessly blended Latin thought, the Arabic language, and Islamic culture.

Indeed, for all Ḥafṣ derided the prose Psalms, he nevertheless put both the prose prologue and the Arabic *argumenta* in his new translation. A Mozarab working from the beginning of this translation, moreover, would even see the prose prologue before Ḥafṣ' own verse prologue. Futhermore, when we follow Ḥafṣ own words, we see that his quarrel was not with the prose Psalter's mixing of Latin, Arabic, and Islamic thought, but rather strictly with its prose format. Both the prose prologue and the *argumenta* aided readers in understanding the meaning of these songs, so Ḥafṣ quite simply kept them. Yet scholars like Marie Thérèse-Urvoy have paid less attention to his work with these parts of the earlier prose translation than to his stylistic improvements to the Psalms themselves.[115]

With regard to why Ḥafṣ versified the Psalms, we should remember that he clearly knew that his Mozarabic audience would read and sing the Psalms. This was an emotional moment in which singers and listeners poured out Christian feeling. His verse prologue says as much, as he states that the Psalms are "the sweetest chanting in the ears."[116] Creating this spiritual response was just as important as capturing the meaning of the individual words, if not more so. If we push this point a little further, we can suggest that he wanted the chanting of the Psalms to contrast with the Muslim recitation of the Qur'ān, or with the *adhan*, the ubiquitous Muslim call to prayer. Since the prose Psalms did not capture this emotional effect, Ḥafṣ recast them in the *rajaz* meter, which was very compatible with Latin Iambic meter, or in his phrasing, the meter of

[115] D.M. Dunlop, "Ḥafṣ b. Albar: The Last of the Goths,"; M.-Th. Urvoy, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*; Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*.
[116] Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 15. "aḥlaya ghinā' fī masmāmi'ʿ"

the *ʿajam*.[117] This word, which literally means "the barbarians," was a common Muslim cultural name for Latin Christians and Mozarabs. Ḥafṣ clearly has Latin culture in mind, yet *al-ʿajam* did not have negative connotations here.[118] When Ḥafṣ employs it, he signals that he thinks of the Mozarabs and Latin Christians as different groups.

All of this means that the anonymous author-translator, the focus of this chapter, belongs alongside Ḥafṣ ibn Albar in discussions of Mozarabic intellectuals. Indeed, much of the evidence for Ḥafṣ' work with Islamic culture comes from prose prologue and the *argumenta*, which he took from the Prose Psalter. In general, moreover,we have relatively few Arabic Psalter manuscripts from Iberia, but there are two manuscripts of the prose translation and one of Ḥafṣ' translation. Ambiguous citations (*fil-zabūr*, in the Psalms) also dot a tenth-century manuscript of the *Moralia in Iob*, marking verses of the Psalms that Pope Gregory the Great, the *Moralia's* author, quoted to help his readers understand the Book of Job better.[119] While determining which version of the Psalms these citations refer to remains difficult, with much more certainty, however, we can say that both the prose and verse translations help shape our understanding of religious life among the Mozarabs.

Arabic, Latin Learning, and the Martyrs of Córdoba

When Ḥafṣ ibn Albar put the prose prologue and *argumenta* in his translation, he, like the anonymous author-translator, fused Latin Christian, Arabic, and Islamic thought. Both thus commanded Qur'ānic vocabulary and carefully translated between two very different languages, albeit with different methods of doing so. The anonymous author-translator created a very

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[117] Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*

[118] On the connotations of *ʿajam* and the lessening of this term's xenophobic force, see especially Travis Zadeh, *The Vernacular Qur'an*, 73.

[119] We should note as well that the twelfth-century Jew Moses ibn Ezra complained of Ḥafṣ translation, while the Vatican Psalter was also in Jewish hands at one point. This is simply to say that Iberian Jewish intellectuals read both translations.

readable translation mimicking the Vetus Latina Hispana, while Ḥafṣ took the Latin Vulgate and followed in Jerome's footsteps. Yet just as important is how these Psalters together add to our broader understanding of attitudes toward Latin and Arabic culture in ninth-century Córdoba. Saying this is quite bold, for scholars have tended to focus upon the writings of Eulogius of Córdoba, Alvarus of Córdoba and others whose writings Juan Gil edited.[120]

These Arabic Psalm translations are furthermore quite reliable and complete, more so than other, later fragmentary Arabic sources like the Mozarabs' religious polemics against Islam. They are all the more important because the Psalms were a cornerstone of Christian intellectual and spiritual life. The early medieval readers of both the prose and verse Psalms likely sang them aloud, and Mozarabs doubtless listened to these songs.[121] As Philippe Roisse has demonstrated through his editing of an Arabic liturgical calendar, the Mozarabs read at least some Arabic scripture aloud during their liturgy, although as we have now seen, their Psalters, a key part of the liturgy, owed much to Latin culture as well[122]

All of this mixing of Latin, Arabic and Islamic culture contrasts with Paulus Alvarus' statement that Latin learning had died out in ninth-century Córdoba, with which I opened this study.[123] According to Alvarus, Arabic had become the dominant literary language among

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[120] Juan Gil, *Corpus Scriptorum Mozarabicorum*, 2 Vols. (Madrid: Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1973). Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España*, saw the martyrs as the bearers of Spanish culture who sacrificed themselves in the face of Muslim persecution. Dominique Millet-Gérard, *Chrétiens mozarabes et culture islamique dans l' Espagne des VIIIe-IXe siècles*, reads Eulogius and Alvarus of Cordoba at face value, albeit without Simonet's nationalistic fervor. Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*, examines how the martyrs in essence redefined what it meant to be a martyr, as they died at the hands of Muslims who worshipped the God as they did. Jessica A. Coope, *The Martyrs of Cordoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion*, is a study of the conflicts that conversion to Islam created within Córdoban families. On the liturgy among the Mozarabs, see Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, 693-710; Philippe Roisse, "Célébrait-on les office liturgiques en arabe dans l' Occident musulman?," 211-53; Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 197.
[121] Ḥafṣ ibn Albar complained that the prose translation did not do justice to Jerome's translation, implying that that translation did not sound beautiful enough when sung.
[122] Philippe Roisse, "Célébrait-on les office liturgiques en arabe dans l'Occident musulman?," 211-53.
[123] Alvarus of Cordoba, *Albari Indicululus Luminosus*, ed. Juan Gil, *CSM*, 1:314-5. "What pain (*heu pro dolor*), the Christians do not know their own religion (*legem*) and the Latins do not heed their own language, so that among the

Christians, while Latin poetry had nearly disappeared. His statement is illuminating, but quite problematic since he did not make clear the intellectual debt which Mozarabs like the anonymous author-translator and Ḥafṣ ibn Albar owed to the Latin Bible and to people like St. Jerome. Therefore, while Alvarus tells us of an earlier, broader interest in Arabic books, stating that learned Christians "most eagerly sought Chaldean volumes with a noble Arabic loftiness," Latin culture did not die off in Córdoba.[124] To put this in theological terms which many Mozarabs would have understood, the outward appearance of learning—its form—had changed into Arabic, but much of the inner substance had clear Latin roots.[125]

Among those favoring Arabic learning at Córdoba were some members of the clerical elite. Most prominently, Ḥafṣ ibn Albar dedicated his translation to Valens, the city's bishop from 862-64.[126] Valens worked alongside Abbot Samson, another Latin writer in the city.[127] Marie-Thérèse Urvoy has also argued that Ḥafṣ likely was responding to the lament of Alvarus, with whom bishop Valens had corresponded, although Ḥafṣ himself wrote that he was making a new Arabic translation strictly to improve upon the prose Psalter.[128] I would furthermore qualify that the anonymous author-translator had answered Alvarus' call before Ḥafṣ did. Certainly,

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whole gathering of Christians hardly one in a thousand is found who is able to dictate (*dirigere*) a greeting to a brother properly, and he who explains the Chaldean ostentation of words is found without number among the many crowds…" "Heu pro dolor, legem suam nesciunt Xpiani collegio et linguam propriam non aduertunt Latini, ita ut omni Xpi collegio uix inueniatur unus in milleno hominum numero qui salutatoris fratri possit ratjionauiliter dirigere litteras, et repperitur absque numero multiplices turbas qui erudite Caldaicas uerborum explicet pompas…"

[124] Alvarus of Cordoba, *Albari Indiculus Luminosus*, 314. "Harabico eloquio sublimate uolumina Caldeorum hauisissime tractant…" We lack concrete evidence that Ḥafṣ ibn Albar (Ḥafṣ the Son of Alvarus) was the son of the Alvarus of Córdoba who wrote the *Indiculus Luminosus*, although it is an intriguing possibility. On Mozarabic poetry, see M.-Th. Urvoy, "Quelle est la part d' originalité dans le production écrite mozarabe?," in Matthias Maser and Klaus Herbers, eds., *Die Mozaraber*, 65-74.With regard to intellectual history among the Mozarabs, much of what we can say of Córdoba also applies to twelfth-century Toledo. Cf. Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927); Charles Burnett, "The Translating Activity in Medieval Spain," in S. Jayyusi, ed., *The Legacy of Muslim Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1992): 1036-58; Thomas F. Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in medieval Spain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 172; Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs*.

[126] Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 179.

[127] Abbot Samson's Latin works are available in *CSM* 2.

[128] M-Th. Urvoy, in Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, xvi-xvii.

Alvarus's comments make clear that Christian Arabophiles abounded in the the city, and that Alvarus blamed them for ushering in the downfall of Latin culture there. He, Eulogius of Córdoba (another champion of the martyrs), Abbot Samson, and others stand apart from the author-translator of the Prose Psalms, Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, and bishop Reccemundo, who translated the so-called Calendar of Córdoba under the Arabic pen name Rabi ibn Zaid in the mid-tenth century.[129]

Alvarus, his lament, and his fear of Arabic learning all tie in closely with the martyr movement of Córdoba. He made the martyrs into heroes, although he himself did not join those roughly fifty Christians in seeking death from the Muslim government. This is indeed a watershed moment in the history of the Mozarabs, but only in part because these Christians sought their death. Equally importantly, it has informed scholarly writing on the Mozarabs. Francisco Javier Simonet, whose late nineteenth-century *Historia de los Mozárabes* remains essential, made these martyrs the bearers of Christian, Visigothic traditions during what he deemed Muslim persecution. In the 1983 four-volume reprint of Simonet's meticulous reading of the Latin and Arabic sources—something few scholars now do—, his at times fauning treatment of the martyrs fills nearly an entire volume.[130] With nationalistic fervor, he wrote: "Córdoba was one of the principal battlegrounds of the war of extermination that the Muslims made against Christianity."[131] In contrast, much more recently Ann Christys has labeled the martyrs "a group

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[129] See Gil, ed., *CSM;* M. Th.-Urvoy, ed., *Le Psautier Mozarabe*; *Calendrier de Codoue*, ed. Reinhardt Dozy, trad. Charles Pellat (Leiden: Brill, 1961). Mozarabs commonly took both Latin and Arabic names. On this, see Richard Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979); Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs*.
[130] See Simonet, *Historia de Los Mozárabes*.
[131] Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los Mozarabes*, 357. On Simonet's research methods, see Ann Christys, *Christians in Al-Andalus*, 5; Karla Mallette, *European Modernity and the Arab Mediterranean: Toward a New Philology and a Counter-Orientalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 60-1. We know more of medieval violence now, of course, than when Simonet wrote in the 1860s. Indeed, David Nirenberg's *Communities of Violence* has irrevocably changed the way scholars of Iberia think about inter-communal relations. His study of Christian-Jewish relations argues that Christian violence against Jews in Iberia took two major forms:

of extremists whose actions were at best an embarrassment to the church in Cordoba."[132] As the martyrs slandered Muhammad publicly until their death, other Christians did their business in Arabic and read Arabic texts. The prose and verse Psalms illuminate a Mozarabic community at home with Arabic and at times Islamic thought, but also Latin learning. So too do the Arabic-annotated Latin Bibles which I treat in the following chapters.

The martyr movement, moreover, did not stop Andalusian Christans from making books, a very reliable source for the Mozarabs' thought world in al-Andalus. Rather than living a stunted intellectual life, Mozarabs took up the Arabic and Islamic culture around them, as well as Latin books. In sum, these translations are a more important source base for Mozarabic life at Córdoba than the writings of Alvarus of Córdoba, yet we downplay their significance because they illuminate a messier intellectual history than his Latin writings. We furthermore cannot truly understand the Mozarabs or their books without delving into both Latin and Arabic evidence.

Conclusion

Like many other medieval religious or ethnic minorities, the Mozarabs of mid-ninth century Córdoba had a very dynamic intellectual life.[133] The Arabic Prose Psalter let us watch a

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the first being normal systemic violence which acted pressure release preventing the second form, cataclysmic violence. Brian Catlos has built upon Nirenberg's work, arguing that religious communities worked with each other when convenient. His principle of *conveniencia* reworks Américo Castro's idea of *convivencia*, in which Jews, Christians and Muslims lived together in largely peaceful coexistence. Cf. as well Mark D. Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Fernando and Isabel: between Coexistence and Crusade* (Berkeley: University of California, 1991).

[132] Ann Christys, *Christians in Al-Andalus*, 53. See as well Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*.

[133] On the intellectual life of minority Muslims living under Christian rule in medieval Iberia, see especially Kathryn Miller, *Guardians of Islam*; Brian Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished*; as well as the body of scholarship on Iberia's Moriscos, those Muslims who ostensibly had converted to Christianity but remained Muslim. In particular, cf. Mercedes Garcia-Arenal, *Los Moriscos* (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1975), but also Nuria Martínez-de-Castilla-Muñoz, "The Copyists and their Texts. The Morisco Translations of the Qurʾān in the Tomás Navarro Tomás Library (CSIC, Madrid). *Al-Qanṭara* 35:2 (Julio-Deciembre 2014): 493-525.

tremendously learned Mozarab who deployed Qur'ānic phrases in Christian contexts, knew Arabic very well, and yet rooted himself in Latin thought. Without explicitly saying so, the anonymous author-translator rebutted Paulus Alvarus' lament that few remained in Córdoba who knew Latin letters: they wrote in Arabic, but their figurative debt to Latin books and Jerome, for example, make clear that Latin learning was still on their minds.

In rendering the Arabic Psalms, he partook in wonderfully medieval intellectual life: he read and wrote across religious boundaries, for example, and he clearly knew how to make books that guided their readers or listeners to a deep understanding of Christ's life. For scholars of the medieval world or of manuscripts in particular, this should sound familiar, but it bears repeating. This before the printing press helped standardize editions of books in Europe, and he knew that he needed to do more than translate the Psalms, but also interpret them and guide his readers. In this regard, the Arabic *argumenta* have enormous importance for our understanding of the Mozarabs and their books. While rich in Islamic vocabulary, they also concretely show the links between the Arabic Prose Psalms and the Vetus Latina Hispana. These Arabic *argumenta*, moreover, helped many other Mozarabs learn the allegorical importance of Christ's life, in a manner much as Latin Christians did.

So, rather than completely disappearing, Latin culture in Córdoba at times lay just beneath Arabic script. As we will see, Mozarabs also continued making Latin manuscripts as well, but when literally manufacturing his Arabic Psalter, the anonymous author-translator tapped into a long-standing Christian need for translations of scripture. He put the Mozarabs on par with Latins, Greeks, Syrians and others who wanted to preach the Gospels. Yet he also made clear that the Mozarabs were different from both Latin Christians and Muslims, even as they drew upon the intellectual traditions of both. This delicate balance between Latin Christian,

Arabic, and Islamic culture played out constantly in the Mozarabs' books, much to Paulus Alvarus' chagrin.

Note 1: Visigothic Handwriting and Heritage in the Mozarabs' Books

The Arabic-annotated Latin manuscripts that I discuss in the following chapters all have similar Latin handwriting. That is, Mozarbs in both the north and south made Bibles in the Visigothic uncial script between the ninth and twelfth centuries.[134] Visigothic codices, that is, manuscripts with Visigothic script, have some general characteristics. An **a** with an open-top and a **t** with the bow bent down in front of the ascending stroke of the letter appear in all forms of Visigothic script. It also has an abbreviation for the preposition *per* (through), in which a squiggly line representing –er goes through the descending-stroke of **p.** In other Latin scripts, this symbol abbreviates the preposition *pro* (for).[135]

The Mozarabs' Latin books are easy to spot through their Arabic notes.[136] That is, all Mozarabic codices are Visigothic, but not all Visigothic codices are Mozarabic. When we think of Mozarabic codices as Latin manuscripts with Arabic notes, it makes who these Mozarabs were relatively unimportant. What they wrote in their Latin books is far more important, for example, than whether these Mozarabs were Muslims who converted to Christianity, or Christians who learned to speak Arabic: questions that Míkel de Epalza, Richard Hitchcock, Cyrille Aillet and many others have tried to answer. Surely, there were Mozarabs from these different backgrounds, yet without doubt, all of these Mozarabs also worked with similar Latin Bibles, whose Arabic notes stand out.

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[134] Cursive forms of Visigothic script existed long before this. I focus upon Visigothic uncial throughout, and for the sake of convenience refer to this uncial form simply as Visigothic script.

[135] Cf. Jesús Muñoz y Rivero, *Paleografía visigoda* (Madrid:1881); Elena E. Rodríguez Díaz, "Los manuscritos mozárabes: Un encrucijada de culturas," in *Die Mozaraber*: 75-103 (esp. 81-90); Jesús Alturo Perucho, "Escritura visigótica: estado de la cuestión," *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschicte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 50 (2004): 346-86.

[136] In this case, Arabic notes.

The Mozarabs' writing in the Visigothic script furthermore demonstrates their affinity for a book culture that pre-dated the Islamic invasions of the eighth century.[137] Mozarabic scribes almost certainly knew of other scribal hands, yet chose to employ Visigothic. We can surmise this from the numerous dealings they with learned non-Iberian Christians. Catherine Brown has discussed how Taio of Saragossa voyaged to Rome in 642, before the Muslim invasions, in search of a complete copy of Pope Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*.[138] Charlemagne, the Frankish king responsible for making standard the Carolingian script in what is now Western Europe, made the Visigoth Theodulf bishop of Orleans. Furthermore, the Leonese scribe Daniel made a Bible now at Cava dei Tirreni, Italy. If he did not bring it from León to Italy, another Mozarab did. Luidprand of Cremona, meanwhile, worked in the court of the Holy Roman Emperor Otto I and as an envoy to the Muslim Caliph in Córdoba. We thus have many contacts between Iberia and other Christian kingdoms, and yet little change to the Visigothic script.[139]

The Mozarabs wrote in Visigothic script until roughly the twelfth or thirteenth century. All of the codices from León and al-Andalus in this period have it.[140] We only have Iberian codices with the northern European Protogothic script after Alfonso VI's conquest of Toledo in 1085, that is, after he promptly set aside land for Frankish nobles and set Bernard of Sedirac as archbishop. Bernard, who had been at the important Leonese monastery of Sahagún, also had strong ties with the monastery of Cluny, which was busily expanding its influence from France

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[137] Elena E. Rodríguez Díaz, "Los manuscritos mozárabes," *passim*. "La apariencia formal y visual de los libros latinos hechos por los cristianos cultos del sur peninsular debe considerarse como un instrumento más de representación social del grupo que funcionó como un signo idenitario, en la misma medida que la lengua latina en la que estaban copiados tales libros. (83)"

[138] See as well Jeffrey Richards, *Consul of God: The Life and Times of Gregory the Great* (New York: Routledge, 1980), 260. Catherine Brown, "Remember the Hand."

[139] On Carolingian-Visigothic contacts, see Pierre Riché, "Les réfugiés wisigoths dans le monde carolingien," in Jacques Fontaine and Christine Pellistrandi, eds., *L' Europe héritière de l' Espagne wisigothique* (Madrid : Casa de Velázquez , 1992) : 177-83 ; *Actas del Coloquio sobre ciculación de códices y escritos entre Europa y la Península en los siglos VIII-XIII (Santiago de Compostella, 16-19 septiembre 1982)* (Santiago de Compostella: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad, 1988).

[140] Manuscripts from the Catalan Counties appear in Protogothic script earlier than in central and southern Iberia, owing to the earlier French political influence there.

all across Latin Christendom. This growth of French intellectual influences, including their script, ushered in the demise of Visigothic script.

Chapter 2: The Seville Bible Apocalypse in al-Andalus and Toledo

As it turns out, Paulus Alvarus was doubly wrong in his lament that Latin learning had died out in Córdoba. For not only did the anonymous author-translator show his Latin learning as he translated the Psalms into Arabic, but Andalusian Mozarabs in general also kept manufacturing Latin Bible manuscripts.[141] Indeed, we know they are Mozarabic because scribes and annotators filled their folios with Arabic notes. With cautious paleographical analysis, for example, determining how someone held a pen as they wrote, we can watch Mozarabs making Latin manuscripts with Arabic marginal notes, something that allows us to see how they valued both languages.[142]

Even more than in the Arabic Psalms, we see in these Latin Bibles real Mozarabs at work. For while no one should doubt that the anonymous author-translator or Ḥafṣ ibn Albar was a Mozarab, the manuscripts of their translations come from the later Middle Ages. In contrast, these Arabic-annotated Latin Bibles securely date between the tenth and twelfth centuries. Making these Bibles was an enourmous investment in time and resources; studying them now as well taxes the mind with a far messier, more detailed intellectual history than scholarship from critical editions of sources, which are at a very real level the creations of their editors.

Most importantly, the content of these Arabic notes offers concrete evidence of individual reading practices. Indeed, the Arabic and Latin notes in the Mozarabs' Latin Bibles often feel cohesive, in that they many times treat the same material. Broadly speaking, these

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[141] Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 214-5, follows Simonet in pointing out that John, bishop of Seville (r. 830-51) had corresponded with Alvarus of Córodba, and indeed may initiaited the movement toward Arabicization in al-Andalus: "en al-Andalus, tout commence par un personage insaisissable, Jean de Séville (214)." Certainly, Alvarus wrote that John was very learned in Arabic, and he may well have translated the Bible into that language, but we lack any manuscripts of that translation.

[142] Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*; Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*. Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, focuses upon letterforms and ink color in his paleographical analysis.

notes show us Mozarabs defining Latin vocabulary, meditating upon the significance of Christ, reflecting upon the enemies of Christendom, and, at times, they help us see the biblical commentaries that Mozarabs read in order to understand the Bible better. Just as we cannot grasp the Arabic Psalms without looking at their *argumenta* which framed them, we cannot know the Mozarabs' Latin Bibles without diving into their margins.

As I will argue in this chapter, we will see at least one scribe doubling as an annotator, with the larger significance being that he knew that his Arabic notes, as part of the paratext, would complete his project. This scribal-annotator, Scribe A, set a pattern for reading Madrid, BNE, MS VITR 13.1, the Seville Bible, in an apocalyptic way from its very beginning.[143] We know this because the apocalyptic, anti-Judaic Arabic notes of a later annotator in the manuscript's Book of Jeremiah bolster Scribe A's notes in the Book of Isaiah so well. This chapter, then, is about Arabic (and Latin) notes, but even more so about the scribes and annotators who made them and thus participated in Latin, Arabic, and Islamic culture.

Furthermore, while this tenth-century Latin pandect Bible—one with all the canonical books—had Andalusian readers, a Mozarab also brought it to Toledo in the years after 1085, so that it also informed the last great community of Mozarabs in Iberia. In following the path of these Mozarabs from al-Andalus to Toledo, I argue that through the Seville Bible's illuminations and its Arabic notes, its scribes encouraged later readers—Andalusian and Toledan--to reflect upon the punishment awaiting the Jews during the Last Days. These few illuminations and many Arabic notes put forth a brand of apocalyptic, anti-Judaic thinking that rings true with early medieval exegesis in northern Europe.

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[143] In general, cf. Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, 640-2; Pieter Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, ; Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 147-8, 236-9. Latin paleographers and Art historians have also worked with the manuscript, see below. Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, and Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, do not treat the manuscript in their otherwise fine work on Andalusian Mozarabs.

After having made my core argument that this was a specifically apocalyptic Bible, I then will show how it adds to our understanding of religious polemic among the Mozarabs. Much of this scholarly literature has treated Mozarabic polemics against Muslims, the sources for which have many problems. The most reliable of these, the *Liber denudationis*, a Latin translation of a lost Arabic source, has only one early- modern manuscript.[144] We have an earlier source for Christian polemics against Islam, in Alvarus' *Indiculus luminosus*, but he was hardly a supporter of the Mozarabs: indeed, he wrote against them. Put simply, the notes in the Seville Bible form perhaps the most reliable witness to Mozarabic polemic—against any religion—that we have, and they furthermore fit with the *argumenta* which shaped how Christians learned the Psalms. I will not discuss the Arabic Psalms here, but we should bear in mind how well the anti-Judaic, apocalyptic polemic there fits with the Seville Bible.

Prophetic Illuminations in an Apocalyptic Gift in Seville

As is the case in other Latin and Arabic manuscripts from Iberia, the scribes of the Seville Bible divulged much information in colophons, including its date of completion: 988.[145] Yet who commissioned the Seville Bible offers a thorny problem. The opening lines of its Latin colophon name Servandus, a Sevillian who was later bishop of Écija, and his friend Iohannes, who was a priest in Cartegna and became bishop of Córdoba, where Servandus gifted him the book.[146] Someone then brought the manuscript to Toledo after 1085. It stayed there until the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid acquired it. A damaged Arabic colophon, meanwhile, refers only to the manuscript's time in Écija and Seville, rather than Córdoba and Toledo. It names"Shalbaṭus the unworthy bishop of Astygia (Écija)," the reading of Casiri, or in Francisco

[144] Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs*; Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 213-4; Charles L. Tieszen, *Christian Identity amid Islam in Medieval Spain*, 172-89.
[145] A later hand also copied the damaged Latin colophon. Cf. BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 376^{r}.
[146] Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, 640-1; Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 147-8.

Javier Simonet's nearly-identical transcription, "Sylvatus the unworthy bishop of Écija," who sent the manuscript to the Cathedral of Santa María in Seville.[147] Simonet argued that this Sylvatus was Servandus from the Latin colophon, who was bishop of Écija in the 950s, and there is little reason to doubt this.[148] In a more radical reading of these Latin and Arabic colophons, Pieter Van Koningsveld stated that a later scribe copied them from an earlier, original lost manuscript, with the Seville Bible, as we have it now, dating to the twelfth century. No evidence supports this argument for a lost manuscript, other than flimsy paleographical analysis, and the colophon clearly states that the Bible went to Seville in 1026 of the Spanish Era, or 988 CE.[149]

To make this tenth-century apocalyptic gift for the bishop/cathedral of Seville, moreover, its scribes needed a massive amount of parchment. It measures 430 x 230 mm, large enough to make reading it while sitting down difficult. It has text in three columns of 63 to 65 lines with brown and black ink.[150] Although it has a uniform format, Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz has argued that four scribes worked on it.[151] Scribe A copied folios 1^{r}-54^{r} and 103^{r}-261^{r}, Scribe B 55^{r}-102^{r}, Scribe C 261^{v}-323^{v}, and Scribe D 324^{r}-375. His argument for four scribes draws upon letterforms and abbreviations for evidence. For example, Scribe B, working with Fols. 55^{r}-102^{r}, did not abbreviate–ue and –us endings, as in q(ue) and omnib(us), with a semi-colon(q;, omnib;). With this in mind, even in the work of one scribe, however, we find slight variation. The letter spacing on Folio 105^{v} appears wider than that on 200^{r} or 260^{v}, for example, although all come from Scribe A. This is not to argue against Díaz y Díaz, but rather to remind us that these scribes lacked the uniformity of a printing press when they copied the Bible.

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[147] Casiri's reading is cited in Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, 45, "min salbātus al-maṭran al-aṣtājamī." For Simonet's "qawli-hu shalbāṭus al-maṭran al-aṣghar," see his *Historia de Los Mozarabes*, 628, incorrectly cited in Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, 45, as "fa inna-hu…al-aṣghar."

[148] Francisco Javier Simonet, *La Historia de los Mozárabes*

[149] The Spanish era begins in 38 BCE, with the arrival of the Romans in Iberia.

[150] I have worked with the manuscript in situ, and can testify that its study is difficult without a support to prop the manuscript up.

[151] Díaz y Díaz, *Manuscritos visigóticos del sur de la península*, 94-5.

Even more than its relatively famous colophon or paleography, the manuscript's illuminations offer evidence that it was a specifically apocalyptic Bible. Indeed, the Seville Bible has few of these—none in bright color—but they put forth an apocalyptic message that dates to the manuscript's very making. Later readers would likely see Micah, Nahum, and Zachariah, who prophesied Christ's coming, as the most striking decoration in the manuscript. The prophets stare out at readers in place of ornate initials—which are lacking throughout-- in these respective biblical books.[152] These illuminations, together with the Arabic notes which I will focus upon, encouraged readers to approach this manuscript in a thoroughly apocalyptic manner. Whether an illuminator made these before or after Scribe A's notes on the Book of Isaiah, which I discuss next, is uncertain, but both the illuminations and that set of notes come people who helped make the manuscript, not later readers.

These prophets are certainly visually jarring. For example, Micah fills roughly half of the left-hand column, with his hands pointing to the middle column of text.[153] As an aside, he wears a turban, almost certainly demonstrating how Mozarabs dressed. A red and blue-ink gloss confirms how the makers of the manuscript thought their readers should interpret this prophet: "the Prophet Michah gathered the anger of the Lord to Samaria. On account of it, he denounced the use of idols of the destructions of the peoples of Israel that were going to come, in the place where Christ was born.[154] That is, readers of this gloss, which comes from Isidore of Seville's *De ortu et obitu patrum*, would ideally absorb this Christian belief in God's anger towards the

[152] Werckmeister, O.K. "Die Bilder der drei Propheten in der Biblia Hispalens," *Madrider Mitteilungen* Vol. 4, No. 4 (1963): 141-88; Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 148, argues that these illuminations follow Islamic iconography.
[153] There are three columns of text in the Seville Bible, as opposed to two in the Leonese manuscripts discussed in the next chapter.
[154] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 161^{r}. " Miceas propheta conminavit samariae iram domini ob ea usum simulacorum interituum populorum israhel venturorum denuntiat loco etiam in quo nascetur Christus."

Jews and his punishment awaiting them during the Last Days.[155] This is largely the same message which the manuscript's scribes and annotators put into the marginal notes.

The prophet Zacharias is equally large.[156] Hard at work, he sits as a scribe writing a book, most likely his prophecy of Christ's arrival, which dovetails nicely with the Book of Michah and the manuscript's notes. The Prophet Nahum, meanwhile, holds a sign that reads: "Incipit Naum Liber."[157] The Isidorian preface to this book, much like that of Micah, reminds readers that this prophet called for the destruction of idols in Jerusalem, then proclaimed peace, here allegorized as Christ, after he rid the city of them: "Nahum who is the consoler for destroying the idols of the nations, pronounced, 'this is not the city of blood, Jerusalem,' after whose destruction you will announce the feet as peace, that is, he proclaimed the coming of the savior."[158]

These three prophets joltingly thus appear in the middle of the codex, almost without warning, but they nevertheless make clear that readers should think about the significance of the apocalypse, prophecy, and anti-Judaic polemic. In this way, they are much like Scribe A's Arabic notes , which, as I discuss, he wrote in the Book of Isaiah. A later reader working through the manuscript would almost certainly know the importance of apocalyptic prophecy in this Bible, since these illuminations and the Arabic notes carry that apocalyptic feeling so well. That is, we cannot understand these illuminations or the Arabic notes on their own, since they together strengthen the message of the Bible.

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[155] For an edition, see: Isidore of Seville, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, PL 85 Col. 0129-156A. I am aware of the problems inherent in many of the *Patrologia Latina* editions, which often rely upon a single manuscript of a given text.

[156] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 165^{v}; Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 148.

[157] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 162^{v}. Otto Werckmeister, "Die Bilder der drei Propheten"

[158] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 162^{r}. "Pretium in Libro Naum Prophetae ab esidoro spalensis… Naum qui est consolator simulacra gentium exterminandum pronuniat hec non est urbem sanguinum Iherusalem post cuius interitum pedes annuntiaritis pacem id est salvatoris adventum proclamat."

I suggest, however, that the most important illumination marks the Book of Daniel: a key book in a manuscript geared toward apocalyptic thinking, for learned Christians did not doubt that Daniel foretold the events in the Book of Revelation which they eagerly awaited. Interestingly, rather than of Daniel, here the illumination is of a bird with a fish, a design that has nothing to do with that prophet but which other Visigothic manuscripts have.[159] This bird, however, had a powerful message to "read the history of Daniel" in Arabic across its neck.[160] Here again, a Mozarabic illuminator—someone who helped make the manuscript, just as Scribe A did--encouraged later readers to work through one of the Bible's most apocalyptic texts.[161]

Like many of the Arabic notes, this bird's-neck message dates to the manuscript's making. If this Mozarabic illuminator was not also a scribe, he nevertheless tucked away an Arabic note for Mozarabic readers who would absorb one of the Bible's most prophetic books in Latin. This in turn reminds us that while Mozarabs did perform at least some of their liturgy in Arabic, they also took part in a long-standing Visigothic, Latin book culture in which the Bible was the book par excellence.[162] It also not least sheds light on the Christian culture that Míkel de Epalza and Richard Hitchcock have argued was in decline in the tenth century, although neither of them looked to this manuscript for evidence.

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[159] An illuminator made a similar fish and bird motif in Toledo, BCT MS 35.3, a missal dating to eleventh or twelfth-century Toledo. This codex of the Church of Saint Ollalia also has Arabic notes, offering clear evidence of Mozarabs' reading. This instance lacks a scribal intervention like the one we see in the Seville Bible's fish and bird, yet nevertheless furthers this discussion about Mozarabic scribes. The Toledan fish and bird demonstrates common ground in Mozarabic manuscript production across different Iberian regions. A scribe or illuminator from these regions could likewise work easily in these areas because of relatively uniform manuscript page layout.

[160] John Williams states that the Arabic reads, "the beginning of the Book of Daniel" but this reading seems unlikely. A dot appears above the letter that Williams sees as *ba* (ibada- the beginning), when it should rather be *qaf* (iqrā' - read). Cyrille Aillet furthermore sees "read the history of Daniel."

[161] Cf. Chapter 4; Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 148, notes that the canon tables in the Seville Bible and the León Bible of 920 have the same primary colors and symbols for the four evangelists. He follows John Williams, *Manuscrits espangols*, 46-9.

[162] Hanna E. Kassis, "A Bible for the Masses in the Middle Ages: Translating the Bible in medieval Muslim Spain," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 8 (2002):202-21.

Scribe A Completes His Gift

Now, not just the Seville Bible's illuminators, but also its scribes actively put forth anti-Judaic, eschatological material. They did so deliberately, I argue, for these illuminations strengthen a harsher and lengthier strain of anti-Judaism in the manuscript's Arabic notes. Indeed, the writing of Arabic notes in the manuscript effectively completed its manufacture. In dating these notes to the tenth century at the latest, I depart from the argument of van Koningsveld, who observed that many of the notes have a similar color to the body of the text, which he dated to the twelfth century. While he is correct that the notes do often look like the body of the text, the latest parts of the text date to the tenth century, as E.A Loewe long ago made clear.[163]

To be clear, I believe that the date of these notes matters relatively little in comparison to what they can teach us about manuscript culture and reading practices among the Mozarabs. What is more important than the date of the notes *per se* is that a scribe made them, rather than a later reader. Scribe A, as I call him, thoroughly marked up the margins of the Book of Isaiah, further confirming for his readers—among them the bishops of Seville and Córdoba—that this was an apocalyptic gift. This gift figuratively begged its readers to pour over its pages and learn how Christ would punish the Jews during the Last Days.

A little about Scribe A: he was, as Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz argued, one of four scribes who made the manuscript, and the only one who completed two different parts of it: Folios 1^{r}-54^{r}

[163] Pieter Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, 45; Loewe in particular studied the **–ti** ligature in Visigothic manuscripts such as the Seville Bible. Beginning in the later ninth century and certainly by 900, **-ti** has an elongated **i** when assibilated and a normal **i** when un-assibilated. León, Archivo de la Catedral, MS 6, the León Bible of 920, has these two forms of **i**. Loewe went even further in discussing the **–ti** ligature in the Seville Bible. He responded to scholars of the medieval Bible and paleographers such as Samuel Berger, C.U. Clark and Dom De Bruyne who dated the entire manuscript to the ninth century. He stated that the manuscript had an older part dating to the ninth century and a newer part from the later tenth century. The manuscript thus shows Visigothic script changing over roughly a century.

and 103^{r}-261^{r}. For this reason, it seems to me that he led the project, and indeed, he is the only scribe who certainly annotated the manuscript.[164] That in itself supplies evidence for the importance of annotating the manuscript during its making. Quite strikingly, moreover, he only began to write notes in the Book of Isaiah, whose verses were pregnant with Christological, apocalyptic proof-texts. Lastly, even more than with the anonymous author-translator of the Arabic Psalms, we here concretely see a Mozarabic scribe moving between Latin and Arabic culture: for he copied the Bible in Latin and then explained it for others with copious Arabic notes.

As he completed the Book of Isaiah, then, Scribe A left a thorough framework for how to read it. Unsurprisingly, given what we have seen already, his framework reads like the writings of earlier Latin authors, including Ḥafṣ ibn Albar's hero St. Jerome. Scribe A's anti-Judaic Arabic notes read much like what St. Isidore of Seville (d. 636) wrote in his his most famous anti-Judaic polemic *On the catholic faith against the Jews*.[165] We have already seen that scribes employed Isidore's writings as prefaces for some of the minor prophetical books, rather than the writings of St. Jerome, which typically open the biblical books of the Vulgate. While direct

[164] The many notes in the Book of Jeremiah may come from either a scribe or a later reader.

[165] The opening of the first book of *De fide* reads: "the Jews denying with nefarious unbelieving that Christ is the Son of God, impious, hard-hearted, unbelieving in the old prophets, obstructing the new, they prefer not to know the advent of Christ rather than to know; to deny rather than believe: "Judaei nefaria incredulitate Christum Dei Filium abnegantes, impii, duricordes, prophetis veteribus increduli, novis obstrusi, adventum Christi malunt ignorare, quam nosse; negare, quam credere." In Book 2, Isidore writes: "Even today, the Jews say this for Christ: 'He is not the savior [Christus],' and they are waiting for another, who is Antichrist. Cf. Isidore of Seville, *De fide catholica*, 2.6.32. "Hoc nunc usque Judaei pro Christo dicunt: Non est ipse, exspectantes alium, qui est Antichristus." The Isidorian preface to Osee states: "[he] is understood as saving (*salvans*) among the first twelve, more profound among the rest in the sentences, and more laborious in understanding." The handwriting here appears more compact than Scribe A's, a siginificant point because this other scribe also read Latin exegesis. Cf. MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 155^{r}: "Osee propheta qui intelligitur salvans in duodecim primus profundior in reliquis in sententiis et operorior intellectu" He also explains that [Osee] "will pronounce literally (*storialiter*) that the Jews are going to believe in the Final Time of Christ." "Hic storialiter iudeos in Christi ultimo tempore credituros pronuntiabit." On *De fide catholica contra iudeos*, cf. Wolfram Drews, *The Unknown Neighbour: The Jew in the Thought of Isidore of Seville* (Brill: Leiden, 2006), although any work with Isidore should start with Jacques Fontaine.

evidence that Scribe A drew upon St. Isidore's exegesis is lacking, nevertheless he was likely on the minds of these scribes.

Determining Scribe A's authorship of these notes is tricky, yet arguing that the same scribe wrote both the Latin text and Arabic notes is more possible than we might think. He did so in the Book of Isaiah, where his Arabic notes have brown ink much like the body of the manuscript. Now, the ink color alone does not prove that the same scribe wrote both. Yet the ink color for some of these notes, together with the prophetic, anti-Judaic message throughout the manuscript suggests strongly that Scribe A wrote in the margins here. The notes in brown ink on Folio 106^{v}, near the beginning of Isaiah, are indeed more orderly than another set of Arabic notes in black ink which explain the Book of Jeremiah.[166] Indeed, one note fits in the tiny space between the middle and right-hand column, as if Scribe A had done the annotation. This looks like a place where Scribe A left room in the middle column as he copied his Latin precisely because he planned to annotate there. The note treats Isaiah 4:1-2, where seven women will seize one man, who will save them.[167] For Scribe A, this reminded him: "on the day which God is criticizing the Jews, the Lord raises the nations." **(Figure 1)**[168]

Now, Scribe A kept annotating throughout the Book of Isaiah, but his earliest notes offer the best evidence that he was a scribal annotator, working in both Latin and Arabic. Even when working in different languages, he held his pen the same way: the ascending stroke on **d** and **h** in "et dixit ahaz," "and Akhaz said," has the same thickness as the Arabic letter alif (ا) in his note

[166] I discuss the Jeremiah Annotator below.
[167] Is. 4:1-2. "Et adprehendent septem mulieres virum unum in die illa dicentes panem nostrum comedemus et vestimentis nostris operiemur tantummodo vocetur nomen tuum super nos aufer obprobrium nostrum. In die illa erit germen Domini in magnificentia et in gloria et fructus terrae sublimis et exultation his qui salvati fuerint de Israhel"
[168] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 106^{v}. "fī yaum dhamm allah al-yahūd [r]af^{c} al-rabb al-ajnās"

"fī khabr ākhāz," on the history of Akhaz.[169] The ink color, the careful placement of some of these notes, and the ductus in the Latin and Arabic together make a stronger case Scribe A wrote these notes at the time of the manuscript's making in al-Andalus. When we bring the Latin and the Arabic evidence together, it all makes for a strong argument that at least some of the notes came from al-Andalus, not from Toledo, as Pieter Van Koningsveld had suggested.[170]

Looking more closely, we see that the Arabic annotations in this manuscript formed a text of their own which competed figuratively for a reader's attention. Folio 106^{r}, the first of these Arabic-annotated folios, offers an excellent example. In a book rife with Christological prooftexts, for Scribe A Isaiah 2:2 stood out: "and there will be in the Last Days a mountain, a house of the Lord on the peak and it will be raised above the hills, and all the people will flow to it…" His note, meanwhile, is short but telling: "this mountain is the Messiah and his people."[171] Indeed, he was not alone in his prophetic vision, for St. Jerome, ever ready to expound upon Hebrew topics, interpreted the verse similarly, albeit at greater length:

This mountain is in the house of the Lord, which the prophet breathes forth, saying: I beg one thing from the Lord, I shall require this, that I live in the house of the Lord all the days of my life… *This house was built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, who are themselves mountains, as if imitators of Christ*.[172]

Scribe A thus thought along the lines of St. Jerome, but expressed himself through notes and glosses rather a lengthy biblical commentary. For example, both commentators saw the Lord building a house upon Christ's people: his *ummah*, meaning something like community, and the apostles and prophets in Jerome's text.

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[169] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 107^{v}. "Et dixit ahaz," "fī khabr ākhāz" ; The verse is Isaiah 7:12, "ex dixit Ahz non petam et non temptabo Domini," "and Ahaz said, I will not beg and I will not tempt the Lord." Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, does not treat handwriting as evidence for the manuscript's Andalusian origin.

[170] Pieter Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*.

[171] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 106^{r}. Is 2:1 " Et erit in nouissimis diebus preparatus mons domus domini in vertice montium elebabitur super colles et fluent ad eum omnes gentes…" "hadha al-jabal huwa al-masīḥ wa--ummatu-hu"

[172] St. Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, CCSL 73, 1.2.2. "hic mons in domo domini est, quam propheta suspirat, dicens: unam petiui a domino, hanc requiram, ut inhabitem in domo domini, omnes dies uitae meae… haec domus aedificata est super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum, qui et ipsi montes sunt, quasi imitatores christi."

Yet pointing out Christological passages was not enough for Scribe A: he needed to make sure that his readers understood that the Jews had murdered their messiah. He interwove this message with the Christological one, at verses such as Isaiah 1:26-27: "After this, you will call it a just and faithful city. Sion will be redeemed in judgement and they will lead it back to justice."[173] He here he was slightly more cryptic: "what he [God] does to them through the might of the countryside." Much like God raised Israel against his enemies (Is 1:24-5), Christ would return in the Last Days to punish the Jews, who had sinned in Christian eyes.[174] The annotator thus commented upon Sion by noting that God would make it just again. This is indeed a note that on its own is a little confusing, but which makes perfect sense alongside his other notes: Christ would return, defeat the Jews who had sinned in Christian eyes, and establish a heavenly kingdom.

Indeed, for Scribe A, the Jews of the Bible were the same as those who lived in his own world, that is, those who now also read the Talmud. Isaiah 2:20, reads: "on that day, humankind [homo] will throw its silver idols and golden statues which it had made for worship." His note reflected on his contemporary world: "truly this latter makes clear, going among the Jews today when they lie about the two sins."[175] While he does not say explicitly what these two sins are, I suggest Scribe A here refers to the silver idols and the golden statues, since the note's lemma so strongly calls for their destruction. Scribe A furthermore clearly believed Christ would punish the Jews in the Last Days, but also that contemporary Jews were no better than those in the Bible were (or vice-versa).

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[173] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 106^{r}. Is 1 :26-27 "…post hec uocaueris ciuitatas iusti urbs fidelis. Sion in iudicio redimetur et reducent eam in iustitia"

[174] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 106^{r}. "mā yafʿila fī-him bi-ʿizz al-aqālīm"

[175] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 106^{r}. "In die illa proiciet homo idola argenti sui et simulacra auri sui"; "inna bāna akhīr hadha baʿād yakūn fil-yahūd al-yaum idhā ukdhibu athman-." I would like to thank Professor Hindrich Bielofeld and Michael Noble for their assistance in transcribing this quickly-written gloss during a memorable day at The Warburg Institute. I would also like to thank Charles Burnett for his guidance in working with these annotations and other material while I held the Alan Deyermond Fellowship at The Warburg Institute.

Just as he did earlier, Jerome helps us to understand Isaiah 2:20. He notes that through anagogy, an allegorical understanding focused upon the afterlife, the passage concerns: "that which the Hebrews refer to as the Babylonian times and the subversion at Jerusalem, when the Lord rose to punish the land of the Jews."[176] What Jerome calls a brief sermon becomes a lengthier commentary upon the Jews:

"therefore, the Jews' understanding that this prophecy concerns their savior [Christ], interpreted this ambiguous word in the worst sense [in deteriorem partem], so that they do not seem to praise Christ, but to assign it no significance [*pendere nihili*], which is indeed a following of the words and whatever order of reason and sense, as we say: since thus they hold these things [rationis et sensum] among themselves, and the day of the Lord is about to come, in which the whole state of the Jews must be subverted and all things destroyed.[177]

Scribe A, I would suggest, thought much like St. Jerome, since he had also made up his mind that Jews worshipped idols, almost certainly in part because Jews leveled the same criticism at Christians who verenated the cross or statues of saints, for example. What we see here is in effect a back and forth argument about idolatry, in which we have only the Christian side.

In Scribe A's mind, Christians would have the last word in this argument, for Christ would come to punish the Jews. For him, proof of this came from verses like Isaiah 2:22: "be at peace therefore with the man whose spirit is in his nose ..." Leaving little to mystery, he explained: "this man is the messiah."[178] So, just as the manuscript's illuminator(s) firmly suggested through their art that Christ would fulfill Old Testament prophecies, so too did Scribe A when he came to the margins and did the final step of his bookmaking. The message was quite clear: when Christ returned in the Last Days, the Jews would suffer for their supposed culpability

[176] St. Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, 1.20. "quae hebraei ad babylonia referunt tempora et subuersionem hierusalem, quando surrexit dominus terram percutere iudaeorum".
[177] St. Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam*, 1.22. intellegentes ergo iudaei prophetiam esse de christo, uerbum ambiguum in deteriorem partem interpretati sunt, ut uiderentur non laudare christum, sed nihili pendere. quae est enim uerborum consequentia et qui ordo rationis ac sensus, ut dicamus: cum haec ita se habeant, et dies uentura sit domini, in qua uniuersus iudaeae status subuertendus est et omnia conterenda.
[178] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 106^{r}. "quiescite ergo ab homine cuius spiritus in naribus eius quia excelsus reputatus est ipse…" "hadha al-rajul huwa al-masīḥ"

in his death. All of this, in sum, shows us Scribe A pouring over Isaiah with the foremost goal of meshing Christological and anti-Judaic thought, which, of course, complemented each other in Christian theology. That he and his fellow scribes were creating an apocalyptic gift that figuratively demanded close study makes the book even more interesting.

Then, just after clarifying that Christ was the man with the spirit in his nose (Is. 2:22), he turned to the opening of Chapter 3, where God raises an army: "behold indeed God is commander of armies, he takes up from Jerusalem and from Judah every true and strong man, every strength of bread and every strength of water…" Scribe A's note says nothing of God, armies, bread or water: "just as we see them today," a note in which, given its lemma, he may well have thought of how Christians would fight Jews in the End Times.[179] For while he does not write explicitly of *al-yahūd* here, they are clearly his target throughout his notes, which indeed he made into a text in which he sought to prove that the Jews have lost their convenant with God.

All of this, of course, illuminates Scribe A's belief that the Last Days would usher in Christ's punishment of the Jews. He made this point throughout his notes, but Isaiah 10:22 especially captured his attention: "If indeed you people of Israel are like the sand of the sea, the remaning will be converted, because a brief consummation will flood the just."[180] This Mozarab's reaction to this apocalyptic / anti-Judaic proof-text shows very deep reading: "the statement of the Antichrist about the forty-fifth day, which the prophet Daniel sets forth, and the confirmation of this is a prophecy that God puts among us [damaged text]…and once and for all

[179] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 106^{r}. Is 3:1 "ecce enim Dominatur Deus exercituum auferet ab Hiersualem et ab Iuda validum et fortem omne robur panis et omne robur aquae" ;"ka-mā narā-hum al-yaum" .

[180] A passage that Christians frequently deployed when arguing against Judaism. "si enim fuerit populus tuus israehel quasi arena [sic] maris reliquie convertentur ex eo consumatio adbreviata inundabitur iustitiam."

we see the rejected Jews."[181] Quite clearly, Scribe A expected his readers to understand these forty-five days, which in turn can only refer to the Book of Daniel 12:11-12:

And from the time, when the perpetual sacrifice shall be carried away, and the abomination of the destroyer is set forth, is one thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he, who expects and perseveres all the way to one thousand three hundred and thirty five days. You, however, go to the end and rest, and you will stand firm in your fate in the end of days.[182]

Medieval Christians widely understood these verses from Daniel as a prophecy of the Last Days. According to a long tradition that began with Jerome—no surprise there--the 1290th day foretold Christ's victory over Antichrist as prophesied in Revelation 20, and his followers would have until the 1335th day to repent, a forty-five day period of "refreshment for the saints."[183] While some medieval thinkers interpreted this passage as literally prophesying the Last Days in 1290, here the annotator joined the description of the the Last Days in Isaiah 10:22 to the Book of Daniel, and thereby explained how Christ would defeat his foil, Antichrist, and the Jews at that time.[184]

This Mozarab was in general quite attuned to Latin exegesis and further expected his readers to be as well. Note here, for example, that he does not thoroughly tell what these forty-five days mean; rather, he assumes that his readers will know that this is when Christ will triumph over Satan. The intertexuality here is quite striking, with Scribe A explaining a common anti-Judaic prooftext in the Book of Isaiah through a very important apocalyptic prooftext in the Book of Daniel. The complexity of this exegesis shows almost certainly Mozarabs drawing

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[181] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 108r. "qawl al-dajāl fil-khams wa- al-arbʿīn yauman yaḍaʿu danyil al-nabī wa--misdāq dhalika al-nubūwah anna allah yajʿalu fī-nā …fa-battan nara'ā al-yaḥūd al-nafīah"

[182] Dan. 12:11-12. "Et a tempore cum ablatum fuerit iuge sacrificium et posita fuerit abominatio in desolatione dies mille ducenti nonaginta, beatus qui expectat et pervenit ad dies mille trecentos triginta quinque"

[183] Robert Lerner, "Refreshment of the Saints: The Time after Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought," *Traditio* 32 (1976): 97-144.

[184] A supposed religious disputation between a Genoese Christian merchant named Inghetto Contrado and several Jews, dated to 1286, furthermore employs this passage from Daniel as a proof-text that the Last Days will arrive in 1290. Cf. Ora Limor, Die Disputationen zu Ceuta (1179) und Mallorca (1286): zwei antijüdische Schriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Genua, ed. Ora Limor (München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1994).

upon Latin culture, much more so than Paulus Alvarus wanted to admit: given that he was making a Latin Bible, Scribe A more than likely took this exegesis from a Latin source as well. All of this, moreover, further illuminates how anti-Judaic education was wholly part of the Mozarabs' religious life.

To conclude, much as the anonymous author-translator of the Psalms or Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, Scribe A approached his project knowing that its paratext was paramount. Indeed, we should recall that the bird with "read the history of Daniel" in its neck offers evidence that a Mozarabic illuminator worked in tandem with Scribe A.[185] Phrased differently, the scribes and illuminators who made the Seville Bible directly affected the way later readers approached it. Indeed, the vast majority of evidence from the manuscript points to a thoroughly apocalyptic reading.[186] The manuscript made a fitting gift for an Andalusian bishop who tended to a Christian community that had not died off, in contrast to revisionist arguments.

Awaiting the Apocalypse in the Language of Islam

Indeed, these similarities with the translators of the Arabic Psalms go further, for when Scribe A wrote about the Last Days, he too employed very Islamic-sounding vocabulary. This mixing of Latin and Arab-Islamic thought illuminates the root meaning of the word Mozarab: one who became Arab. For an example of this shared vocabulary, when Scribe A referred to the End Times, he often called it the "Day of the Resurrection," or *yaum al-qiyāmah*. Among many other places, in the Qur'ān this phrase begins Ṣura 75, The Resurrection: "I swear by the Day of Resurrection."[187] Scribe A, in turn, employed it, among other verses, at Isaiah 3:13: "The Lord

[185] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 201^{v}.
[186] The manuscript has non-apocalyptic pericope marks in its margins, signaling where to read for the mass. I have not discussed these because they are beyond the scope of the chapter.
[187] Qurʾān 75.

stands forth for judgment and for people about to be judged."[188] As is typical of him, he was succinct in his note: "On the Day of Resurrection with the apostles [*al-ḥawāriyūn*]."[189] Likewise, *al-ḥawāriyūn* for the apostles is ubiquitous in the Qur'ān. What we are watching here is a Mozarab who knows Latin exegesis formulating his thinking with a partially-Isalmic vocabulary. Indeed, he should bring to mind the anonymous author-translator of the Psalms, who did much the same.

Furthermore, Scribe A employed *yaum al-qiyāmah* again on Folio 120^{r} , when he read Isaiah 63:4: "the day of vengence in my heart, the year of redemption, comes."[190] The Latin *dies ultionis*, "the day of vengence," fits well with the Day of the Resurrection, in that both are thoroughly apocalyptic, and this again is what a typical Christian exegete would write and think when he saw such a verse. Yet we should also note that here Scribe A did not translate *dies ultionis* literally, but rather opted for an Islamic term which Mozarabs clearly preferred.

Along with Scribe A, others also shared this Islamic-Christian vocabulary. On Folio 111^{v}, someone else commented upon Isaiah 26:19: "your dead will live, those of mine killed will rise."[191] Whoever this Mozarab was, he wrote notes much like Scribe A, referring to the Last Days as *yaum al-faṣl*, literally the "Day of Judgment," which sounds much like the Latin phrase *dies iudicii*, which is not actually in the Latin. Both *yaum al-faṣl* and *yaum al-qiyāmah* described Christ raising his followers to heaven during the Last Days. Yet as we have seen, Mozarabs employed *yaum al-qiyāmah* far more often than *yaum al-faṣl*. This speaks to the importance of Qur'ānic vocabulary among very learned Mozarabs.[192]

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[188] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 106^{v}. "stat ad iudicandum Dominus et stat ad iudicandos populos"
[189] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 106^{v}. "Li-yaum al-qiyāmah mʿa al-ḥawāriyīn"
[190] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 120^{v}. "Li-yaum al-qiyāmah". Dies enim ultionis in cordem et annus retributionis mee venit"
[191] Is 26:19. "Vivent tui mortui interfecti mei resurgent"
[192] On Jesus in the Qurʾān, see Tarif Khalidi, *The Muslim Jesus : Sayings and Stories in Islamic Literature* (Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 2001).

Certainly, this apocalyptic language was very Islamic, but shared language between Islam and Christianity also aided an annotator (perhaps Scribe A) in discussing theology too, as a complement to prophecy. He did so at Is 11:8-12, another series of verses in which the Lord, whom Christians believed was Christ, reaches down with his hand to redeem his followers during the Last Days. This note reads: "and the knowledge of God in this passage is a statement which is a prophecy of God and the believing him among the gathering of the nations." [193] In between the lines of this note, however, he added *al-tawḥīd*, from a consonental root meaning "to make one." Christians and Muslims both employed this word when discussing their contrasting views of Christ's nature. [194] Here, this annotator seems as a brief afterthought to have remembered to remind other readers that Christ was the fruit of this prophecy, but that he, and indeed the Trinity, was all one God. This, in turn, rings true with the anonymous author-translator calling Christ "the word which made the Heavens and the Earth and that which is between them." This annotator in the Seville Bible, like other learned Andalusian Mozarabs, knew how to deploy Islamic vocabulary effectively in Christian contexts.

This discussion of God's unity illuminates the learning of these Mozarabs, but this particular annotator (who is not Scribe A) did not stop there. He indeed continued thinking on the same set of verses, Isaiah 11:8-12, which prophesy that the Lord, whom Christians saw as Christ, would reach his hands down to Earth two times to collect his faithful. This was simply too important for this annotater to skip over, as he shifted back into prophetical thinking: "his [Christ's] hand frees the first man [damaged text… on his death?]…. And the second man on the

[193] Is 11:8-12. "Wa-maʿrifat allah hā hunā kalam nubūwat allah wa-taraʾātu-hu fī jamīʿ al-ajnās"
[194] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 108^{r}.

Day of the Resurrection."[195] This annotator, then, quickly switched from a note on Christ's unity, to a note that is more purely apocalyptic in treating the salvation of Christians.

As a final point, this Islamic vocabulary goes beyond discussions of religion and theology. Scribe A—to whom we now return--and others wrote at length about Christ, the Last Days, and Judaism in the Book of Isaiah's margins, but Scribe A at least also deployed Islamic geographical terms. For while the above, second annotator treated Christ's theology and the Last Days when he read over Isaiah 11:8-12, Scribe A focused upon the geographical locations where Christ would redeem believers: *afetros*, *elamitur*, *ennuas*, and *emath*, among other places. When Scribe A made these regions known to his readers—perhaps to the other reader who annotated these verses, even--he employed very Islamic names: *al-fars*, *al-sūs*, *al-ʿiraq*, and *al-qiblah*.[196] The first three are Persia, Susa, and Iraq. The forth literally refers to the niche in a mosque which shows Muslims the direction of Mecca, that is, the direction in which to pray. This may refer to the lands around Mecca, where Abraham, the first Muslim, made his covenant with God, or simply to the East.

Certainly, Scribe A was not alone in deploying this vocabulary, for we find it in another manuscript: Madrid, BNE MS VITR 14.3, a copy of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, with which Toledan readers worked. Folio 116^{v} of that manuscript has a T-O map in which the world has three landmasses: Africa, Asia, and Europe form the shape of a **T**, with oceans encircling it like an **O**. In labeling this map, its maker wrote "*arḍ al-fārs*," the region of Persia, along with *al-sham* for Syria and *al-makka* for Mecca.[197] To be clear, this does not mean that Scribe A read the Isidore manuscript as he annotated the Seville Bible, but it does show Mozarabs employing a

[195] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 108^{v}. "yad-hu ḥarr rujul al-awwal [….bi-mautihim?] wa al-thānī li-yaum al-qīyāmah".
[196] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 108^{v}. Cf. especially Is. 11 :11.
[197] BNE MS VITR 14.3, Fol. 116^{v}.

common geographical vocabulary which owed much to Islam.[198] Furthermore, this Etymologies map refers to *al-ʿajam*, *al-rūm*, and *al-saqaliba*, which, as I have discussed, Muslims and Mozarabs employed as terms for the Latins (with no pejorative connotations), the Greeks, and the Slavs.[199] So while I have focused largely upon Scribe A's apocalyptic anti-Judaic notes, we must remember that he thought like other Mozarabs as well.

Foremost among his similarities to other Mozarabs is his willingness to delve into Latin, Arabic, and Islamic thought. He seamlessly brought together Islamic vocabulary with Latin exegesis, thinking of the Last Days and anti-Judaic polemic together, much like St. Jerome had done. Indeed, Scribe A and the others planned a specifically apocalyptic manuscript, with complete focus upon this in the manuscripts' illuminations and notes. Yet even when pondering the end of Christian history and the punishments awaiting the Jews at that time, Scribe A made Islamic vocabulary Christian, much as the anonymous author-translator before him. In the broad scope of the history of the Mozarabs in al-Andalus, these two stand out for the ways in which they brought together Arab-Islamic and Latin culture: one as a Latin to Arabic translator, the other a scribe who revered the Latin Bible and saw no problem with annotating it in Arabic.

Scribe A on the Song of Songs

Scribe A, in sum, effectively completed his parts of this Bible by adding copious notes to its margins that reinforce the apocalyptic, anti-Judaic message of the manuscript's illuminations. Indeed, as I have argued throughout, the Mozarabs were deeply-learned in both Latin and Arab-Islamic thought, and valued both Latin and Arab-Islamic books, all of this contrary to Paulus Alvarus' famous lament about the lack of Latin learning in Córdoba. Yet the Seville Bible, like

[198] Pieter Van Koningsveld, *The Latin Arabic Glossary*, 45-6; Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 210-3.
[199] On the ʿajām, see Ch. 2; Travis E. Zahdeh, *The Vernacular Qur'an: Translation and the Rise of Persian Exegesis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

other Mozarabic Bibles, also has Latin notes adding to this discussion of Judaism.[200] They are most prominent in the Song of Songs, where they embody the "voice of the Church" and "voice of Christ," as well as the "voice of the Synagogue to the Church."[201] That is, Scribe A cast the Song of Songs as a Jewish-Christian dialogue which reads very differently than the Book of Isaiah and its Arabic notes.

The material here follows what one might expect to find in a Latin commentary on this book, such as St. Bernard of Clairvaux's, which allegorized the poem's erotic material into a love for Christ in far greater detail than I can offer here.[202] What is more, even though these brief notes are in Latin, they nevertheless very likely tell us about the Mozarabs. Indeed, Scribe A copied the Song of Songs, but rather than write the notes in Arabic as elsewhere, here he did so in Latin. The hand that wrote these notes clearly matches the body of the text: the open-top of **a** is the same, as is the letter **x**, whose stroke from bottom-left to upper-right (or vice versa) has the same thin character. The loop in **g**, meanwhile, is similiarly open in both the body and the notes. All of this together with the Latin notes' red ink builds the case for scribal annotating here. While we do not know why Scribe A wrote Arabic notes in the Book of Isaiah and Latin ones in the Song of Songs, his movement between the two languages illuminates a Mozarab grappling with Judaism in two different ways and in two very different biblical books.

Scribe A certainly put away the polemic of the Arabic notes when he came to the Song of Songs, a love poem. The personified "Voice of the Synagogue" speaks at 1:4: "I am black but beautiful, a daughter of Jerusalem just as a tabernacle of Cedar."[203] At 5:8-9, she beseeches the Church: "I swear to you, daughters of Jerusalem, if you should find my beloved so that you may

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[200] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 200^{r}-201^{r}.
[201] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol 200^{r}- 201^{r}. "Vox Ecclesiae, Vox Christi, Vox Sinagoge ad ecclesiam"
[202] On which see Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).
[203] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 200^{r}. "Nigra sum sed formosa filie Iherusalem sicut tabernacula cedar".

announce to him that I am tired in love, I who am your most beloved, the sweetest of women, the sort of which is your beloved."[204] These notes are brief, but the contrast they form with the Arabic notes in Isaiah is telling of the different approaches Scribe A could take to Judaism.

In this sweet dialogue, the "Voice of the Church responds in kind at 5:10: "my beloved, bright and ruddy, chosen from one thousand…" [205] What this teaches us, then, is that these Mozarabs knew where to find vituperative anti-Judaic prooftexts, but that they could see Judaism in other ways as well. Looking for polemic in the Song of Songs simply would not work. This in turn dovetails with what we know about Medieval Latin readers' attitudes toward other religions, for as Thomas Burman has demonstrated, Christians such as Robert of Ketton, the first translator of the Qur'ān into Latin, had a whole spectrum of thoughts on Islam.[206] The same applies to the range of material on Judaism in this manuscript: the Arabic notes are largely polemical, but these Latin notes are far less so.

Indeed, Scribe A kept his focus upon Christianity's relationship with Judaism as he copied this dangerously sexual text. He said nothing, for example, of the passionate kiss with which the song opens (1:1), nor did he comment upon the beloved's breasts, which were like twin fawns (4:5). In a roundabout way, his Latin notes fit with his goals for this Bible: his only interest in making this apocalyptic manuscript were explaining how the Jews would suffer during the Last Days, with occasional ventures into lexical reading. Here in turn he offered another view of the Synagogue and the Church/Christ: one in which the Synagogue seeks out Christianity. In that regard, Christianity was for him superior to Judaism, and explaning that was

[204] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 200^{v}. Adiuro uos filie iherusalem si inueneritis dilectum meum ut nuntietis ei quia amore langueo quis est dilectus tuus ex delecto pulcerrima mulierum qualis est dilectus tuus ex dilecto …" "vox sinagogem ad eglesiam
[205] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 200^{v}. Dilectus meus candidus et rubicandus electus ex milibus
[206] Thomas E. Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom*

more important than allegorizing the poem's erotic language as a love for Christ, as Bernard of Clairvaux did in the twelfth century.

The Song of Song's Latin notes thus show Scribe A teaching of Judaism's relationship to Christianity. Rather than forcing a polemical meaning out of a love poem, he explained how the Church was superior to the Synagogue through an allegory of lovers. Broadly speaking, then, a reader of this manuscript thus could argue for Christ's Second Coming, his impending punishment of the Jews, and for the relationship between the Church and the Synagogue. This further demonstrates that the makers of the Seville Bible intended it as a thoroughly apocalyptic Bible, but when Scribe A came to the Song of Songs, the nature of that poem did not offer proof-texts for polemical notes in the same way the Book of Isaiah did. Even so, here as elsewhere a Mozarab read the Bible much as Latin Christians to the north.

The Jeremiah Annotator Contemplates the End Times

For his thorough notes in Arabic and Latin, Scribe A certainly merits comparison with Mozarabs like the anonymous author-translator, but also with the other Mozarabs who tell us of their reading of the Seville Bible. While I briefly discussed the notes from readers other than Scribe A in the Book of Isaiah, another lengthy series of notes lets us watch someone meditating upon the Book of Jeremiah. They certainly come from a different Mozarab, the Jeremiah annotator, who worked in either al-Andalus or Toledo, but came to the same apocalyptic, anti-Judaic conclusions as Scribe A. His Arabic notes confirm my larger argument that readers of this manuscript—scribal or otherwise—made the Seville Bible an especially apocalyptic manuscript.

The Jeremiah annotator's notes are easy enough to spot, even in a manuscript in which several different annotators made themselves known in the margins. With black ink and a crisp

hand, his notes look different from Scribe A's and also from the biblical text of Jeremiah, which has brown ink. For lack of a better term his notes are more random and jarring than Scribe A's. For example, where Scribe A on one occasion did not fill a line completely with Latin, so that he could write in Arabic there, the Jeremiah annotator wrote wherever there was available space. He effectively picked up where Scribe A had left off in explaning how the Jews would suffer during the Last Days.[207]

Indeed, who he was matters less than the fact that he effectively continued Scribe A's notes. Folio 123^{v}—in a part of the Bible that Scribe A copied—offers several examples. He closely read Jeremiah 7, where God chastises the Judeans. Verse 15 of that chapter was the first in a series of passages that caught his eye: "and I will toss you out from my face just as I did all your brothers, all the seed of Ephraim."[208] Here the Jeremiah annotator comanded other readers: "Note the saying of Lord to them: I did not accept distress from the prophets among them."[209] That is, false prophets had not harmed God in the past, and he would punish the Judeans for their transgressions again.

The Jeremiah annotator was, moreover, pithy like Scribe A when reading Jeremiah 7:21-22: "the Lord God of the army of Israel says: add sacrifices to your victims and eat flesh because I did not speak with their fathers and I did not command to them concerning the word of sacrifices and victims on the day when I led them from Egypt." In the verses that follow, God notes that the Hebrews did not follow God's word after he rescued them from Egypt. All of this

[207] Cyrille Aillet and Pieter Van Koningsveld have not worked through the different Arabic hands in the Seville Bible, as I do here.
[208] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 123^{v}. "ifham qawl al-rabb la-hum lā taqqabul ḍarrā' ʿan al-anbiya fi-him" "Et proiciam vos a facie mea sicut omnes fratres vestros: universum semen efraim:"
[209] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 123^{v}.

moved the annotator to write a simple note: "on the denial of their sacrifice."[210] The larger message, that the Hebrews and the Jews had not obeyed God, certainly resonated with him and the other readers of the manuscript. This disobedience and the Jeremiah annotator's reaction to it, moreover, amplifys Scribe A's blame of the Jews for Christ's crucifixion. For these two Mozarabs, the Jews had not followed God's commands to the letter from Moyses forward.

He continued in this vein as he read Jeremiah 7:25, where God bemoans that the Hebrews did not listen to him after they fled Egypt. There, the annotator wrote: "there was not among the Jews a better man than he; they left from Egypt," though they later disobeyed God.[211] These are the notes, then, of someone who took the manuscript's apocalyptic anti-Judaic message and ran with it. He built upon what Scribe A had made clear in the margins of the Book of Isaiah.

Indeed, he wrote like this almost wherever he could, both before and after the above examples from Chapter 7. Much the same message pervades Jeremiah 5:11-12: "indeed the Lord said prevocation is provoked in me, the House of Israel and the House of Judah denied the Lord and said he will never come among us and we will not see the sword and famine." Jeremiah 5:15 then describes how God will save some of the robust believers from Israel. The Jeremiah annotator accounted for all this succincinctly: "How the House of Judah was unbelieving when the House of Israel was the Messiah," seeing Israel as a foretelling of Christians when it suited.[212] The Jeremiah annotator had here to explain that God would save Christians, not the

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[210] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 123^{v}. "haec dicit Dominus exercituum Deus Israhel holocaustomata vestra addite victimis vestris et comedite carnes quia non sum locutus cum patribus vestris et non praecepi eis in die qua eduxi eos de terra Aegypti de verbo holocaustomatum et victimarum"; "fī-inkār qurbāni-him"
[211] BNE MS VITR 13.1, 123^{v}. "lam yakun fil-yahūd kḥair man-hu kharajū min miṣr"
[212] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 122^{v}. praevaricatione enim praevaricata est in me domus Israhel et domus Iuda ait Dominus, negaverunt Dominum et dixerunt non est ipse neque veniet super nos malum gladium et famem no videbimus… ecce ego adducam super vos gentem de longinquo domus Israhel ait Dominus, gentem robustam

Jews who lived among them. This understanding framed how he read other passages as well, for this is simply how many medieval Christians—although certainly not all--approached the Bible.[213] He made a similar point on Folio 126^{r}, with notes reading "this man is the Jews" for Jeremiah 17:5—the Lord says this: poorly-spoken of is the human who confides in a human--while at Jeremiah 17:7—blessed is the man who confides in the Lord—he wrote simply"this man is the Church."[214] The larger message he sought to spread fit well with Scribe A's: Mozarabic readers, as good Christians, should confide in God, who would shelter them during the Last Days.

On Folio 124r, Jeremiah 10:7—whoever will not fear you, oh King of the Gentiles, your glory is among all the wisest Gentiles and no one is like you—provoked a similar reaction from the Jeremiah annotator. The verses that follow continue to discuss false prophets. The annotator focused upon the king's knowledge and power: "remembrance of the Lord that he is the commander of the nations, and his beauty is among the learned men of the Gentiles, not among the Jews." Indeed, he rendered *sapientes gentium*, the wise men of the Gentiles, quite literally as "ʿāliman al-ajnās."[215] This furthermore interests because it casts Christ as a militant king or commander (*al-amīr*) conquering unbelievers.

If we push the metaphor further, we see that the Jeremiah annotator likely believed he was waging a form of spiritual warfare against the Jews. Scholars of the early medieval world have longed talked of medieval monks in particular as *milites christi*, soldiers of Christ, and

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gentem antiquam gentem cuius ignorabis linguam nec intelleges quid loquatur." "kaifa kafara bait yahūdā wa-bait isrāʾīl al-masīh".

[213] On this Christological reading, cf. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible*; Jean Danielou, *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in Biblical Typology of the Fathers* (London: Burns and Oates, 1960); Dahan, *L' Exégèse Chrétienne*.

[214] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 126^{v}. "haec dicit Dominus maledictus homo qui confidit in homine"; "benedictus vir qui confidit in Domino" "hadha al-rajul al-yahūd"; "wa- hadha al-rajul al-kanīsa"

[215] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 124^{r}. "quis non timebit te o rex gentium: tuum est enim decus inter cunctos sapientes gentium et in universis regnis eorum" "dhikr al-rabb anna-hu amīr al-ajnās wa-jamālu-hu baina ʿulamā al-ajnās lā baina al-yahūd"

certainly the Jeremiah annotator's language sounds that way. Even if these scribes and annotators were clerics, rather than monks secluded in a monastery, they had the same mindset, one which helped them prepare for the joyous Last Days that they awaited. In this regard, the Jeremiah annotator was much like the anonymous Mozarabs in al-Andalus we have already seen.

Much like Scribe A, moreover, he wrote of Christ's resurrection, when he came to Jeremiah 9:2: "who will give me into the solitude of many travelers, and I will leave my people and recede from them, because all are adulterors, a band of sinners."[216] Yet he here employed the phrase "*yaum naṣb al-masīḥ*," "the day of the rising of the Messiah," rather than "*yaum al-qiyāmah,*" which is a quite different way of formulating his thinking on the resurrection.[217] This note, moreover, is on Folio 124^{r}, just as the above one where he cast Christ as a military commander. The two notes together show the range of ways in which the Jeremiah annotator approached this prophetic book. With brief notes he forecast how the End Times would unfold.

As an apocalyptic thinker, and again like Scribe A, the Jeremiah annotator made sure to mark where one could read of Christ's foil Antichrist, whom many Christians believed would arise among the Jews.[218] Jeremiah 4:5 deals with the righteous entering walled cities: "Say, we are gathered and enter fortified cities. Raise the battle standards in Sion."[219] At this verse, on folio 122^{r}, he wrote: "on the coming of Antichrist from the inside…," which seemingly means that Antichrist would torment Christians no matter how well they hid, defended themselves, and lived righteously. He was lurking among them, much as Jews, enemies of God in Christian eyes,

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[216] BNE MS VITR 13.1, 124^{r}. quis dabit me in solitudine diversorum viatorum et derelinquam populum meum et recedam ab eis quia omnes adulteri sunt coetus praevricatorum"
[217] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 124^{r}.
[218] Kevin L. Hughes, *Constructing Antichrist: Paul, Biblical Commentary, and the Development of Doctrine in the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005).
[219] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 122^{r}. "Dicite congregamini et igrediamur civitates munitas. Levate signorum in Sion"

lived among Christians.[220] For this reader, Jeremiah 8:16 (Fol. 123^{v}) also foretold evil: "We expected peace, and it is not good, a time of health, and behold the fear. The snorting of his horse was heard by Dan, the whole world is shaken by the voice of the entry of his fighters …"[221] In response, he simply wrote "concerning the Antichrist," as if the verse itself needed no further explanation.[222] He likely also read Scribe A's notes, so that he himself knew how to spot Christ's foil, as would other readers who took in these two annotators' notes together as a single interpretation of these biblical prophets.

It is true that just as not all of Scribe A's notes fit his apocalyptic vision, nor do all the Jeremiah annotator's. While the vast majority of notes treat Christ, Antichrist, or the Jews, he read in other modes as well, much like when Scribe A wrote notes on biblical geography. The Jeremiah Annotator simply wrote *sabā*, for example, when he came across the Latin word *predo* in Jeremiah 4:7: "a lion rises from its den and the robber raises himself." Both *ṣabā* and *predo* convey ideas of capturing, taking prisoner, or robbing.[223] As he made apocalyptic notes, this annotator also noted words that he did not understand, without any interest in Christology whatsoever.

At Jeremiah 10:1, the meaning of *argentum involutum* gave him some trouble: "hollowed out silver from Tarsis is offered, and gold from Ofaz, a skilled work, and of a brass hand, hyacinth and purple clothing, all this is their skillful work."[224] He translated *involutum* with a one-word Arabic note, *nuqrah* (struck or hit), with the whole phrase meaning something like "the hollowed out silver." Silver, of course, played an important part in Christ's life, since Judas

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[220] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 122^{r}. "fi-qudūm al-dajāl min al-jauf"
[221] Jeremiah 8:16, BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 123^{v}. "et expectavimus pacem et non erat bonum tempus medelle et ecce formido: a dan auditus est fremitus equorum eius, a voce innitum pugnatorum eius : commota est omnis terra"
[222] BNE MS VITR 13.1, "'an al-dajāl".
[223] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 122^{r}.

betrayed him for thirty coins. But the annotator carefully translated the Latin without saying anything truly Christological.[225] As we have seen, he was quick to explain exactly where one could read about the events of Christ's life in the Book of Jeremiah, so this note certainly reads differently than many of the others.

What is more, while working through this verse he wrote a quick note in Latin. Where the Bible has either *Hacinctus or acinctus*, his Latin note reads certainly reads *hacintus*, for Hyacinth. The Jeremiah annotator here simply gave an alternate spelling of this word. The Latin note comes in the same black ink as the Arabic notes on the page, has the same narrowness in the Latin script as in the Arabic notes, and has the same check mark lemma in the Latin text as the Arabic notes.[226] What we see, then, is a reader reading the Bible in Latin, annotating it in Arabic, but also paying enough attention to change the Latin slightly where he saw fit. Now, he did not amend the Latin text thoroughly, but he nevertheless changed the text, and equally importantly, he wrote in both Arabic and Latin.

Perhaps most strikingly, and of the most interest to specialists, the Jeremiah annotator also wrote on God's strength (*fortitudinis*), wisdom (*sapientia*), and prudence (*prudentia*) when he came to Jeremiah 10:12, yet another verse on folio 124^{r}: "[God] who made the earth in his strength, prepared the orb in his wisdom, and by his prudence extended the heavens."[227] These he translated as *al-qudrah* (power), *al-ʿilm* (knowledge), and *al-ruḥ* (spirit). This is quite important for our understanding of Latin thought among the Mozarabs. Many learned Christians believed that all of God's anthropomorphic (human-like) attributes—his ability to judge people

[225] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 124^{r}. "argentum involutum de Tharsis adtertur et aurum de Ofaz opus Artificis et manus aerarii"
[226] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 124^{r}. Jer. 10:9 "Hacintus et purpura indumentum eorum"
[227] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 124^{r}. "Qui fecit terram in fortitudine sua, preparavit orbem in sapientia sua, et prudential sua extendit celos."

and to see, for example—emanated from three base attributes, a very Trinitarian form of thinking.

Christians varied on what these base attributes from which all others emanated were. In the twelfth century, *potentia* (power and much like *fortitudinis*) and *sapientia* (wisdom) formed along with *benignitas* (goodness) a triad that French thinkers such as Hugh of St. Victor and Peter Abelard employed. Thomas Burman has argued in the past that Mozarabs read Peter Abelard, who influenced them to create a triad of *al-qudrah*, *al-ʿilm*, and *al-iradah* (will), which does indeed fits well with *potentia*, *sapientia*, and *benignitas*. As a point of review, all of God's abilities, in this line of thinking, came from these three attributes.[228] This Christian Arabic triad, moreover, looks much like the Jeremiah annotator's, and although he does not have *al-iradah*, but rather *ruḥ* (spirit), nevertheless he clearly employed a Trinitarian triad to understand these Latin attributes.

Table 4: Mozarabic and Latin Triads

Peter Abelard	Potentia, Sapientia, Benignitas
Tathlīth al-waḥdanīyah	al-qudrah, al-ʿilm, al-iradah
Jeremiah Annotator	al-qudrah, al-ʿilm, al-ruḥ

This is all the more important because Cyrille Aillet stated that we have too little evidence to connect the Mozarabs and Peter Abelard.[229] We know of this Arabic triad in part through a source called *Tathlith al-waḥdanīya*, *Trinitizing the Oneness of God*, to which Aillet referred, and we only know of that source through a refutation which a Córdoban Muslim, al-

[228] Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs*
[229] Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 218.

Qurṭubī, wrote in the thirteenth century.[230] Indeed, new evidence, Thomas Burman has shown, suggests that the author of *Tathlith al-waḥdanīya* was a thirteenth-century Dominican, Ramón Martí, who knew Arabic and Hebrew very well, in addition to reading Latin sources of thinkers such as Peter Abelard.[231]

The triad in the Seville Bible pre-dates Ramón Martí's writing, and it more importantly for our purposes shows the Mozarabs grappling with Latin theology, putting it into Arabic and indeed at times taking Islamic vocabulary and fitting it to Latin Christianity. So whether or not Mozarabs in twelfth-century Toledo read Peter Abelard, with regard to the larger picture—that the Mozarabs steeped themselves deeply in Latin culture—Thomas Burman's earlier analysis was spot on. This contrasts with the arguments of Daniel Potthast, who critiziced Thomas Burman's argument that the Mozarabs read Peter Abelard, but who also did not read Latin sources himself.[232]

Indeed, in a manner reminiscent of the *Tathlith al-waḥdanīya* Arabic triad that Thomas Burman discussed, in this example, *al-qudrah* and *al-ʿilm* nicely fit with *fortitudo* and *sapientia*. Clearly, the Jeremiah annotator thought of the Trinity as he made these notes, with *al-qudrah* as the Father and *al-ʿilm* as the Son. *Al-iradah* stood for the Holy Spirit in other triads, and while the Jeremiah annotator's triad lacks it, it does have *al-ruḥ*, literally the Spirit. It seems he simply could not make *prudentia* and *al-iradah* fit together, so he more simply and more directly wrote *al-ruḥ*. In the larger picture, the Mozarabs employed Latin and Arabic triads in order to understand God's attributes better, which in turn would help them understand the Last Days, when an anthropomorphic God, one with human qualities, would punish unbelievers.

[230] The author of this Muslim refutation also makes clear that a Mozarab named Agushtīn (Augustine) knew of this triad as well, but for the sake of clarity, I will focus upon *Tathlith al-waḥdanīya* here.
[231] Citations of this triad also appear in thirteenth-century Hebrew sources.
[232] Daniel Potthast, *Christen im Andalus*.

The Jeremiah annotator's triad also helps us understand an earlier Arabic note in this manuscript better, where we saw a Mozarab (not Scribe A) writing of a prophet who would prophecy God and his unity (*al-tawḥīd*). This is indeed quite a contrast between theological and prophetic terms, and is quite similar to how the Jeremiah annotator juxtaposed his apocalyptic prophecies with the theological language of this triad. That is, the language by which Mozarabs prophesied was at times different from their theological vocabulary. Mozarabs merged these vocabularies in part because one had to understand how to argue for the Trinity in order to prove Christianity's superiority over other Abrahamic religions.

All of this in turn helps illuminate these anonymous Mozarabic scribes and annotators. Clearly, they had more learning than the other Mozarabs who would have heard the preaching of this anti-Judaic, apocalyptic message. These notes furthermore make clear intellectual continuities between the Mozarabs of al-Andalus and Toledo, a city famous for its learned Mozarabic community during the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. Scribe A certainly came from al-Andalus, and the Jeremiah annotator may well have too (we simply do not know), but Toledan Mozarabs took in the same apocalyptic message after a Mozarab brought the manuscript there in the years after 1085.

In sum, the Jeremiah annotator tells us as much about the Seville Bible as Scribe A does. Whether they worked together is uncertain, but they certainly approached the Bible with similar goals of making known how the Jews would suffer during the Last Days. Indeed, like many other Mozarabs, the Jeremiah annotator knew Latin biblical exegesis well: he commented at length upon Apocalyptic and anti-Judaic verses, while also making one-word notes in which he made sure he grasped the Latin properly. He thus followed the pattern which Scribe A had set, whether he himself was a scribe or not. Perhaps most surprisingly, he even thought of the

Trinity through a triad of attributes much like those in the polemic *Tathlith al-waḥdanīya*, which in turn makes clear a form of thinking about God's unity much like that which Peter Abelard had employed in his religious *summa*. This is indeed a rather significant thought from a Mozarab who devoted his reading and writing to arguing against Judaism and to understanding the Last Days.

The Seville Bible and Mozarabic Polemics

If the Jeremiah Annotator was not from Toledo, then Toledan Mozarabs at least read his and Scribe A's notes. For while Scribe A and the others made the Seville Bible an apocalyptic gift for the bishop of that city, someone regifted it, as it were, to Toledo in the years after 1085, when the king of Castile-León, Alfonso VI (d. 1109), conquered that city. Indeed, the scribes and annotators of this manuscript largely approached the book with an apocalyptic frame of mind. Yet in charting the history of these scribes and readers, we need to bear in mind that Toledan Mozarabs learned of the apocalypse through the manuscript's folios as well. To a greater degree than with the Mozarabs of al-Andalus, scholars such as Thomas Burman and Daniel Potthast have focused upon the making of polemic among Toledo's Mozarabs, who thrived during the eleventh through thirteenth centuries.[233] While scholarly treatment of these polemics has at times itself become polemical, I am here not engaging in that, but rather pointing out that the Seville Bible's notes add to this body of polemical texts.

Why did polemic flourish in Toledo? Simply put, unlike the Mozarabs in al-Andalus during the ninth and tenth centuries, the Mozarabs in Toledo lived under Christian rule after 1085. They had no need for martyrdoms to show their revulsion toward Islam, as they simply

[233] Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History*; Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*; Daniel Potthast, *Christen und Muslime im Andalus*.

wrote religious polemics which, like the writings of the anonymous author-translator and Scribe A, illuminated their deep understanding of that religion, even if only to argue against it. Yet Scribe A, with his Islamic vocabulary, informed Andalusian Mozarabs about anti-Judaic rather than anti-Islamic polemic, and his message reached Toledan Mozarabs as well. This last, relatively simple point is enormously important because it shows the intellectual continuities between these two communities of Mozarabs, when many scholars have missed this because they approach the Mozarabs of al-Andalus and Toledo with two different sets of evidence.

As we saw in the previous chapter, Iberian Christians—both romance/Latin-speaking and Mozarabs--took to religious polemic from at least the ninth century forward. Eulogius and Alvarus of Córdoba, who wrote in Latin, expounded upon parts of Muhammad's life that lent themselves to Christian arguments against Islam, such as his numerous marriages or the violent manner in which he helped spread God's word. Yet Eulogius, who lived under Islamic rule, had to travel to northern, Christian Iberia in order to find a Latin book which would teach him of Muḥammad's life. This was well before the 1140s, when a team of translators first rendered the Qur'ān into Arabic, complete with polemical annotations and other, accompanying polemical texts with which to interpret Islamic scripture.[234]

In addition to reading Latin texts on Islam, Iberian Christians learned the polemical details of Muḥammad's life through Eastern Christian Arabic writings. The Apology of al-Kindi, for example, was the work of a ninth-century Christian in Baghdad. As Thomas Burman has noted, Christians in Toledo translated this apologetic treatise from Latin into Arabic in Toledo during the 1140s, as part of a larger project that also put forth the first Latin translation of

[234] Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (Rev. ed, Oxford: OneWorld Press, 1993)

the Qur'ān.[235] Yet even though it is one of the most vituperative works against Islam, and also makes clear the Qur'ānic knowledge of its Eastern Christian author, the Apology of al-Kindi's textual life in Iberia pertains more to Latin Christians writing against Islam than it does to Mozarabs like the anonymous author-translator, Scribe A, or the Jeremiah Annotator.

We also have evidence, however, that Mozarabs wrote polemics in Arabic against Islam and its prophet. The so-called Book of Denuding, *Liber denudationis*, comes from an eleventh-century Mozarab in Toledo, who, living under Christian rule, could attack Islam far more easily than someone like the anonymous author-translator or Scribe A. Its anonymous author clearly knew the Qur'ān and pertinent ḥadith, traditions about Muḥammad's life. He wrote, for example, of the Miraj, Muḥammad's night journey in which he asecended into heaven with the Archangel Gabriel as a guide, whereby God confirmed his message to his prophet.[236] Unfortunately, we have only one early-modern Latin manuscript of the work, albeit one whose Latin mimics the Arabic language—with phrases like "if someone should say saying…," -- closely enough to demonstrate that it comes from a lost work in that language.[237] All of this bears mention here because we lack an Arabic copy of one of the richest sources for Mozarabic polemic.

Along with the *Liber denudationis*, we have polemical works in Arabic like the earlier-mentioned *Tathlīth al-waḥdanīya*, Trinitizing the Oneness of God. While in this case we have an Arabic text, we know of it through fragmentary references in Hebrew and Arabic works, such as

[235] Daniel, *Islam and the West*;Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs*, 95-6; see as well Hartmut Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation: Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa* (Beirut: Orient-Institut der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaf, 1995) for Christian polemics against Islam during the Reformation.
[236] A journey that Dante Aleghiri had in mind as he wrote his *Divine Comedy*.
[237] Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs*, 222.

the refutation of a thirteenth- century Córdoban Muslim, Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī.[238] Most recently, Thomas Burman has argued that it this Christian polemic comes from the thirteenth-century Dominican friar Ramón Martí, who discusses God's three basic attributes—power, knowledge, and will—in a manner very reminiscent of how Hugh of St. Victor and Peter Abelard approached them in the 1140s at Paris. Certainly, Martí's triad helps us understand the one that the Jeremiah annotator had earlier put in the Seville Bible's margins.[239]

A large amount of evidence thus illuminates how the Mozarabs wrote against Islam, but many questions remain about these souces. The Seville Bible and the Arabic *argumenta* help us build upon what we see in those other sources, by allowing us to watch Mozarabs just as engaged in religious polemic as in those other sources. While Scribe A said nothing negative of Islam—there are no Muslims in the Bible, of course—his Arabic notes are remarkably reliable in comparsion to the above-mentioned sources. Thinking broadly, then, we see that Mozarabs knew Islamic literature well, and could argue against that religion, but when they read the Bible, they targeted Judaism, just as other Latin Christians did.

To be clear, I am not lessening the importance of these other sources, but rather adding to a long-standing scholarly discussion. Indeed, the Mozarabs drew upon Latin exegesis when making polemics against Judaism: no small point when we consider that much of the scholarly literature has focused upon how Latin Christians in northern Europe turned to Mozarabs for polemical works against Islam. What we see behind the scenes of these arguments against Judaism, as in other polemics more generally, is often more important than the actual arguments themselves, because what we see beneath the arguments often shows us just how learned these polemical authors were. For example, Scribe A knew many proof-texts against Judaism, but the

[238] al-Qurṭubī, *al-Iʿlām bi-mā fī dīn al-naṣara min al-fasād wa-awhām wa-iẓār maḥāsin dīn al-islām wa-ithbāt nubūwat nabīnā Muḥammad ʿalayhi al-ṣalāh wa-al-salām*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥijāzī al-Saqqā (Cairo: 1980).
[239] Thomas E. Burman, Forthcoming articles.

way he shifted to a less-polemical tone when he came to the Song of Songs is quite striking, as is the way he employed Islamic vocabulary to help form very Latin exegesis. Much of the same applies to the anonymous author-translator and his Arabic Psalms. Both Scribe A and the anonymous author-translator, moreover, remind us that polemic came in many forms in the Middle Ages, including marginal notes, rather than just authorial treatises like the *Liber denudationis*.

The arguments that Scribe A and the anonymous author-translator made furthmore circulated in both al-Andalus and Toledo. That is, the communities of Mozarabs in both al-Andalus and Toledo took part in arguing against Judaism, and both thought rigorously about the Last Days. These notes and *argumenta* were wholly part of Mozarabic religious education; indeed the *argumenta* circulated in Latin and Arabic Psalters across the Peninsula. Arguing against Judaism was quite simply important enough to become part of religious life in both places.

All of this is to say that we cannot understand the Mozarabs or their polemical writings without remembering that they worked in both Latin and Arabic. That is, if we only look at the Latin sources of the Córdoban martyrs, which Mozarabs did not write, or to the Arabic sources which Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī refuted, we do not get a full view of the Mozarabs' arguments against Muslims and Jews. Scholars like Kenneth Baxter Wolf have read Eulogius and Alvarus of Córdoba without comparing them to the Arabic sources, while Daniel Potthast's excellent treatment of the Arabic material does not capture the Mozarabs' very real debt to Latin culture.[240] They have certainly enriched our understanding of the Mozarabs but without offering a full picture of how these Arabic-speakers approached the long-standing medieval tradition of arguing about religion. The Arabic *argumenta* and the Seville Bible, in turn, illuminate active

[240] Daniel Potthast, *Christen und Muslime im Andalus*.

reading in both Latin and Arabic, while also making clear that polemic was an everyday part of learned Mozarabs' lives in al-Andalus and Toledo. Reading the Bible and its accompanying exegesis was just as much a part of Mozarabic polemic as was reading the Qur'ān and ḥadith.

Conclusion

Put simply, through the Seville Bible and its Arabic notes we can think of both the details and the larger picture of biblical study and intellectual life among the Mozarabs. Scribe A and the others made it a specifically apocalyptic manuscript, showing far more interest in the Last Days than scholars have previously written of when treating this manuscript. As did other Mozarabs, Scribe A delved into Latin and Arab-Islamic thought as he made his apocalyptic gift, writing notes that sound much like Jerome's exegesis, but also employing an at times Islamic vocabulary. The Jeremiah annotator too thought like this, so much so that we can say Scribe A set a pattern for how other Mozarabs in al-Andalus and Toledo read this codex.

In offering the most thorough treatment of these notes to date, I have shown that Scribe A and the Jeremiah annotator helped make this manuscript a thoroughly apocalyptic gift. In doing so, I have also made clear that Scribe A was indeed a scribe, whose notes mesh with the illuminations in the manuscript, all of which means that the Seville Bible came from al-Andalus, rather than Toledo as Pieter Van Koningsveld had argued. This Bible, however, supplied Toledan Mozarabs with apocalyptic thought as well, which I discuss further in the final chapter. Put simply, Mozarabs in al-Andalus and in Toledo took to anti-Judaic polemic in much the same way, indeed, the Andalusian Mozarab who brought the Seville Bible to Toledo thus supplied Mozarabs there with apocalyptic, anti-Judaic prooftexts.

The Seville Bible is all the more important because its notes read very much like the Arabic *argumenta* from the previous chapter. Indeed, both Scribe A and the anonymous author-

translator mixed apocalyptic thinking and anti-Judaic thought, thereby suggesting strongly that this was a core part of the Mozarabs' religious learning. The Last Days were not something the Mozarabs feared, for they, like other Christians, saw the movement of historical time in terms of Christ's life, and thus eagerly awaited his return. Strikingly, the Seville Bible's scribes finished their work in 988, twelve years before many Christians believed that Christ would return, but nevertheless it does not seem that Scribe A or the others fixated upon the year 1000, that is, 1000 years after Christ's death, when many medieval Christians believed the world would end.[241] That the Seville Bible's notes read so much like the Arabic *argumenta* which Mozarabs learned by heart suggests that this apocalyptic thinking was simply part of medieval intellectual life: certainly important in its own right, but not hinging upon a particular date when Christ would return.

Thinking of the Seville Bible and the Arabic *argumenta* also illuminates how the Mozarabs engaged in religious polemic, another core part of medieval intellectual life around the Mediterranean and elsewhere. By now, it comes as no surprise that they drew upon Latin and Arabic thought when arguing for the superiority of Christianity over Judaism and Islam. This is all the more important when scholars have argued over the details of the Mozarabs' anti-Islamic polemics, rather than mining the anti-Judaic material, which offers a more reliable source base, although I am in no way dismissing the importance of the anti-Islamic sources. Nevertheless, the Seville Bible and its polemical notes are enormously important here: for they date concretely to between the tenth and twelfth centuries, making them the most reliable form of Mozarabic polemic that we have. The Arabic *argumenta* in turn confirm this vituperative thinking, in which Mozarabs thought in Latin terms but wrote in Arabic.

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[241] Richard Landes, "The Fear of an Apocalyptic Year 1000: Augustinian Historiography, Medieval and Modern," *Speculum* Vol. 75, No. 1 (Jan. 2000): 97-145.

Part Two: Mozarabic Scribes and Bibles from León to Toledo

Chapter 3: León's Mozarabs and Lexical Reading

As I have mentioned in the previous chapters, the earliest groups of Mozarabs lived in al-Andalus under Muslim rule which emanated out from Córdoba.[242] While Christian culture did not die out in al-Andalus following the martyr movement, as I have made clear, nevertheless some Mozarabs did move northward. The Seville Bible offers evidence for this, for someone—likely a Mozarab—brought it to Toledo after Alfonso VI conquered that city in 1085 and thereby made it a city to which many Mozarabs moved. But even before this, in the tenth century when Muslims still ruled Toledo, Mozarabs had moved even further north to the Christian-controlled kingdom of León.

Broadly speaking, this movement from al-Andalus to León followed from at least three things. First, some Mozarabs migrated from Córdoba to León after the 850s, settling in the Duero River valley during the ninth and tenth centuries.[243] Second, Muslims also lived in the valley who converted to Christianity as the kings of León conquered southward. The third group were Christians who became Arab in certain respects. For the sake of convenience, and because they all read the Bible quite alike, I refer all these people as Mozarabs. These Mozarabs had all sorts of positions in life, but I will focus upon the many who worked in northern monasteries making books, just as Mozarabs did in al-Andalus. Indeed, while Christian culture did not die

[242] Although after 1031, numerous Muslim rulers changed the political landscape, as the Córdoban caliphate's power waned and independent city-states arose for several decades.

[243] For a good state of the field essay, see Diego Olstein, "The Mozarabs of Toledo (12th-13th Centuries) in Historiography, Sources, and History,";On the Córdoban Martyrs, among many others see Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes* (reprint Amsterdam: Oriental Press, 1967); Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 2002); On León's Mozarabs, see Fernando R. Mediano, "Acerca de la Población Arabizada del Reino de León (Siglos X y XI)," *Al-Qanṭara* 15(1994): 465-472; Juan Eloy Díaz Jiménez, "Inmigración mozárabe en el reino de León. El monasterio de Abellear o de los santos mártires Cosme y Damián," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia* 20 (1892): 123-51. Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, *Despoblación y Repoblación del Valle Duero* (Buenos Aires: 1966). For an opposing viewpoint, see Fernando Mediano, "Acerca de la Población," *passim*; Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 53-68.

off in al-Andalus, Mozarabs at northern monasteries certainly had more resources than those who stayed in Muslim lands.

Just as in al-Andalus, moreover, Mozarabic manuscripts from León have copious notes. This goes for their Bibles, as well as their liturgical codices, among others. Indeed, in their Latin Bibles at least, the writing of Arabic notes completed the making of these manuscripts, just as it did in the Seville Bible. As we shift into a discussion of León's Mozarabs, we need to remember the common ground they had with Arabic-speakers to the south: some Leonese Mozarabs had come from there, bringing their bookmaking expertise, and, equally importantly, all these Mozarabs knew that their scripture needed a thorough paratext. This paratext included initials, illuminations, notes, argumenta, and the many other parts of a codex aiding readers in understanding the text itself.

The focus of this chapter, the León Bible of 960, offers an excellent view of Leonese Mozarabs plying their bookmaking craft. The monastery which housed this codex, Valeránica, was one of many where Mozarabs in the Kingdom of León did so. At this monastery, Mozarabs read the Bible with a singular focus, much like readers of the Seville Bible did. Rather than apocalyptic, anti-Judaic thought, however, the scribe of the the León Bible employed a paratext that encouraged readers to compare different versions of the Bible in order to learn unfamiliar vocabulary. This scribe, Sanctius, added large numbers of Latin annotations as he made the manuscript from an exemplar of which we have only a few folios: the Bible of Oña of 943.[244] Indeed, these many marginal notes offer alternate readings from versions of the Vetus Latina, which, as we have seen, supplied the anonymous author-translator with a Latin Psalter text to translate into Arabic. Now Sanctius was not a Mozarab, but lived among them, and they completed his manuscript by adding a series of Arabic lexical notes in the manuscript closely

[244] *Codex Biblicus Legionensis: veinte estudios* (León: Real Colegiata de San Isidoro, 1999)

related to the Latin ones, with Sanctius, it seems, having created a pattern for how later Mozarabic readers approached this Bible.

All of this helps us understand better the relationships between Arabic-speaking and Latin Christians in León during the ninth through eleventh centuries. For while Richard Hitchcock in particular has insisted upon divisions between Arabic-speaking Christians and Latin Christians, the León Bible of 960, among others shows clearly that at least in monasteries, these two groups worked together making manuscripts that furthered a common Christian culture.[245] So while he refuses to employ the word Mozarab before the eleventh century because the Latin *muzarave* does not appear until 1024 in a Latin charter from León, nevertheless Mozarabs in the ninth and tenth centuries worked with the Bible much like they did in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Scholars may never completely agree when or how to use the term Mozarab, but what we see in these Bibles are Iberian Christians being Arab, concretely on manuscript folios, in much the same way other Christians who spoke and read in many other languages did with their folios.

León's Mozarabs and Latin Culture

The Mozarabs of León, as I noted above, relate directly to the Córdoban martyr movement. At least some of the Mozarabs in the Kingdom of León had fled al-Andalus to escape persecution from Caliphs such as al-Manṣūr (r. 938-1002).[246] If Latin Christians called this Mozarabic population inferior, nevertheless it also strengthened Christian culture in the north.[247] We see this through the books they helped make, such as the León Bible of 960. They made others as well: León, ACL MS. 22, a miscellany of unedited religious texts, belonged to

[245] Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Identities and Influences* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).
[246] We should note that the caliphate at Córdoba certainly possessed the resources to raid into the north of Spain.
[247] See Thomas Deswarte, *De la destruction à la restauration: L' idéologie du royaume d' Oviedo-Léon (VIIIe-XIe siècles)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003).

one Samuel, a monk at the Monastery of San Cosmo and Damiani, which Mozarab monks from al-Andalus had founded.[248]

The sources offer little knowledge for the monastery of San Cosmo y Damiani and its Mozarabs. Samuel's above-mentioned religious miscellany dates to 839 and does not call the Mozarabs by name. A verse colophon in it reads:

I am a book of Saints Cosmo and Damian
In the Leonese territory on the river Torio
Is a monastery founded there in the valley Abeliar
And whoever should make that place foreign
Let him be foreign from the holy Catholic faith
And [to] the holy paradise
And [from] the kingdom of Heaven and let him
who should come to it or
Think himself unworthy
part ways Into the Kingdom of Christ and God.[249]

This is, I suggest, a monastery much like Valeránica, and many others dotting the northern landscape.

That León's landscape had many Mozarabic monasteries active in bookmaking is all the more important because scholarly discussions of León's Mozarabs often focus upon documentary evidence such as wills and charters. These sources place Arabic-speaking

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[248] José Carbajo Serrano, "El Monasterio de Los Santos Cosme y Damián de Abellar," *Archivos Leoneses* 41, Nos. 81-82 (1987):7-300.

[249] ACL MS 22, Fol. 90r.
Sanctorum Cosme et damiani
sum liber in territorio
legionense in flumen toriu
in valle abeliare ibi est
monasterium fundatum
et qui illum extraneum inde
fecerit extraneus fiat
a fide sancta catholica et
ab sanctum paradisum et
ad regno celorum et qui
illum aduxerit aut
indigaverit abeat partem
in regno christi et dei
Cf. Garica Villada, *Catálogo de los Códices y Documentos de la Catedral de León*,

Christians in the north of Spain from the ninth century forward; particularly in monasteries that they founded over a vast tract of land in the north, ranging from what is now Galicia in the northwest to Navarra in the northeast. Mozarabs even made manuscripts at Ripol in Cataluña. These books complement the documentary evidence for Leonese Mozarabs, which offers rather little about their intellectual life. Clearly, Mozarabic monks resided at northern monasteries such as San Cosme y Damiani, Valeránica, and Sahagun (located ca. 50 km east of León). We know as well that Mozarab laymen such as silk traders further interacted with these monasteries.[250]

A scribe who lived in another northern monastery tells us more about Mozarabic manuscript making in the ninth and tenth centuries. Motarrafe, a clear Arabic name meaning Confessor, is among three scribes who made a manuscript of St. Augustine's theological treatise *City of God*: Madrid, Real Academia de Historia MS. 29. Catherine Brown has noted that he left a Latin note reading "remember Motarrafe the Deacon" in the City of God manuscript.[251] Another, anonymous scribe in the manuscript "copiously annotated with milestones that track the construction of the text, column by column, and page by page," as Brown put it. This includes a note bemoaning a day when his pen did not function well.[252]

Reading and writing created problems like this for Mozarabs across the peninsula. Some monasteries had more resources—such as at Valeránica, where we only have evidence of expensive codices such as the León Bible of 960—but even the best scribes in wealthy

[250] Victoria Aguilar, "Onomástica de Origen Árabe en el Reino de León (Siglo X)," *Al-Qanṭara* 15 (1994): 351-363 (353), cites one "Abozuleiman Fredinandiz, que en 912 compró una viña en Abeliar, junto al río Torío, en Monasterio de San Cosme y Damián…" On silk traders (*tiraceros*) see Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 71-4.
[251] Brown, "Remember the Hand," 266. Notes like this appear in the León Bible of 920 as well: there, a deacon named Iohannes asks his readers to pray for him.
[252] Brown, "Remember the Hand," 266.

monasteries felt physical pain as they wrote, or dealt with defective pens.[253] A Mozarabic scribe living in Córdoba during the 850s worked much like a Leonese Mozarab from the tenth century. Furthermore, scribes such as Motarrafe make clear that Mozarabs manufactured Latin codices of large dimensions. So while the term Mozarab comes from an Arabic word meaning something like "those having become like the Arabs," these Arabic Christians nevertheless actively spread their Latin books across Iberia.

Motarrafe did not write in Arabic in this manuscript, but his Arabic name shows his Mozarabic background.[254] Cyrille Aillet suggested that he might have moved from al-Andalus, as did many other Mozarabs.[255] He, like the illuminator of the Seville Bible in the following chapter, was almost certainly comfortable working in Latin and Arabic. He is furthermore much like the Mozarabs in Leonese Latin documents during the tenth through twelfth centuries. We do not have much evidence of those Mozarabs actually working with Arabic, just their Arabic names. Yet it is quite likely that they knew the language. The case of Motarrafe tells us more about how those Arabic-speaking Christians living in northern monasteries worked with manuscripts than any documentary evidence does.[256]

Paratext and Scribal Latin Notes in the León Bible of 960

Samuel, San Cosmo y Damiani, and Motarrafe help us to understand better the scribes and annotators of the León Bible of 960, the focus of this chapter. While León had many

[253] Valeránica produced not only the León Bible of 960, but also an exquisite manuscript of the *Moralia in Iob* from 945. This manuscript, now BNE, MS 80, is again the work of Florentius the scribe, complete with illuminations similar to those found in that Leónese Bible.
[254] Both Fernando Mediano and Richard Hitchcock employ Arabic names in documentary sources as evidence of Mozarabic populations in León.
[255] Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 323.
[256] Although not all of the Mozarabs in the documentary evidence are monks.

Mozarabic scribes and monasteries, with regard to production values, few Iberian manuscripts rival the León Bible of 960. It has, most prominently, exquisite illuminations of key biblical scenes such as God giving Moses the Ten Commandments.[257] The scribe Sanctius, along with his mentor Florentius, made the manuscript at the monastery of Valeránica and it was such an expensive undertaking that they even included illuminations of themselves in their colophon. The manuscript's high-production values furthermore match what we know of Valeránica, Sanctius, and Florentius, who earlier in his life made a sumptous manuscript of Pope Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, a compendium of Christian thought rivaling the Bible in size.[258] In a very real way, then, the León Bible of 960 continues this path of expensive bookmaking at Valeránica. For example, it has the entire Vulgate text in only two-columns upon its large folios, leaving much room for other illuminations, large initials, a thorough study apparatus of notes from the Vetus Latina, or just expensively blank space. The study apparatus likely comes from Sanctius, or at very least, from the period of the manuscript's making.

Sanctius indeed offered Mozarabs the chance to read much like one of Latin Christendom's greatest minds had wanted. In his *De doctrina christiana*—On Christian Teaching—St. Augustine wrote that Christians should compare Latin versions of the Bible when they came to a confusing passage. Indeed, this was a blessing of sorts, because:

"the inspection of several books often clarifies some obscure passages, just as one translator said of the prophet Isaiah (58:7): as 'and do not despise the servants of your own seed,' and another as 'and do not despise your own flesh,' [whence] each confirms the other. For each explains the other because 'flesh' can be taken on its own—so that one may think that he may think himself warned not to despise his body—and 'household of your seed' can be understood translated as 'Christians', those born spiritually with us from the same seed of the word."[259]

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[257] Cf. Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela, *La Biblia de San Isidoro de León: Contribución al Estudio de la Vulgata en España* (Madrid: CSIC, 1965); *Codex biblicus legionensis. Vente Estudios* (León: Editorial Isidoriana, 1999).
[258] Madrid, BNE MS 80.
[259] St. Augustine, *On Christian Teaching*,),2.12.2. "nam nonnullas obscuriores sententias plurium codicum saepe manifestauit inspectio, sicut illud esaiae prophetae unus interpres ait: et domesticos seminis tui ne despexeris, alius autem ait: et carnem tuam ne despexeris, uterque sibimet inuicem attestatus est. namque alter ex altero exponitur,

Augustine surely knew well that every manuscript has its own variant readings, making each manuscript different in its own right.

Sanctius, in turn, knew that in Iberia Christians would learn from a range of Arabic Bibles, the Vulgate, and the Vetus Latina. If ambiguity arose while reading the León Bible of 960, one could ideally look to its margins for clarification. Indeed, the circulation of both the Vetus Latina and the Vulgate among the Mozarabs was not a problem but a boon. This faithfulness to Latin Bibles and desire to understand their textual variants shows another way that Mozarabs—who surely read these Latin notes—delved into Latin culture more broadly.

The folio design of the León Bible of 960 helped streamline work with Christendom's most important text. Capital letters marking textual divisions, for example, aided readers in finding passages quickly. They formed part of a very effective paratext. Folio 37^{v} among many others lacks the ornate illuminations of other folios in the manuscript, yet makes clear the care put into this Bible.[260] Here as elsewhere, Sanctius' Visigothic miniscule obeys the ruling throughout. The open **a** and **t** with bent-bow appear much like that in the roughly contemporaneous Beneventan script of Italy.[261] Another sign of the care which Sanctius applied to the text lies in the uniform length of the ascending strokes on **b** and **d**.[262] Relatively generous word-spacing, by Visigothic standards, makes this manuscript easier to read than many other

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quia et caro possit accipi proprie, ut corpus suum quisque ne despiceret se putaret admonitum; et domestici seminis translate christiani possent intellegi ex eodem uerbi semine nobis cum spiritaliter nati."

[260] I have chosen this folio arbitrarily, although many others from the middle of the manuscript could serve just as well.

[261] E.A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script: a history of the South Italian miniscule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999 [original version 1914]); Francis Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino*, 1058-1105 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[262] BCIL MS 2 Fol. 37^{v}.

Visigothic codices. This careful writing clearly engaged Sanctius and taxed his body, but also lessened the physical strain involved in reading.[263]

Making this folio involved more than writing neatly, for capital letters of varying size gave it order. The four largest of these mark the openings of chapters in Exodus, as do the red roman numerals placed in the margins near the capitals. The **D** opening Exodus Chapter 11, "Dixit autem dominus ad moysem (The Lord said to Moses)," stands roughly two lines high, with more flourish than the Visigothic miniscule following it. As elsewhere in the manuscript, this folio has two different numbering systems for biblical chapters, whose ordering did not become standard until the thirteenth century. For example, a red-outlined Roman numeral VIIII marks Chapter 9 in the older division of the Bible. Next to the VIIII appears an XI without this red shading, marking the later ordering of the chapters.[264]

All the study tools of the León Bible of 960, including these roman numerals and running headings, helped those who did not read it from cover to cover. Predictably, readers paid more attention to some books than to others, so that in this selective reading, initials and capital letters became ever more important because they draw in the reader's eye and simplify movement through the text. The manuscript furthermore has running headings throughout, serving the exact purpose they do today: readers wanting to find a particular book could open this massive manuscript to that general area of the Bible, and then find their place in the book more precisely through the running headings. They got to a desired part of the Bible simply by reading running titles and keeping an eye out for the appropriate Roman numerals marking a chapter.[265] Put

[263] Working from Catherine Brown, "Remember the Hand."
[264] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 37^{v}.
[265] In thinking of this form of reading, I have followed Richard and Mary Rouse have discussed: see especially their "Statim Invenire: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page," in Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable, and Carol D. Lanham, eds., *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 201-225; see as well Frans Van Liere, "Andrew of St. Victor, Jerome, and the Jews: Biblical Scholarship in the Twelfth-

simply, as with the anonymous author-translator and Scribe A, Sanctius knew how to make an effective paratext.

Most importantly, Sanctius' many Latin notes have a clear place in his paratext. They especially fill the earliest books of the Old Testament with everything from short notes to substanial Vetus Latina translations of the Greek Septuagint.[266] He often put a triangle-shaped outline around these notes, which scribes generally employed when making their corrections.[267] Here, however, in place of corrections, Sanctius outlined notes that he planned as a study tool for future readers of the manuscript.[268] Furthermore, while their small script makes comparison with Sanctius' hand in the body of the text difficult, nevertheless the red outline around them marks their importance.

I call these notes lexical, because the reading practices they foster show us annotators and readers who are atuned to the meaning of words and phrases. Checking the Leon Bible of 960's Vulgate text against the Vetus Latina text is lexical reading, for example, as is translating individual words from Latin into Arabic or vice versa, or dwelling on the etymology of a word. Foremost, these annotators and readers compared different translations of scriptural text, rather than preoccupying themselves with allegorical spiritual interpretation, unlike those in the Seville Bible, for example. To be clear, thinking about Christ was likely never far from a Mozarab's

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Century Renaissance," in Thomas J. Heffernan and Thomas E. Burman, eds., *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 59-75.

[266] I here follow Gilbert Dahan's definition of notes and glosses: see his *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval, XIIe-XIVe siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 1999),

[267] Christopher de Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 43.

[268] The annotations perhaps come from the Bible of Oña (ca. 943), the model of the León Bible, although I have not seen the manuscript *in situ*.

mind as he read the Bible, but Sanctius and the other Mozarabic annotators who wrote Arabic notes left little evidence of these thoughts.[269]

Broadly speaking, all these Latin glosses not only added to this Bible's Vulgate text, but together with the Arabic notes—which Sanctius did not write—they effectively fill out the manuscript's lexical paratext. The notes themselves allow us to evaluate the elaborately complicated reading going on in this manuscript. Sanctius supplemented 2 Chr. 6:17 in the Vulgate, a verse reading: "and now Lord God of Israel, your word is established which you spoke to your servant David."[270] The Vetus Latina note which Sanctius wrote sounds much like the Vulgate: "let you be faithful to the word which you said." [271] For example, the Vulgate at 2 Chr. 6:17 has the very similar *sermo tuus*, while the the Vetus Latina reads *verbum tuum*, "your word." The Vetus Latina note also has a different verb (*fiat*), and the adjective *fidele*, faithful as well, but none of this changes the sense of the passage.

Nor did he make major changes when he came to 1 Samuel 3:2-3 in the Vulgate: "it happened on a certain day Eli was lying in his place and his eyes burned, nor was he able to see the lamp of God before it went out."[272] He simply wrote: "and nor he will be able to see the lamp of God before it is ready." That is, in place of *antequam extingueretur* (before it is extinguished), the Vetus Latina reads *priusquam preperatur* (before it is ready). These seemingly small textual variants could indeed change how a reader understood the Bible, but at the most basic level they put a large amount of information at the reader's fingertips. Yet that this note says nothing of how God punished Eli signals a different type of reading than what we

[269] Thomas E. Burman's discussion of philological reading and polemical reading in Latin manuscripts of the Qurʾān informs the way I have worked through this problem. Cf. his *Reading the Qurʾān* in Latin Christendom. We also have twelfth-century evidence of Latin Christians like Andrew of St. Victor who show little to no interest in reading scripture Christologically, but are very keen to study the Hebrew Bible philologically.
[270] 2 Par 6:17 "et nunc Domine Deus Israhel firmetur sermo tuus quem locutus es servo tuo David."
[271] BCIL MS. 2, Fol. 169^{v}. "g fidele fiat verbum tuum quod locutus es."
[272] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 113^{r}. "factum est ergo in die quadam Heli iacebat in loco suo et oculi eius caligaverant nec poterat videre lucernam dei antequam extingueretur." "In g et nec poterat videre lucernam dei priusquam preparatur"

saw in the Seville Bible. That is, Sanctius and his readers applied themselves just as eagerly as those Andalusian Mozarabs, but with a different focus.

Sanctius carried on this same reading as he copied in the story of Christ's life. For example, in John 5:4, when Christ heals a sick man by calling upon an angel who descends into a pool of water, Sanctius said nothing of its spiritual significance. Rather, he pointed out that the Vulgate has *in piscinam* and the Vetus Latina "*in natorium*," creating a means of comparing Christendom's most important text.[273]

This reading in turn is significant because Mozarabs in al-Andalus and León both were keen to read the Vetus Latina Hispana against other versions of the Bible, both Latin and Arabic. The Arabic Psalms, of course, also had the Arabic *argumenta* explaining the allegorical significance of the Psalms, something lacking in the León Bible of 960, but the anonymous author-translator also knew the importance of lexical reading. He, for example, wrote that the Psalms should be available in any language necessary for spreading a Christian message. This links closely—not exactly—with Augustine's advice to study the biblical manuscripts that one had at hand.

As one might expect, the León Bible of 960, the focus here, had like any other Bible many ambiguous passages for a reader to clear up. In these instances, Sanctius stuck to lexical reading, but the Vulgate text and the Vetus Latina notes vary more considerably than in the foregoing examples. At Exodus 12:5, for example, the Vulgate reads: "but there will be a lamb without stain, a male yearling (*masculus anniculus*) which you will bring according to the rite, and a kid (*hedum*), and you will guard him until the fourteenth day of this month."[274] The marginal note here says nothing of sacrificial rites or the fourteenth day: "Vetus Latina: a sheep

[273] The Io 5:4 reads: angelus autem domini secundum tempus descendebat in piscinam.
[274] BCIL MS. 2, Fol. 37^{v}. "erit autem agnus absque macula masculus anniculus iuxta quem ritum tolletis et hedum et servabitis eum usque ad quartam decimam diem mensis huius."

without stain, a yearling male, will be yours and you will take him from the sheep and goats."[275] Following Augustine's advice, a reader would ideally think through both of these versions. These are primarily lexical notes, in that Sanctius wanted to offer alternate readings more than any spiritual exegesis.

If a Christian knew scripture in the least, he or she would understand that the Lamb of God had sacrificed himself for to atone for Christian sins. In the Arabic Psalms, in contrast to here, *argumenta* bring passages like this to the forefront of readers' minds. Sanctius had real restraint to hold off on a spiritual interpretation, or rather perhaps a real commitment to lexical reading. In his eyes, a reader could learn this Christological significance elsewhere. What was most important for this scribe was supplying readers with the means for a thorough textual comparison.

Folio 100^{r} has fourteen glosses from a Vetus Latina translation, including one on Judith 4:23-4, whose Vulgate verse reads: "God therefore humbled Jabin king of Canaan on that day, in front of the sons of Israel, who were growing daily and with a strong hand had oppressed Jabin, king of Canaan, until they had destroyed him." The note here differs again considerably: "Greek [Vetus Latina]: And a hand of the sons of Israel went out going around and hardening [*indurans*] Jabin King of Canaan."[276] In both passages, the Sons of Israel are oppressing Jabin the King of Canaan, but the verbs by which they so are different: *abiit* and *opprimebant* in the Vulgate, and *ambulans* and *indurans* in the Vetus Latina. The Vulgate also refers to the Israelites oppressing the king with a strong hand, which makes more sense than a hand of the Sons of Israel going out (against Jabin), the Vetus Latina reading.

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[275] BCIL MS. 2, Fol. 37^{v}. "ovis sine macula anniculus masculus erit vobis ab ovibus et acapris sumeris eum."
[276] BCIL MS. 2, Fol. 100^{r}. Iud. 4:23-24, "Humiliavit ergo Deus in die illo Jabin regem Chaanan coram filiis Israel: qui crescebant quotidie et forti manu opprimebant Jabin regem Chanaan donec delerent eum." Iud. 4 :24, "graecum et abiit manus filiorum Israel ambulans et indurans labin regem chaanan." Cf. Ayuso Marazuela, *Vetus Latina Hispana*, 288. Both *in Graecum* or *Aliter Latina* mean the Vetus Latina.

These are, then, the sort of alternate readings which Sanctius offered his readers. Some verses differ only in a word or two, while others introduce new clauses which differ considerably from the Vulgate. They offer no obvious Christological interpretation, in the way that the anonymous author-translator or the scribes of the Seville Bible did through *argumenta* or marginal notes. Sanctius doubtless hoped that readers would absorb his message, but his task was to place as much information as possible at their fingertips.

These verses from the Vetus Latina, moreover, were not the only form of lexical reading in which Sanctius urged his readers to partake. For while alternate versions of the Bible could certainly aid a reader in understanding the Vulgate better, so too could one gain a thorough grasp, for example, of the many Hebrew proper nouns which Jerome transliterated in the Vulgate. One such case was at Numbers 2:2-3: "and Judas fixes tents of his army among the troops, and Naason, son of Aminadab will be prince of his sons, and all from his lineage the best of fighters." The note here is purely etymological: "Judah (sic) [is interpreted] as praise or confession. Naason as a serpent or auger. Aminadab as my spontaneous people." Sanctius doubtless read this in Jerome's *Book of the Interpretation of Hebrew Names*, where Juda is "praise or confession," Naason as "a serpent or augur," and Aminadab as "my spontaneous people."[277] This, then, offers further insight into Sanctius' setting a pattern of reading for others, for he not only had access to the Vetus Latina but also interpretative guides such as Jerome's work. While he may have copied these notes from the Bible of Oña (943), the León Bible of 960's exemplar, it is interesting to note nevertheless. He may indeed have had at hand a copy of St. Jerome's work, but at the very least this shows that *The Book of Interpretation of Hebrew*

[277] Numbers 2:2-3: "Iudas figet tentoria er turmas exercitus sui, eritque princeps filiorum eius Naason filius Aminadab et omnis de stirpe eius summa pugnatorum." St. Jerome, *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, ed. P. de Legarde, CCSL Vol. 72 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1959), 7, 19, 15. "Juda laudatio sive confessio" "Naason serpentius vel augurium" and "Aminadab populus meus spontaneous." The note in the León Bible follows the Latin here exactly.

Names was a valuable supplement to biblical reading. We will indeed see it again in the following chapter.

Similar notes as well taught biblical geography. At Deuteronomy 1:1, where Moses speaks to the Israelites in Transjordan, Sanctius created a mental map for his readers: "in the desert to the west of the Red Sea."[278] This, in turn, reads much like Scribe A's notes in the Seville Bible, where he helpfully mapped out *afertos*, *elamitur*, *ennuas*, and *emath* as *al-fars*, *al-sūs*, *al-ʿiraq*, and *al-qiblah*. Yet where Scribe A placed these lexical-geographical notes among many Christological notes, Sanctius in turn reveled in offering these definitions.

Whereas in the Seville Bible the vast majority of notes are Christological with a few lexical notes, here the opposite is true: Sanctius—or perhaps another annotator, for some of these notes look different--placed a few Christological notes among many other lexical ones. Take, for example, the opening of Jonah 2: "And Jonah was in the stomach of a whale for three days and nights." The note, however bland, has more to do with Christology than lexicography: "three days and three nights."[279] Whoever made this note may have read Jerome, who wrote: "If Jonah refers to the Lord, because he was in the womb of a whale for three days and nights, let it indicate the passion of the Savior, and his prayer ought to be a type of prayer to the Lord."[280] Whoever this annotator was, he had the Passion in mind, for while he did not name Christ here, he also added nothing from an alternate reading, or any additional definition.

On Folio 291^{r}, meanwhile, Sanctius, not another reader, surely made a note of this sort: on Baruch 1:10: when the Judean king Sedechiah and his son beseech King Nebuchadnezzar:

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[278] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 76^{v}. "in deserto ad partes occidentis iuxta rubrum mare".
[279] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 333^{v}.
[280] Ionah 2:1, "Et erat Ionas in ventre piscis tribus diebus et tribus noctibus" ; St. Jerome, *Commentarii in prophetas minores, In Jonam*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL Vol. 76 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969-70): Ch. 2, ln. 22. si ionas refertur ad dominum, et ex eo quod tribus diebus ac noctibus in utero ceti fuit, passionem indicat saluatoris, debet et oratio illius typus esse orationis dominicae.

"behold we send to you money, from which send out sacrifices and incense, and offer it for sin at the altar of our Lord God."[281] This money captured Sanctius' attention: "on the money having been sent in Jerusalem concerning Babylon," a note in which he aimed to summarize the passage and point out that the Judeans endured King Nebuchadnezzar's rule.

To conclude, then, through the Latin notes of the León Bible of 960 Sanctius and later readers could thoroughly compare the Vetus Latina and the Vulgate versions of the Bible. These Latin notes, along with the Arabic notes that I discuss next, effectively completed the making of the manuscript. Broadly speaking, they put forth a different type of reading than what we saw in the Seville Bible, one where lexical matters trump Christology. Indeed, Sanctius wanted to place an enormous amount of alternate readings at his readers' fingers, largely leaving them to sort out its Christological importance.

The León annotator and Arabic Lexical Reading

Copious as they are, the Vetus Latina notes only let us watch half the story of how readers of this manuscript immersed themselves in lexical reading. For alongside all these primarily lexical Latin notes, the León Bible of 960 has over 300 in Arabic, most of which translate Latin vocabulary. Besides offering the only real evidence of Mozarabs' reading of the manuscript, these notes furthermore mesh with the Latin notes to form a cohesive, lexical whole, although this has gone largely unnoticed since scholars have either focused upon the Latin or Arabic parts of the manuscript. As in the Latin notes, the Arabic notes make clear that this reader was foremost interested in comparing and translating the Bible. This annotator, then, took

[281] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 291^{r}. "Ecce missimus ad vos pecuniam emite ex ea pecunia olocausta et pro pecato et thus et facite oblationem et afferte super altare Domini Dei nostri." (sic) ;"de pecunia missa de babilonia in Iherusalem";

Sanctius' message to read lexically to heart, so much so that he left his own mark upon the manuscript.

These Arabic notes, most of which come from the hand of a Mozarab I call the León annotator, certainly feel like the work of a Mozarab who built upon Sanctius' annotating. He did not translate entire biblical verses, but rather focused upon individual words in both Latin and Arabic, moving his eyes between the bibilical text and the margins of the manuscript. He sought a clear understanding of nearly every word of the Latin Bible, much as Sanctius had intended when he copied Vetus Latina translations of the Bible in the manuscript's margins. Like many other Mozarabs living in Leonese monasteries, he may have come originally from al-Andalus, or he may have lived his entire life in the north, but he certainly read differently than the Andalusian Mozarabs that we have seen. What matters most, however, is that he pored over the Bible, trying to understand every word, all the while leaving no real record of his interest in the Bible's spiritual meaning.

This is all the more significant because while in this manuscript the León annotator wrote throughout, he left the most Arabic notes in the Books of Isaiah and Jeremiah. Where Scribe A and the Jeremiah annotator hardly restrained themselves from telling how these prophets foretold the Last Days, the León annotator focused upon confusing vocabulary there and elsewhere. He read about the Last Days, but engaged with them in a very different manner than the scribes and annotators of the Seville Bible. His notes, then, remind us that someone could read carefully without delving into the eschatological significance of the Bible.

The precision with which he moved between Arabic and Latin is quite remarkable. Take, for example, what he did at Isaiah 5:5: "Now I will show to you my vine, I will put forth my

hedge and it will be his to plunder."[282] Here he rendered *direptio*, a plundering, as *al-nahb*. He came to this word again, and translated the same way, at Tobit 3:4: "you taught us in plunder and captivity and death by example and stories."[283] Yet on Fol. 305[r], at Ezekiel 25:7, *direptio* appears as *ṣabā*, to take prisoner. : "Therefore behold I shall extend my hand upon you and I will bring you in the captivities of the Gentiles."[284] Angel Custodio López López has remarked: "our glossator goes beyond the simple equivalent annotation of two words in two languages, in order to reflect the existence of various translations for the same term."[285] Meanwhile, he translated *propugnatio* as *muqātal* at Is. 15:20: "and he will send to them as a savior and a destruction which will free them."[286] We see, then, that this annotator was quite precise in the way he rendered the Latin into Arabic.

He clarified the Bible again at Isaiah 1:27: "Sion will be redeemed in judgement and they will return it in justice."[287] Angel Custodio López López has here read an Arabic graph as a translation of *redimetur*, to redeem, which he sees as *ḥaṣuna* (حصن), to be inaccessible or well-fortified.[288] The link between the two words at first seems clear, as the city's strengthened faith would redeem the city. Many settlements in rural al-Andalus, moreover, had a *ḥiṣn*, a fort, at their center, although we have no evidence that the León annotator had this in mind.[289] I would suggest, however, that López López erred here, and that the León annotator actually translated *reducent*, to return, as *ḥaḍḍ* (حض), meaning to incite or induce, as in returning them to justice.

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[282] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 250[r]. "et nunc ostendam vobis quid ego faciam vinee mee·Auferram sepem eius et erit in direptionem"
[283] BCIL MS 346[r]. "et tradisti nos in direptionem et captivitatem et mortem in exemplum et fabulas"
[284] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 305[v]. "Id circo ecce ego extendam manum super te et tradam te in direptiones gentium."
[285] Angel Custodio López López, "Las Glosas Marginales," 310. "…nuestro glosador el cual va más allá de la simple anotación de equivalencia entre dos palabras de las dos lenguas para reflejar la existencia de varias traducciones diferentes para un mismo término."
[286] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 254[r]. "et mittet eis salvatorem et propugnatorem qui liberet eos"; Ángel Custodio López López, "Las Glosas Marginales Árabes del *Codex Visigothicus Legionensis*," In *Codex Biblicus Legionensis*: 303-318.
[287] Is 1:27, "Sion in iudicio redimetur et reducent eam in iustitia."
[288] Angel Custodio López López, "Las Glosas Marginales," 311.
[289] On the *ḥisn*, see Thomas F. Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

My reading of this Arabic graph makes more sense of the passage, and shows again quite clearly the León annotator actively clarifying the Latin text through Arabic notes.

He was certainly precise in his writing, as when he came to Isaiah 16:8: "the suburbs of Esebon were deserted." All he wrote for *suburbana* was *al-rabaḍ*.[290] There is little more to say here, other than that he employed a very common Arabic word for suburb, one that, like many others, found its way into Castillian as *arrabal*. This like the other notes shows the León annotator placing lexical reading before any spiritual understanding of the Bible. The same goes for Mark 6:49 on Fol. 423^{r}: "they saw him walking on water and thought he was a ghost." As in other cases, *fantasma* likely caused some confusion for him, so he quickly wrote *khayāl*, a disembodied spirit or ghost.

Furthermore, Custodio López López has shown how these Arabic notes follow the grammar of the Latin word or phrase. He did so just before the above note, at Mark 6:48: "and seeing them laboring in rowing (*in remigando*)..." Here he wrote *bil-qaddaf*, a masdar which nicely captures the Latin gerund construction, *in remigando*, but as Custodio López López has observed, the note should read *bil-qadhdhaf*, with a dhāl ذ in place of dāl (د).[291] A supposed error here could easily reflect a difference in pronunciation, or simply a moment when the annotator did not dot the proverbial i.[292] Thinking broadly, the León annotator not only paid close attention to the meaning of these Latin words, thinking of how to best put them in Arabic, but also how to move between two very different grammars.

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[290] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 253^{v}. "suburbana esebon deserta sunt."

[291] Ángel Custodio López López, "Las Glosas Marginales Árabes del *Codex Visigothicus Legionensis*," In *Codex Biblicus Legionensis*: 303-318.

[292] Mozarabs frequently did this, a fact that confirms their ease in working with Arabic: they did not always need diacritical marks to understand the text well. As I noted above, López López himself has had trouble working through the manuscript, although he did work with a microfilm, rather than the facsimile which I had at hand.

He even translated some words that we have already seen other Mozarabs puzzling over while reading other copies of the Bible. On Fol. 501^{r}, at Acts 12:13, he translated *pulsante*, striking, with the masdar *naqr*: "and with him *pounding* the gate, a girl came forth for the purpose of listening, Rhode by name…"[293] In the previous chapter, one of the few lexical notes which the Jeremiah annotator made was *nuqrah*—a noun from the same consonantal root--when he was reading about silver coins. Just like the Jeremiah annotator as well, the León annotator wrote about hyacinths, glossing them as *qirmizī* (scarlet) on Fol. 510^{v}, at Revelation 9:17: "and those who were sitting [on the horses] had breastplates of fire and hyacinth."[294] The Jeremiah annotator wrote *hacintus* in the margins of the Seville Bible at Jeremiah 10:9, one of the only places in the manuscript where he offered an alternate spelling of the Latin text in that manuscript.[295] All of this shows that Mozarabs in both León and al-Andalus at times found the Latin of the Bible confusing, and indeed they faced many similar problems as they read. These two examples make this point quite well, as two different Mozarabs clearly had trouble with and pondered over the exact same words.

What we see in these Arabic notes, then, is the León annotator following along the path of the Latin notes of Sanctius, who cared little to explain the spiritual significance of those alternate readings. The León annotator would have made Augustine proud, as he combed through the Vulgate Bible as well as the Vetus Latina notes, and supplemented them with his Arabic when he came to something he did not understand. Having multiple versions of the Bible was indeed a good thing for him, as he and other Mozarabs sorted through textual problems and

[293] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 501^{r}. "pulsante autem eo ostium ianue processit puella ad audiendum nomine rode." He is effectively offering the Arabic consonantal root *n-q-r*, which translates *pulsante* effectively.
[294] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 510^{v}. "et quis sedebant super eos habentes loricas igneas et hyacentinas (sic)"
[295] BNE MS VITR 13.1, Fol. 124^{r}. Jer. 10:9 "acintus et purpura indumentum eorum"

grasped relatively basic points of scripture, just as Augustine had commanded to those beginning biblical study.

Unsurprisingly, and also like Sanctius, the León annotator unpacked biblical metaphors as well. A good example comes at Ez 3:9, in part of which God assures his faithful: "I will give you a face harder than flint." Here *ḥajar al-mās*, literally "a stone of diamond," translates the Latin *adamas*.[296] This shows more than interest in the natural world, for *adamas*, has a basic meaning of steel or anything hard, but can also mean diamond. Its accompanying Arabic note goes further in calling it a diamond, doubtless because the León annotator wanted to convey the hardness of the stone, which in turn shows how tough God would make his chosen against their enemies. This is a clear case when he had to think carefully about how best capture the sense of the Latin.

The Latin commentary tradition makes clear, in far greater detail than the León annotator did, that one should interpret this as God strengthening his chosen people against their enemies. In his *Homilies of Ezechiel*, Pope Gregory the Great interepted this biblical verse spiritually as a guide for how to preach among sinners. One should be modest when evil surrounded him, but he should not hesitate to do good acts. This is why, Gregory argues, God would reward the faithful with faces as hard as diamond. Indeed, he wrote: "both diamond and stone are hard, but one is precious and the other vile."[297] The León annotator, then, had far more restraint than Gregory the Great in writing about this verse: the meanings of individual words and phrases captured his attention, not spiritual significance.

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[296] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 296^{r}. "et frontem tuam duriorem frontibus eorum· ut adamantem et silicem dedi faciem tuam." Ez 3:8-9 : "ecce dedi faciem tuam valentiorem faciebus eorum et frontem duriorem frontibus eorum ut adamentam et ut siclicem dedi faciem tuam ne timeas eso neque metuas a facie eorum quia domus exasperans est"

[297] Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Ezechielem*, CCSL 142, 1.10. " Adamas et silex utraque dura, sed unum horum pretiosum est alterum uile." Cf. as well Beda Venerabilis, *In primam partem Samuhelis libri IV. Nomina locorum*, 2.9.37: Et dura in temptationibus sunt fidelia corda bonorum quibus sub iezechielis specie dicitur: ecce dedi faciem tuam ualentiorem faciebus eorum et frontem tuam duriorem frontibus eorum ut adamantem et silicem dedi eam."

In Jonah, meanwhile, the León annotator translated an emotion, sorrow: "You feel pain (*doles*) over the ivy in which you did not tend nor make to grow… (Jonah 4:11)"[298] *Doleo* as an intransitive verb has a range of meanings: to feel pain, be sorry, or feel hurt, which makes his Arabic translation, *shafiqta*, even more interesting. The root *sh-f-q* generally means to feel pity, sympathize, or commiserate, but in its most basic form, it can also mean to be niggardly.[299] Quite cleverly, then, he here employed this transitive verb "to feel pity" over the ivy mentioned in the Latin, although it could also mean that this person was stingy in not growing his ivy.

Ezekiel 21:22 offers another interesting example of him translating an emotion. The verse reads: "to his right-hand a divination was made in Jerusalem, that he put battering rams so that the mouth opens in slaughter, so the voice rises in a wail…" Rather than translating literally, the note reads *al-khāfa*, a masdar acting like a noun and meaning something like "being afraid."[300] While fitting, this does not precisely match up with any of the Latin words, in the way many other Arabic notes do. Rather, here the León annotator communicates the general sense of fear of God's wrath against Jerusalem. As in the Latin notes, here one could possibly read in Christological undertones—Christ, who often appears as God's right-hand man, punishing sinners—but the note is quite different from those of Scribe A or the Jeremiah annotator in the Seville Bible.

He did much the same on Fol. 491^{v}, at 1 Peter 2:8: "[but for the non-believing are]… the stone of offense and the rock of scandal who offend the word and do not believe that in which they were placed…"[301] Here he translated "lapis offensionis" with *ʿathr*, meaning to stumble,

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[298] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 334^{r}. "Tu doles super hederam in qua non laborasti neque fecisti ut crescerit…"
[299] Cf. Edward Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon, pp. 1573.
[300] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 303^{r}. "ad dextram eius facta eius divinatio super iherusalem ut ponat arietes ut aperiat os in cede ut elevat vocem in ululatu…"
[301] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 491^{v}. "Et lapis offensionis et petra scandali qui offendunt verbo nec credunt in quod et positi sunt"

and *petra scandali* with *waʿth*, meaning difficult or hard. To my mind, he here tried to capture the qualities of these rocks: a stone that offends you is one which you trip over, while the rock of scandal is particularly hard. This note demonstrates how thoroughly the León annotator thought through these verses as he translated. Even if the Christological sense of the Bible did not interest him, he still needed to know when to render something metaphorically, to capture the meaning of the verse best.

He made another involved note at IV Kings 7:2: "Responding one of the leaders on whom the king relied said to the man of God: if the Lord should make also waterfalls in heaven, is it possible that you will see with your eyes and then you will not eat?"[302] He here has rendered *cataractas*, waterfalls, as *kawākib*, a word which Custodio López López read allegorically as heavenly stars.[303] Now certainly, God could have made waterfalls in heaven—this sounds like paradise and fits the Hebrew *arubbôth*, as Custodio López López himself observed.[304] Indeed, I suggest that this is precisely what the annotator want to convey, and his translation comes from an overlap between the Latin and Arabic terms. *Cataracta* never means stars, but as the Orientalist Edward Lane noted in his dictionary, *kawkab* can mean both the source of a spring or a well, in addition to heavenly stars. So in sum, the León annotator may well have employed *kawākib* as a literal translation of *cataractas*.

He furthermore stuck to this interest in the precise meaning of words and phrases when he came across very apocalyptic passages: even the phrase "abomination of desolation" did not push the León annotator to write Christological notes. On Fol. 426^{v}, where Mark 13:14 reads

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[302] Angel Custodio López López, "Las Glosas Marginales," 311. "Respondens unus de ducibus super cuius manum rex incumbebat homini dei si Dominus fecerit etiam cataractas in caelo numquid poterit esse loqueris qui ait videbis oculis tuis et inde non comdedes."
[303] Angel Custodio López López, "Las Glosas Marginales Árabes del *Codex Visigothicus Legionensis*," In *Codex Biblicus Legionensis*:303-18 (311).
[304] Angel Custodio López López, "Las Glosas Marginales," 311.

"but you will see the abomination of desolation," he simply wrote "harām al-kharāb," meaning something like, the "the sin of destruction."[305] What interested the León annotator here was translating the phrase well, rather than expounding on its apocalyptic signifincance. This is indeed quite like the lexical reading which Sanctius put forth. It furthermore again fits with Augustine's advice to understand the very translation of the Bible before figuratively pulling the spiritual meaning out of those words.

He skillfully navigated through Revelation 14:2 as well: "and the voice I heard [from heaven], was just like a cithar player playing the cithar (*citharedorum citharizantium*) on his cithars."[306] Here he wrote *yanshudūn*, they sing, a third-person plural verb which translates "citharedorum citharizantium," which in turn means something like the cithar player playing cithars. This is all quite involved, as he needed to account for different grammatical structures in the Latin and the Arabic, and had to render a very rare Latin word in *citharizare*.[307] As in the other examples, moreover, here he found little spiritual payoff, which was not his goal in reading: the note comes from a Mozarab who is foremost interested in the meanings of words.

When reading about God's anger in Revelation 14:10--"and he will drink of the anger of God which is *merum* mixed in the chalice of his anger…"[308] all the León annotator wrote was *khamr*, wine. *Merum*, a cheap wine of which Romans wrote frequently, is nevertheless certainly a rarer word than *vinum*. This is all very interesting though, because this manuscript lacks part of the Latin. The verse ought to read: "et hic bibet *de vino* irae dei qui mixtum est mero… and this man will drink of the *wine* of the anger of God which is mixed as mero…". Perhaps, then,

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[305] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 426^{v}. "autem videritis abominationem desolationis"; Here again the annotator has employed the Arabic *idafa* construction to render the Latin genitive. In Modern Standard Arabic, *ʿamal baghīd*, "the abominable work" translations abomination, so this medieval phrasing is quite appropriate.
[306] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 511^{v}. Apc. 14:2. "et vocem quam audivi sicut citharoedorum citharizantium in citharis suis"
[307] Cf. Lewis and Short
[308] BCIL MS 2, Fol. 511^{v}. "et hic bibet ire dei qui mixtum est mero in calice ire ipsius…"

the annotator wrote *khamr* in part to fill in the Latin. Whatever the case, here he only wanted to convey what was in the chalice. This lack of spiritual significance forming a stark contrast with the notes of Scribe A or the Jeremiah annotator.[309]

All these Arabic notes let us watch a reader working much like Sanctius had done earlier. Indeed, the way the Arabic notes build upon the Latin demonstrates yet again that Mozarabs worked in Arabic much as other Christians did in in that language. Readers could approach a manuscript in different ways than its maker had intended, of course, for studies of the history of reading have illuminated how individual many readers are. But in the León Bible of 960 and in the Seville Bible, how scribes planned out the folios in the manuscript—including the biblical text but also intitals, marginal notes, illuminations and so on--directly affected how later readers learned. The Latin lexical notes formed a first layer of reading in the manuscript: through these, a reader could compare the Vulgate with the Vetus Latina. The León annotator had these Latin notes at hand, yet also translated particularly difficult words into Arabic as he read, a second layer of reading. The result of his movement between Latin and Arabic notes lines up nicely with Sanctius' Latin annotations.

Indeed, Augustine would almost certainly commend the León annotator on his approach to the Bible. For in the late antique world as in tenth-century León, Christians studied carefully the various versions of the Bible they had at hand, which in the ancient world were Greek or Latin or Syriac, and the Mozarabs did exactly this centuries later with Latin, Arabic, and perhaps even Syriac. Not only did the León annotator compare Latin versions of the Bible, but he also created an Arabic study apparatus so that Arabic readers could undertand the text better. This all reinforces what should be quite clear by this point: the Mozarabs' Bibles—Latin and Arabic—

[309] I could offer many more examples of these notes, but it would turn the chapter into a long-list of translations.

offer an excellent opportunity to see how they engaged Latin, Arabic, and Islamic culture, often simultaneously on the manuscript folio.

What is more, Sanctius and the León annotator had plenty of these manuscripts with which to work. For at Valeránica Mozarabs read not only this exquisite Bible, but also a luxurious copy of Pope Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* over which Florentius, Sanctius' mentor, had labored. Clearly, they had copies of Jerome's book on Hebrew names as well. What this means, then, is that rather than making Mozarabic manuscripts in Arabic, the León annotator instead futhered this Visigothic manuscript culture by making it more accessible for Arabic speakers.

Indeed, the links between Arabic and Latin annotating at Valeránica go even deeper than this. For as with the Latin notes, not all the Arabic notes are lexical, with at least two (out of 353) notes offering summaries or explanations of biblical verses. One of these comments upon Ez. 44:17: "Nor shall he put on them any wool when they preach inside the doors." This different annotator--the hand is quite different—wrote a quick note : "hunā yamnaʿu libs al-ṣūf ʿinda al-taqrīb," "here he prohibits clothes of wool on the point of entering…."[310] The passage likely refers to the Children of Israel and their return to the Levite priests and their ceremonies, but the annotator left no real clue why this was important.

In sum, then, the León annotator's Arabic notes follow in a similar vein as Sanctius' in Latin. Sanctius created a thorough set of Latin notes by which later readers compared the Vetus Latina with the Vulgate. The León annotator also read lexically, as he placed his Arabic translations of Latin words in the manuscript's margins. All of this, then, demonstrates the complexity of reading the Bible in León during the tenth century. At a monastery such as

[310] Ez. 44:17, "Nec ascendet super eos quicquid laneum quando ministrant in portis…"

Valeránica, Mozarabs took in the meaning of the Bible's words alongside Latin/Romance-speaking Christians. This form of reading was indeed just as important as reading the Bible in a spiritual way.

Yet the León annotator also shifted this lexical reading. He added in Arabic translations of some difficult words, and in doing so, he made clear just how closely he was reading the Bible. As we have seen, he employed different Arabic words for the Latin *direptio*, suggesting that he was not only learning new words, but also actively thinking about how to render the Latin best. He also more precisely defined Latin terms; such as when explained that a stone, *silex* in the Latin text, was a diamond, *ḥajar al-mās*, in the Arabic. He lastly also made clear knew how to account for the Bible's allegories, such as when he translated that God had not created waterfalls in heaven, but rather stars in the heavens. Later readers at Valeránica thus had an enormous amount of lexical information at their fingertips: Latin notes offering the means to compare the Vulgate with the Vetus Latina and thorough Arabic notes that defined Latin vocabulary and cleared up difficult to understand passages.

Now, I have focused upon this one manuscript at Valeránica, but Mozarabs certainly read lexically elsewhere. I have already noted that the anonymous author-translator had the Vetus Latina at hand as he translated the Arabic Psalms, for example. Even more interestingly, Juan Pedro Monferrar Sala has demonstrated that an Arabic Gospel manuscript from Iberia has verses translated from the Vetus Latina and Vulgate, but also from the Greek Bible (and quite possibly Syriac).[311] This certainly complicates our understanding of lexical reading in the Peninsula, for it shows us a translator rendering the Bible with recourse to as many texts as possible. This is not the same as what Sanctius did with the Vulgate and Vetus Latina, but the Mozarabs' work

[311] Juan Pedro Monferrar Sala, "Traductologia Muzarabica," 36.

with Arabic, Greek, and Syriac makes clear a similar mindset as what we see with Sanctius and the León annotator [312]

This is not a small point. At least some Christians living in a wealthy monastery in León thought about lexical reading much like other Christians in the most urbane city in tenth-century Europe, Córdoba, and, I would suggest, like Christians in the Eastern Mediterranean as well.[313] As I argued in Chapter 1, the anonymous author-translator saw his translation of the Psalms filling a need for scripture in a multilingual Christendom, while here we see Sanctius and the León annotator sorting through the textual problems that arose in a multilingual Christendom which had many different versions of the Bible.

All of this as well fits with the anonymous author-translator of the Arabic Psalms (Ch 1). For when he made his Arabic prose Psalter, he did so by carefully following the Vetus Latina Hispana. Indeed, the Arabic syntax of the first Psalm and others match exactly that Latin version. In its own way, this shows a faithfulness to the Vetus Latina, as Cyrille Aillet noted, but it also would make comparison between the Arabic Psalms and the Vetus Latina easier.[314] Sanctius effectively offered his readers the means to partake in the same sort of reading, only with the Vetus Latina and the Vulgate.

We have this lexical reading in other types of Mozarabic manuscripts as well. Foremost, Pieter van Koningsveld has made clear the importance of a Latin-Arabic glossary from the tenth

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[312] Monferrar Sala, "Traductologia Muzarabica," 46. He notes, for example, that in Munich, BSB MS 238 the translator has mixed Luke 22:47 with Mt 26:48, an "armonización." The verse in MS 238 reads: wa-kāna qad aʿṭā-hum imāra wa-qāla la-hum man qabaltu-hu fahwa huwa… "and I handed over to them them a man, and said to them, the one I kissed is he…" In the Vulgate, the Lk 22:47 reads: "Adhuc eo loquente ecce turba et qui vocabatur Iudas unus de duodecim antecedebat eos et adpropinquavit Iesu ut oscularetur eum" With him still talking, behold the chaos and he who was called Judas, one of the twelve, came before them and approached Jesus so that he might kiss him…" Mt 26:48: Qui autem tradidit eum dedit illis signum dicens quemcumque osculatus fuero ipse est tenete eum…" But he who betrayed him gave to them a sign, saying the one I kiss, it is holding him…"; Monferrar Sala, "Between Hellenism and Arabicization. On the Formation of an Ethnolinguistic Identity of the Melkite Communities in the Heart of Islam," *al-Qanṭara* Vol. 33, No. 2 (Julio-septiembre 2012): 445-71.
[313] With Greek, Arabic, and Syriac Bibles.
[314] Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 186-9.

century. This glossary has over 10,000 Latin words, and as he argues, it was for Christians who had a working knowledge of Arabic but needed to look up Latin: much the same as what we see here.[315] Along with this glossary, we also have a manuscript of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, an enormous early medieval encyclopedia, with over 1200 Arabic notes, many of them lexical. All of this is to say that while lexical notes present scholars with many challenges, in part because they are often so brief, nevertheless they fill many of the Mozarabs manuscripts.[316]

Conclusion

Like those of al-Andalus, the Mozarabs of León, therefore, actively participated in Latin manuscript culture. Sanctius, though not a Mozarab himself, nevertheless lived among them and encouraged them to read lexically. Like the Mozarab Scribe A of the Seville Bible, he set a pattern for how later readers approached this pandect Bible. It is true that Sanctius copied at least some of these Latin notes from another manuscript, but he did not put them blindly in the margins of the León Bible of 960. Rather, he wanted to give readers a way to compare the Bible's different versions, leaving them to find its spiritual significance. In this type of reading, he encouraged an approach to the Bible of which St. Augustine had recommended long ago.

When the León annotator opened the manuscript to make his own notes, in turn, he followed very closely in Sanctius' footsteps. Indeed, through his Arabic notes, he added to the study apparatus of the León Bible of 960, a manuscript which Sanctius knew Mozarabs would pour over in Arabic. The content of these notes contrast sharply with those in the Seville Bible: they run throughout the manuscript, rather than a few books, and they illuminate the León annotator's focus upon the meaning of individual words, rather than Christological significance.

[315] Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, 1-2.
[316] Madrid, BNE MS VITR 14.3.

His reading and notemaking offers a fitting reminder that medieval Christians diligently read the Bible in all sorts of ways.

All of this, moreover, betters our understanding of the settlement of Mozarabs in Christian León. Indeed, while Richard Hitchcock has argued that the Mozarabs of al-Andalus faded away after the martyr movement, he also sees the Mozarabs of León as socially inferior to Latin Christians.[317] He notes, for example, that the Latin *muzarave* first appears in an eleventh-century Leonese charter as a perjorative term. As we have seen, the Mozarabs' Bibles, among other evidence, make clear that Christian culture did not die out in al-Andalus, but rather looked somewhat similar to that in León. In a manner reminiscent to the anonymous author-translator's making of a very literal Arabic translation of the Vetus Latina Psalms, for example, the León annotator made sure that he and other Mozarabs could understand the entire Bible through his marginal translations. Indeed, reading in this lexical manner was wholly part of being in a religion that spanned the Mediterranean with numerous languages.

[317] Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*

Chapter 4: Latin Exegetical Guides for Mozarabs in León and Toledo

While Mozarabs at Valeránica read the Bible with a strong interest in the lexical meanings of words and phrases, other Bibles from León make clear that other Leonese Mozarabs mined it for spiritual significance. The scribes and annotators of Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, MS Cajon 2.2, like other Mozarabs, wrote in both Latin and Arabic, so much so that here we can see the clearest examples of Mozarabs reading Latin exegesis.[318] When individual Mozarabs opened this Bible, moreover, they did so with different goals: some readers focused upon the Book of Job and left lengthy notes in Latin, along with some in Arabic, while another reader left one-word notes in Arabic throughout the manuscript, notes which he furthermore wrote with the blunt end of a stylus, rather than with with ink. What follows, then, contrasts with the earlier examples I have treated at length in which later readers followed on a manuscript's paratext.

At least some of the Latin notes in the Cajon manuscript draw directly upon Pope Gregory the Great's (d. 604) *Moralia in Iob*, the lengthiest and most authoritative commentary on that biblical book.[319] Gregory's meditation on good and evil clearly informed Mozarabs in León more broadly: not those who read this manuscript, but also those at Valeránica, for Sanctius' mentor, Florentius, made a separate, exquisite *Moralia* manuscript which unsurprisingly looks like the León Bible of 960. Even more importantly, a Zamoran scribe, that is, one also near León, made a *Moralia* manuscript in 945, and he too made copious Arabic notes.[320]

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[318] Teofilo Ayuso Marazuela, *La Vetus Latina Hispana: origen, dependencia, derivaciones, valor e influjo universal* (Madrid: Consejo Superior Investigaciones Científicas, 1953); Aillet, *Les Mozarabes: Christianisme, Islamisisation et Arabisation en Péninsule Ibérique (IXe-XIIe Siècle)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010), 321.
[319] In other notes, we will see, readers worked with the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville.
[320] Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic* Glossary, 48; Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 165-6.

As with the Seville Bible, Mozarabs brought the Cajon Manuscript and the Zamora Moralia to Toledo after 1085. For this reason and for convenience, I hereafter refer to the Cajon manuscript as the Toledan Mozarabic Bible. In this chapter, while I argue that Mozarabs eagerly read Latin exegesis on a number of levels in the Toledan Mozarabic Bible, I also present twelfth-century Toledo as a magnet of sorts that drew these Arabic-speakers in, together with their books. So, while Mozarabs in that city gained fame for helping to translate Arabic scientific and philosophical texts into Latin, they also read biblical manuscripts that had their origins elsewhere.[321]

The León Bible of 920 as a Template for the Toledan Mozarabic Bible

The scribe who started making the Toledan Mozarabic Bible did so in León, and in Latin moreover, before others annotated it in Arabic. Indeed, although I am not the first to suggest it comes from León, I am the first to place its origins at the monastery of Albares.[322] We know this because the scribe and illuminators of the Toledan Mozarabic Bible made it strikingly like a manuscript from that monastery: the León Bible of 920. The evidence for this goes beyond similar scribal hands but also includes initial design and even idiosyncratic ways of abbreviating the text.

Unlike other Bibles we have seen, these two manuscripts have only some of the canonical biblical books: The León Bible of 920 has the Books of Isaiah through Revelation, with its text in two columns on folios measuring 240 x 363 mm. At least two scribes made the manuscript: one wrote 38 lines per folio on fols. 1^{r}-19^{v}, and another who began on Fol. 20^{r} wrote 53-4 lines

[321] This goes against the arguments of Pieter Van Koningsveld, who as we have seen placed the Seville Bible's origins in twelfth-century Toledo and who more broadly privileged that city over other Mozarabic communities: that is, he saw the Mozarabs of Toledo making far more new manuscripts than for which we have evidence. Cf. Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*.
[322] Cf. Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 321.

per folio.[323] A large cross, a symbol of Oviedo (just to the north of León), opens the manuscript, and its Gospels have lavish canon tables which allowed a reader to find similar passages in each gospel.

These are relatively basic details, but several scribal messages to readers describe the manuscript's literal manufacture.[324] One at the beginning of the manuscript reads: "Maurus the priest made the book for Abbot Vimara," with the text in a labyrinth, in which he divided the folio into individual squares containing single letters, so that he hid his dedication among many other letters which have no meaning.[325] On Fol. 275^{v}, meanwhile, someone offered more detail of when and where they worked:

This book was completed under the name of Christ
In the shadow of the church of St. Mary and St. Martin
In the monastery called Albares
Noted on the 8th day of the Kalends
In the era 958
With King Ordoño reigning happily in his fourth year of his glory[326]

The era 958 corresponds to 920 CE, while the monastery of Albares, following the above colophon, was outside León.[327] This invaluably helps us locate the origin of the Toledan

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[323] The manuscript description notes that the first two quires of ACL MS 6 have 38 lines, while the remaining has 53 lines. Zacarias García Villada, *Catalogo de los códices y documentos de la Catedral de León* (Madrid: Imprenta Clásica Española, 1919), 35.
[324] García Villada, *Catalogo*, 35-37.
[325] "Maurus abbati librum Vimara presbiter fecit" ; For a discussion of a similar labyrinth design, in BNE MS 80, see Catherine Brown, "Remember the Hand: Bodies and Bookmaking in Early Medieval Spain," *Word & Image* 27:3, 262-78 (266-74).
[326] ACL MS 6, Fol. 275^{v}; García Villada, *Catalogo*, 37.
Sub XPI nomine completus
fuit iste liber sub umbra
aule sce marie
et sci martini in monas
terio vocabulo alba
res Notum die
VIII kls.
era D CCCCLVIII
Anno feliciter gle sue
reg [ ] ordonius VI
anno regante…
[327] The Spanish era system of dating begins in 38 BCE.

Mozarabic Bible, as we will see, while also reminding us that León's landscape had many monasteries where Mozarabs lived, read, and made Latin manuscripts.

In addition to Abbot Vimara and Maurus, Iohannes illuminated at least some of the León Bible of 920's initials. On Fol. 202^{r}, where the Gospel of Matthew begins, he wrote: "Iohannes the Deacon made and painted this. Let he who reads this pray for a sinner, if he should have Christ as a protector and a benefactor in all things."[328] He also beseeched: "Oh reader, while you read, pray for the scribe, if you should have Christ as a protector, when you should pray [as our Lord]. Iohannis the Deacon made this."[329] On Fol. 91^{v}, Iohannes pleads: "I beseech you who read this to remember me, Iohannes the sinner, as you are able through the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by your prayers I deserve to be atoned for by your own torches and so to be noted with the elect confessors in the Book of Life, amen."[330] Iohannes, then, is not so different from the Mozarabic illuminator who wrote "read the history of Daniel" in Arabic across the neck of an illuminated bird opening that book in the Seville Bible.

By now, it should not surprise that Latin notes—but not Arabic—completed the León Bible of 920. Some of these notes, moreover, are apocalyptic. The opening of Daniel 7 offers a great example: "in the first year of Balthasar king of Babylon, Daniel saw a dream, a vision of his head in a dream, and writing a brief sermon he understood the dream…" Here an annotator

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[328] ACL MS 6 Fol. 202^{r}, García Villada, *Catalogo*, 36. "Iohannes diaconus fecit et pinxit. Qui legerit oret pro peccatore si Christo habeat protectore et in omnibus adiutore." On this opening of the Gospel of Matthew, see John Williams, *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 182-3, where he notes that the manuscript also contains "the oldest surviving Hispanic biblical scenes in the setting of the Bible."

[329] ACL MS 6 Fol. 211^{r} ; García Villada, *Catalogo*, 37. "O lector, dum legeris ora pro scriptore si Christum abeas protectore, quando Dominus noster rogaveritis. Iohannis diaconus fecit."

[330] ACL MS 6, Fol. 91^{v} ; García Villada, *Catalogo*, 37. "Obsecro vos qui hec legeritis mei Iohannis peccatori memineritis quatenus misercordiam domini nostri Ihu Xpi. Et vestris orationibus merear a propriis expirari facinoribus tue in libro vite cum electis adnotari confessoribus amen." Cf. García Villada, *Catalogo*, 37. These notes compare very favorably with the sort studied by Catherine Brown, who has examined north Iberian scribes' tendencies to record their work in colophons. Cf. Catherine Brown, "Remember the Hand," *passim*. She does not treat ACL MS 6, although I have discussed its importance with her.

wrote: “the fourth vision of the four beasts,” quite likely connecting Daniel’s dream of four beasts to the four horsemen which the Book of Revelation foretold ushering in the Apocalypse.[331]

Daniel 11:3-5, meanwhile, tells of a strong king, and four later kings who will inherit his rule. The annotator here observed: “on Ptolemeus in Egypt, Phillip in Macedon, Seleucias in Persia, and Antiochus in Asia.”[332] Broadly speaking, Christians believed that a Christian kingdom would be the last of four successive empires—medieval exegetes differed on which empires would precede, although they often included the Persians--and that Antichrist would torment those Christians before the Last Judgement. Perhaps, then, this is what the annotator wished to convey, although he could well have taken interest in the Bible as an historical record of these kings. Certainly, this annotator’s notes deserve a more thorough treatment, but what is most important here is that he created an interpretative lens for the León Bible of 920 through his annotating, and that in doing so he worked much like Mozarabic scribes and annotators did.[333]

So while the León Bible of 920 lacks Arabic notes, it nevertheless helps us understand the Latin Bibles which Mozarabs helped manufacture. Indeed, with the León Bible of 920 in mind, we can argue that the Toledan Mozarabic Bible also comes from the monastery of Albares. This is clear enough, even if it lacks the León Bible of 920’s fascinating scribal messages of how they made the manuscript,[334] and though it has a different set of books: Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Job, Kings, Chronicles, and roughly half the Psalms. The two manuscripts, for example, share the same overall design and have idiosyncratic ligatures / abbreviations.

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[331] MS ACL 6, Fol. 73^{v}, Dan. 7:1: “anno primo Balthasar regis Babylon Danihel somnium vidit visio autem capitis eius in cubili suo et somnium scribens brevi sermon comprehendit”; “visio quarta de quattor bestias”

[332] MS ACL 6, Fol. 75^{v}. “In thalomeus in Egypto Phillipus in Macedonia Seleuceis in Babilonia Antiochus in Asia.” Surget vero rex fortis et dominabitur potestate multa et faciet quod placuerit ei. Et quum steterit conteretur regnum eius et divideutr in quattor ventos celi. sed non in posteros eius. neque secundam potentiam illius quam dominatus est.”

[333] I know of no scholarly literature on the notes of the León Bible of 920.

[334] Perhaps becauase one scribe made this manuscript.

To begin, the similarity in capital letters between the two manuscripts suggests strongly a shared origin. Fol. 6^{v} of the Toledan Mozarabic Bible, for example, has a capital N (**Figure 1)** almost exactly like one on Fol. 20^{r} of the León Bible of 920. The final stroke on this letterform has a slight downward flourish, while the remaining three points of the **N** all have crossing strokes. A capital **I** on Fol. 15^{r} of the Toledan Mozarabic Bible, meanwhile, looks much like that on 10^{r} of the León Bible of 920, again with a downward flourish to end the letter.

Strikingly, the manuscripts' larger initials—much bigger than the capital letterforms--at the opening of biblical books also look alike. They are in the so-called Mozarabic style which decorates manuscripts across the Peninsula, but the similarities go further. Initial **I** provides an excellent example, with a nearly identical interweaving pattern in the initial's body in both manuscripts.[335] A slight downward flourish finishes the initial **I** on Fol. 24 of the Toledan Mozarabic Bible, which covers roughly eight lines of text, along with artistic flourish at its top as well. All of this makes it look very much like initials on Folios 28^{v} and 249^{v} in the León Bible of 920, so much so that it suggests a common scriptorium.[336] The slight change in these letterforms likely comes from the idiosyncrasies of the scribes and/or illuminators making them, and thus we ought to expect it.

The initial **V** found at the opening of the Toledan Mozarabic Bible's Book of Job, meanwhile, looks like that marking the Book of Jeremiah in the León Bible of 920.[337] These initials have two parts, with a curved section on the left attaching to a straight section (much like an **I**) on the right. The bottom of this straight right-hand section, moreover, has a slight

[335] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 24^{v}; ACL MS 6, Fol. 249^{v}, Fol. 28^{v}.
[336] On Mozarabic initials, see among other works *Arte y Cultura Mozárabe: Ponencias y communicaciones presentadas al I° Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes* (Toledo: 1975); John Williams, *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, esp. pp. 182-3; Rose Walker, *Views of Transition: liturgy and illumination in medieval Spain* (London: British Library, 1998).
[337] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 27^{v}; ACL MS 6, Fol. 28^{v}.

downward stroke. While the design in the right-hand section of this **V** is more intricate in the León Bible of 920 than in the Toledan Mozarabic Bible, the similarities are nevertheless striking, all the more so because no one to my knowledge has pointed this out.

Beyond capital letters and initials, these two manuscripts share a common abbreviation at the top of their folios. Much as in a modern book, the upper margin has titles enabling a reader to find his or her place quickly. The verso of one folio reads "liber" while the following recto folio continues with the book's title, so that the folios together read, "Book of X." Fol. 271 of the León Bible of 920 has a ligature, a joining of letters, of BLR for *Liber* in which the L appears in the middle with a crossing stroke through its ascender. The B is to the left of the L, with the same crossing stroke dividing the two loops of the B. The R is to the right of the L, with the crossing stroke joining the foot of the R. On folios 7^{v} in the Book of Joshua, 13^{v} in the Book of Judges, and 46^{r} in the Book of Kings, the Toledan Mozarabic Bible has a similar BLR ligature with a crossing stroke through the top of the B and the R, rather than the bottom (**Figures 2-3)**. It also has another related BLR abbreviation where the crossing stroke on the L does not join to the B and the R: Fols. 16^{v}, 106^{r}, and 108^{r} are three examples. As with the evidence presented above, these abbreviations / ligatures alone do not prove that scribes at the same monastery worked on these manuscripts, but all the evidence together certainly strengthen the case when we take it with all the other similarities.[338]

The bottom of these manuscripts' folios, meanwhile, makes this shared origin even clearer. For in the bottom margins are identical "SR" abbreviations (*super*, above), and if the same scribe did not do them, someone in the same scriptorium did. Folio 161^{r} of the León Bible of 920 has Matthew 10:41 in its bottom margin: "And whoever receives a just thing in the name

[338] Other manuscripts I have examined *in situ* do not bear such a strong resemblance to one another as ACL MS 6 and BCT MS Cajon 2.2.

of the just accepts a reward of a just man *sr*".[339]" Folio 82^{r} of the Toledan Mozarabic Bible has I Kings 17:20-1, where Elijah beseeches God: "'did you not afflict a widow, in whose presence I am support, when you killed her son?' And he spread himself out over the child three times, and he screamed to the Lod and said Lord my God *sr*…" (**Figures 4-5**)"[340] SR stands for *super*, meaning that the text belongs above, but more importantly, the SR abbreviations look exactly alike. That is, the scribes in this scriptorium worked in a similar manner, and one of the numerous scribes may have worked on both manuscripts.

Furthermore, the Toledan Mozarabic Bible and the León Bible of 920 have more in common with each other than with other Arabic-annotated Latin Bibles. For example, the initials in the Seville Bible are less intricate and less colorful than these two, while Sanctius' León Bible of 960 is far richer. Those other manuscripts also lack this particular ligature / abbreviation for *liber*, which is quite idiosyncratic. Among the Arabic-annotated Latin manuscripts at Madrid, Toledo, El Escorial, and León, no two manuscripts look so alike, which is even more striking because these manuscripts' scribes and annotators gave them something like their own personalities.

Scribe A's Latin Notes

As in other cases, a scribe at Albares completed the Toledan Mozarabic Bible with thorough Latin commentary. Cajon Scribe A, as I call him, wrote his notes, which guide readers through all sorts of material, in the same crisp hand as the body of the manuscript. While he did not write in Arabic, he nevertheless lived in a monastic world full of Mozarabic readers, at least one and very likely two of whom pored over his annotations. He is as well much like the

[339] ACL MS 6, Fol. 161^{r}. Mt 10:41, "Et qui recipit iustum in nomine iusti. mercedem iusti accipit SR"
[340] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 82^{r} ."etiam ne vidua aput quem ego ut cumque sustentor afflixisti ut interficeres filium eius: Et expandit se ad quem mensus est super puerum tribus vicibus. Clabitque ad dominum et ait domine deus meus SR."

annotator of the León Bible of 920, who explained the importance of the Book of Daniel, among other things. Much like the scribes and annotators at Valeránica, moreover, he read lexically, for example at Judges 12:8-9: "After this, Abessan of Bethlehem who had thirty sons and likewise thirty daughters whom sending outward into Israel, he gave in marriage."[341] Here he simply translated the Hebrew meaning of Abessan into Latin: "patris incendium uel sacrificium," "the burning or sacrifice of the father,"as the matching *siglum* next to the note and this word make clear. Furthermore, Cajon Scribe A carefully outlined his annotations in red ink, in the manner that Christopher de Hamel noted often signals an alternate reading to the biblical text, although here the note is explanatory.[342]

He also transliterated Hebrew place names and gave the corresponding meanings. On Folio 46^{r}, 1 Samuel 13:2 reads: "and Saul elected for himself three thousand from Israel and two thousand were with him in Machmas and on the mountain of Bethel but the other thousand were with Jonathon in Gebaath of Benjamin."[343] Its accompanying note teaches that Machmas means "humility or fondled," while a note for Jonathon is "the gift of the dove or he who gives doves." Here again we see Cajon Scribe A searching out meanings, with little interest in the spiritual meaning of the Bible, much like the Mozarabs of Valeránica in the previous chapter.

By now, it comes as no surprise that these meanings read like St. Jerome's *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*.[344] Indeed, working with this text was an integral part of

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[341] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 19^{v}. Post hunc in Israel Abessan de Bethleem [sic] qui habuit triginta filios et tothdem filias quas emitens foras maritis dedit

[342] Christopher de Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 43.

[343] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 46^{r}. "et eligit sibi saul tria milia de Israel. Et erunt cum Saul duo milia in machmas et in monte bethele mille autem cum Ionatha in gabaath beniamin."

[344] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 46^{r}. " humilitas uel adtrectata"; " columbe donum uel columba dedit." Dedit could refer to either the perfect of *dare* or the present tense of *dedere*. Each of these clearly signifies a handing over of doves. St. Jerome's *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum*, ed. Paul Legarde, CCSL Vol. 72 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953),104, has " Machemas humilitas sive adtrectata"; at 116, " Iona columba uel ubi est donatus sive dolens." On Folio 48^{v}, Scribe A has written «the highest» in an annotation discussing Samatha. Just below it he notes that the Alexandrian version of the Vetus Latina reads "in Galaath" rather than the "in Gabaa" he has written.[344] BCT Cajon

making the manuscript: we have seen that these meanings offered an effective way for medieval Christians to pour over each word of the Bible. A second annotator (Cajon Scribe B, about whom more later) read from St. Jerome's book as well, writing "Job dolens" at the opening of that book.[345] Since both Scribes A and B drew upon St. Jerome's exegesis, they may have been in the same scriptorium, altough we lack evidence of the *Liber interpretationis* manuscript which supplied these readings.[346]

Cajon Scribe A indeed read lexically throughout the Toledan Mozarabic Bible. Iob 14:4, for example, asks: "Are you alone the one who is able to make the world conceived from a dirty seed?" Rather than explaining who this man was, Cajon Scribe A here gave an alternate reading: "will there be one man who will make the Earth from dirt, even if the life of that man shall be upon the Earth for one day?"[347] Meanwhile at 2 Paralipomenon 17:9, "And having the book of the law of the Lord they will teach in Judah, and will go among all the cities of Judah and enlighten the people," he clarified redundantly, "where it says, 'they will have the book of the Lord,' this is the law," even though the verse makes this clear.[348] He is in short another scribe who knew the importance of a paratext in creating a flexible interpretative framework.

To conclude, then, before the Toledan Mozarabic Bible was a Mozarabic manuscript with Arabic notes, it looked much like the León Bible of 920. This has broader implications: at Albares, as in other Leonese monasteries, Mozarabs and Latin-Romance speakers plied their

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2.2, Fol. 48^{v}. " excelsa: al [Alexandrian Latinus] in galaath." The lemma is 1 Sm 15:34: "abiit autem samuhel in ramatha: saul autem ascendit in domum suum in gabaa."

[345] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 27^{v}. Cf. St. Jerome, *Liber interpretationis*, 133. The second annotator also wrote, "sathana ebrieus est latini adversarius sive contrarius" or "Satan is Hebew, in Latin meaning adverse or contrary." on the same folio. St. Jerome, *Liber interpretationis*, 134, reads "satan adversarius." Job 1:6: "Quadam autem die quum venissent filii dei ut adsisterent coram domino: ad fuit inter eos etiam sathan: cui dixit dominus"

[346] It is also possible that these readers worked with an unknown source that quoted Jerome's work.

[347] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 31^{r}. "Quis potest facere mundum de inmundo conceptum semine nonne tu qui solus es »; « quis erit mundus a sorde ne unus quidem. etiam si unius diei fuerit uite illius super terram"

[348] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 120^{r}. "Docebuntque in iuda. Habentes librum legis domini. Et circumibunt cunctas urbes iude. atque erudiebunt populum." " ubi dicit libri domini habebunt id est legem."

trade side-by-side. Not only should we think of these two manuscripts together, then, but we should also bear in mind that bookmaking havens like Albares and Valeránica (an exceptionally wealthy monastery) dotted the northern Iberian landscape. Indeed, while we have more evidence of monasteries in the north than in al-Andalus, nevertheless we should bear in mind that all these Mozarabs helped create Christian culture through bookmaking.

At Albares, Cajon Scribe A gave the Toledan Mozarabic Bible a thorough set of lexical Latin notes. Much like the notes from Valeránica, they offer readers the meanings of Hebrew words and alternate readings, all of which in turn suggests that Cajon Scribe A had a copy of Jerome's *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*. In the bigger picture, the Mozarabs at Albares had access to Jerome's exegesis, and they just as importantly eagerly delved into Latin manuscripts like the Toledan Mozarabic Bible. Cajon Scribe A's Latin notes, however, were only a first layer of thoughts on the Bible, and in this case, unlike the others, later readers approached this manuscript with different goals than Cajon Scribe A.

Cajon Scribe B and His Latin Books

Quite clearly, Cajon Scribe A made books at Albares and furthermore partook in lexical reading much like other Leonese Mozarabs. Yet his thorough notes encouraged other readers to make an even richer set of Latin notes that delves even more into Latin exegesis. In this regard, Cajon Scribe B is a bit of a misnomer, for he only wrote annotations, and he may have worked in either León or Toledo: such is the complicated history of the scribes and readers of the Toledan Mozarabic Bible. Yet more important than these unknowns is the fact that his reading habits complemented those of Cajon Scribe A, even as he read in a decidedly more spiritual way. For in addition to Jerome, he also read deeply into Pope Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* and a little of Isidore of Seville. He quite likely was a Mozarab, for he wrote at least one note in which

he switched between Latin and Arabic, which indeed is something we have not yet seen a Mozarab do.

Wherever he made his notes—Toledeo or León--, Cajon Scribe B turned to Gregory the Great and Jerome immediately when he opened the Book of Job in the Toledan Mozarabic Bible. For where the book begins, "there was in the land of Hus a man, Job by name," he simply wrote: "Hus: terra gentilium est. Iob: dolens."[349] What Gregory wrote on this passage is lengthier, but taught the meaning of the verse to Cajon Scribe B: "Who does not know Hus, which is the land of the Gentiles? This 'Gentile-dom,' [Gentilitas] represents vices, as it had not attained recognition of its Creator."[350] This is not an exact match, of course, but as we will see, this annotator made similar notes in which his reading of Gregory is more obvious. When Cajon Scribe B wanted to find the meaning of Job's name, he turned to St. Jerome's *Book of the Interpretations of Hebrew Names*, which has "Job dolens" but nothing on Hus as "the land of the Gentiles."[351] This is medieval reading at its core: an ambitious Mozarab immersed in the Book of Job, with the *Moralia* as a spiritual guide and Jerome's lexicon for tackling tricky etymologies that helped him understand the spiritual meaning better.[352]

Cajon Scribe B read and wrote so much that he fit his comments around Cajon Scribe A's Latin annotations. On Folio 26^{v} Scribe A responds to Job 2:4, a verse where Satan says: "skin for skin, and humankind will give all which it has for its soul. In any case, send your hand forth

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[349] BCT MS Cajon 2.2 Fol. 27^{v}. "Vir erat in terra Hus. nomine Iob" ; "Hus terra gentilium est"; "Iob dolens."

[350] Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, ed. M. Adrieen, CCSL 143, 143A, 143B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979-85), 1.1.3-4. "Hus namque quis nesciat quod sit terra gentilium? Gentilitas autem eo obligata uitiis exstitit quo cognitorem sui conditoris ignorauit."

[351] St. Jerome, *Liber Interpretationis Hebraicorum Nominum*, 133. Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* 7.6.42, in comparison has: "Iob in Latin means suffering, and correctly suffering, on account of the beating of the flesh and the sufferings of pains. Iob in Latinum uertitur dolens; et recte dolens, propter percussionem carnis et passiones dolorum."

[352] I am well-aware that medieval readers approached books in many different ways, as these manuscripts make clear. Yet I maintain that this phrasing is still important because of long-lasting stereotypes of the Middle Ages as the "Dark Ages."

and touch his bones, and then you will see that he will bless you in the face." To avoid confusion, Cajon Scribe A clarified: "it says from the bones, not from the mouth," for *os* in the nominative could mean either *os, oris* (mouth) or *os, ossis* (bones). Not only did Cajon Scribe B read this, but he also wrote his note around Scribe A's: "skin for skin: this is when you cover your eye quickly after has been struck by something."[353] His description here is less important than the fact that he has written around Cajon Scribe A's gloss, which shows that he wrote later. Nor does he comment upon the first set of notes: rather, he simply seems to have had little available space to write because he and other readers found the Job and the *Moralia* so captivating.[354]

Indeed, Cajon Scribe B here followed again Gregory the Great, who captured this scene beautifully: "Indeed he asserts that skin is given for skin because often when we see that a blow is coming against our face, we place our hand to our eyelids, that we may defend our eyes against the strike, and we offer our body to be wounded, lest we be wounded in a frailer part of our body."[355] Gregory here explained how a frail Christian could protect himself, while Cajon Scribe B very likely read Gregory's explanation in order to understand better the Latin of this verse.

Gregory's writing even pushed Cajon Scribe B to think about what it meant to be human. Job 5:24 forecasts the future: "and you will know that your tabernacle will be at peace and visiting your likeness (speciem) you will not sin." *Species* can mean a number of things, but

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[353] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 26^{r}. "Pellem pro pelle et cuncta que habet homo dabit pro anima sua: alioquin mitte manum tuam et tange os eius et carne et tunc videbis quod in facie benedicet tibi"; "ab osse non ab ore dicunt est"; "pelle pro pelle id est quando manum palpebreo propio nimium censet icta persentis"

[354] I explain below the evidence for this second set of annotations being later than the first.

[355] Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, 3.4.1. "Pellem enim pro pelle dari asserit quia saepe dum venire ictum contra faciem cernimus, manum palpebris opponimus, ut ab ictu oculos defendamus; et corpus uulneri obicimus ne in corpore teneriori uulneremur."

here Cajon Scribe B wrote: "another human because in him we discern what we are." Gregory again captured this in vivid Latin: "naturally species is another human. Indeed correctly our *species* is said 'our closest (proximus noster)' because in it we discern what we ourselves are." That is, one could understand himself better by seeing another human.[356]

The vast number of annotations that Scribe B wrote- I am only scratching the surface here- covered a wide range of material. Some of these notes and glosses clarify place names or things relating to the natural world, as at Job 39:13-14: "the feather of the stractio is similar to the feathers of an Erodius, and you took it [accipieris] and you knew the time of their birth: when it leaves its eggs in the ground, you perhaps will heat them in the dust."[357] When he came to this verse, Cajon Scribe B wrote that the Erodius is physically bigger than an eagle—that is, it was a large bird--and that it leaves its eggs in the dust, which heats them and brings them to life.[358] Gregory in turn notes that *pulvis*, dust, symbolizes sinners, and "therefore the Lord heats the remaining eggs in the dust, because the souls of his before-mentioned sheep become destitute in loneliness, but even placed in the middle of sinners, they follow by the fire of his love."[359] This is a slightly different emphasis, with dust as a symbol of a sinner, but Cajon Scribe B has quite clearly understood this passage through Gregory.

On Folio 34^{v}, meanwhile, Iob 28:10 informs us: "An obsise of gold will not be given for it, nor will silver be weighed out in its exchange, nor will it be conferred with dyed colors on the

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[356] MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 26^{v}. Job 5:24: "et scies quod pacem habeat tabernaculum tuum et visitans speciem tuam non peccabis." ; "species: alter homo quia in illo cernimus quid summus." Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, 6.35: "species quipped est alter homo. Recte enim species nostra dicitur proximus noster quia in illo cernimus quid ipsi summus."

[357] MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 38^{r}. "Penna seractionum similis est pinnis erodii. et accipieris et scisti tempus partus earum: Quando derelinquid in terra oua sua tu forsitan in puluere calefacies ea."

[358] MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 38^{r}. "Erodios auis maior omnibus qui etiam aquilam apprendit: deelinquid [sic] in terra oua sua sed proiecta tantummodo ictu pulueris animantur."

[359] Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, 31.9.15. "Oua ergo Dominus in puluere derelicta calefacit, quia paruulorum animas praedictorum suorum sollicitudine destitutas, etiam in medio peccantium positas amoris sui igne succendit."

day, neither with a very precious sardonyx or a sapphire."[360] A sardis (sardonyx), Cajon Scribe B teaches: "is a stone having the likeness of red earth" and a "sapphire is a stone having the color of the air or purple."[361] This fits in with what Gregory wrote: "Sardonyx has the likeness of red earth, but a sapphire has air-like qualities [aerem speciem]."[362] Cajon Scribe B thus employed the *Moralia in Iob* to understand vocabulary with which he or other later readers may have been unfamiliar. Much like the Leonese annotator who wrote Arabic notes in the León Bible of 960, Cajon Scribe B carefully defined biblical vocabulary, like an *Erodius*, but the sources by which he did so are much clearer than in those Arabic notes.

In other places, however, he clearly reckoned with the allegorical significance of the Book of Job. At Job 17:15, "Where now is my expectation, and who thinks of my suffering? All my things descend into the deepest depths of hell…," Cajon Scribe B wrote: "here by 'all these things' he means [significabitur] the soul alone."[363] This is a clear summary of Gregory's meditation on suffering in Hell: "Since indeed the soul alone [anima sola] descends to the infernal depths, why would the holy man prohibit that all his things descend there, unless because there he sees all that he is, where he understands the weight of his debt? Because this man does not feel that he is that which he left on earth from his unfeeling self until he returns to the in-corporality of the resurrection."[364] The phrase *anima sola* in the annotation and the *Moralia in Iob*, as well as the context, make clear Scribe B's source, although by now we should

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[360] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 34^{v}. "Non dabitur aurum obsizum pro ea. nec appendetur argentium in communtatione eius: Non confertur tinctis in die coloribus. Nec lapide sardonico pretiosissimo. uel saffiro:"
[361] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 34^{v}. "Sardius. lapis terre rubie similitudinem habens"; "Saphirus: lapis habens colorem aere siue purpurea. "
[362] Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, 18.47.1. "Sardonychus quippe terrae rubrae similtudinem tenet, sapphirus uero aeream habet speciem."
[363] BCT Cajon 2.2, Fol. 32^{r}. The passage is Job 17:15. "Ubi est ergo nunc prestlatio mea et patientiam meam quis considerat: in profundissimum inferni descendunt omnia mea"; " hic per omnia solam animam significabit."
[364] Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, 13.48.2. "Cum enim sola anima descensura esset ad inferni loca, quid est quod sanctus uir illuc perhibet omnia sua descendere, nisi quod ibi se esse totum uidit, ubi pondus suae remunerationis intellegit? Quia hoc quod quod ex se insensibile in terra deserit quousque ad incorruptionem resurrectionis redeat, se esse non sentit."

expect no less. Equally important, and again like much like Gregory, Cajon Scribe B turned his mind to the torments of hell awaiting sinners.

He clearly drew upon the *Moralia* again at Job 11:3: "Men will fall silent for you and when you are laughed at, you will be refuted by no one…" From this, he came away with: "you will be refuted (*confutaberis*) by no one: you will have shame." Gregory offers a deeper explanation of what this means: "when soon he had prepared to defend himself so that he might cover the shame of his accusation through the words of a wretched refutation (*refutationis*)."[365] As above with the phrase *anima sola*, here *verecundia* in both Cajon Scribe B's note and Gregory's *Moralia* makes clear this annotator's source. As he did elsewhere, Cajon Scribe B whittled this *Moralia* passage down to a moral message, that he and other readers of the manuscript should be modest.

His notes are so copious that we can think about how he worked through the manuscript. The *Moralia in Iob*, among other books, as we will see, sat at his side as he turned to the margins of the Toledan Mozarabic Bible. His manuscript of that commentary is lost, but it may well have had marginal notes which he carefully read as well: the scribe of the Zamora Moralia, which I treat at the end of the chapter, certainly put hundreds of Arabic notes in the margins of that manuscript. The Toledan Mozarabic Bible's scribes and annotators read very intertextually, with several commentaries guiding them through this manuscript.

Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* as a Guide through the Bible

Like Cajon Scribe A, who copied and annotated the manuscript at Albares and made it much like the León Bible of 920, Cajon Scribe B thus engaged with the Bible on several levels.

[365] MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 30^{r}. "confutaberis a nullo verecundiam habebis" "Tibi tacebunt hominess et quum insiseris a nullo confutaberis" Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, 143.10.3, "unde mox se ad defensionem praeparat ut reatus sui verecundiam per verba pravae refutationis tegat"

He thought through difficult vocabulary, took more than a passing interest in biblical geography, flora and fauna, and still had time to consider his own salvation. For him, the *Moralia in Iob* was ideal: a comprehensive verse-by-verse guide through this complicated biblical book. This deeply-learned Mozarab also helped other readers who did not wish to go on the lengthy spritiual journey of reading the *Moralia in Iob*.

He moreover read this way through the whole Toledan Mozarabic Bible, which while not a pandect codex still holds a fair amount of scripture. For example, when he came to Judges 8:21, "and he carried the ornaments and amulets (*bullas*) by which the necks of the royal camels are accustomed to be decorated," he erased any confusion other readers might have:"*bullas* are figurines or ornaments of the belt."[366] Cajon Scribe B here very likely turned to an author whom the Mozarabs in general revered. Isidore of Seville, in his *Etymologies*--manuscripts of which circulated among the Mozarabs—divulged: "*Torques* are circles of gold hanging from the neck to the chest. *Torques* and *bullae* are worn by men; but *monilia* and *catella* by women… *bullae* which are similar similar in their roundness to bubbles which are inflated in the water by the air."[367] That Cajon Scribe B had an Isidore manuscript, or a manuscript quoting Isidore, open is all the more likely because the bottom of the folio states: "*torques* are circles of gold on the neck."[368]

He read with Isidore at his side elsewhere as well, such as at 2 Chr: 7: "send to me therefore a learned man who knows how to work in gold and silver, bronze, iron, purple, scarlet and hyactinth…"[369] In his notes, he makes known that purple "came from the purity of light"

[366] MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 17^{r}. "Bullas. Sigilla uel ornamenta cinguli."
[367] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum siue Originum libri XX*, 19.31.10. "Torques autem et bullae a uiris geruntur; feminis uero monilia et catella….et bullae quod similes sint rotunditate bullis quae in aqua uento inflantur."
[368] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 17^{r}. "Torques circuli aurei in collo."
[369] MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 114^{r}. 2 Par 2:7: "mitte igitur mihi virum eruditum qui noverit operari in auro et argento ere ferro purpura coccino et iachynto"

and scarlet "becomes red." His definition for purple almost certainly draws upon Isidore's: "Purple is called such among Latins from purity of light." On scarlet, *coccinum,* Isidore offered up a more complex etymology: "Russata, which the Greeks call Phonecia, we call scarlet (adj., *coccinam*), obtained from the Lacedaemonians for the purpose of concealing in the likeness of blood how often someone is wounded in battle, lest it not grow the souls for contemplating the adversary." The content of these notes indicates strongly that Cajon Scribe B offered up a quick summary of Isidore here, although he did not offer the details of the Spartans' (Lacedaemonians) battle tactics.[370]

Isidore also likely helped him understand the *fasti*, a type of royal register which most famously listed high-ranking governtment officials in the Roman Republic and Empire. Cajon Scribe B came across this word at Par. 27:24: "Ioab son of Serviae began to count his people, nor did he complete this because anger spewed over in this man's reign in Israel, and therefore the number of those who had been counted is not related in the books (*Fastos*) of King David." He learned well the meaning: "*Fasti* are books in which Kings and Consuls are named. It comes from "bundles of rods (fascibus, which Roman magistrates carried)." This follows Isidore almost exactly, for he had written: "the books of the *fasti* are those in which kings and consuls are written, said from bundles of rods, that is from powers."[371]

[370] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 114^{r}. "purpura a puritate lucis"; "coccino: rubet" ; Isidore: "purpura apud Latinos a puritate lucis vocata"; Isidore, *Etymologies*, 19.22.10: "Russata, quam Graeci phoeniceam vocant, nos coccinam, repartam a Lacedaemoniis ad celandum coloris similitudine sanguine quotiens quis in acie vulneratur, ne contemplanti adversario animas augesceret."

[371] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 110^{r}. Par 27:24: "Ioab filius Serviae ceperat numerare nec complevit quia super hoc ira inruerat in shrl et idcirco numerus eorum qui fuerant recensiti non est relatus in fastos regis david"; "Fasti libri sunt in quibus regis vel consules dicantur est dicti a fascibus"; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, 6:8: "Fastorum libri sunt in quibus reges vel consules scribuntur, a fascibus dicti, id est potestatibus"

Across Iberia, Isidore's writings helped Mozarabs understand the Bible better.[372] The scribes of the Seville Bible, as we have already seen, copied in Isidorian prefaces to some of the Minor Prophetical books, which helped make that manuscript an apocalyptic gift. Through the *Etymologies*, meanwhile, Cajon Scribe B took in the root meanings of the Bible's words, much like he and Sanctius also did with Jerome's *Book of the Intepretation of Hebrew Names*. Even more so than Jerome, Isidore and his writings helped Mozarabs connect with their Visigothic past, that is, with the Latin culture which the Visigoths helped create before the Muslim invasions of the early eighth century.

Cajon Scribe B the Mozarab

As I have noted above, Cajon Scribe B may have worked at either León or Toledo. To be sure, his voracious Latin reading and annotating fits well with other Mozarabs' approaches to the Bible as well. Unsurprisingly, then, some evidence suggests that he himself was a Mozarab. An Arabic note on Fol. 31^{r} in the same brown ink as his Latin notes comments upon Job 15:11, a verse reading: "For it is grand that God consoles you, but your crooked words prevent this: since your heart lifts you, and, as if thinking on a great matter, your eyes are toward the heavens." The Arabic notes that this upward gaze, "signifies a look which is not a quick glance," as if lost in thought.[373] A Latin note from Cajon Scribe B directly beneath this Arabic further explains: "and so you are straining in the eye: that is, they were once focused upon the holy things, but you were amazed as if in fright having been stupefied by a noise."[374] Unsurprisingly, Gregory wrote

[372] As I mentioned briefly earlier, the Mozarabic scribes who made the Seville Bible had access to Isidore of Seville's writings. We also have BNE MS VITR 14.3, an *Etymologies* manuscript with at least 1200 Arabic notes, which circulated in Toledo.
[373] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 31^{v}. "Numquid grande est ut consoletur te deus. Sed uerba tua praua hoc prohibent: Quid te elevat cor tuum. Et quasi magna cogitans ad tonitos habes oculos"; The Arabic reads, "yaʿnā al-shākhiṣah allatī lā mustaṭrif (Lane, *English-Arabic Lexicon* , 1842)."
[374] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 31^{v}. "At tu nixus habens oculo id est aelati fiunt quodem in sanctos atque stupefactus quasi attonitur trepita obstupefactus."

much the same in the *Moralia*: "Often the mind of the just is raised for contemplating higher things, so that the exterior of their face seems stupefied."[375] All of this suggests that for whaever reason, Cajon Scribe B turned to Arabic to explain the literal meaning of this passage, just before returning to Latin for further spiritual interpretation. As we have seen, Scribe A of the Seville Bible did much the same thing when he wrote a few Latin notes in the Song of Songs, where all of his other notes were in Arabic. Quite clearly, Mozarabs had no qualms in moving between Latin and Arabic as they moved through Christendom's most important text.

Now, if Cajon Scribe B did not write these Latin and Arabic notes, then nevertheless the later annotator worked with the earlier annotation. Whether or not these notes come from the same person, they thus show a Mozarab turning to both Latin and Arabic because the later annotator worked with the earlier note in a language different than the later note. Such Arabic notes, however, appear very infrequently alongside Latin annotations.[376] Among all the Mozarabs' Bibles, these Latin and Arabic notes in dialogue with each other and with the *Moralia in Iob* are quite spectacular. It lets us watch a Mozarab seeking understanding from a Latin biblical commentary and indeed switching quickly between his two languages.

What is more, a note on Folio 70^{v}, at the opening of First Book of Kings, shows this movement between Latin and Arabic even more lucidly, but is not from Cajon Scribes A or B. This other annotator was, however, clearly a Mozarab, as he shifts from Latin, briefly into Arabic, and then back into Latin in his explanation. He told of when the beautiful Abisag arrived at King David's court in order to sleep with him but then helped appoint David's successor, King Solomon. The unfortunately deteriorated note reads: "Abisag the Sunamite, more fully in senses

[375] Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, 12.29.1. "Saepe iustorum mens ita ad altiora contemplanda suspenditur, ut exterius eorum facies obstupuisse uideatur."
[376] The Song of Songs in the Seville Bible has notes reading "Vox Sinagoge" "Vox Ecclesiae" and "Vox Christi"

and most beautiful is brought to him…"rufiʿat la-hu" … to heat up wisdom in the royal line."[377] *Rufiʿat la-hu* translates *surgitur*, meaning something like, "she appeared before him." (**Figure 6)**[378] His translation is so brief that he likely made it without looking at Arabic scriptures, which Mozarabs did turn to when reading Latin manuscripts. Yet his note has much worth to us because individual notes like this one moving between Latin and Arabic are quite rare: he clearly wanted to offer a summary of the verse in Latin, but switched into Arabic when he needed to translate *sugitur*, a verb which has all sorts of meanings: to raise, to lift, to bring forth, and so on.

In sum, whether these last annotators wrote in León or Toledo, they nevertheless show Mozarabs building upon the notes of Cajon Scribes A and B (who may well have been Mozarabs). All of these notes together confirm what we saw in the León Bible of 960, moreover: Mozarabs and Latin-Romance speaking-Christians sharing books and adding to manuscripts through annotation. Just as at Valeránica, moreover, who exactly these Mozarabs were—Muslim converts to Christianity, Christians who became Arab, or migrants from al-Andalus—matters little in comparison to what these Mozarabic books tell us about the mixing of Latin and Arabic in León.

Cajon Scribe C and a Nearly Invisible Source of Mozarabic Biblical Study

On top of all this Latin and Latin-Arabic bilingual thinking, we have an even trickier set of Arabic notes in the manuscript. For another Mozarab, Cajon Scribe C, read the Toledan Mozarabic Bible and left Arabic dry-point annotations, that is, notes which he etched into the

[377] BCT Cajon 2.2, Fol. 70ᵛ. " Abisach amplior sensuum atque pulchrissima(?) surgitur 'rufiʿat la-hu' Sunamitus coccinea stirpere calere sapientiam." Cf. 1 Kings 3:4, "quaesierunt igitur adulecscentulam speciosam in omnibus finibus Israhel et invenerunt Abisag Sunamitin et adduxerunt eam ad regem. Erat autem puella pulchra nimis dormiebatque cum rege et ministrabat ei…"

[378] Cf. Hans Wehr, *The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 349, which vocalizes this root passively but translates it actively.

parchment without ink. These one-word Arabic notes read much like Latin notes in medieval manuscripts: the imperatives *ifham* (understand this), *unẓur* (note this), *ibṣar* (see this) and either *balliʿ* (ruminate upon this) or less-likely *balagha* (arrive here). His Arabic dry-point annotations perfectly capture the necessity of studying manuscripts *in situ*, for they are nearly invisible on microfilm, though in person they are slightly more readable.[379] They offer, however, a glimpse of a Mozarab working relatively quickly through the manuscript, as if marking passages for later review. Perhaps they come from a student who intended to re-write the notes in ink later, but never did so.[380]

Cajon Scribe C's notes indeed are of the utmost importance because they show us a Mozarab reading against the grain of what other Mozarabs had done in the same manuscript. His notes, together with the others, make this manuscript a rich source for understanding the reading of Latin exegesis among the Mozarabs, but also for understanding the individuality of readers' attitudes to the manuscript folio. This reading, then, contrasts sharply with the Seville Bible and León Bible of 960, where readers largely followed the interpretative path which scribes had set for them.

[379] BCT MS Cajon 2.2. I have worked through these notes in person.
[380] A suggestion offered to me after I had presented this material at a Works in Progress Seminar at the University of London's Warburg Institute while holding the Alan Deyermond Fellowship.

Table 5, The Scribes of the Toledan Mozarabic Bible

Manuscript	**The Toledan Mozarabic Bible**		
Scribe A	Biblical text; Latin Notes	León	
Scribe B	Latin Notes; Very likely Arabic Notes in ink	León or Toledo	
Anonymous Annotator	One note which switches between Latin and Arabic	León or Toledo	
Scribe C[381]	Arabic Dry-point notes	León or Toledo	

Now, Cajon Scribe C certainly worked in a different manner—with dry-point notes--than other readers, we have seen, but like many of his contemporaries, he marked many passages quiet likely relating to Christian morality and God's punishment for sinners in those notes. He did so especially in the Books of Samuel and Kings. His reading, for lack of a better term, looks very efficient, as if he actively searched out passages with similar content. He thus added another layer of reading to this manuscript, and one that furthermore rings true with Latin modes of reading: for notes like *ifham* (understand this) are much like the Latin *nota* (note this), which dots all sorts of Latin manuscripts.

He dwelled, for example, on verses which taught about care of the poor and charity. He etched *ifham* at 2 Samuel 12:1-2, where God sends Nathan to David, to tell him a parable of a rich with many sheep and cows, and a poor man with one ewe.[382] When a visitor arrives, the rich

[381] Cajon Scribe C could well be the same person as Cajon Scribe B, but the evidence is inconclusive.
[382] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 62^{r}. "Misit ergo dominus nathan ad david: qui quum venisset ad eum: dixit ei: Responde mihi iudicium: Duo viri erant in ciuitate una unus dives. et alter pauper: Dives habebat oues et boues plurimas valde: Pauper autem nihil habebat omnino praeter ovem unum paruolam. quam emerat et nutrierat. et que creuerat aput eum. cum filiis eius simul: De pane illius comedens. et de calice bibens. Et in sinu illius dormiens. eratque illi sicut filia: Quum autem peregrinus quidam uenisset ad diuitem. Parcens ille sumere de ouibus et de bubus suis. Ut

man refuses to sacrifice one of his sheep to feed him, and he instead kills the poor man's. The story moved David to anger against the greedy: certainly, Cajon Scribe C wanted to emphasize this. In this moral sense, it had much the same significance as verses in the Book of Job. That is, evil could lurk all around these Christians, but they could look to Job, David, and Christ among others for examples of correct living.

1 Kings 16:18 further drew his interest. This verse tells how Amri conquered Zamri, who "entered the palace and burned himself with the royal house, and died in his sins which he had done (peccaverat), doing evil in the presence of the Lord."[383] Cajon Scribe C wrote *ibṣar*, or "see this" alongside these verses, in a sideways manner so that the brief note runs down the column of biblical text. When Scribe C came to the books of Kings and other historical books, he delved headfirst into David and other rulers' deeds, but he also took a moral meaning from these passages. Now, one-word notes such as these offer interpretative problems, since they are so brief, and a reader could look at or see a verse for a number of reasons, but in these two examples we have people regretting sins or evil. They are of far more moral rather than historical value.

In 2 Samuel 23, David conducts a census for his army, before regretting this counting of the people as a sin against God. The verse put Cajon Scribe C deep in thought, for he first wrote: "the men...[illegible] and the coming forth..."[384] In the verses, God then brings a plague against Israel with an angel about to destroy Jerusalem. David thus intercedes for his people, telling God that he alone sinned. Where the Bible describes David purchasing oxen for the burnt offering

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exiberet (sic) conuiuium peregrino illi qui uenerat ad se: tulit ouem uiri pauperis et preperavet cibos homini qui venerat ad se…"

[383]BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 81^{v}. "Ingressus est palatium et succendit se. cum domu regia et mortuus est in peccatis suis. faciens malam coram domino."

[384] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 69^{v}. "al-rijāl …wa- al-majī'" Cf. 2 Samuel 23:9-12.

that will atone for his sins, Cajon Scribe C etched *unẓur* (note this).[385] Here he furthermore learned of proper sacrificial rites and of God's wrath, which he was quick to point out elsewhere.[386]

The most interesting of his dry-point notes, to my mind, is at 2 Paralipomenon 25:9: "what therefore becomes of the 100 talents which I gave to the soldiers of Israel. And the man of God responded to him: the Lord has that from which he is able to give you many more in these things."[387] He put *ibṣar*, see this, alongside the column of text but also near Scribe A's Latin note that reads, "where it says the soldiers in Israel."[388] That is, Cajon Scribe C here approached the the Bible after he had read Cajon Scribe A's brief note. These two notes also show us that at least two of these scribes/readers wanted to learn more of military matters or perhaps of King David more generally.

Here, then, we see an instance of Cajon Scribe C reading Cajon Scribe A's notes, which guided him here. Yet even as he saw lengthier notes in ink, he stuck to his one-word notes as his preferred way of making these important verses: he never left lengthy dry-point notes in the margins, which doubtless would have taxed his eyes and mind too much to re-read. He thus had a different mindset than the other readers of this manuscript: he found Christian morality important, among other things, but simply needed a quick note to jog his memory about which verses to read more closely, much like a modern scholar might do now by writing a checkmark or star in the margins of their books.

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[385] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 69^{v}.
[386] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 62^{v}. He wrote "*ifham*," "understand this" next to2 Samuel 12:15: "And the Lord struck down the little one whom David's wife Harie had given birth to," "percussitque dominus parvulum quem pepererat uxor harie David."
[387] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 123^{r}. " Quid ergo fiet decentum talentis que dedi militibus Israehal: Et respondit ei homo dei: habet dominus unde tibi dare possit. multo his plura."
[388] BCT MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 123^{r}. "ubi dicit milites in shrl."

Equally interesting, he wrote *balli*ʿ, digest this, at numerous verses. This is much like the Latin *ruminatio*, a metaphor which Christians often employed: one should chew upon the words of the Bible, and digest them. On Fol. 110^{r}, he wrote *balli*ʿ for 1 Samuel 8:21: "and Samuel heard all the words of the people and spoke them in the ears of the Lord"[389] He wrote the same at 1 Par. 21:25: "therefore David gave Ornan in exchange seventy sycles of a most just weight of gold."[390] These are, of course, two more instances of historical kings acting justly on behalf of their subjects.

Now, if he took this metaphor to heart, he certainly had a stomach full of scripture. He ruminated over 2 Par. 6:42 as well: "Lord God, do not turn your face from your Christ. Remember the mercy of your servant David."[391] Cajon Scribe C absorbed lessons from the life of David, much like Cajon Scribe B had done with Job and the trials through which Satan put him. In other verses, it is more difficult to determine what he may have found important, as at 2 Par. 21:20, which relates that: King Ioachaz "ruled for eight years in Jerusalem, and he did not walk correctly, and they buried him in the city of David but not in the tomb of kings."[392] Cajon Scribe C could come away from this knowing that Ioachaz was a bad king, and perhaps a foil to King David. Alternatively, he may have simply written this as a quick reaction, without putting too much thought into why he was doing so.[393] The same goes for 2 Par. 29:25: "and He established Levitas in the house of the Lord with cymbals and psalters and cithers," or 2 Par. 31:13: "after which Ieihel and Azazias and Naath and Asahel and Ierimoth, Iozabath too, and Heliheland Iesmachias and Maath and Banaias were placed under the hands of Choeneniae and

[389] MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 44^{r}. "Et audivit samuhel omnia verba populi et locutus est ea in auribus Domini"
[390] MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 110^{r}. "Dedit ergo David Ornan pro loco siclos auri iustissmi ponderis sescentos…"
[391] MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 116^{r}. "Domine deus ne aversis faciem Christi tui, memento misericordiarum David servi tui"
[392] MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 122^{r}. "et octo annis regnavit in Iherusalem, ambulavitque non recte et sepelierunt eum in civitate David veruntamen no in sepulcro regum"
[393] I am thankful to Maura Lafferty for the conversations we have had about readers who instinctively put marks in their books, almost as if to remind themselves that they are reading, but without putting too much thought into why they are making a note.

Semei his brother, from the empire of Ezechiae king and Azariae priest of the house of the Lord, to whom all things pertained."[394] They offer evidence of someone reading scripture deeply, but leaving little written record of why he did so.

Pieter van Koningsveld, in contrast, read these notes as *balagha*, meaning something like "arrive here." The difference between his reading and mine is only a dot, with a *ghayn* غ as the final consonant in *balagha* and an ʿayn ع in *balliʿ*, a second-form imperative that fits well with the other imperative notes. He saw *balagha* as an instruction to readers, and indeed a Mozarab did leave instructions in the Zamora Moralia, but there the annotator wrote: "understand this until the end of the chapter," rather than simply *balagha*.[395] That annotator also wrote in ink, so that one can easily see where he wrote *balliʿ* in the margins of that manuscript. This is not to quibble with Van Koningsveld's reading, but rather to illuminate a Mozarab's taking of a Latin metaphor and translating it into Arabic.[396]

Whether in León or Toledo, then, Cajon Scribe C flagged passages which would help him understand charity and piety, as well the history of biblical kings. His one-word notes read much like those in Latin manuscripts, in whose margins scribes and annotators often wrote *nota*. He like other Mozarabs could think in a very Latin way, but he also could couple that thinking with Arabic writing. Furthermore, like other Leonese Mozarabs, he had no real interest in deploying Islamic vocabulary, but I would have to make an argument from silence about why this is so.

All of these Latin and Arabic notes, in sum, offer the best way to begin thinking about this new Mozarabic manuscript. I have sketched out the origins of the manuscript at Albares,

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[394] MS Cajon 2.2, Fol. 125^{v}. "constituit quoque levitas in domo domini cum cymbalis et psalteriis et citharis"; Fol. 126^{r-v}, "post quem Iehihel et azarias et naath et asahel et Ierimoth Iozabud quoque et helihel et Iermachias et maath et banaias prepositi sub manibus choneniae et semei fratris eius ex imperio ezechie regis et azarie pontificis domus dei ad quos omnia pertinebant."

[395] BCT MS 11.4, Fol. 114^{v} "tafahham ilā akhir al-bāb" "Sciens quod non parceres delinquenti: Si enim non parcitur delinquenti: quis ab eterna morte eriptiur" ; " knowing that you will not spare somone offensive, if indeed he was not spared from someone offensive, he who was plucked from eternal death"

[396] Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, 48.

and also shown how later readers eagerly garnered a moral and historical message from its folios: they often did so, moreover, with a Latin commentary at hand. What is perhaps most interesting is that we can see later readers like Cajon Scribes B and C working through the biblical text and Scribe A's Latin notes, but choosing to read the Bible in their own particular way. Furthermore, while I have shown many readers following patterns which scribes set for them, nevertheless it is also important to remember that readers were individuals, with their own interests as well. This manuscript fully makes that point.

Books and Biblical Study in Toledo: The Zamora Moralia's Notes

Toledo, even more so than al-Andalus or León, is synonymous with the Mozarabs. The Visigoths had ruled from there before the Muslim conquest, and after 1085, Christians again flocked to the city.[397] These Mozarabs most famously helped Latin Christians such as Gerard of Cremona in translating Arabic scientific, philosophical, and medical texts, which fueled growing cathedral schools and universities in places like Paris, Oxford, and Bologna.[398] The readers who worked with the Toledan Mozarabic Bible, the Seville Bible, and as we shall see, the Zamora Moralia, thus let us watch a very different type of intellectual life at Toledo.

Indeed, the evidence for Mozarabic biblical study at Toledo comes from manuscripts with origins in al-Andalus or León. Mozarabs in Toledo took in the apocalyptic message of Scribe A of the Seville Bible, and/or the lexical notes of Cajon Scribe A. With regard to the format of their manuscripts, they read altar Bibles as well as manuscripts with only some of the

[397] Diego Olstein, "The Mozarabs of Toledo (12th-13th Centuries) in Historiography, Sources, and History," in Maser and Herbers, eds., *Die Mozaraber*: 151-87 (170).

[398] On which see above all Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957 (orig. 1927) and the many articles of Charles Burnett; Danielle Jacquart, "La Escuela de Traductores," in *Toledo Siglos XII-XIII. Musulmanes, cristianos y judíos: la sabiduría y la tolerancia* (Madrid, 1992): 183-98. We have much literature on documentary sources for Toledo as well: Angel González Palencia, *Los Mozárabes de Toledo*, is the starting point; see as well Reyna Pastor de Togneri, "Problèmes d' assimilation d' une minorite: Les Mozarabes de Tolède (de 1085 à la fin du XIIIe siècle)," *Annales* Vol. 25, No. 2 (March 1970): 351-90 ; Diego Olstein, *La Era Mozárabe*.

biblical books. Like Mozarabs elsewhere, they doubtless too sung the Psalms in Arabic.[399] Put simply, Toledan Mozarabs did practically everything which I have treated thus far, in large part because Mozarabs brought many books to Toledo after 1085.

With little surprise, then, the Mozarabs of Toledo also turned to Latin biblical commentaries to understand scripture better. We have already seen how the anonymous author-translator of the Arabic Psalms, among others, packed Latin exegesis into his translation, and how Mozarabs at Valeránica followed Augustine's advice to compare manuscripts when faced with a lexical problem in their scripture.[400] Yet Mozarabs in general also read Latin biblical commentary manuscripts cover to cover, including the *Moralia in Iob*, a point that is especially important here since Cajon Scribe B, who wrote in Latin and likely Arabic, took so much learning from Gregory's lengthy tome.

The Zamora Moralia offers lucid evidence for this point about Mozarabs' reading of commentaries. The manuscript comes from the hand of one Dulcidius (c. 945), who lived in Zamora, a city which Muslims had ruled, but which was not far from León, so that it came under Christian control as the kingdom of León moved expanded.[401] The Zamora annotator, who is quite likely Dulcidius, made copious Arabic notes as he worked through its 480 folios.[402] Much like other Mozarabs, he moreover thought about the apocalypse, Christian morality, and even translated some Latin into Arabic. He treated the *Moralia* like the scripture which it was: for Gregory the Great expounded upon the Book of Job—scripture--at length in his commentary. For

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[399] Phillipe Roisse, "Célébrait-on les offices en arabe dans l' Occident musulman? Étude, édition et traduction d' un *Capitulare Evangeliorum* arabe (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Aumer 238)" in Cyrille Aillet, Mayte Penelas, Philippe Roisse, eds. *¿Existe una identidad mozárabe?*: 211-254.
[400] On Augustine among the Mozarabs, see Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 217-9;
[401] On Islamic influence in Zamora, see Luis Caballero Zoreda, "Un Canal de Transmisión de lo Clásico en la Alta Edad Media Española. Arquitectura y Escultura de Influjo Omeya en la Península Ibérica entre Mediados del Siglo VIII e Inicios del X (II)," al-Qanṭara Vol. 16, No. 1 (1995):107-24, with excellent bibliography there.
[402] Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*; Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*.

him, completing this manuscript meant making Arabic notes that treated not just the Book of Job, but also Gregory's commentary upon that biblical book.

This manuscript offers an excellent ending point, because a Mozarab brought it to Toledo after 1085, much as one did with the Toledan Mozarabic Bible. We have also seen that Cajon Scribe B worked with an unknown Moralia manuscript as he annotated the Toledan Mozarabic Bible; here we can see what an actual Mozarabic Moralia manuscript looked like. Furthermore, Mozarabs wrote many one-word notes in both the Zamora Moralia and Toledan Mozarabic Bible, more so than any other two Mozarabic manuscripts that I have seen. With all of this in mind, I am not suggesting that the Zamora Moralia was the manuscript which Cajon Scribe B had at hand as he annotated the Toledan Mozarabic Bible, but that it offers a very concrete example of what such a manuscript may have looked like. Toledan readers, moreover, could turn to both manuscripts.

The Zamora annotator's Arabic notes frankly merit greater treatment than I can give them here.[403] Like Scribe A of the Seville Bible, he thought rigorously about the Last Days. Where Gregory's text reads: "whence the Psalmist describes the same Antichrist saying, 'the labor and pain under his tounge," the Zamora annotator simply wrote: "statement of the Psalms concerning Antichrist." [404] This is quite intertexual, with a Mozarab reading Gregory as he would the Bible itself, but also searching out similar material in the Psalms, which, as we have seen, Mozarabs

[403] Although I have read through and transcribed many of these notes, and treat them more thoroughly than Aillet and Van Koningsveld.

[404] BCT MS 11.4, Fol. 392^{v}. "qawl al-zabūr fil-dajāl"; "Unde bene eundem antixpm psalmista descrivit dicens: sub lingua eius labor et dolor." Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, 33.27.52: "Vnde bene eumdem antichristum psalmista descripsit, dicens: sub lingua eius labor et dolor, sedet in insidiis cum diuitibus in occultis." Cf. Ps. 9:28: "The mouth of whom is filled with a curse and bitterness and a trick, under his tongue is work and pain, he sits in treacheries with the wealthy in hiding so that he might kill the innocent." "cuius maledictione os plenum est et amaritudine et dolo sub lingua eius labor et dolor sedet in insidiis cum divitibus in occultis ut interficiat innocentem." Along with these two notes, he simply wrote Antichrist, *al-dajāl*, many times in the manuscript's folios: unsurprisingly so, since Satan tempted Job.

and other Christians understood as a telling of Christ's life. Meanwhile, where Gregory wrote: "then Ham through a showing of immense strength made clear what evil he could do," again the Zamora annotator thought of Antichrist: "try to understand the saying concerning the Antichrist."[405]

Quite interestingly, when he the Zamora annotator here employed a fifth-form imperative of the root *f-h-m*, *tafahham*, which means something like, "try to understand." In other notes, he encouraged readers simply to "understand" through the first-form imperative of this root, *ifham*. That is, he saw some sort of difference between these two imperatives which have nearly the same meaning. He almost certainly wanted readers to come away from the verses having understood them, but he had numerous ways in which to help readers along.

All of this, of course, would only be effective if readers understood the punishments awaiting them if they sinned. Dulcidius, as scribe, and Gregory, as author, made this amply clear: "Will not their upright be laid-low, and fire will devour the remaining? For here the evil are upright, because they are praised in their depraved doings, because they do things perversely and nevertheless are at least carried forth for their perverse acts… Just as their guilt was in mind and body, thus their penalty will be equally in soul and flesh." When he read this on Folio 175^{r}, the Zamora annotator learned the fate awaiting sinners eventually: "note the significance on the thriving of the sinner, on the tranquility of shame, and reckon that the sinner in the end is the body and the soul."[406] He furthermore did not stop worrying about this as he made his way from

[405] BCT MS 11.4, Fol. 399^{v}. "tafahham al-qawl fil-dajāl"; "Ham per ostensionem inmense tunc fortitudinis exhibit quicquid nequitas poterit obtinere." I have been unable to locate the citation for this section of Gregory's text.
[406] Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, 16.14.1, BCT MS 11.4, Fol. 175^{r}. "Nonne succisa est erectio eorum et reliquias eorum devorabit ignis. Hic namque iniqui erecti sunt, quia in prauis actionibus extolluntur, quia et peruerse agunt et tamen pro peruersis actibus minime feriuntur…Sicut enim eorum culpa in mente fuit et corpore, ita eorum poena in anima erit pariter et carne; "tafahham fī falāḥ al-mudhnib fī had' al-ḥayā' wa- 'udd anna-hu fil akhir' al-jasad wa- al-nafs."

cover to cover, as on Fol. 366^{r} an Arabic note reads, "the root of all evils," an exact translation of the Latin.[407] As a final example, on Folio 377^{v}, where Gregory's text reads "but because of fornication let each one hold his light," he bluntly wrote: "because of depravity."[408] Notes like these effectively rendered Gregory's (and in a sense, Dulcidius') message into Arabic, much as the annotators of the Seville Bible had done with with Latin exegesis in that manuscript's margins.

These, however, are only some of the Zamora annotator's notes, for others offer summaries that often double as translations of sorts. Such is the case on Folio 220^{v} where the *Moralia* reads: "for indeed the Pharisee is the one who goes (*ascendit*) in the temple about to pray." The Zamora annotator here added little analysis to the passage: mentioning of (*dhikr*) the Pharisee whom truly they bring in the temple."[409] While he here employed a third-person plural verb (badaʿaū) that is not in the Latin, nevertheless this is an effective *ad sensum* translation. He also wrote on the same folio: "the one who said 'do not become rotten,' and said 'do not kill.'"[410] This nearly mimics the Latin: "Indeed he who said you shall not become rotten, says also you shall not kill."[411] Here the second clause opens in the Arabic with *qāla wa-*, just it does in the Latin, where it flows more smoothly with *dixit et* (he said and). More importantly, though, all of this offers evidence yet again of a Mozarab moving between his two languages.

This annotator and his spiritual journey through Gregory's text in turn help us understand the Toledan readers of the Toledan Mozarabic Bible as well. Mozarabs there doubtless turned to both books once they had brought them to the Toledan cathedral library. The books together

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[407] BCT MS 11.4, Fol. 366^{r}. "aṣl jamīʿat al-shurūr"; "Radix quippe cuncti mali."
[408] BCT MS 11.4, Fol. 377^{v}. "propter fornicationem autem unusquisque suam luxorem habeat "; " li-ajl al-fasād."
[409] BCT MS 11.4, Fol. 220^{v}. "dhikr al-farūs alladhī fa-inna badaʿaū fil-bayt." "Ppharisеus (sic) namque ille qui in templo oraturus ascendit."
[410] BCT MS 11.4, Fol. 220^{v}. "alladhī qāla lā tafsid qāla wa- lā taqtul."
[411] BCT MS 11.4, Fol. 220^{v}. "Qui enim dixit non mecaberis dixit et non occides."

more importantly let us watch two different experiences: in the Toledan Mozarabic Bible, Cajon Scribe B surrounded the Book of Job with Latin notes from Gregory's commentary, by which means that annotator often but not always explained material dealing with the natural world. A Toledan reader could also shape his scriptural understanding through the many Arabic notes in that manuscript as well, which again treat all sorts of material.[412]

As if that were not enough, these same Toledan readers could also open the Zamora Moralia and pore over the Book of Job in even more detail. In doing so, they would also take up the messages of the Psalms, Gospels, and other books of scripture which Gregory quoted in the *Moralia* text (the body of the manuscript) in order to explain Job as well. How they read Gregory's lengthy meditation doubtless would come in part from the Zamora annotator's Arabic notes, another layer of reading in that manuscript, from someone who had read the manuscript cover to cover and recorded his thoughts.

Lastly, the Seville Bible offered another Arabic-annotated Latin manuscript through which Mozarabs there could ponder the Apocalypse. Scribe A and the Jeremiah annotator's anti-Judaic, apocalyptic notes are even more vehement than the Zamora Moralia's or the Arabic Psalms. What I want to stress here, however, is how readers interlinked these manuscripts in Toledo. That is, Mozarabs brought the Zamora Moralia and the Seville Bible there, while Toledan Mozarabs also probably sang the Arabic Psalms (which had anti-Judaic *argumenta*), all of which helped to strengthen anti-Judaic apocalyptic sentiments among that community. The Mozarabs making these manuscripts (or translation, in the case of the Arabic Prose Psalms) did not know that their books would end up doing so, of course, but this is precisely what happened. When thinking of the Toledan evidence, then, we need to keep in mind the close ties between the notes in these manuscripts, something that Pieter Van Koningsveld, while he dated the

[412] I reiterate here that Cajon Scribe B may well have lived in León, Toledo, or both.

manuscripts incorrectly, nevertheless did better than Cyrille Aillet, who in fairness looked at a mountain of other evidence as well.[413]

What is more, this is just the Toledean Mozarabs' reading of Latin Bibles, which offers a very different view than the Arabic Gospels which they also read. Of equal importance is the Arabic translation of a Córdoban Mozarab, Ibn Bilashk (c. 946) which also informed Mozarabs: in tenth-century al-Andalus, very likely in León, and in twelfth and thirteenth-century Toledo. As with the Arabic Psalms, we know of this gospel translation only through later manuscripts at Fez, León, London, Madrid, and Munich. Daniel Potthast has argued that the translation as we have it must date to sometime after Ibn Bilashk lived, between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, while Juan Pedro Monferrar Sala too has painstakingly shown that the translation also has readings from an Eastern Christian version of the Bible.[414]

In making this Arabic Gospel translation, Ibn Bilashk linked the thought world of the Mozarabs to that of other Arabic-speaking Christians across the Mediterranean. Indeed, Ibn Bilashk's translation circulated not only in Iberia, but also in North Africa. Some Mozarabs also fled to North Africa in the twelfth century, as, following the fall of the ethnically Arab 'Ummayad Caliphate in 1031 and the onset of political instability, Berber dynasties who were harsher toward Christians and Jews took power in al-Andalus.[415] Building upon this, we can see that the Mozarabs were both active and aggressive in creating a Mediterranean intellectual life that spanned many languages and religious groups. At the same time, these Mozarabs owed much to Latin culture, as their Latin Bibles make so clear.

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[413] Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*; Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*.
[414] With the larger point being that scholars of medieval Iberia need to rethink the make-up of the Christian population there, for surely Eastern Christians lived among Mozarabs and Latin Christians. I have discussed this with Juan Pedro Monferrar Sala and Daniel Potthast, with whom I presented a paper at the conference "Christianity and Judaism in the Langauge of Islam" in Uppsala, Sweden.
[415] Delfina Serrano, "Dos fetuas sobre la expulsion de mozárabes al Magreb en 1126," *Anaquel de Estudios Arabes* Vol.2 (1991):163-82.

The Zamora Moralia, moreover, complicates this picture of the Arabic Gospels ever so slightly, for its margins have very brief Arabic translations of the Gospels. One such note reads: "I have the power of laying down my soul," which is the reading of John 10:18 in the Munich manuscript of Ibn Bilashk, while another note simply reads: "I am the bread," for the Latin "I am the living bread."[416] These notes could come from any translation, and all I wish to point out here is that Mozarabs rendered Latin into Arabic in the margins of their Latin manuscripts. Perhaps here the Zamora annotator had an Arabic Gospel translation at hand in order to take in Gregory's message more easily.

Indeed, we have more evidence for the Mozarabs reading Latin manuscripts than we do for their Arabic scriptures. When Hanna Kassis called Ibn Bilashk's Gospel translation a "scripture for the masses," then, he made a pun that misinforms on two levels: the Mozarabs never stopped reading Latin sources, let alone the Bible; and saying that the scriptures were for the masses (of people) adds a Protestant understanding to manuscripts which come from a very Catholic world. Philippe Roisse has much more wisely shown that the Mozarabs read at least part of their mass in Arabic, but even this does not change the fact that they also read in Latin.[417]

It is true that these Arabic Gospels do help illuminate the bigger picture of biblical reading in Iberia, especially after all the Arabic evidence in Latin manuscripts that we have seen. Yet as I have made clear, the Mozarabs effectively completed Latin manuscripts when they gave them Arabic notes: they made them Mozarabic manuscripts. Any further study of the Mozarabs' biblical reading will have to account for this, and for the fact that the Arabic evidence in Latin manuscripts is as rich as the Ibn Bilashk Gospel translation. This is because it allows us to ask

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[416] BCT MS 11.4, Fol. 269^{v}. "fīl-injīl anā qādir aḍr nafsī"'; Fol. 267^{v}, "anā al-khubz" "ego sum panis vivis"
[417] Phillipe Roisse, "Célébrait-on les offices en arabe dans l' Occident musulman? Étude, édition et traduction d' un *Capitulare Evangeliorum* arabe (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Aumer 238)" in Cyrille Aillet, Mayte Penelas, Philippe Roisse, eds. *¿Existe una identidad mozárabe?*: 211-254.

far deeper questions about the modes of reading in which Mozarabs engaged, as opposed to the fascinating textual history that Juan Pedro Monferrar Sala and Daniel Potthast has made clear. The Arabic notes also make clear the Mozarabs' long-standing connections to Latin culture across the Pyrenees, and to Arabic-Islamic culture from across the Mediterranean.

Conclusion

At Albares near León, Cajon Scribe A made the Toledan Mozarabic Bible much like another Latin manuscript, the León Bible of 920, as the layout of their folios makes clear. That is, even before the Toledan Mozarabic Bible was a Mozarabic Bible with Arabic annotations, it was a Latin manuscript like the León Bible of 920. They may well have been part of the same project: for scribes working under the same master, if not the same scribe himself, inserted text into the margins of the manuscripts, and they have the same ligatures.[418] At Albares, as at other Leonese monasteries, Mozarabs lived alongside Latin-Romance speaking Christians, and they all engaged in bookmaking.

The Toledan Mozarabic Bible is all the more important because scribes and annotators filled it with Latin and Arabic notes. As with the scribes and annotators at Valeránica in the previous chapter, Cajon Scribe A put copious lexical notes in the margins as he worked. Scribes in general quite clearly saw marginal notes as an integral part of manuscript making, so that we too as scholars should pay more attention to them. His notemaking, moreover, reminds us that Latin/Romance-speaking Christians like himself worked closely alongside Mozarabs, even though the Latin word *muzarave* had some negative connotations.

Cajon Scribe B, meanwhile, added to the manuscript with thorough Latin and quite likely Arabic notes. He shows us beyond doubt a reader who had Latin exegesis—Gregory the Great,

[418] I unfortunately do not have the folio dimensions but plan to measure them in later research, for this will offer further evidence if they were once part of the same book.

Jerome, and Isidore of Seville—at his side as he worked through this Bible verse by verse. He was almost certainly a Mozarab, and at the very least, this manuscript offers up an example of a Mozarab writing in Latin and then switching very briefly into Arabic. This is quite rare among Mozarabic manuscripts: we have few examples of Latin and Arabic notes on the same folio of a manuscript, let alone in the same note. Rare as it may be, this note gets at the realities of the Mozarabs' intellectual life: moving relatively easily between these two languages and the larger cultures of which they were part.

This manuscript's readers, more so than the others, make clear something that anyone who has taken a humanities class should know: people can approach the same book in quite different ways. While we have seen readers following the patterns which scribes set for them, Cajon Scribe C in this manuscript read and made dry-point Arabic notes that are quite unique in the way they tackle the historical books of the Bible like Samuel or Chronicles. His interest in Christian morality certainly dovetails with others' notes, but unlike others—in the Seville Bible, for example—he left little evidence of why he took to writing about a particular verse. He is in sum a firm reminder of how difficult it is to write about marginal notes in a sophisticated manner without us pushing the limits of the evidence.[419]

The Toledan Mozarabic Bible and the Zamora Moralia together, meanwhile, help us understand Mozarabic reading in both León and Toledo. These two manuscripts both come from northern Iberian scribes, and they also let us watch Mozarabs reading the Book of Job in two different ways. In the Toledan Mozarabic Bible, the annotators left thorough Arabic and Latin notes on the Book of Job; while in the Zamora Moralia, one could read the Book of Job, Gregory's exhausting Latin commentary on it, and copious Arabic notes in the margins.

[419] Phrased differently, how should scholars write about someone who has left hundreds of one-word notes in a manuscript?

All of this again helps us understand intellectual life among Toledo's Mozarabs. As in al-Andalus especially, the Mozarabs of Toledo versed themselves in Latin, Arabic and Islamic thought, but they also read very lexically like some Mozarabs in did in Leonese monasteries.[420] In sum, the best evidence we have of Tolden Mozarabs' biblical reading comes not from the Arabic translations of scripture the employed, but rather from Latin manuscripts whose Arabic and Latin notes taught the spiritual meaning of scripture, helped Arabic-speakers move between two languages, and at times framed the Bible as history. In their reading, then, these Mozarabs were much like those in Córdoba and León, although excellent scholarship like Charles Burnett's has focused upon their role as translators of from Arabic to Latin.

[420] I make this qualification here because the Leonese evidence has little to no Islamic vocabulary in comparison to sources like the Arabic Psalms or the Seville Bible. With that said, however, the Arabic Psalms almost certainly circulated in León, while the Arabic Gospel translation of Ibn Bilashk, which is full of Islamic vocabulary, certainly did so.

Conclusion

When Alfonso VI conquered Toledo in 1085, he helped create an environment in which the Mozarabs of that city thrived. They, for example, more freely wrote anti-Muslim polemics than did Christians in ninth or tenth-century Córdoba. [421] This movement from Córdoba and León to Toledo makes great sense, not only because Córdoba was still under Muslim rule in the eleventh century, but also because Toledo had great spiritual importance as the old Visigothic capital.[422] Strikingly, by the thirteenth century Toledan Mozarabs increasingly turned to the most popular biblical commentary in northern Europe, the *Glossa ordinaria*, which had its origins in the north of France during the twelfth-century (it did not become popular in Iberia until the thirteenth century). Neither the Mozarabs nor Arabic culture certainly disappeared in thirteenth-century Toledo, but we have no new Bibles from the thirteenth century with Arabic notes in them at Toledo.[423] Instead, copyists made *Glossa* manuscripts with a very fixed form, even more so than the Mozarabs Visigothic Bibles.[424]

Broadly speaking, the *Glossa ordinaria* offered European readers a new way to approach the Bible. Rather than a single pandect Bible, it is a multi-volume group of books with marginal and interlinear notes, which bring together all the relevant commentary on a particular biblical book, such as the Book of Isaiah or Revelation. Students especially turned to it for convenience: in place of reading the Book of Isaiah in a pandect Bible with Latin and Arabic notes, for

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[421] Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs*.
[422] On the Visigoths in general, see E.A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969).
[423] Although readers doubtless still turned to the Seville Bible, the Toledan Mozarabic Bible, and the Zamora Moralia among other Mozarabic manuscripts.
[424] González Palencia, *Los Mozárabes de Toledo.* Northern Europeans too read the Bible in an increasingly selective manner during the thirteenth century, on this see Gilbert Dahan, *L' exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval, XIIe-XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Cerf, 2008).

example, one could read the *Glossa ordinaria* on Isaiah, with copious notes from different exegetical commentaries surrounding the biblical text.

What most clearly separates the *Glossa ordinaria* from Visigothic Bibles, however, is not the content of these notes but rather the format of its manuscript folios.[425] After exploring these format changes briefly, I will reiterate just how important the combination of Latin, Arabic, and Islamic culture was to Mozarabs across the Peninsula. A glimpse of what came just after Mozarabic reading of the Bible, as it were, illuminates just how thoroughly the Mozarabs appropriated Latin, Arabic, and Islamic culture in their biblical reading between the tenth and twelfth centuries.

Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, MS 6.9, which treats the Book of Isaiah, is but one example of a *Glossa* manuscript circulating there in the thirteenth century.[426] Francisco González Ruiz argued that the library at the Toledo Cathedral housed this manuscript, along with many others as well.[427] Perhaps most importantly, this Toledan *Glossa* looks like many other *Glossa ordinaria* manuscripts: it could have been in the library of Ralph of Laon, one of the authors of the *Glossa* in twelfth-century Normandy, just as easily as in thirteenth-century Toledo, a city that Christians now controlled, but in which they also saw Islamic culture all around them.[428]

This manuscript is smaller, and someone involved in its making put in alternating red and blue initials that aided readers in finding their place in the book quickly. The script too, of both the Bible and its accompanying gloss, is often larger, and always in the protogothic or gothic

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[425] Cf. Lesley Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria: the Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2009); Beryl Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1941).
[426] Cf. BCT MS 6-19, a Gloss on the Books of Daniel and Ezra; Klaus Reinhardt, *Catálogo de Códices Biblicos de la Catedral de Toledo* (Madrid: Fundación Ramón Areces, 1990).
[427] Ramon Gonzálvez Ruiz, *Hombres y Libros de Toledo*
[428] Cf. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* on Ralph of Laon; on thirteeth-century Toledo, cf. González Palenica, *Los Mozárabes de Toledo*.

handwriting that readers in northern Europe favored. The copyist of the manuscript also employed more abbreviations, so that they had more writing space on the folio, and pushed the letters together more so than in Visigothic, whose letterforms scribes stretched across the folios.[429] With regard to initials and handwriting, then, it looks markedly different from the Visigothic manuscripts that Mozarabs had interpreted at length.

Folio 141^{v} of the *Toledan Glossa in Isaiam*, for example, is like many others in this manuscript, which in turn looks like a typical copy of these commentaries (**Figure 7**). Here as elsewhere a scribe has put glosses in the upper and side margins, notes that were wholly part of the manuscript's making. Take, for example, the notes he wrote on that folio next to Isaiah 55:4, which verse reads: "behold I gave to the people as a leader a witness and commander to the Gentiles."[430] This he interpreted in a quite anti-Judaic marginal note: "Behold, he calls forth a witness for making the Jews believe, but God knows that the witness is for non-believers [also], saying that the Gentiles are going to believe that the son sent himself who is a message having been commanded of his very self."[431]

This note is in the left-hand margin, but he also made interlinear notes treating the same verse. He wrote "no one comes to the Father except through me," for example, further explaining "I shall give a witness to the people" in the verse. Quite likely, this means that God alone would offer the people a witness, Christ, who would lead them to God. Furthermore, where the verse reads "[I shall give a witness] to the Gentiles," he reiterated that this witness was "not only for the Jews." He lastly also wrote that this witness was the "proposer of the law," further

[429] I owe most of what I have learned of manuscript *mise-en-page* to years of conversations with Maura Lafferty.
[430] BCT MS 6-9, Fol. 141^{v}. "Ecce testem populis dedi eum ducem ac precepetorem gentibus"
[431] BCT MS 6-9, Fol. 141^{v}. "Ecce testem provocavit iudeos ad credendum sed quem sciebat illum non credentibus. gentiles esse credituros dicens se filium misisse qui precepta ipsius proprius nuntiate." The manuscript lacks glosses in it bottom margin.

establishing this *praeceptor*, commander, in the verse as this same witness.[432] The content of these notes had not changed drastically, but the manner and the language in which scribes and annotators presented it certainly had.

In general, scribes wrote these interlinear notes far more in *Glossa ordinaria* manuscripts than in the Mozarabs' Bibles. This *Glossa* copyist and others like him exploited as much of the manuscript folio as they could for annotating. While Scribe A of the Seville Bible, in turn, made interlinear notes, he did so rarely. The employment of interlinear notes creates a very different visual effect than what we see in the Mozarabs' Bibles. This visual and interpretative change becomes even more striking when we remember the complete lack of Arabic notes in the *Glossa* manuscripts.

Isaiah 55:6, meanwhile, encourages readers to "seek the Lord (*dominus*) while he is able to be found, call to him while he is near."[433] Here, the copyist also had much to convey in a marginal note: "'seek the Lord' pertains to both the Jews and the Gentiles spiritually, and to each one (ad unum quemque) also more generally…"[434] By *generaliter*, he seems to have had a literal meaning of the Bible in mind. Commeting upon the same passage, St. Jerome wrote long before this of how Moses had literally approached the Lord while he was near, just as Christians should do if able, and that God had announced through Jeremiah that he was near.[435] Whatever he meant by *generaliter*, in interlinear space this scribe also taught readers that the Lord was the Father, writing *pater* above *dominus*, among many other notes that he made. This again is all like the material that Mozarabs in al-Andalus, Toledo, and León had commented upon at length

[432] BCT MS 6-9, Fol. 141^{v}. "Nemo venit ad patrem nisi per me" "Non solum iudeis" "legis latorem"
[433] BCT MS 6-9, Fol. 141^{v}"Querite dominum dum inveniri potest, invocate eum dum prope"
[434] BCT MS 6-9, Fol. 141^{v}"Querite dominum et cetera pertinent haec ad iudeos vel gentes spiritualiter et ad unum quemque generaliter"
[435] Hieronymus, *Commentarium in Isaiam*, 15.55.6: "et moyses solus appropinquabat ad dominum. et per hieremiam loquitur deus: ego deus appropinquans, et non de longe."

between the tenth and twelfth centuries. Yet this scribe, like others of the *Glossa ordinaria*, went even further than Mozarabic scribes and annotators did in creating a paratext for his manuscript.

This thus culminates what we have seen in the Mozarabs' Bibles. For in the Seville Bible, the León Bible of 960, and other manuscripts, scribes added copious notes in Latin and/or Arabic into the margins, with later annotators adding their own notes as well. In *Glossa ordinaria* manuscripts, scribes like the one above took this task even further when they surrounded the biblical text with commentary. Readers, in turn, knew how these manuscripts ought to look, and thus expected to find thorough commentary even before they had cracked the book open. Marginalia were a more cohesive part of the *Glossa ordinaria* than they were of the Mozarabs' Visigothic Bibles.

All of this in turn feeds into what scholars call a twelfth-century renaissance in learning.[436] Ralph of Laon, the author of the *Glossa* whom we know best, in essence helped start this renaissance in northern Europe, which, as Frans Van Liere has observed, was really an information revolution.[437] The compilers of the *Glossa*, like Peter Lombard in his theological *Sententiae* or Gratian in his compendium of canon law, brought together massive amounts of information from a range of sources. Readers in Iberia really took to this revolution in the thirteenth century, rather than in the twelfth as in northern Europe. With all the links that we have seen between northern Europe and the Mozarabs' biblical reading during the ninth and twelfth centuries, this later arrival of the twelfth-century renaissance in Iberia does not surprise.

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[436] Charles Homer Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927).
[437] Frans Van Liere, "Andrew of St. Victor, Jerome, and the Jews: Biblical Scholarship in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," in Thomas E. Burman and Thomas J. Heffernan, *Scripture and Pluralism: Reading the Bible in the Religiously Plural Worlds of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Leiden: Brill, 2005): 59-76.

Mozarabic Readers of the Bible, 10th-12th Centuries

The elaborate paratext of the *Glossa ordinaria* differs considerably from the Mozarabs' Visigothic Bibles, especially in how it imports a very different mode of biblical reading. In the previous chapters, I have pointed to the importance of things like initials, chapter headings and above all marginal notes as a tool by which scribes shaped how others approached the Bible, with these later readers adding to this paratext. In comparison to the Mozarabs' Visigothic Bibles, we see in the *Glossa ordinaria* a much more fixed paratext in which only scribes place notes in the margins, rather than later readers as well. The *Glossa* therefore offers us a very useful perspective of what came immediately before it with the Mozarabs' biblical reading.

In this dissertation, I have offered four case studies in how the Mozarabs appropriated Latin culture, the Arabic language, and Qur'ānic vocabulary at times. We have seen how the Mozarabs (1) translated the Bible, (2) thought about the Last Days, (3) read lexically with an interest in the meaning of words and phrases, and (4) turned to Latin biblical commentaries in order to interpret the Bible both historically and spiritually. These four ways in which they approached the Bible indeed tell us about their thought world more broadly: their willingness to put Qur'ānic vocabulary in their translations of the Psalms, for example, helps us understand better the many ways in which they confronted life under Islam. Their reading of Latin biblical commentaries, meanwhile, shows a love of Latin learning, to borrow the strong language of Jean LeClercq.[438]

The anonymous author-translator, for example, seamlessly blended Latin and Arabic culture, and even Qur'ānic phrasing, as he made his Arabic translation of the Psalms. He, like

[438] Jean LeClercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982 [3rd Edition]).

other Mozarabs, employed this vocabulary so effectively that these words became Christian; and he moreover framed the Psalms as an anti-Judaic prooftext through Arabic *argumenta* which have Latin precedents and are perhaps the most prominent part of a thorough paratext. These allegorical summaries hold the key to understanding the anonymous author-translator's project, for they illuminate him working deeply in Latin tradition.

The anonymous author-translator also wrote of the multi-lingual Christian world around him. This environment included more than Córdoba, or even Iberia, for he knew that Syriac Christians had also translated the Bible into their language, as had Latin Christians to the north. He saw himself spreading the Gospels in his own language, and in doing so, he wrote in his prologue that he was fulfilling St. Paul's command to evangelize.[439] This important point likewise makes clear how much work remains in studying the Mozarabs' place in Christendom, especially when we remember that they had much in common with Latin-speaking Christians but also with those who spoke Arabic and Syriac around the Mediterranean basin. What we can see of the anonymous author-translator's life through this translation begs the question of how many other learned, anonymous Mozarabs lived alongside him in Córdoba.

Scribe A of the Seville Bible, while he did not translate the Bible, nevertheless also lets us watch this cultural-linguistic appropriation in al-Andalus. His case study furthermore makes clear how highly the Mozarabs thought of Latin manuscripts, for the Seville Bible was an expensive, apocalyptic gift full of Arabic notes, almost all of which treat apocalyptic, anti-Judaic material in the Book of Isaiah. I emphasized how reminiscent his notes are of Latin exegesis,

[439] Hafs le Goth, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 2-3. "Fa-inna idhā ijtamaʿtum kull wāhid min-kum ʿinda-hu mizmār wa-ʿinda-hu sharīʿah wa-ʿinda-hu waḥy…" "And truly the whole gathering, each one, has its Psalter and law and revelation…"

especially the writings of St. Jerome, through all of which he created a path of sorts for other readers.

As it turns out, a later reader of the Book of Jeremiah furthermore followed this path, so that the notes in both these prophetical books put forth apocalyptic, anti-Judaic prooftexts. What results from this is a remarkably-tuned paratext, in which other readers could appropriate Latin apocalyptic thought in the Arabic language. Scribe A and the Jeremiah annotator are all the more important because they along with the anonymous author-translator of the Psalms make clear that we have more evidence for apocalyptic thought in early medieval Iberia than the well-known ninth-century apocalyptic commentary of Beatus of Liebana. In contrast to the Seville Bible, a copy of Beatus' commentary which King Fernando I of Castile owned has no real marginal notes, although all manuscripts of his commentary have colorful, expensive illuminations.[440] The Seville Bible offers us a wonderfully messier case study in apocalyptic thought.

Although it lacks apocalyptic material, the León Bible of 960 lets us watch yet another manner of appropriating Latin and Arabic culture. Its scribe Sanctius knew only Latin but lived alongside Mozarabs at the monastery of Valeránica. He created a thorough paratext that added readings from the Vetus Latina Hispana to the León Bible of 960's Vulgate text, which paratext engendered a very different type of reading of the Bible than in the Seville Bible. Indeed, in encouraging readers to compare the Vetus Latina and Vulgate versions of the Bible if they came to something they did not understand, Sanctius followed advice reminiscent of what St. Augustine had suggested readers do in his *De doctrina christiana*.

[440] BNE MS VITR 14.2. On Beatus, see the many works of John Williams.

As best we can tell, at least one Mozarabic reader followed along Sanctius' path. While the León annotator did a slightly different form of lexical reading, translating individual Arabic words from Latin rather than comparing Latin versions of the Bible, nevertheless his Arabic annotations nevertheless fit nicely with Sanctius' Latin notes. The result is a manuscript which shows us a Mozarab thoroughly engaged with the Bible, as above, but who took little interest in arguing against Jews or ruminating upon the Apocalypse. Reading lexically, however, was the root of understanding scripture in other spiritual ways: one needed to know how to read the words of the Bible before digesting them for spiritual meaning.

As the final case study on the Toledan Mozarabic Bible makes clear, Mozarabs in León also read the Bible spiritually. Indeed, to do so they employed Latin exegetical works such as Pope Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*. At least one later reader of the Toledan Mozarabic Bible, moreover, approached the Bible with different goals than its scribe. This contrasts with the later annotators of the Seville Bible and the León Bible of 960, who largely followed the manuscripts' scribes in their methods of reading. Like Christians elsewhere around the Mediterranean and across the Pyrenees, the Mozarabs welcomed exegetical guidance in their reading, and not all readers took interest in the same parts of the Bible.

How the Bible helps us understand who the Mozarabs Were

These four case studies together illuminate the thought world of the Mozarabs in a very different way than other scholars such as Pieter van Koningsveld and Cyrille Aillet have done. Whereas Van Koningsveld argued for the Toledan origins of the many manuscripts we now have there, I have argued that Mozarabs brought some of these books from al-Andalus and León to Toledo. Where Aillet, meanwhile, discussed many different types of manuscripts, he analyzed them in detail little. I have offered fuller case studies in order to flesh out these Arabic-speakers'

intellectual lives.[441] This in turn makes clear unified biblical reading practices among Mozarabs across the Peninsula, an especially important point when much scholarly literature has treated different Mozarabic communities with different sets of evidence.

Daniel Potthast's thorough treatment of the Mozarabs' polemical literature demands a few observations here as well.[442] He has greatly improved our understanding of the Mozarabs' polemical writings and those of the Muslims who wrote against them, such as the thirteenth-century Córdoban Muslim al-Qurṭubī.[443] He has furthermore shown that Ibn Bilashk (c. 946) employed the Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ ibn Albar as he made his own Gospel translation. Yet while he treated Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, he said little of the anonymous author-translator of the Psalms, even though Ḥafṣ incorporated the prose prologue and the Arabic *argumenta* into his own project. More importantly, his focus entirely upon Arabic sources had the effect of obscuring the continuing cultivation of biblical scholarship in the Mozarabs' Latin Bibles. The Mozarabs appropriated both Latin and Arabic culture, although he wrote little of their Latin Bibles. The Mozarabic scribes who often made these manuscripts, and the Mozarabic annotators who read manuscripts which come from the hands of non-Mozarabs, held both Latin and Arabic in high-esteem, and were moreover at times comfortable incorporating Qur'ānic vocabulary into Christian belief.

The picture I have drawn of Mozarabic biblical scholars appropriating Latin, Arabic, and Islamic culture, moreover, stands in contrast to a body of literature which argues for the cultural decline of the Mozarabs following the martyr movement in the 850s. Míkel de Epalza, for example, argued that a dearth of bishops in al-Andalus in the years after the martyr movement of

[441] Note as well that he often does not transliterate Arabic glosses, or offer the *lemmas* to these fascinating annotations. Cf. Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*.
[442] Daniel Potthast, *Christen und Muslime im Andalus*.
[443] Although see as well the recent articles by Thomas E. Burman.

the 850s led Mozarabs to convert to Islam, so that hardly any Christian culture remained there.[444] Richard Hitchcock too has followed in this vein.[445] The anonymous author-translator and the scribes and annotators of the Seville Bible suggest that this decline of Christian culture was not so tidy. I have not engaged with this scholarship on al-Andalus in the foregoing case studies because I have interpreted a very different set of evidence than de Epalza, Hitchcock, and others have. Biblical manuscripts, that is, offer a very different view of the Mozarabs than the writings of Alvarus of Córdoba, or charters, wills, and other documents.

De Epalza and others also fixated upon whether the Mozarabs were Christians who became Arab, Arabic Christians from birth, or Muslims who converted to Christianity.[446] This is a very interesting question, but we will never answer it definitively, and with regard to biblical reading, it simply does not matter. Indeed because of scholarly doubts about who the Mozarabs were and where they came from, Ann Christys has refused to employ the word Mozarab when discussing the Arabic-speaking Christians of ninth-century Córdoba. She rightly states that no one—Muslim or Christian—employed the term *mustaʿrab* in these sources, and the Latin *muzarave* does not appear until the eleventh century in a Leonese charter. While I understand her policy, one that Richard Hitchcock has followed as well, I suggest here that we see in the sources for this dissertation Christians enacting the root meaning of the Arabic *mustaʿrab*: a Christian who is Arabizing.[447] Rather than worrying about terminology, scholars can gain far more from analyzing the evidence we have for these Arabic-speakers.

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[444] Míkel de Epalza, "Falta de Obispos," *passim*.
[445] Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, among many earlier articles as well.
[446] De Epalza, "Falta de Obispos"; Richard Hitchcock, *Muslim Spain Reconsidered*.
[447] Although we should bear in mind that the Arabic Gospels of Ibn Bilashk, as well as the Arabic Psalms, both of which have much Qur'ānic vocabulary, almost certainly circulated around Iberia.

In contrast to de Epalza's arguments for the non-existence of Mozarabs and Ann Christys' refusal to employ the term Mozarab, this dissertation suggests the possibilities for reviving the phenomenon of Latin Christians interacting with Arab-Isalmic culture. By means of these notes, we can watch scribes and annotators absorbing and deploying Latin, Arabic, and at times even Islamic culture. Without doubt, they embody the root meaning of the word Mozarab: in the mid-ninth through twelfth centuries, these scribes and annotators here clearly acted Arab, even though they still owed much to Latin culture. If we do not know exactly who the Mozarabs were, their books survive, with ample margins that still have much to tell us of intercommunal relations in medieval Iberia and in the Mediterranean world.

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Appendix

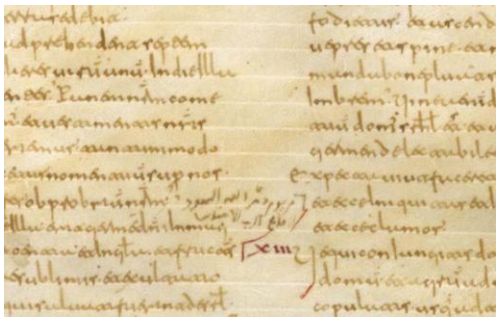

Figure 1: Note from Scribe A of the Seville Bible, Fol. 106v

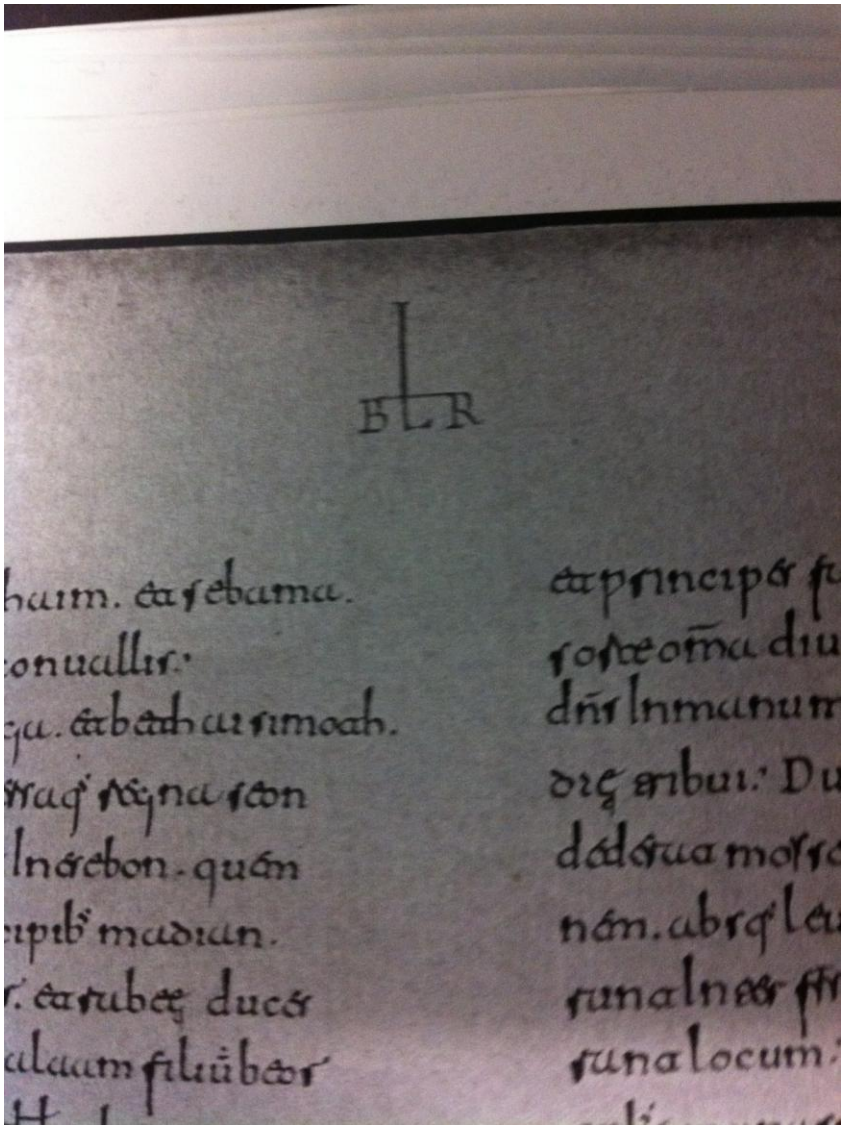

Figure 2: BLR Abbreviation, The Toledan Mozarabic Bible

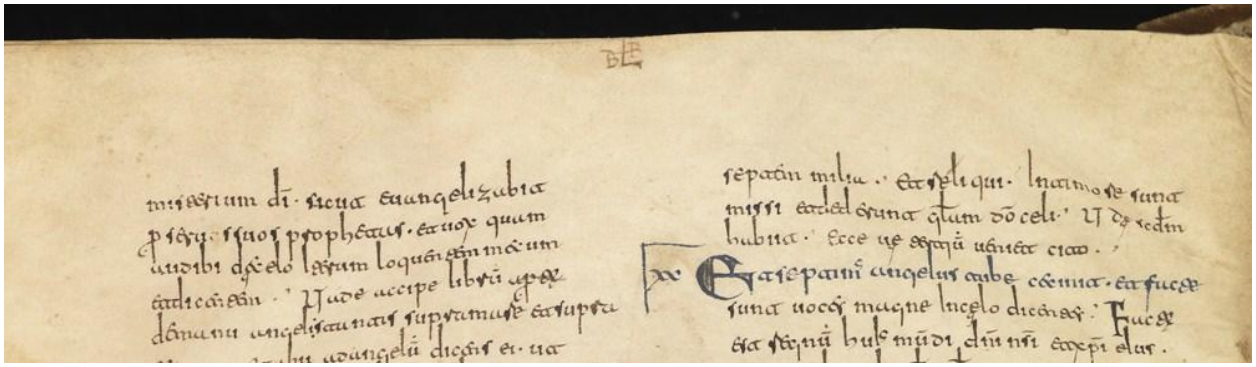

Figure 3: BLR Abbreviation, The León Bible of 920

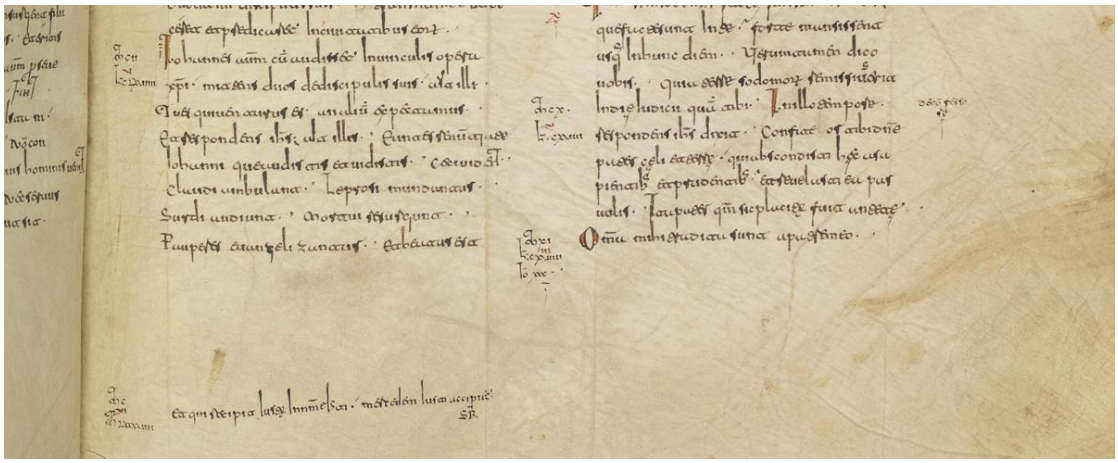

Figure 4: León Bible of 920, Fol. 161r

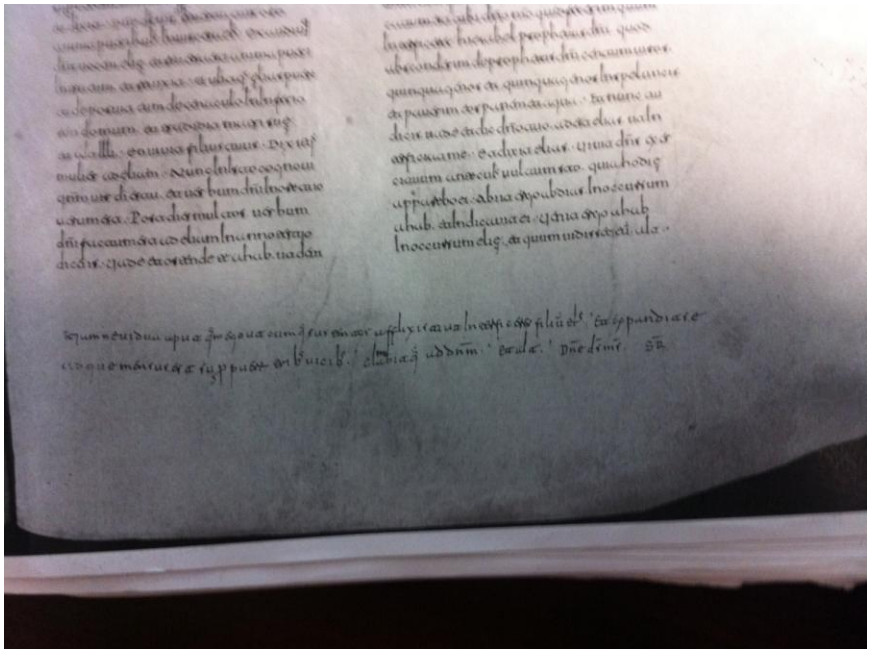

Figure 5: Toledan Mozarabic Bible, Fol. 82r

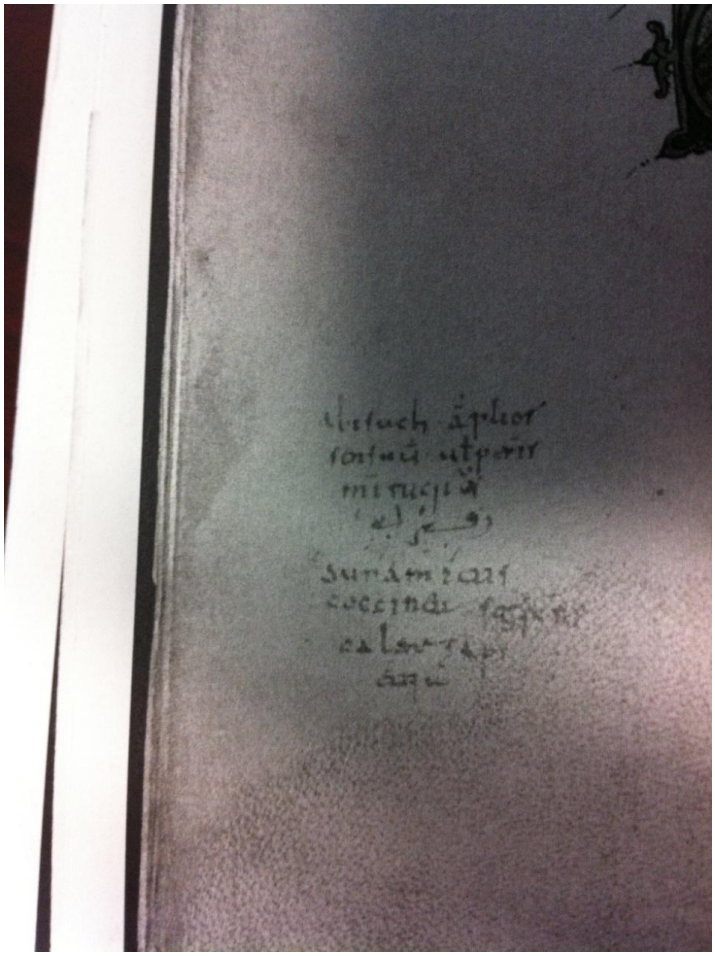

Figure 6: Toledan Mozarabic Bible, Fol. 70v

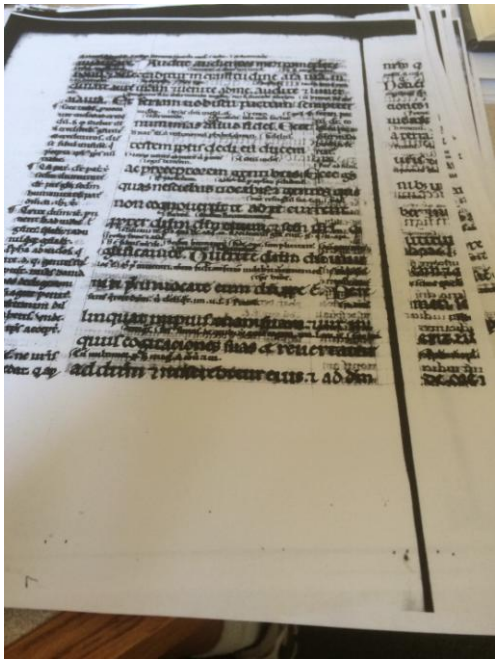

Figure 7: Glossa in Isaiam, Fol. 141v

Vita

Geoffrey Martin earned his Bachelor of Science in History from Northern Michigan University, and his Master of Arts in History from the University of Tennessee. He is originally from Michigan.