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Arabic-Speaking Christians and Toledo, BCT MS Cajón 99.30 in High Medieval Spain

In Toledo sometime between the ninth and twelfth centuries, Arabic-speaking Christians made a manuscript of Latin grammar and annotated it in their first language.¹ The textbook, now Toledo, Biblioteca Capitulare MS 99.30, forms hardly the only evidence we have for Arabic-speaking Christians reading in Latin, but it offers excellent evidence for their learning and/or teaching of the language. Mozarabs, a convenient term for Arabic-speaking Christians in Iberia meaning “those who became Arab,” employed Arabic as they read Latin codices throughout the Peninsula.² In general, they thrived in al-Andalus between the ninth and tenth centuries.

¹ Pieter S.J. Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary: a contribution to the study of Mozarabic manuscripts and literature*. (Leiden: Labor Vincit, 1976), p. 34, who in turn follows Anscari Mundo, “La datación de los códices litúrgicos visigóticos toledanos”, *Hispana Sacra* Vol. 18 (1965): pp. 1-25, dates the manuscript to the twelfth century. They went away from the argument of Agustín Millares Carlo, who had dated the manuscript to the eleventh century: “Manuscritos Visigóticos”, *Hispana Sacra* Vol. 14 (1961): pp. 337-444. Louis Holtz, meanwhile, has dated the manuscript to the eighth or ninth century, with a Catalonian origin and Toledan provenance. See Louis Holtz, ed., *Donat et La Tradition de L'Enseignement Grammatical: Étude et Édition Critique* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1981), pp. 384-6. I lean toward an earlier date, and as I discuss below, some of the Arabic notes come from the Latin copyists of the manuscript.

² I am aware as well of Fernando González Muñoz, *Latinidad Mozárabe* (A Coruña: Universidad da Coruna, 1996), but the ninth-century Cordoban authors whom he treated, such as Alvarus of Córdoba, left little evidence that they knew Arabic, other than eccentric syntax in Alvarus' case (p. 227). Karla Mallette in turn has suggested that this eccentric syntax suggests knowledge of Arabic: Karla Mallette, *European Modernity and the Arab Mediterranean: Toward a New Philology and a Counter-Orientalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), pp. 180-186. Jason Busic has tentatively followed her suggestion, in “Between Latin Theology and Arabic Kalām: Samson's *Apologeticus contra perfidos* (864 CE) and Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī's Extant Works (fl. Late Ninth/ Early Tenth Centuries)”, *Medieval Encounters* Vol. 25 (2019), pp. 553-580 (557, n.16). Quite likely,

They also moved in some numbers to León, to live under Christian rule, as well as to the monastery of Ripoll in Catalonia. In twelfth and thirteenth-century Toledo, meanwhile, the last large community of Mozarabs helped translate Arabic scientific philosophical texts into Latin, even as Castilians and Franks increasingly held power in the city and its churches.³

Whenever they lived, the copyists and annotators of this manuscript thus learned Latin for themselves or to teach others in a significant Arab Christian community. They wrote the language in Visigothic script, the standard for Iberian Christians between the ninth and twelfth centuries. The manuscript and its Latin and Arabic notes tell us of more than Latin grammatical texts, but also make clear the deeper roots of Latin education and indeed Latin culture among the Mozarabs. Indeed, Arabic offered them a means to clarify actively their understanding of Latin and its accompanying culture. In what follows, then, I will focus upon these copyists and annotators and their engagement with this textbook. I argue that they employed Arabic to understand Latin words, and indeed, that their primer foremost illuminates an interest in learning vocabulary, as they quite likely already knew some Latin grammar when they began to pore over this textbook.

In general, Mozarabs read and wrote in both Latin and Arabic. These copyists and annotators were no different with their Latin Primer. Indeed, they copied manuscript folios in Latin, from one or several other codices, before annotating them in Arabic and making notes in Latin as well. In a manner reminiscent of Martin Irvine's masterful view of grammar among Latin Christians in northern Europe, their manuscript reflects their own interests in the language: as Irvine made clear, the copyists of Latin grammatical manuscripts ranged widely in the texts which they employed.⁴ The series of case studies that I offer thus let us watch Arabic-speaking Christians / Mozarabs define the technicalities of Latin grammar and conjugate Latin verbs. Along the way, they also rendered Latin vocabulary in Arabic, showing us how Mozarabs moved between these two very different languages.

With regard to the larger picture of Latin culture among the Mozarabs, this primer has much to offer as well. For while its copyists and annotators likely had some knowledge of Latin before they annotated the primer, as I suggest below, nevertheless the texts offer a

Alvarus and others did know something of the language, but their texts do not reflect that supposed knowledge well.

³ On the Mozarabs, non-specialists ought to consult Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes* (Madrid:1897); Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes: Christianisme, Islamisation et Arabisation en Péninsule Ibérique (IX^e-XII^e Siècle)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010); Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2008). On Latin *grammatica*, see Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture: "Grammatica" and Literary Theory, 350-1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

⁴ Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*. On Latin in medieval Iberia, cf. Roger Wright, *Late Latin and Early Romance (in Spain and Carolingian France)* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1982).

means to learn Latin. The excerpts of the stalwart Latin grammarians Donatus (fl. 354) and Priscian (fl. 6th century) which they read suggest strongly that Arabic-speaking Christians learned Latin much as did other medieval Europeans, albeit with vocabulary mediated through a second language far different from Latin, in contrast to romance speakers. They thus help us to see how these Arabic-speakers learned the language in which they read the Bible and many other authors, including Pope Gregory I (d. 604) and Isidore of Seville (d. 636). Put simply, to understand the thought-world of the Mozarabs, one needs to remember that they read deeply in both Arabic and Latin.

I am to my knowledge offering the first article-length reading of the Latin primer, yet my interpretation of the manuscript does build upon earlier scholarly treatments. Pieter Van Koningsveld, in his admirable close reading of a twelfth-century Latin-Arabic glossary, pointed to the importance of this primer in corroborating his broader argument that Mozarabs/Arabic-speaking Christians turned to that glossary not for polemical or missionary purposes, but rather to learn the language for its rich literature.⁵ Decades later, Cyrille Aillet noted that many of the manuscript's thirty-four folios have the Donatus text over a palimpsest, which certainly makes reading the Latin difficult at times.⁶ Indeed, these copyists wrote Visigothic script with varying degrees of clarity, and in and around numerous erasures. In general, I have erred on the side of caution with the case studies I put forth for both the Latin text and the Arabic notes, with the understanding that the Latin and Arabic together ought to complement one another.⁷

⁵ Pieter Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, 43-4. Where I have deemed appropriate, I have compared readings from the twelfth-century Latin-Arabic Glossary with this manuscript. For the sake of concision, I refer to Charles Seybold (ed.), *Glossarium Latinum-Arabicum* (Berlin: Emil Felber, 1900) simply as Seybold or the Latin-Arabic Glossary hereafter. I note as well that my comparison between these readings serves as a service to readers, and that while the two texts share many readings, I am not offering any concrete relationship between them. Van Koningsveld has more recently suggested that Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī may have authored the original version of the glossary in the ninth or tenth century, with the twelfth-century glossary an expansion of that text. See Van Koningsveld (ed.), *The Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī: Prolegomena for a Critical Edition* (Leiden: Aurora, 2016): pp. 61-82. Fernando González Muñoz, meanwhile, wrote briefly of a Donatus manuscript in the monastery of Cosme y Damian in Abellar, in the kingdom of Castile-León. A catalog of medieval books in El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS R-II-18 mentions the *Liber conlationum artis grammaticae* of Donatus. See Fernando González Muñoz, *Latinidad Mozárabe*, p. 18, n.26.

⁶ Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, p. 321. I have not attempted to read the erased text.

⁷ This means as well that I have had to steer clear of several interesting but problematic passages in the manuscript, a problem to which other scholars of manuscripts doubtless can relate. On editions of the making of editions of Visigothic manuscripts, see Juan Gil, "Para la Edición de los Textos Visigodos y Mozárabes," *Habis* Vol. 2 (1973), pp. 189-234.

I have likewise followed Louis Holtz in his description of the manuscript.⁸ Most importantly, he wrote that the manuscript has many hands, but he did not make clear which copyists did which folios. I suggest that the manuscript is largely the doing of one Copyist A, who also wrote in Arabic, with others who did folios here and there, as well as additional annotators in Latin and Arabic. Certainly, Copyist A did the opening folios, of Donatus' *Ars minor*, until folio 13v. This copyist wrote Latin in both a lighter and darker brown ink, in the Visigothic miniscule of early medieval Iberia. His erratic hand did not leave uniform word spacing; for example, folios 7r through 8v are wider than many other folios. He also made Arabic notes, in brown ink, which a second annotator, writing in a crisp Arabic hand in brown ink, complemented. Indeed, while I follow Holtz, who did not treat the Arabic hands, I still have doubts as to whether or not this second Arabic hand comes from the copyist, making a second pass through his section of the manuscript, for he passed through his Latin with darker ink too, as on folio 4v.

Folios 13v-16v likely come from another copyist. The case for this hand is a little tougher than Louis Holtz's characterization suggests, in part because while the hand here wrote with a condensed script, it at times looks quite like the script of Copyist A. The opening lines of Folio 14r, for example, look quite similar to the preceding ones, although the script condenses in mid-sentence, in darker ink than the rest of the folio. The texts here follow Priscian's *Eighteen Books of Grammatical Institutions* (hereafter the *Institutes*), and his treatment of verb conjugation. In the midst of Folio 16v, meanwhile, he put the incipit for the *Institutes*, although he had already worked with that text. Indeed, Copyist A's hand then picks up at folio 17r, and he copied to the end of the *Institutes* on folio 22r.

Copyist A likewise did folios 22v-25v, which return to Donatus and his *Ars maior* and its treatment of nouns: "Here begins the Definitions of Nouns and Other Parts of Speech according to Donatus, after which Follow the Rules of Declension according to the Same".⁹ This material on nouns thus fits well with the earlier grammar on verbal conjugations. But of perhaps even greater interest, a word list begins on folio 26r, perhaps in Copyist A's hand, which also wrote that verso folio, while another hand made another list on folio 27r. The copyists added numerous Arabic translations to this Latin lexicon, making it a valuable resource for understanding the linguistic world of Arabic-speaking Christians in Iberia.

⁸ I have checked the manuscript against the *Ars minor* and *Ars maior* in Louis Holtz, ed., *Donat et La Tradition de L'Enseignement Grammatical: Étude et Édition Critique* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1981. Donatus Ortigraphus, *Ars grammatica*. John Chittenden (ed.), *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* Vol. 40 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1982), offers an edition of an early medieval compilation of Donatus together with the commentary of Irish grammarians.

⁹ Toledo, BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 22v. *Incipit Definitiones Nominum et Ceterae Partium Orationis Secundum Donatum Post Quas Secuntur Regule Declensionum Secundum Eundem*.

The *Ars maior* then picks up until folio 34r, in what appears to be the hand of Copyist A. Folio 34v, the last in the manuscript, opens with another version of the *Ars minor*, and another hand, lending evidence to Louis Holtz's argument that more than one copyist made the manuscript: someone likely bound together these folios from various copyists, which explains the two copies of the *Ars minor*. Likewise, throughout the manuscript, still more hands have annotated in both Latin and Arabic. I have thus here aimed to nuance Louis Holtz's valuable description, and point out that one copyist made much of the manuscript, and that he worked in a quite inconsistent manner, with his writing enlarging and shrinking, presumably as he tired or worked quickly. While much of what I treat below deals with Copyist A, it certainly bears mention that he did not work alone, and indeed that the copious Arabic and Latin notes which these hands made blend well together.

Copyist A and the Technical Vocabulary of Latin Education

The foregoing brief details make clear the scope of my interpretation of the manuscript. As we will see, these copyists and annotators offer several excellent case studies in how Arabic-speakers took up Latin grammar. Indeed, their manuscript forms a case study in itself, but I have focused upon interpreting numerous folios in the manuscript in order to do justice to the detail in which they annotated their book. The first of these case studies comes on folios 4r and 4v, where Copyist A worked through the *Ars minor*. He made numerous Arabic notes in a thick script that has the *ductus* of the Latin. He often put in diacritical marks, such as a dot under *fā'* as is characteristic of Maghribi Arabic script, but he pointed almost no short vowels between consonants, much like many other Arabic scribes, copyists, and annotators working with non-Qur'ānic codices.¹⁰

Indeed, Copyist A engaged himself especially on folios 4r-4v, in the third part of the Donatus text. The Latin lesson here focused upon "what a verb is":

Verbum quid est · pars orationis cum tempore et persona sine casu · aut agere aliquid · aut pati aut neutrum significans · Uerbo quot accident? VII · quae · Qualitas · coniugatio · genus · Numerus · figura · Tempus · persona... Qualitas uerborum. in quo est: in modis et in formis: modi que sunt: indicatiuus ut lego: Imperatiuus ut lege Optitabatus nam legerem Coniunctiuus ut quum legam Infinitiuus ut legere impersonalis ut legitur.¹¹

¹⁰ As again is often the case when Mozarabs made Arabic notes.

¹¹ This passage follows Donatus, *Ars minor*, IV. In offering both the Latin and English translation in the body of the text, I have aimed to cater to both specialists and general readers. The interpretation of the Latin text is

“What is a verb? A part of speech with tense and person, without case, signifying either to do something or to be acted upon or neuter. How many accidents does a verb have? Seven, which are quality, conjugation, type, number, figure, tense, and person. The quality of verbs in which is in modes and in forms: modes which are indicative as ‘I read,’ imperative as ‘read,’ optative as ‘I should read,’ conjunctive as ‘when I read,’ infinitive as ‘to read,’ impersonal as ‘it is read.’

Donatus’ text here puts forth the technical vocabulary for talking about Latin

Yet Arabic offered the means by which to interpret that technical language. For example, the copyist translated *qualitas* as *kayfīyyah*, a “quality,” and *modis* as *naw’ wa anwā’*, the singular and plural of “kind, sort, type,” and the like.¹² He wrote on folio 4r of the indicative mood with the root *d-l-l*, whose many meanings include “to demonstrate” or “to point out,” and of the imperative mood as “a command”, an apt description.¹³ When copying Latin on the subjunctive mood, which he here called the optative, in reference to hopes or wishes, he wrote in his thicker hand: “the desired thing,” over the Latin *obtatibati*.¹⁴ He furthermore referred to *formis* as *al-ṣifah*, by which many Muslims also described God’s attributes, such as his ability to speak, see, and judge.¹⁵ For this copyist and the separate annotator, language too had attributes.

His notes make clear that he learned how to describe language, whether for his own benefit, or to explain to students. For here as well, Copyist A defined conjugation, when he read of the seven things that a verb has: over “conjugation (*coniugatio*)” he wrote “arrangements,” while another annotator, who wrote numerous other notes that I discuss below, added: “and adjustment (*takayyuf*)”.¹⁶ Indeed, in one example, Copyist A’s thicker Arabic script has “build,”

detailed enough to warrant citation before delving into the Arabic notes. I have not put the Arabic above because I have only worked with notes of whose transcription I am sure, in a manuscript which holds many illegible others.

¹² BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4r. *kayfīyyah*, Seybold, p.422, *qualitas quale sit kayfīyyah*; *naw’ wa-anwā’*, Seybold, p. 319, *modis temperantia naw’ wa-minhāj*.

¹³ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4r. *mudill*; *al-ma’ mūrīyyah*. *Mudill* means presumptuous or arrogant, and he does indeed seem to have written that word, although *dalīl*, meaning indication or sign, would make more sense here. Seybold, p. 240, *Index demonstrator dalīl*; p. 234, *imperator amir wa-ṣulṭān*.

¹⁴ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4r. *al-marjūb*, Seybold, p. 347, *obtatium ma’ mul mutannā*.

¹⁵ For example, Ibn Tumart (d. 1130), the founder of the Almohad Dynasty, wrote a treatise in which he stripped God of attributes. *Le Livre de Mohammed Ibn Toumart*, edited by Ignaz Goldziher, (Algiers: P. Fontana, 1903).

¹⁶ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4r. *tanzim wa-takayyuf*, Seybold, p. 94, *coniugatio ijtimā’ wa-imitzāj*.

over the Latin “*figura*” and the thinner hand, of a separate annotator whom I discuss below, added “number,” over the Latin *numerus*.¹⁷ On folio 4v, meanwhile, he copied “*coniunctiuus ut quum legam*”, “conjunctive as when I read”, with “adverbial,” while the second annotator added “and the junction” in Arabic above conjunctive.¹⁸ So too did he write “without limit” over the infinitive *legere*.¹⁹

Furthermore, this separate annotator worked through this Latin in a thin Arabic script. The Arabic terms which he employed for the above Latin offer striking insight into his movement between the two very different languages. For example, he wrote “articulated speech or an utterance (*al-nuṭq*)” above “of speech (*orationis*)”, and “arrangements (*al-nazzim*)”, above the Latin “person (*persona*)”, and “without form (*illā qālāb*)” over “without case (*sine casu*)”.²⁰ His evidence here suggests that he thought of a verb’s person as one way of ordering and classifying it. Through *illā*, meanwhile, he rendered the Latin preposition *sine*, and he then employed *al-qālāb* to make clear that Latin verbs have no case, a point someone learning Latin needed to know, in order to separate verbs from nouns or adjectives, and to understand what each does in a sentence.

He likewise thought about verbs in regard to characteristics such as tense and conjugation. or where the Latin on folio 4r reads: “how many things does a verb have (*accidunt*)? Seven, quality, conjugation, kind, number, figure, time, and person,” he clarified grammatical vocabulary again.²¹ Above *accidunt*, he simply wrote “it follows” or “it attaches to,” which reads much like “it occurs” or “it turns out,” as we often translate *accidere*.²² While we cannot know with absolute certainty, the evidence suggests that he wrote *yalḥaḡu* as a way of remembering what an accident is, and either for his teaching or for his own learning.

Both annotators left a wealth of notes on Folio 4v as well. As on the previous folio, for example, Copyist A wrote again that the Latin *formis* is *al-ṣifāh*, in that thicker Arabic script.²³ Furthermore, he made a series of notes when he read of first-conjugation verbs, which have an infinitive ending in *-are*, in the indicative mood:

¹⁷ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4r. *binyāb*; ‘*adad*, Seybold, p. 195, *figura miṭāl wa-kijyāl (sic) wa-ṣiffāh (sic) wa-ṣūrah*, *numerositas mā yākuḡu al-‘adad*.

¹⁸ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4v. *al-zarfī wa-l-ta’alf*.

¹⁹ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4v. *ḡayr al-mahdūd*. I have not located *infinitiuus* in Seybold.

²⁰ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4r. *al-nuṭq*. Seybold, 356, *oratio kalām*, *al-nazzim*, Seybold, 380 *persona qayyūma wa-ṣaḡṣ wa manṣar*; *illa qālāb*, Seybold, 59, *casus inanis uacuus sine fructu item casus ruina mors uel euentus cuiusque rei uel nomine uero inflexio nomine ‘ariḡ wa-munhadīm*.

²¹ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4r. *verbo quot accidunt vii [tem] qualitas coniugatio genus numerus figura tempus persona*.

²² BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4r. *yalḥaḡu*; *Accidere* is lacking in the Latin-Arabic glossary which Seybold edited.

²³ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4v.

prima que est que indicativo modo: tempore presenti numero singulari prima secunda personis verbo activo et neutrali habet productam ante nouissimam litteram: ut amo: amas:

“and the first [conjugation] is that which is in indicative mood, present tense, singular number, first- and second-person, active and neutral, having been produced before a new letter: as amo, amas”.²⁴

Over *neutrali*, he interpreted: “not the doer and not done”, a voice goes beyond that which most Latin students learn. Seemingly, he saw the masculine as active and the feminine as passive, so that with the neuter voice, he put neither masculine nor feminine.²⁵ Indeed, when he read of the verb’s voice, he also annotated it as *fā’il*, meaning active.²⁶

In his thicker Arabic hand, Copyist A also wrote *nam’* when he read of a verb’s mood (*modo*) here.²⁷ His translation thus matches what he wrote on the previous folio, where there too he learned/taught of the indicative, optative/subjunctive, and imperative moods. When he read “having been produced” or “having been led out (*productam*)”, he then wrote in his thicker Arabic hand “bounded” or “fixed”, as in a verb that undergoes a fixed change. Then after this, the hand in thinner Arabic added: “and long”.²⁸ Both “bounded” and “long” thus relate to the verb *producere*, and offer evidence of how these Arabic-speakers thought about the stems of verbs, the letters that do not undergo change, and the endings, through which one sees the conjugation.

Copyist A and the other annotator thus put forth an Arabic vocabulary to describe Latin grammar. They did so while making clear the importance of writing/talking about Latin and its grammatical system in a sophisticated way.²⁹ For example, on the bottom of the folio, when telling of how third-conjugation verbs either have *e* or *i* as a vowel before their ending, the copyist wrote of morphology again:

Hec et ab imperatino et in infinitiuo modo statim discerni possunt: utrum ·I· littera sit [erasure correptam] uel productam nam correpta ·I· littera in e· conuertitur producta si fuerit non mutatur

²⁴ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4v.

²⁵ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4v. *Lā fā’il wa-lā maf’ūl*, Seybold, p. 333, *neuter neque ille neque iste* [lacking Arabic].

²⁶ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4v.

²⁷ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4v.

²⁸ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4v. “*maḥdūd*”; “*wa-tawīl*” Seybold, p. 149 “*duco aqwudu wa-ahmilu wa- adhibi*”

²⁹ Ángel Custodio López López noted this mode of annotating with regard to the León Bible of 960. See his “Las Glosas Marginales Árabes del *Codex Visigothicus Legionensis*”, in *Codex Biblicus Legionensis*: pp. 303-318.

“These [third-conjugation verbs] both by the imperative and in the infinitive mood are able to be discerned whether the letter I might be shortened, or led out: for having been shortened, the letter I is converted to e, if it is led out, it is not changed.”

The annotator in a thin Arabic hand again translated “led out (*ductam*)” as “long (*tawil*)”, when explaining how one arrives to a verb with a shortened *i*, one that undergoes a stem-change. Above that description of a shortened verb, moreover, he wrote “the principal part” or “the main part”.³⁰ The *qaṣīd* here forms the stem of the verb, it seems, rather than the changed syllable or the ending. Donatus here offers examples from *legere*, whose third-person singular present tense is *legit*, but whose singular imperative is *lege*, and *audire*, a fourth-conjugation verb that he groups with the third, and which does not undergo changes in *audit* and the imperative *audi*.

On folios 4r-v, then, Copyist A and his annotator labored on several occasions over the technicalities of Latin grammar. His Arabic notes in a thicker hand have a similar ductus to the Latin, and likewise complement the Arabic notes in a thinner script perfectly.³¹ Perhaps most importantly, these two employed Arabic, their first language, to explain the technicalities of Latin grammar; for example, what a mood is. They either learned and /or taught how to talk about Latin as a grammarian did, with a command of the necessary vocabulary. And so, we see here see Mozarabs immersed not in practicing the conjugation of verbs—at least as we can tell from the evidence of these folios— but writing of how to talk about the language.

Copyist A and His Annotator in the Second Quire of the Manuscript: Adverbs and Latin Exercises, Folios 9r-13r

When he came to Copyist A’s work in the Latin primer’s second quire on folio 9r, his annotator with the thin hand made many Arabic notes reminiscent of those above. The vocabulary to describe Latin grammar took this annotator’s interest again, but, as we will see, he furthermore delved into Latin sentences, complete with Arabic notes on Latin words of all sorts, which offer valuable evidence of how he built his Latin vocabulary either for learning or teaching. To be clear, I am not arguing that one type of Arabic note that he made was more difficult than another, or that he progressed into learning and/or teaching increasingly difficult parts of Latin. We simply do not know what part of Latin—whether the language’s case system or vocabulary, for example— posed the greatest difficulty for him. Yet in the second

³⁰ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 4v. “*al-qaṣīd*”

³¹ And I stress here that I have worked with the manuscript *in situ* on several occasions.

quire, this annotator clearly translated a broader range of vocabulary than in the first. In this second case study of the manuscript, then, we will see the annotator with a thin Arabic script interpreting the Latin text especially between folios 9r and 13v, where he wrote Latin interlinear and marginal notes in his thinner handwriting. Taking stock of where in the manuscript this annotator began to annotate in Latin further helps us understand how he learned or taught Latin grammar, even as he never left Arabic behind as an interpretational tool.

To follow this annotator further into the primer thus lets us watch an Arabic-speaking Christian's Latin learning through his first language. While we still know very little about the larger picture of these Christians' approach to the Latin language, or its accompanying culture for that matter, we need to remember that the focus here is upon individual Mozarabs' annotating, and that annotating in turn offers a view of individual engagement with a book. Then, through a reading of an individual's notes, we can come to broader conclusions. Mapping out a single Mozarab's movement through a manuscript thus helps us to understand the importance of Latin culture among the Mozarabs that scholars such as Francisco Javier Simonet, Pieter S.J. Van Koningsveld, and Cyrille Aillet have made clear.³² Although he argued for Muslim persecution of Christians, Simonet knew well the strength of Latin culture in Córdoba. Van Koningsveld and Aillet, in turn, have argued with more precision for the importance of Latin culture among Spain's Arabic-speaking Christians, and their scholarship offers the means to illuminate further how someone such as these copyists and annotators turned to foundational texts of Latin learning, although we should not dismiss the depth of Simonet's learning.

The content of the Latin text on folio 9r flows seamlessly from a discussion of verbs to conjunctions and adverbs. Whereas before Copyist A treated something that every sentence must have, a finite verb, he now took upon something that no sentence needs but which in reality copyists, scribes, and annotators frequently wrote. The manuscript here has the *Ar minor* sixth part, on conjunctions:

*Pars sexta Coniunctio quid est: pars orationis adnectens ordinansque sententiam: coniunctioni quot
accidunt tria: potestas figura ordo:*

³² Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*; Pieter S.J. Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*; Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*. Other scholars have in turn focused upon the Arabic texts of the Mozarabs, rather than the Arabic notes that they put into Latin manuscripts. See especially Daniel Potthast, *Christen und Muslime im Andalus*; Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*.

“the Sixth Part: What is a conjunction? A part of speech [which is] fastening and ordering a sentence. How many things happen to a conjunction? Three: power (*potestas*), figure (*figura*), and order (*ordo*)”.³³

Much as he did with verbs, Copyist A came to this sixth part of the text when he wrote of what three things cling (*accidunt*) to a conjunction. Indeed, above the Latin *accidunt*, the annotator with a thin Arabic hand wrote as earlier *yalhāqu*, meaning “to attach” or to “cling to”.³⁴ If we employ philosophical terms, he wrote of a conjunction’s accidents or grammatical properties. More practically, that he translated *accidere* as *yalhāqu* offers strong evidence of his uniform vocabulary for describing the technicalities of Latin grammar.

In reading of the power (*potestas*) of a conjunction, Copyist A noted five different types or *species*: coupled, disjunctive, explicative, causal, and rational.³⁵ His later annotator then dutifully put these in Arabic, as those relating to “power”, “the hinge”, “the complement”, “conditions,” and “reasoning”.³⁶ The *-jyyah* ending which ends several of these Arabic terms signifies its abstract quality, much as abstract ideas in Latin are often third-declension nouns ending in *-tas*, such as *libertas*, liberty, or *potestas*, power. From the Arabic root s-l-ṭ, whose basic meaning relates to power, he came to the even more abstract *al-sulṭaniyyah*, while *al-burhāniyyah*, from the root b-r-h, relates to reasoning. Furthermore, the Latin itself here merits closer interpretation. For here Donatus challenges his readers, whether students or teachers, to give the examples of these different types of conjunctions. For example, the Latin reads: “give (*da*) the *rationales*: *ita*, *itaque*, *enim*, *etenim*, *enim vero*, *quum*, *quam*, *propter*, *quippe*, *ergo*, *igitur*, *ideo*, *scilicet*, *preterea*, *idcirco*...”.³⁷ For *copulativas* conjunctions, moreover, the hand in thinner Arabic wrote what reads from right to left as: “order the *sulṭaniyyah* (conjunctions),” complete with a second-form imperative, *nazzim*.³⁸ Yet for whatever reason, he did not translate the conjunctions themselves, other than *etenim*, a *rationalis* conjunction, as “because”.³⁹

The treatment of prepositions in the brief seventh part of the *Ars minor* reads even more interesting than his notes upon conjunctions. The Latin copying rings familiar by this point:

³³ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9r. *Pars sexta Coniunctio quid est: pars orationis adnectens ordinansque sententiam: coniunctioni quot accidunt tria: potestas figura ordo*. This excerpt follows Donatus, *Ars minor*, Part 7. The order of the text differs in the manuscript because the copyist left out Part 1 of the Donatus text, *On the parts of speech*, and began with Part 2, *On nouns*.

³⁴ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9r.

³⁵ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9r. *Potestas coniunctionum quo species abeo quinque: quas: copulativas disjunctivas explicativas causales et rationales*.

³⁶ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9r. *al-sulṭaniyyah*, *al-muṣaṣṣalah*, *al-kāmalah*, *al-ṣarṭiyyah*, *al-burhāniyyah*; Seybold e.g. 431, *rationales* ‘*aqlī wa-burhānī*.

³⁷ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9r. This passage follows the *Ars minor*.

³⁸ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9r. *al-sulṭaniyyah nazzim*.

³⁹ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9r. *li-anna*.

Prepositio · quid est: Pars orationis · que preposita aliis partibus orationum · significatio earum: aut complet aut mutat aut minuit:

“Preposition: what is it? A part of speech which is placed before other parts of speech.

Their signification either completes or changes (mutat) or lessens”.⁴⁰

As one example of the Arabic notes in this seventh part, the thinner Arabic hand wrote “sign” or “sense,” over the Latin *significatio*.⁴¹ To my mind, the Arabic here aptly describes the Latin, as it does so often in the primer. The later annotator made an even more interesting note on folio 9v, as he moved through this brief treatment of prepositions. The Latin offers a didactic sentence with numerous prepositions: “put a tribunal: through the wall: near the window: because of discipline.” Over the neuter accusative case noun *tribunal*, he interpreted: “and this is the pulpit of judgment”.⁴² Certainly, he thought of the tribunal in legal terms, and *al-ḥukm* fits well in this context, among other Arabic legal terms that Mozarabs employed, such as *al-fard*, a legal judgement, a term this annotator did not use here. As a point of comparison, a Mozarab translator of the Psalms, Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-qūṭī (Ḥafṣ, Son of Alvarus the Goth, fl. 889), also employed both these words in legal/religious contexts as he wrote a verse prologue to his Arabic verse translation, as did the author of an Arabic prose prologue to an Arabic prose translation of the Psalms, whose Psalter Ḥafṣ aimed to improve.⁴³ Here in the Latin primer, in turn, we see a Mozarab who clearly knew some Arabic legal vocabulary, employing it

⁴⁰ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9r. Donatus, *Ars minor*, 8, p. 600 reads “*quae praeposita aliis partibus orationis...*”

⁴¹ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9r. *al-dalālab*; I have not found *significatio* in Seybold.

⁴² BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9v. *pone tribunal: per parietem: prope fenestram: propter disciplinam; wa-huwa minbar al-ḥukm*; Seybold, p. 517, *tribunal catedra* ‘arṣ. Donatus, *Ars minor*, 8, p. 600, reads *pone tribunal, per parietem, prope fenestram, secundum fores, post tergum... propter rem*.

⁴³ Marie-Thérèse Urvoy, “Quelle est la part d’originalité dans la production écrite mozarab?”, in Matthias Maser and Klaus Herbers (eds.), *Die Mozaraber: Definitionen und Perspektiven der Forschung*. Geschichte und Kultur der Iberischen Welt Vol. 7 (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2011), p. 74; see as well Geoffrey Martin, “An Anonymous Mozarab Translator at Work”, in Miriam Lindgren Hjälme (ed.), *Senses of Scripture, Treasures of Tradition* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2017), 125-152, which interprets author of an earlier Arabic prose prologue and translation in greater depth than did Urvoy, who focused upon Ḥafṣ. Pieter S.J. Van Koningsveld has argued that the prose prologue comes from Ḥafṣ ibn Albar as well, with Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS. ar. 5, which has the prose prologue, as an Arabic prose translation from an earlier translator. I thus now refer to the author of the prose prologue, accepting that it may be Ḥafṣ ibn Albar, although it seems equally probable that Ḥafṣ incorporated the earlier prologue of another Mozarab, the translator of the Psalms in Arabic prose as in BAV MS ar. 5, into his own translation project. Cf. *The Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī: Prolegomena for a Critical Edition*, edited and translated by Pieter S.J. Van Koningsveld (Leiden: Aurora, 2016).

as he covered Latin prepositions.⁴⁴ Indeed, when he shortly thereafter read the Latin “belonging to the eye-witnesses (*penes arbitros*),” he wrote in Arabic, “arbiters”.⁴⁵ For a passing moment, the evidence suggests, he thought with legal terms, much as earlier in the manuscript he employed terms which we often see in philosophy, such as *al-ṣifāh*, to describe the parts of speech.

In addition to this second annotator commenting upon conjunctions and prepositions, on folio 9v as well Copyist A wrote of interjections [Plate 1].⁴⁶ Here too, he thought in Arabic. Rather than translating the Latin’s “The Eighth Part”, Copyist A wrote in Arabic the “chapter of exclamations” in both the left- and right-hand margins. The effect of his Arabic makes it easy for him or another Mozarab to find this section upon further reading. The Arabic root, from which he worked, *‘j-b*, covers in its most basic meaning wonderment and amazement. His Arabic note thus offers insight into how at least some Mozarabs thought about interjections as utterances of amazement or surprise.⁴⁷

The most interesting Arabic notes on folio 9v, however, treat a Latin passage in the lower margin. A separate hand wrote the passage in thinner Visigothic script. The Latin has a thin *ductus*, and I suggest it comes from the Arabic annotator with the thin script, who made many notes in the opening folios of the manuscript as well. Perhaps most importantly, although erasures muddy the meaning of this Latin exercise that I discuss below, nevertheless it illuminates how an Arabic-speaking Christian approached that language by way of Arabic. In contrast to what we have above, with interesting but at times random notes on Donatus’s and Priscian’s treatment of Latin grammar, this annotator here put into Arabic nearly every Latin word of the exercise.

To try and make sense of its disjointed content, I have divided the passage into four parts/clauses below. But here I offer the note in full, one that does not come from the Donatus text, complete with its many Arabic notes:

⁴⁴ I hesitate to refer to *al-ḥukm* as a distinctly Islamic term, in part because Christians employed it so frequently. For an excellent treatment of how to classify Arabic-Islamic vocabulary, see Miriam Lindgren Hjälm, “Scriptures beyond Words: “Islamic Vocabulary in Early Christian Bible Translations”, *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 15 (2018), pp. 49-69.

⁴⁵ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9v. *al-ḥukām*. He wrote several other notes on this folio as well, which I have not discussed for the sake of concision. Seybold, p. 28 lists *arbitror aḥsibu wa-azunnu*, *arbitrium hukm wa-ṣay’ab* (*sic*).

⁴⁶ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9v.

⁴⁷ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9v. *pars octava; bab al-ta’ajjub*, Pieter Van Koningsveld, in his relatively brief descriptions of Latin manuscripts with Arabic notes in *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, makes clear that the Mozarabs in general employed phrases such as this in those Arabic notes.

Sic (hākaḏā) [a]nxiaretur (al-ḏajar)·inutiles (al-fāšlīn)·dissipavit (yubaddidu)·susceptor (al-nāšir) ne dispexeris (lam tata'allam)·dinitie (al-ḡanā') semel (marratan)·non migrabor (lā 'ubrahū) usura (al-riban) nequitia (al-šarr)·iacula: Tunc (hīma'ḏin): aspide (al-af'an) :annas (al-'iwaj or al-'awaj) ·dirige (istaqim fi) refugium (al-malja'): compunctionis (hiya al-nadāma)·repulisti nos (aqšātānā)·aderit (lahiqat) dum (idā)·aueritis (tašuddu)·ne umquam (laylan)

“Thus, lest he might worry, the helper sends away the weak, lest you know of riches. I shall not be moved once by usury, by the wickedness, by a dart. Then, direct the grimaces from an asp as a refuge of compunction. You repelled us, she [the asp] will be present while you turn your back. Lest at any time...”

These confusing clauses read somewhat coherently together, but clearly formed a Latin sentence exercise. The Arabic notes which he put above the Latin effectively confirm the individual readings. For after writing “thus” in both Latin and Arabic, the Latin has a partial erasure, but the Arabic note, “worry”, effectively confirms *anxiaretur*.⁴⁸ Above “the helper dissipates the weak,” he wrote in Arabic “the weak ones”, “he dissipates,” and “the helper”.⁴⁹ These notes read more complicated than they might seem. Note, for example, how he rendered *inutiles*, meaning “useless” but also “unprofitable”, as *al-fāšlīn* or “weak”. *Al-nāšir* furthermore describes the Latin *susceptor* perfectly; indeed, the Arabic reading confirms for us that the Latin does not read *susceptos*.⁵⁰ The sense here is the helper takes those in need under his care, for a *susceptor* is also someone who takes someone or something under their wing. Indeed, while I have not found this exact Latin phrase in a text, I strongly suspect it comes from the cobbling together of Psalm 53:6, in which God is *susceptor* of a soul, and Psalm 52:6, where he dissipates the bones of his enemies.⁵¹ *Ne dispexeris*, a probable reading which an erasure obscures, has a likely Arabic gloss of *lam tata'allam*, in the jussive mood. While the Latin means “to see clearly” or “to perceive,” the Arabic more often means “to know,” in the sense of knowledge rather than recognizing someone, as in the Latin *conocere*.⁵²

In the second part of the exercise, he again began with a conjunction, writing in both Latin and Arabic “one time”.⁵³ He then wrote above “I shall not be moved by evil usury”, “I shall

⁴⁸ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9v. *hākaḏā; al-ḏajar*.

⁴⁹ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9v. *al-fāšlīn; yubaddidu; al-nāšir*, Seybold, p. 272, *inutilis ḡayr mustabasana*, p. 142, *dissipō abattiku wa-afarriqu wa-abribu wa-ad'adi'u wa-aqta'u wa-abdimu wa- aḡayru wa-abasšimū*, p. 496, *susceptor qabiḏ mutaḡabbil*.

⁵⁰ The graph ends with a typical Visigothic *-tor / -tos* ligature, and *s* and *r* often look similar. *Al-nāšir* effectively confirms the Latin reading *susceptor*.

⁵¹ Ps. 52:6: *Deum non invocaverunt, timuerunt timore ubi non est timor quoniam Deus dissipavit ossa eorum qui hominibus placent confusi sunt*. Ps. 53:6: *ecce enim Deus adiuvat me Dominus susceptor animae meae*.

⁵² Seybold p. 141 reads *dispicio adāfi' a*.

⁵³ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9v. *semel; marratan*; Seybold p. 462, *semel marratan wa-abidatan*.

not leave,” “usury,” and “evil”.⁵⁴ The passive verb *non migrabor* he rendered with *lā ’ubrahū*: although he did not vocalize the word, I have translated it as a passive to fit better with the Latin, and since the Arabic jibes so well with the Latin throughout the passage. Both verbs have the meaning “to leave”. To my mind, it thus seems that he worked through this Latin not only clause-by-clause, but also word-for-word. He did not write out Arabic sentences translating each of these Latin clauses / sentences that do not fit well together, but rather defined one Latin term after another.

The clause relating to the asp furthermore puzzles. The verb here is *dirige*, an imperative meaning “direct” or “guide,” which he translated with the Arabic tenth-form imperative “stick in”.⁵⁵ Although someone erased part of the Latin graph, nevertheless the final –e, strong evidence of an imperative mood verb, remains sufficiently visible. So too has someone erased partly *sannas*, meaning grimaces, but it is the most likely direct object, which he rendered in Arabic as “crookedness”.⁵⁶ I have here transcribed it as “*al-’iwaj*” or “*al-’awaj*” in large part because I think the annotator expressed the crookedness of one’s face as the asp bites. Above *tunc*, he wrote in Arabic “at that time”.⁵⁷ Asp he likewise rendered with precision.⁵⁸ With this note, he wrote a letter above the final *jim*, perhaps a *yā’*, and then erased that letter, in the process making the whole word more difficult to decipher. His Arabic notes for refuge and compunction read straightforward: a “refuge,” and literally “it is the repenting” for compunction.⁵⁹

The passage ends with the helper protecting these people from the asp. *Aderit*, “she will be among” or “she will be present” he rendered as *lahiqat*, “she clung” or “she entered,” which has a feminine subject—quite likely the asp--, and was a verb the other annotators employed on earlier occasions.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the Latin *aderit* is in the future tense, while this Arabic annotator most certainly rendered the Arabic in the *māḍi* perfect tense. *Dum* he translated as *idā*, both of which mean “when” or “while,” and from this particular note, we see that he translated mundane conjunctions that one employs often in both Latin and Arabic. Then, for *avertis*, “you turn your back”, he employed “you turn away” in Arabic.⁶¹ As so often in this primer, we cannot know exactly what the annotator thought as he wrote his final Arabic note

⁵⁴ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9v. *lā ’ubrahū*; *al-riban*; *al-šarr*; Seybold, p. 315, *migro ahrūju*; Seybold, p. 546, *usura ribā’ [sic]*; Seybold, p. 333, *nequitia šamm wa-zulm wa-širra*.

⁵⁵ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9v. *istaqim fī*; Seybold, p. 137, *dirigo aqanwimu*.

⁵⁶ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9v. *al-’iwaj* or *al-’awaj*.

⁵⁷ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9v. *hina’din*.

⁵⁸ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9v. *al-af’an*; Seybold, p. 33, *aspis al-bayyah al-šamā’*.

⁵⁹ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9v. *al-malja’*; *hiya al-nadamah*.

⁶⁰ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9v. *lahiqat*; Seybold, p. 9, *adsum ba’anadā ḥadir*.

⁶¹ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9v. *tašuddu*; Seybold, p. 37, *averto aqlibu wa-ašrifu*.

in the exercise, but with it he set a more precise timeframe in the Arabic “at night”, than he did in the Latin, where he wrote “at any time”.⁶²

In addition to this Latin exercise in four clauses, this annotator of Latin and Arabic in the margins furthermore did a translation of sorts with a verse from the *Vetus Latina* Psalms, that is, one from a series of Greek to Latin translations predating Jerome’s Hebrew to Latin Vulgate Psalter.⁶³ The verse is Ps. 36:32: “*considerat peccator iustum et querit perdere eum*,” or “the sinner considers the just man, and wants to destroy him”.⁶⁴ He translated sinner, *peccator*, as *al-ḥāṭī*, precisely that in Arabic.⁶⁵ Furthermore, he put the preposition *bi* (بِ) before *al-sadq* or *al-sidq*, which translates to “concerning” or “about” the just man. *Bi* thus works much like the Latin preposition *de*, which does not figure in the Latin here.⁶⁶ For *querit*, he employed an eighth-form verb: *yultamisu*, which indeed means “he seeks,” complete with *an*, the conjunction “that.” Over *perdere eum*, meanwhile, he wrote a verb here meaning “he kills him”.⁶⁷ Indeed, if one takes into account the preposition *bi* marking the direct object of the verb, here reads something like a sentence in Arabic as well.

In sum, this annotator’s Latin exercises illuminate his word choices and his movement between two very different languages. In the larger framework of the manuscript, he furthermore turned to these translations seemingly after he had made his notes upon Donatus’ explanation of Latin adverbs and conjunctions. That is, he went from annotating Donatus’ explanation of the Latin language, to rendering Latin clauses/phrases as well. He translated the Arabic faithfully, moving word-for-word, so much so that we can nearly see him switching between Latin and Arabic repeatedly. But he did not do these clause-length exercises elsewhere in the manuscript, as he kept translating through Donatus’ and later Priscian’s text. What we therefore see in these examples illuminates a shift in how this annotator employed Arabic to understand his Latin better, whether for his own learning or for teaching other Arabic-speakers.

⁶² BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 9v. *laylan; umquam*; Seybold, p. 541, *umquam aliquando* [lacking Arabic].

⁶³ The translation most likely comes from the *Vetus Latina Hispana*.

⁶⁴ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 11r. *considerat peccator iustum et querit perdere eum*. See Ps 36:32 (Vulgate): *considerat peccator iustum et quaerit mortificare eum*. He also wrote exercises on folios 10r-v.

⁶⁵ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 11r. *al-ḥāṭī*; Seybold, p. 370, *peccator al-mudnib*.

⁶⁶ There are clearly two dots under this initial *bā*, which I suggest are its normal one dot and a *kasrah* marking its vowel sound. Furthermore, this cannot be the exclamatory particle *yā*, as the graph is enclitic, while *yā* is not, and the noun following *yā* never takes the definite article.

⁶⁷ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 11r. *yamitubu*. See, Lane’s Arabic-English Lexicon, p. 2741, for this relatively rare form of the verb. Seybold, p. 425, *quero aſtaqidu wa-aṭlubu wa-ahwā wa-arḡabu wa-aridu*; Seybold, p. 375, *perdo atallifu wa-abliku*.

A Possible New Copyist and Annotators on Latin Verbs, Folio 13v

Above, we saw Arabic-speaking Christians learning how to write about Latin verb conjugation. Folio 13v, meanwhile, offers evidence of them putting the earlier readings to use.⁶⁸ The Latin copyist of these folios is difficult to pin down: while Copyist A did folio 13r, the script on folio 13v looks more compact, save for a few lines which do have more word spacing [Plate 2]. I thus cannot say definitively if a new copyist made this folio and those immediately following it, or if Copyist A wrote with a more disciplined script here. But the earlier annotator wrote in his thinner Arabic script here too, as well as Latin interlinear notes commenting upon vocabulary. Likewise, a separate Latin hand wrote in the folio's margins. The copyist, whether Copyist A or another, and his annotators, worked much as did the others, here reading of the four conjugations of regular Latin verbs. These four conjugations stem from their infinitive ending: *-āre*, *-ēre*, *-ere*, and *-ire*.⁶⁹ Knowing the conjugation of a verb in turn helps one remember its four principal parts, the four parts of a verb from which one can arrive at the other forms.

The folio marks an important shift in texts. The copyist of the folio here built upon Priscian's treatment of first-conjugation perfect tense verbs in his *Institutes*. Louis Holtz has pointed to the similarities between the manuscript and Books 9 and 10 of Priscian's grammar. Yet I note at the outset here that the copyist of this folio, and its numerous annotators, did not follow Priscian completely, but rather added in forms of the perfect passive participle to the text as well, where Priscian had only written the first-person singular present and perfect tenses, such as "*domo domu*".⁷⁰ More precisely, much of what he copied deals with Book IX, 32 of his *Institutes*, where the grammarian notes that first-conjugation verbs beginning with a preposition, a prefix, tend in have perfect endings in *-ui* rather than *-avi*.⁷¹ I have not transcribed the entirety of this folio because I have worked with examples that do not follow one another on the parchment, but I do concur with Louis Holtz that the readings come from the *Institutes*, which treats verbs at greater length than had Donatus in his *Ars minor*.⁷²

⁶⁸ I am aware of Luis Molina and Mayte Penelas' fascinating interpretation of several copyists who at times worked on the same folio, "The *Codex Unicus* of the Second Volume of Ibn Ḥayyān's *Muqtabis*. An Example of Cooperative Copying," *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 6 (2015), pp. 260-79 (esp. 265-266), but I do not think that is the case in this primer.

⁶⁹ For clarity, I have included macrons here, although medieval writers did not use them, and I do not use them in the examples which follow.

⁷⁰ Priscian, *Institutionum Grammaticarum Libri XVIII*, ed. Henric Keil, in *Grammatici Latini*, vol. II (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1981), p. 459.

⁷¹ Priscian, *Institutionum*, IX.32. *nam cum prepositione magis per 'ui' divisas, cum nomine vero compositum per 'avi' terminat perfectum, ut 'implico implicui', 'applico applicavi', 'explico explicui', 'replico replicui', 'complico complicui', 'duplico' vero 'duplicavi', 'triplico triplicavi', 'multiplico multiplicavi'.*

⁷² Louis Holtz, *Donat*, p. 385. The readings come from IX, 32.

As he read about first-conjugation verbs on folio 13v, the Arabic annotator with a thin hand, I suspect, thought of how to render Latin morphology in that language. It reads a little odd that this important lesson follows the treatment of adverbs, but that oddity stems in part from the shift to Priscian, after copying the *Ars minor*. As one example of a first-conjugation verb, the copyist worked through the verb “to create,” *creare*, although he did not write the infinitive, but rather “*creo te, creavi, creatum*” or “I create you, I created, having been created”.⁷³ Above *creo te*, the Arabic annotator with a thin hand wrote “we create” in Arabic, *nabluqu*, which I suggest is effectively the royal we in Arabic. It likewise bears mention here that in their vernacular Arabic Moroccans now use the first-person plural in place of the first-person singular.⁷⁴ He certainly employed this form on numerous occasions, although he left no further Arabic notes for the first-person singular perfect or the perfect passive participle, the other two principal parts which he copied.

This copyist and annotator also learned through Priscian of exceptions to the rules of Latin verb conjugation. When the annotator with thin Arabic script read the verb *domare*, to pacify, he annotated in much the same way as with *creare*. After reading: “*exceptis domo te domui domitus*” or “with I pacify you, I pacified, having been pacified having been excepted”, he wrote *narwudu* above the first-person singular present tense. This Arabic verb does indeed mean to pacify, as well as to tame an animal. He thus understood the Latin quite well, above all in that *domare* forms an exception to the first-person conjugations, those with an *-are* infinitive, since *domui* and *domitus* are its third and fourth principal parts, and end in *-ui* and *-itus*, rather than the *-avi* and *-atus* endings which almost all other first-conjugation verbs have.⁷⁵ The Latin verb *inrepare* also forms an exception, with *inrepu* and *inreputus* for its third- and fourth-principal parts. The Arabic annotator wrote the Arabic *inkasara*, a seventh-form verb meaning “to be broken”, which aptly describes the Latin *inrepa*: “I crash” or “snap”.⁷⁶ I suggest that he employed a seventh-form verb here because he wanted to capture the Latin’s intransitive meaning. Note as well, that here the Latin lacks a direct object such as *te*, “you”, in contrast to the above example with the transitive verb *creare*, where the first principal part reads *te creo*.

This annotator worked his way through verbs whose meanings can trip up readers as well. When he copied “I wash, I washed, having been washed”, he also made clear that *lavatum* is “different with regard to its source (*causa*) on account of *latum*”, which is the fourth principal

⁷³ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v.

⁷⁴ I thank Jessica Streit for this interesting insight. Seybold, p. 109, *creatus generatus natus* [lacking Arabic].

⁷⁵ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v.; Seybold, p. 147, *domat yarudu*.

⁷⁶ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v. *inkasara*; Seybold, p. 239, *inrepa incuso u' atibu wa-antabidu wa-anbā wa-an' idu wa-asjuru wa-aksiru wa-unažī' u*.

part for *ferre*, to carry, and thus means “having been carried”.⁷⁷ That is, the Latin copyist warned readers not to mix-up *lavatum* with *latum*, and he did so, he offered an interpretation of sorts on Priscian, who likewise treats this Latin. The annotator then wrote in Arabic “this is the sources” above “different with regard to its source”.⁷⁸ *Al-‘uyūn*, the plural of *al-‘ayn*, can also mean substance or essence, which fits well with what the copyist wrote of *lavare*’s sources, that is, its principal parts. It also bears mention that as *lavare* deals with water, so too *‘ayn*, *‘uyūn* has “fountain or spring” as one of its most basic meanings. Without speculating too much, we can wonder if the annotator remembered this as he wrote of *lavare*’s principal parts, or if he simply played a word game as he learned and/or taught.⁷⁹

In addition to the Arabic annotator’s treatment of the Latin, someone, quite likely the same annotator, wrote Latin synonyms to Priscian’s examples. For *mico*, with a lesser meaning of “to shine,” this annotator wrote *fulgeo*.⁸⁰ He thus offers evidence that he worked with the meaning of these verbs in some depth, as *mico*’s primary meaning is “to dash” or “to flee”. The *ductus* of his Latin furthermore looks similar to that of the Arabic, for example with reference to the thickness of the letterforms, suggesting that he held his pen the same way as he wrote in his two languages.

This Latin annotator kept up this mode of reading over the course of the folio, in which he also treated the other verb conjugations. As he read, “he ran out the spirit (*deficit spiritum*) [is also] for I fight (*dimico*)”, he wrote *pugno*, another verb for “to fight”. This Latin admittedly reads strangely, as the verb *deficit* most often is intransitive, along the lines of “the spirit (*spiritus*) expired,” but the copyist has *spiritum* in the accusative.⁸¹ The annotator may have made a note here to explain a seemingly lesser-known word, *dimico*, through a more common one such as *pugno*. In the bigger picture, what thus makes folio 13v so important is that it illuminates Arabic-speaking Christians moving back and forth between Latin and Arabic, not only employing Arabic to understand Latin, but now also noting Latin synonyms as well.

In a similar manner, this annotator read of verbs that have multiple preterit forms and perfect passive participles: “I thunder, I thundered (*intonavi*) or I thundered (*intonui*), having been thundered (*intonatum*), or having been thundered (*intonitum*)”.⁸² There, above “I thunder,”

⁷⁷ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v. *lavo lavi lavatum; Differentia causa · propter latum*, Priscian, *Institutionum*, p. 459 (VIII.13) has *antiqui tamen haec quoque secundum analogiam saepe proferebant, unde Terentius in eunucho: ‘Dum haec mecum puto, accersitur lavatum interea virgo ‘lavatum’ dixit, quod est a ‘lavavi’, pro ‘lautum’ vel ‘lotum’.*

⁷⁸ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v. *Huwa al-‘uyūn*; Seybold, 61, *causa sabab*.

⁷⁹ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v. I thank Jessica Streit here as well for this interesting interpretation.

⁸⁰ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v. He appears to have made a correction when he wrote an *l* above the *u* and *g* in *fulgeo*.

⁸¹ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v. *Deficit spiritum · nam · dimico, Pugno*.

⁸² BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v. *intono intonaui · uel intonui · intonatum · uel intonitum*.

he wrote *facere sonitum*, “I make a noise”.⁸³ Again, he offered up a Latin synonym, in this case employing a transitive verb and its direct object to explain an intransitive verb, *intono*. Note as well how the Latin lesson that Priscian offered here is that *intonare* has two forms each for its perfect tense and the perfect passive participle, similar to the exceptions which he treated above. Yet the evidence which this annotator left us suggests he wanted to explain the word’s meaning, rather than focusing upon how *intonare* breaks the rules of first-conjugation verbs.⁸⁴

As yet another example of this synonym annotating, he wrote *iaceo* above the verb *cubo*. Both of these verbs mean “to lie down”.⁸⁵ It seems that here on folio 13v, this annotator keenly worked through his Latin vocabulary. He did so while reading of a verb’s principal parts and the exceptions to the rules by which one conjugated these verbs, as when he read of *intonavi* or *intonui* as “I thundered”.⁸⁶ The evidence he has left us shows him turning to the writing of Latin notes, which in turn complement the Arabic ones. In general, these annotators in Latin and Arabic, who likely are the same person, wrote more in Donatus and Priscian’s language, indeed the language in which Arabic-speaking Christians also read many theological works, as they moved deeper into the primer.

In much the same manner as above, he wrote a Latin interlinear note, “I stand I confirm,” when he read the Latin “I agree I agreed having been agreed”.⁸⁷ Here he explained that “I stand”, *sto*, effectively forms the base of the verb “I agree”, *consto*, with the prefix *con-* strengthening the word, while also making clear that *confirmo* is a synonym of *consto*. He thereby offers insight into how he saw Latin words complementary to one another, and how a prefix such as *con-* changed the meaning of a word.⁸⁸ Perhaps most importantly, the note reads much as others from the other annotators, leaving us with a view of hermeneutical continuity across several Arabic-speaking Christians.

As another example, here of the second declension, he interpreted *ardeo·arsi* in the Priscian text with “*diligo uel cupio*”. While the primary meaning of the verb *ardere* is “to be on fire,” this annotator saw it as being in love, the meaning of *diligo* and *cupio*.⁸⁹ He thus reminds us of the subtlety with which these Christians approached their Latin primer, and more specifically the

⁸³ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v. *intono; sonitum facio*. He abbreviated *sonitum* here, so that the graph reads *soni(tum)*. The abbreviation which made has a horizontal line running from the foot of the *n*, crossing through an *i*. Since there is an unabbreviated *i*, I have transcribed the graph as *sonitum*. If he had written *son(um)*, I would expect to see a horizontal line above the *n*.

⁸⁴ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v.

⁸⁵ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v.

⁸⁶ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v.

⁸⁷ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v. *sto confirmo; consto constitui constantum*.

⁸⁸ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v.

⁸⁹ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v. *ardeo·arsi; diligo uel cupio*.

precision they brought to his Arabic and Latin annotating. While this annotator made many Latin synonym notes that we can group together, we also need to remember that he put much thought into each of them: he was not working mindlessly.

As a final example, he commented in both thin Latin and Arabic upon the verb *adstare*, “to stand at”. He wrote in Latin “I am present (*presento*)” when he read “I stand at·I stood at·Having been stood/placed”.⁹⁰ This annotator furthermore wrote in Arabic, with *naḳṭiru*, “we are present in one’s mind”.⁹¹ *Naḳṭiru* in turn looks very much reminiscent of the other notes he made, and reads like those in which he conjugated Arabic verbs in the first-person plural *muḳāriʿ*, which we have here, rather than the first-person singular.⁹² This annotator, who almost certainly made earlier Arabic notes in thin script, thus turned increasingly to writing Latin, but never left his Arabic as well.

In addition to these interlinear Arabic and Latin notes, yet another annotator also filled the margins of folio 13v with Latin. One such note treats first-person and at times second-person singular verbs:

Propello
Uelo·uelas
merito neco
Iugulo·iugulas
Loquor
assero·assentio
metablo (for a form related to *metabolum*?)
[erasure]· *peruello*

I move forward
I veil· you veil
I earn frequently I Kill (or worthily I Kill)
I slit the throat· you slit the throat
I assert· I assent
(A verb related to change)
[Erasure]·I pluck

⁹⁰ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v. *adsto adstisti adstitum (sic); presento*. The forms I have found in Lewis and Short include *adsto*, *adstare*, *adsteti*, *adstatus*, and *adsto*, *adstare*, *adstisti*, with no fourth principal part. Quite clearly, Donatus and/or the copyist mixed these two listings of the verb.

⁹¹ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v.

⁹² BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v.

Propello and *velo* do not relate to each other, but this evidence suggests that he practiced conjugating verbs yet again, although he did not write out the third-person singular or any plural forms. He then wrote *merito*, either a verb here meaning “to earn frequently” or the adverb “worthily”, and *neco*, “I kill”.⁹³ Why he departed here from conjugating verbs in the second-person remains a mystery, but he returned to the practice with *Iugulo iugulas*, or “I slit the throat · you slit the throat”.⁹⁴

His note thus covered a range of verb types here. *Velo* offers a standard first-conjugation verb. But he has written *loquor*, “I speak,” offering an example of a deponent verb, one with passive morphology but active meaning. So too did he work with verbs that have prefixes, much as the Priscilian text teaches, with *propello* and *asserero* and *assentio*, where the preposition *ad* assimilates into *as*. What he wrote for *assentio* reads *asse(n)tio*, with a horizontal line marking the abbreviated *-n*. This word thus cannot be *assertio*, the noun which derives from *asserero*. Brief as it is, this note lets us watch Latin learning in practice, but what the annotator wrote here remains difficult to interpret- it reads now much like random thoughts, with examples sharing little in common.

The end of the note puzzles, but offers hints of the depth in which this Latin annotator worked through a lesson on verbs. *Metabolo* may well be an abbreviation of *metabolum*, which the Dictionary of Medieval Latin in British Sources attests as a change of place or journey. That is, it likely comes from a syncopated Greek word, transliterated into Latin. The final word reads *peruello*, to pluck, and fits with the above verbal forms with prefixes, as *per* can mean through but also intensifies the meaning of a verb. The whole note too illuminates the eccentric character of copying in this manuscript. He clearly thought of how to form verbs, but the words by which he did so read quite random.

In sum, I have focused upon folio 13v because it shows numerous Iberian Christians, at least one of whom was a Mozarab, learning and/or teaching Latin verbs with numerous meanings. For scholars, working with the Arabic and Latin of this folio lets us watch Arabic-speaking Christians moving between two very different languages. These annotators worked through these verbs in some depth, with the annotator who wrote thin Latin and Arabic notes likely doing so after noting the technical language of Latin grammar in the opening folios of the manuscript, where he was in dialogue with Copyist A. His thorough annotating thus offers us a window into how the Mozarabs turned to Latin, a liturgical language that they revered, while speaking Arabic and a romance dialect. In a very real way, the annotators’ poring over

⁹³ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v. As a point of comparison, Seybold, p. 330 has *necat yaqtulu*, although no one wrote Arabic here.

⁹⁴ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v.

these Latin verbs, among many other notes, furthermore reminds us that Latin *grammatica* lay at the root of the Mozarabs' reading of Latin Bibles, as well as works of Pope Gregory I (d. 604), Isidore of Seville (d. 636), and others. This is no small point, as scholars need to consider both Latin and Arabic evidence to understand the Mozarabs' intellectual communities. While Mozarab, a term of convenience as I noted at the outset, means "those having become Arab," they nevertheless read Latin as well.⁹⁵

Flora and Fauna in the Latin Word List on Folios 26r-27r

Quite strikingly, these annotators wrote in Arabic throughout the primer. So much so, indeed, that I cannot treat the whole manuscript in the depth with which I have covered the foregoing case studies. Yet briefly I should note that they worked through Donatus, alongside the above attributed excerpts from Priscian, before a copyist put an incipit to that sixth-century grammarian's *Institutes* in the middle of folio 16v, which text runs until folio 22r. Indeed, whoever bound these quires put the *Institutes* between sections of Donatus, whose "Definitions of nouns and other parts of speech," readings from his *Ars maior*, begins on folio 22v.⁹⁶ Yet more interestingly, to my mind, at least two hands copied two Latin word lists into folios 26r-27r, each full of arcane vocabulary that has little to do with grammar *per se*, and which while lacking an *incipit*, nevertheless follow the *explicit* for a section of Donatus on interjections, one which adds to the earlier treatment of interjections in the manuscript. The hand on folio 26r-26v looks quite like that of Copyist A, although perhaps a little rushed, and markedly different from folio 27r.⁹⁷

The lists do not appear in the critical edition of Donatus' *Ars maior*, but rather very likely come from the Roman Suetonius (d. after 122 CE).⁹⁸ They complement well the annotating which these copyists did throughout the manuscript, with this Latin vocabulary supplementing Donatus' and Priscian's grammars, and further illuminating the ties between these Arabic-speaking Christians and classical education. This Latin vocabulary thus sheds light upon how copyists made these grammarians' influential works into a text of their own, all the while

⁹⁵ As Arabic-speaking Christians, they read both Islamic texts and those of Eastern Christians as well, on which see Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, 1050-1200* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), esp. Chapters 2-3.

⁹⁶ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 22v *Incipiunt definitiones nominum ceterarumque partium orationis*. I should note here as well that this same copyist wrote "It is done, thanks to God time after time," *Finit deo gratias crebro*, on folio 22r. He then began to copy folio 22v.

⁹⁷ His Visigothic script widened as he wrote, as if he tired while at his task, so that it looks much like the script on folio 13v.

⁹⁸ I discuss this authorship further below, after treating the terms in the list.

following the traditions of Latin education in the Middle Ages. The lists also suggest, to my mind, that someone later bound folios from numerous copyists into a single Latin primer, which may also explain the earlier unattributed excerpts from Priscian.⁹⁹

As I demonstrate below, many of the terms that the copyists of these lists wrote in Latin describe fauna. They thus added to texts of Latin grammar and verb conjugation, as the lists form a tool which one memorized or consulted to better their Latin, or to work through a difficult text. As at least two hands made the list, it surprises little that they are not in alphabetical order, although the copying dovetails with the Latin-Arabic glossary which Pieter S. J. Van Koningsveld brought to light in the 1970s, in which readers turned to Arabic to aid their Latin.¹⁰⁰ While these copyists did not make a Latin-Arabic glossary, we will see that they did in fact note some Latin terms in Arabic, which language they planned into the body of the text.¹⁰¹ In sum, this back-and-forth between the word lists and the earlier conjugation of Latin verbs illuminates how these students or teachers made their primer a personal book, one that suited their own interests.

When this copyist —again, perhaps Copyist A— wrote folio 26r, he effectively created it in two parts. The upper half of the folio has Donatus' grammar, with a section on interjections. He ended with an *explicit* for that part, and then, in the middle of the folio, he began to copy vocabulary with little regard for alphabetical order. His first list then moves across the folio, but after eleven lines, roughly halfway down the folio, he made a column in the middle of the folio, in which he wrote a second list marked off from the first list. The second *fauna* list thus stands out well in the middle of the folio, with the first list surrounding it on three sides: left, above, and right. In both lists, he wrote of birds and mammals complete with the calls/noises that they make.¹⁰²

Without doubt, readers of this list, including the copyist, learned and/or taught how to describe the natural world. In the lower-left quadrant of the manuscript, in the first list, he focused only upon fauna and their calls in Latin. He noted, for example, that “eagles o scream”.¹⁰³ Here and elsewhere he wrote an underlined o after the bird's name, likely standing for *omnes*, in that all of a particular species make a certain call. In general, what he wrote here reads as a coherent whole: hawks, for example, screech, a noise the copyist rendered with the

⁹⁹ Louis Holtz treats the wordlists briefly in his manuscript description, *Donat et La Tradition*, p. 385.

¹⁰⁰ Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*, esp. pp. 5-43.

¹⁰¹ A thorough comparison between the terms in the primer and those in Francisco Javier Simonet's *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes* will almost certainly shed further light upon the Mozarabs' Latin learning. See as well Pedro Herrera Roldán, “Novedad Léxica del latín cordobés del s. IX”, *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica Estudios Latinos* Vol. 21 (2001), pp. 57-93.

¹⁰² BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 26r.

¹⁰³ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 26r. *Aquila* o clangere.

verb *plipiare*.¹⁰⁴ Among many other calls, he furthermore noted: “thrushes rouse or recite,” which captures this sound well.¹⁰⁵ For those bees, meanwhile, he employed *vombire* and *vombilare*. He switched *v* for *b*, as these Christians did, and so, he thought of *bombire* and *bombilare*, both meaning “to buzz”.¹⁰⁶ These onomatopoeias do not translate well into Arabic, which may explain the absence of Arabic notes here.

As I noted above, this copyist also made a second list, in the middle of folio 26r’s lower half. Here too he filled this space with vocabulary of natural world, complete with animals and their sounds. Deer, he remarked, “roar” or “bellow,” a term which again shows us the copyist describing their sound/call.¹⁰⁷ He put hares in his list too, and their “wailing” or “murmurs”.¹⁰⁸ He wrote of domestic animals as well, treating the sound of horses with the Latin *innire*, and cats with *meolare*, neighing (*hinnire*) and meowing.¹⁰⁹

That he made these lists puts him firmly in a tradition of Latin learning. Alvarus of Córdoba (fl. 850s-60s) refers to animal sounds in his fourth *carmen*. He writes of tigers raging, for example.¹¹⁰ It bears mention as well that in another letter, to Iohannes Hispalensis, mid-ninth century bishop of Córdoba, he humbly states that his simple prose does not follow the art of Donatus. Iohannes replied that holy men had shunned Latin education, and that Christians ought to take notice of Jerome’s life, although he does not mention that Donatus had taught Jerome (d. 420) his Latin. Alvarus then argues at some length against Donatus and Latin grammar in Christian education, and likewise seemingly makes a reference to Donatus’ teaching Latin to Jerome: “whence the holy and apostolic men seem to speak through the liberal art of Donatus, they must not be believed to have been instructed by him, but by he who gathered this same thing slightly for the same gentile”.¹¹¹ Alvarus famously lamented the

¹⁰⁴ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 26r. *accipitres q̄ plipiare*.

¹⁰⁵ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 26r. *turdos q̄ raciare vel recitare*.

¹⁰⁶ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 26r. *apes · o (sic) vombire vel vombilare*.

¹⁰⁷ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 26r. *cervos v̄ ruggire*. He here had *ruggire* in mind.

¹⁰⁸ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 26r. *lepores v̄ vagire vel mutire*.

¹⁰⁹ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 26r.

¹¹⁰ Alvarus of Córdoba, Carmen IV, ll. 1-2, in *Corpus Scriptorum Mozarabicorum (CSM)*, ed. Juan Gil, Vol. 1, p. 345. *Hinc ululansque lupus // rugens et uilis asellus // Gruniensque sues // raccans et pessima tigris*; “And from here the wolf howling // and the vile ass bellowing // and sows grunting // and the worst tiger roaring”

¹¹¹ Alvarus of Córdoba, Letters II and III, in CSM I, p. 151: *Iam te non uerbis deuacuo, set fustibus, nec sententjis per arte (sic) Donati politis, set nodosis arborum truncis, ut uel lesus nobis armatus occurras qui obtatus nulla leta conuiuia paras*. P. 154: *Hac primum de eo quod notuistis, beatissimos et apostolicos uiros non uerborum compositjonibus deserbire neque per artem liberalem Donati, set per simplicitatem currere Xpi, quid inde beatus Iheronimus senserit animaduertimus*. In Letter IV (p. 170), Alvarus replies: “Unde sancti et apostolici uiri etsi per peritjam Donati uisi sunt loqui, non ab eodem credendi sunt fuisse instructi, set ab eo qui hoc ipsut tenue eidem congegit gentili”. This fourth letter as a whole offers an excellent view of the place of Latin grammar in ninth-century Córdoba.

decline of Latin learning in mid-ninth century Córdoba, and his response to Iohannes puts forth a careful view of how Christian authors took up Latin education. The copyists in this manuscript, whenever they lived in Toledo, thereby offer an excellent view of how closely he followed a traditional Latin curriculum.

But the list in this manuscript has many animals of which Alvarus does not speak, and it may well come from an earlier source. Suetonius' list, for example, matches much of what the copyist put forth.¹¹² Bees in the Roman's work likewise *bombire* or *bombolire*, and thrushes (*turdos*) *trucilare*, similar to *truciare* in the manuscript. The lists read similar enough to suggest that the copyist worked from a tradition passing through Suetonius, although I have not pushed my research further to see if he copied from another author or manuscript which also holds Suetonius' text.¹¹³

What this copyist wrote in Latin thus reads quite differently than the earlier Latin material concerning adverbs and verb conjugation. Indeed, his Latin illuminates exactly what these Arabic-speakers taught and learned when they turned to the liturgical language of northern Europe. They read of the Psalms, as we saw earlier, and furthermore absorbed a large amount of vocabulary that teaches little about Latin grammar or the language's morphology, but rather arcane topics such as a thrush's call. And while these copyists and annotators may well have thought about the manuscript in a different way than I have interpreted it, even as I have read closely the evidence they left, nevertheless we should note how their primer's material changes over the course of its folios.

In the lower-right quadrant of folio 26r, moreover, he made several Arabic notes interpreting those Latin words [Plate 3]. They have little to do with the natural world, in contrast to much of the folio. In the larger picture of the primer, his Arabic notes add relatively little to what we have already seen, but they clarify just how frequently these Arabic-Christian copyists turned to their first language in order to understand Latin, a conclusion we can make without belittling his abilities in either language. For example, after he wrote the Latin "pushing" or "undisciplined" with its nominative and genitive forms as one finds in a dictionary, he wrote the Arabic "ravenous".¹¹⁴ Certainly, his Arabic and Latin do blend here as elsewhere, but he seemingly sought to define *procax* more precisely, perhaps as relating to appetites or temperament, as *al-ḥātif* suggests.

¹¹² Manuel-Antonio Marcos Casquero, "Repertorio de Verbos Latinos para Expresar "Voces de Animales"," pp. 117-118, points to the importance of Suetonius in this tradition, and notes that Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz made a transcription of the list in "Sobre las series de voces de animals", *Latin Script and Letters, A.D. 400-900* (Leiden: 1976), pp. 148-155.

¹¹³ See Chauncey E. Finch, "Suetonius' Catalog of Animal Sounds in Codex Vat. Lat. 6018," *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 90, No. 4 (Oct., 1969), pp. 459-463.

¹¹⁴ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 26r. *procax vis; al-ḥātif*; Seybold, p. 405, *procax promtuosus audax* [lacks Arabic].

Other notes on folio 26v, likely from the same copyist, have clearer script and equally interesting content. Yet as we see when he annotated “low-bred (*vernaculus*)” as “jocular (*ḥaẓlī*)”, the interpretation of these notes still proves difficult.¹¹⁵ Here, for example, one needs to know that vernacular does not simply refer to a vernacular language, but more specifically a language of lower register, or indeed to low-born people.¹¹⁶ Doubtless, the Mozarab who taught and learned from this primer thought of Arabic and Latin as higher-register languages, in which he read his scripture, while speaking a Romance dialect and colloquial Arabic.¹¹⁷ Yet judging from the Arabic and Latin evidence together, he thought of *vernaculus* as signifying a joke and thus rendered it so into Arabic.¹¹⁸

Just after this note, meanwhile, he annotated “to be sustained (*sustineri*)” as “bearing” or “toleration (*ih̄timal*)”.¹¹⁹ In a wise translating move, he captured the meaning of a Latin passive infinitive with the eighth-form of an Arabic root, which commonly has an intransitive/passive meaning. Rather than an Arabic verb, however, he put an Arabic noun for this Latin passive infinitive. Furthermore, while the primary meaning of *sustinere* is “to sustain”, his Arabic fits much better with “to put up with”, a lesser meaning of the Latin verb. As in the above translation of *vernaculus*, he here employed Arabic, his first language, to help him define the Latin more precisely. His attention to detail was in sum admirable, and he certainly left scholars of Arabic-speaking Christians—and not just in Iberia—valuable evidence for language learning and teaching.¹²⁰

On folio 27r, another copyist furthermore made Arabic notes of similar tone. Here, Pieter Van Koningsveld noted that the Latin words all begin with *b*, as part of a Latin glossary, although I add here that folio 26v also has entries beginning with *c*, such as “Celibates, who [are] without a living conjugal partner”, so that in the end product from various copyists, we have here a partially alphabetical list.¹²¹ But first, with regard to the Latin on which he commented, he wrote Visigothic script with a bulkier *ductus* than that of folio 26r-v. Brief as it

¹¹⁵ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 26v. Seybold, p. 531, *uernaculus uel uernulus uel uernilis gubernator seruus in domo natus uel libertus tilādi wa-mawl*.

¹¹⁶ Fernando González Muñoz likewise made clear that Alvarus and Eulogius of Córdoba both differentiated between Latin of low and high registers. See his *Latinidad Mozárabe*, p. 15.

¹¹⁷ On the languages of al-Andalus and the Mozarabs, see David Wasserstein, “The Language Situation in al-Andalus”, in Alan Jones and Richard Hitchcock, eds., *Studies on the Muwaššah and the Kharja: Proceedings of the Exeter International Colloquium* (Reading: Board of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, Oxford, 1991), pp. 1-15.

¹¹⁸ As I have noted earlier as well, Mozarabs in addition to Arabic also spoke a romance dialect.

¹¹⁹ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 26v. Seybold, p. 498, *sustinni intazartu*; Seybold, p. 498, *sustulit ih̄tamala wa-ah̄adu*.

¹²⁰ I owe much to the Arabic Bible Research Group and its heads Ronny Vollandt, Juan Pedro Monferrar-Sala, and Camilla Adang, among others, in thinking about how the reading practices of Arabic-speaking Christians and Jews in the eastern Mediterranean relate to those in Iberia.

¹²¹ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 26v, *celibes qui sine coniugio uiventi*.

is, at least one of his Arabic notes fits with the foregoing ones upon the natural world. When he wrote *bubalus*, “of or pertaining to a cow”, he put in Arabic “the bull is the creator”.¹²² Then, as he wrote in the next line “heifer (*vaccula*)”, he glossed it with *al-baqarah*, the term that one finds in the Qur’ānic sura “The Cow”. He wrote this Arabic note at the right of the Latin, as he did elsewhere in his lists. His note thus commented upon *vaccula*, but with an upward tick he signaled readers to read his note that “the bull is the creator” above as well. The interplay between notes fascinates, as *al-baqarah* clearly chimes with *vacca*, and both the Latin and Arabic for bull, *taurus* and *al-taur*, come from the Greek *ταῦρος*. Generally speaking, a learned Mozarab understood that both Latin and Arabic have many loan words from Greek, although with the exception of one note in which an annotator may have copied a syncopated Greek verb transliterated into Latin —*metablo*— the copyists and annotators worked little with the Greek language.¹²³

Furthermore, the copyist on folio 27r explained Latin vocabulary through Latin interpretations. For example, he wrote out the Latin *bruma*, “winter” or “winter solstice,” and then immediately after that Latin, he clarified in Latin as well “the short days in winter (*hiberno*)”.¹²⁴ Meanwhile, after *botrus*, a cluster of grapes, he wrote: *uve racemus*, another phrase for the fruit. After this, he interpreted the grapes as “the church or the body of the lord”.¹²⁵ That the copyist thought of Jesus and the Church together makes good sense, and although he wrote of the body of the lord here, he may well have meant the transubstantiation, the changing of substance without change in physical form, of wine into blood during the Eucharist. The Benedictine monastic reformer turned Cardinal, Peter Damian (d. 1073),

¹²² BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 27r. “*al-taur al-bar?*”. The Latin-Arabic glossary lacks a listing for *vacca* or *vaccula*.

¹²³ As further examples of this interplay, we have translators of scripture from Latin into Arabic, such as Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-qūṭī (fl.889). He translated the Psalms from Jerome’s Latin Vulgate, which in turn dealt with Hebrew, yet Ḥafṣ also in his translation aimed to correct an Arabic translation of the Psalms from an Old Latin version, whose translator worked from a Greek translation of the Hebrew, rather than the Hebrew itself. On Ḥafṣ, see especially *Le Psautier Mozarabe de Hafṣ le Goth*, edited and translated by Marie-Thérèse Urvoy (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 1994), pp. ii-xxii; Van Koningsveld (ed.), *The Arabic Psalter*, pp. 6-93. Juan Pedro Monferrar-Sala has also shown that a manuscript from the Ibn Bilašk translation of the gospels in Arabic, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS 238, has readings from a Greek exemplar, in addition to a Latin exemplar. The manuscript dates to the fourteenth century, although Ibn Bilašk revised an earlier, anonymous version of the gospels in 946. The Greek readings thereby come from a translator earlier than Ibn Bilašk. See Juan Pedro Monferrar-Sala, “‘You Brood of Vipers!’ Translations and revisions in the Andalusī Arabic version of the Gospels”, *Le Muséon* Vol. 121, No. 1-2 (2018), pp. 187-215. Cyrille Aillet likewise treats the translations in *Les Mozarabes*, pp. 189-191.

¹²⁴ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 27r. *bruma dies breves hiberno*.

¹²⁵ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 27r. *botrus · uve racemus; botrus ecclesia sive corpus domini*.

likewise wrote of the allegorical mixing of blood and wine during Jesus' passion.¹²⁶ Martin Irvine, moreover, masterfully showed that medieval Christians made Donatus' grammar, a text that effectively taught Latin through Virgil, into an ecclesiastical Latin text.¹²⁷ In the larger picture, the Latin vocabulary that he copied reads rare enough to merit interpretation, so that his explanations of vocabulary do not mean that he lacked intelligence—far from it. As a scholar of the pre-modern world often has shelves of dictionaries, so too did Arabic-speaking Christians have grammars and word-lists for Latin.¹²⁸

This list, in sum, illuminates the tools by which Arabic-speaking Christians / Mozarabs sharpened their vocabularies. Indeed, quite likely these copyists rendered their Latin vocabulary in Arabic when they did not find a way to do so in Latin, as if they lacked the Latin vocabulary to describe a heifer, *baccula/vaccula*, to cite one above example. Yet they more often than not had the ability to describe difficult/new Latin vocabulary through Latin words that they knew, or at the least knew where to look up the terms in a dictionary or other word-list. To my mind, the list offers rather strong evidence that they already knew some Latin when they made the primer, and likely employed it for review or reference. Indeed, when we remember that they also copied their material on adverbs and conjunctions before delving into verbs, it seems quite likely that they already knew how to read Donatus' Latin text on those adverbs and conjunctions. That fact, along with his list of relatively obscure vocabulary, suggests to me students with some prior knowledge of the language, or masters preparing lessons for students who already knew some Latin.

Copyist A on Latin Nouns and Adjectives

The copyists of these lists thus worked through obscure Latin nouns and commented upon them in both Latin and Arabic. More precisely, the evidence from the lists suggests they took less interest in the morphology of Latin nouns, as opposed to the building of their vocabulary. Folios 33v and 34r, however, on both of which Copyist A worked with Donatus' lengthier *Ars maior*, illuminate engagement with declensions and the case system for nouns and adjectives. Moving slightly into speculation, I want to suggest that these annotators and copyists, in

¹²⁶ Petrus Damiani, *Rythmus de Sancta Maria Virgine*, in *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 145, col. 939. "The cluster of grapes having gone out from you // which having been pressed by the winepress of the cross // drips wine of the Holy Spirit // onto the thirsty minds"; "Ex te botrus egressus / qui, crucis praelo pressus // vino rigat arentes // Sancti Spiritus mentes" I have likewise read Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ and the Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), pp. 93-121 to place Peter Damian in his theological context.

¹²⁷ Martin Irvine, *The Making of Textual Culture*, *passim*.

¹²⁸ See the overriding argument in Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*.

general, may have known the case system when they began earlier to work with Latin verbs, the heart of the primer, more thoroughly. The annotator who did practice sentences / Psalter verses in the margins of earlier folios, among his many other Arabic notes, for example, had at least some inkling of Latin morphology and how to translate it to Arabic.

Copyist A, here near the end of the primer, did not underestimate the importance of nouns to a sentence, even if the annotators on verbs offer the strongest evidence of Arabic engagement with the Latin primer. Donatus opens folio 33v by explaining what a noun is: “a part of speech with case, a body, or a thing of its own or communally, properly as Rome Tiber, communally as *urbs flumen*...”.¹²⁹ Then, he noted here that nouns have five accidents: quality, comparison, gender, figure, and case. Over figure, he wrote “the apparition” in Arabic, while comparison he glossed as “the equals and the negation which is a friend”.¹³⁰ The evidence suggests that the apparition, or *figura*, is the word which one saw. His note for *comparatio* seems to mean that nouns and adjectives in a particular declension, a group of nouns or adjectives, take particular case endings. When he wrote of the “negation which is a friend,” he likely wanted to say that some words have the same endings, despite being in different declensions: as in *urbes* (3rd Declension) and *res* (5th Declension). The passage on the whole reads very much like the introductions to verbs and adverbs, where he opened with the vocabulary that one needed to talk about the language intelligently.

In these last few folios, he moved rather quickly from topic to topic. Underneath his discussion of the accidents of a noun, for example, he also made a list of endings for the genitive case, dealing with possession, and the dative case for indirect objects, and ablative case, in which nouns and adjectives act as an agent of means with many verbs, and also the object of some prepositions. He copied in *fidelibus*, *diebus*, *manibus*, for examples of the *-ibus* ending which helps one see nouns in the third, fourth, and fifth declensions in the ablative and dative plural, in addition to third-declension adjectives in the ablative and dative plural. Yet he also made a peculiar statement about reading biblical languages: “all Latin or Hebrew or Greek nouns which come (III) to the rule (II) of Latinity (I) are among the declension endings. But

¹²⁹ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 33v. *Nomen quid est pars orationis cum casu corpus aut rem proprie communiterue significans: proprie ut roma tiberis communiter · ut urbs flumen*. This passage follows Donatus, *Ars maior*, II.2 exactly.

¹³⁰ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 33v. *Nomini quot accidunt sex · que: qualitas comparatio · genus numerus figura casus; tayf; al-aqrān wa-l-nafy ḥalīl; I am open to reading jalil in place of ḥalīl as well: “the equals and the negation which is a weighty matter,” although jalil is an adjectival form, where jullā is the noun “a matter of great importance.” Likewise, I do not see a diacritical dot marking jim, but I do see a dot after the first lam that I believe goes with ḥa’. Seybold, p. 195 has “figura miṭal wa-kīyāl wa-ṣiffah (sic for ṣiffah) wa-ṣural” and at p. 81, *comparatio muqāranah wa-taṣbiyyah*.*

only among the declensions of Latin nouns the number of declensions is five”.¹³¹ Indeed, Latin has five declensions of nouns, and only three of adjectives.

The purpose of his Roman numerals around “which come (III) to the rule (II) of Latinity (I)” remains a mystery. Latinity, *Latinitatis* in the text, is not a first-declension noun, nor should one read it first in the sentence, while *veniunt* (III) is a verb. *Regulam*, meanwhile, is not a second-declension noun, but rather in the first. While I cannot offer further insight into this odd copying, it nevertheless reminds of the difficult interpretation of this manuscript. Likewise, Copyist A seems to state that Latin nouns have more declensions than Greek or Hebrew nouns, rather than pointing out that Latin has more cases for its nouns, five, than the three for its adjectives. Whatever his intention, he left us evidence of his putting Latin alongside other classical/biblical languages.

On folio 34r, meanwhile, Copyist A left several other brief notes in Arabic. They show how he moved throughout the manuscript with an eye for glossing Latin vocabulary. Donatus here treats what today often forms the first lesson for students: first-declension noun endings in *-a*, *-s*, and *-m*.¹³² The lesson here, however, delves into greater depth than those of today. For where most think of the first declension as having only feminine nouns, the copyist, interpreting Donatus, *Ars maior* II.5, makes clear it actually has four genders: feminine, masculine, neuter, and nouns that have all three genders:

In prima declensione nomine quattuor genera reperiantur masculinum ut hic poeta: feminarum ut hec musa neutrum ut hoc pascha: commune ut hic et hec collega: adiciunt quidam · et omne genus · ut hic et hec et hoc advena.

“In the first declension, nouns of four genders are found: masculine as this poet, feminine as this muse, neuter as this passover, (masculine and feminine) commonly as this colleague; certain ones throw out every gender, as this foreigner / foreign thing”.¹³³

¹³¹ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 33v. *Omnia nomina latinorum sive ebreicorum grecorum · que ad latinitatis (I) ueniunt (III) regulam (II): declinationes terminationes inter: latinorum · vero nominum declinationes quinque tantum*, I have not found this passage in the Louis Holtz critical edition of the *Ars maior*, although passage II.3 treats Greek nouns in brief: *Sunt nomina tota Graecae declinationis, ut Themisto, Calypso, Pan; sunt tota conversa in Latinam regulam...*; Donatus mentions nothing of Hebrew nouns.

¹³² BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 34r.

¹³³ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 34r. See Donatus, *Ars maior*, II.5: *Genera nominum sunt quattuor, masculinum, femininum, neutrum, commune. Masculinum est, cui numero singulari casu nominative pronomen uel articulus praepositur hic, ut hic magister. Femininum est, cui numero singulari casu nominatio pronomen uel articulus praepositur haec, ut haec Musa. Neutrum est, cui numero singulari casu nominatio pronomen uel articulus praepositur hoc, ut hoc scammum. Commune est, quod simul masculinum femininumque significat, ut hic et haec sacerdos*. Louis Holtz, *Donat et la Tradition de L'Enseignement*, p. 386, lists *Pascha* as an example of a first-declension model noun. *Pascha, paschatis* fits well, as a

Above foreigner / foreign thing, he simply wrote “strange,” *al-ġarīb*, an adjective that nevertheless captures the meaning perfectly.

As in so much of the manuscript, Copyist A here turned to Arabic to define his Latin better. On this folio, he also read of masculine proper nouns ending in *-a*, such as Catilina, who had led a conspiracy against the Roman Republic, and the emperors Nerva and Galba. He also listed *exorcista* as an example, and glossed it as “the strength in a prayer leader,” whom he calls an *imam*, a Muslim prayer leader but also a word Arabic-speaking Christians seemingly employed for priests as well.¹³⁴ The Latin itself suggests that Copyist A, among the others, strove to know even the seemingly most basic Latin grammar, such as the first declension, in great detail.

The Latin words which he dealt with in this nearly final folio read rather rare. Indeed, they do not follow the critical edition of the *Ars maior*. Among the examples of masculine nouns with first-declension endings, for example, is *lixa*, a camp-follower, and *scurra*, a jester. In the space above the two words, almost between them, he wrote “*mušajji’an*,” which I have transcribed as the accusative of *mušajji’*, meaning “follower” or “encourager”.¹³⁵ He likewise glossed the Latin *dariga* with “*al-(r-w-j)*”, a root meaning to circulate. *Dariga* is a corruption of *daricus*, a coin that circulated in ancient Persia. That the Latin word following *dariga* is *satrapa*, a Persian territory / governor, confirms this alternate spelling.¹³⁶ Regarding the Arabic note, he certainly wrote the definite article *al-*, and then the letters *r-w-j*, but the vocalization here puzzles.

neuter noun with the same meaning, to which Lewis and Short attests with Hieronymus Ep. 96, n. 20: *post sanctum pascha*. Seybold, 10 reads “*aduena peregrinus ġarīb waqi’a nāzi’*”.

¹³⁴ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 34r, *al-’izḡ bi-imām*. I note here as well that the translator of the Psalms from Latin into Arabic prose wrote in his prologue of how Saul sang to ward off demons: “It expelled the jinn near him (Saul) and the whisperer of evil who was in his heart; *yanfi al-jinn ‘an-hi wa l-wasāwis allati fi šadrihi*.” He likewise interpreted in an Arabic summary to Psalm 90 that that song “is the voice of the church concerning its enemies among the spirits who whisper evil in the bedroom of human beings; *šawt al-bi’a ‘alā a’dā’ibā min al-jinn alladīn yawaswasun fi manām al-adāmiyyin*”. See Marie-Thérèse Urvoy (ed.), *Le Psautier Mozarabe de Hafs le Goth*, pp. 9, 145, whose edition I have followed, along with Pieter Van Koningsveld (ed.), *The Arabic Psalter*, 118, 161. Seybold, p. 178 has *exorcista grece latine adiurans siue inuocans* [lacking Arabic]; *exorcismum coniuratio siue sermo increpationis aduersum diabolum ut discedat*, or “Greek from adjuring or invoking” and “exorcism an oath or prayer of rebuke against the devil that he might leave”. The likely passage from the *Ars maior*, II.6, reads: *Nomen in a uocalem desinens nominatio casu numero singulari aut masculinum est, ut Agrippa, aut femininum, ut Marcia, aut commune, ut aduena, aut neutrum, ut toreuma (sed tamen graecum est)*. The copyist thus moves away from the readings in the critical edition.

¹³⁵ BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 34r. Seybold, p. 294 has *lixa miles deterrimus uilis qui u..... (sic)*.

¹³⁶ Harpers Latin Dictionary lists *daricus*, complete with its references in Greek sources, from which someone brought it into the Latin vocabulary. I have found no comparable reading for *daricus* in Seybold, while it reads at p. 69 *circulus zīnaq wa-hilqah (sic)*.

Perhaps he thought of a first-form *mašdar*, or verbal noun, which can also mean “to be spread” or “to circulate”, but whose form ought to be *al-rawāj*. The root in its second-form, which often intensifies the meaning of the first-form, also means “to circulate,” but then the verbal noun ought to read *al-tarmīj*, and I see no evidence here of a *tā’* nor *yā’*. Nevertheless, the Latin and the Arabic together strongly suggest Copyist A thought of the circulation of coinage as he made his note.

In a very concrete way, folio 34r brings us back to the beginning of the manuscript. For while Copyist A and the others engaged with Latin grammar from adverbs to verbs and nouns, among other topics, they throughout the manuscript employed Arabic to understand their Latin better. They ran through material which one now learns in a beginning Latin course, such as the principal parts of a verb, but also clearly aimed to grow their vocabulary, with words that one does not see frequently. Perhaps, then, they as students had already learned some Latin before they created the primer, which helped them to learn more words while reviewing Latin grammar. Likewise, if they taught, Arabic offered the means to impart Latin vocabulary to their pupils.

This manuscript on the whole offers excellent evidence for Latin learning among the Mozarabs. The copyists and annotators clear that at least some of these Arabic-speaking Christians delved into the learning of the language, with Arabic offering a tool for understanding difficult terms as needed. Doubtless we can think of Copyist A, the Arabic annotator with thin script, and the others working through the language in a rather intense way, as Donatus and Priscian guided them. We see as well, then, that at least some Mozarabs learned Latin with reference to the classical world; indeed, they did so through a late Roman text. Certainly, the vocabulary on folio 34r, with emperors such as Galba and Nerva, along with the *dariga* coin, lends weight to this classically-tinged learning. On the whole, they thus offer us a case study in which we see something of how these Mozarabs approached the learning of their other liturgical language.

Conclusion

Broadly speaking, the Mozarabs read in both Arabic and Latin, much as Eastern Christians delved into Greek, Syriac, Coptic, and Arabic.¹³⁷ While the scholarship of Francisco Javier Simonet, Pieter Van Koningsveld, and Cyrille Aillet, among others, has made clear on a large

¹³⁷ As the readers of *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* know quite well, although we have only begun to compare the experiences of Arabic-speaking Christians in the Eastern Mediterranean with those in al-Andalus / Medieval Spain.

scale that the Mozarabs read in these two languages, I in turn have further shown how an individual copyists and annotators taught and/or learned Latin.¹³⁸ Like so many other Arabic-speaking Christians in Iberia, they employed their first language to understand better the language of Latin Christendom, which the evidence suggests they knew to some degree before they made the primer. In addition to working with Priscian, the copyists hint at making Donatus's grammar, a commentary of sorts upon Virgil, into a Christian text, much as Martin Irvine showed for other medieval Christians.¹³⁹ Pieter Van Koningsveld, moreover, was absolutely correct to place this primer alongside the Latin-Arabic glossary which he interpreted at length, and to note that it demands a more thorough reading than he gave it.

These copyists and annotators furthermore illuminate the Mozarabs' intellectual life between roughly the ninth and twelfth centuries. Latin culture did not die off during these centuries, as Mikel de Epalza argued, but rather thrived, even as they translated their scripture into Arabic.¹⁴⁰ The Mozarabs turned to Bibles, chronicles, the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville, and Pope Gregory I's *Moralia in Iob*, among other codices.¹⁴¹ This primer, in turn, lets us watch Mozarabs either learning or teaching the language at the root of those codices. The ecclesiastical education of these Arabic-speaking Christians lay in grammar, in a manner reminiscent Augustine of Hippo (d. 430) in *On Christian Teaching*, where he moved from the signification of sounds, for example, to working through difficult scriptural readings. To be clear, we have no evidence of these Mozarabs turning to Augustine —although we have evidence that other Mozarabs did so.¹⁴² Yet their copying and annotating fits well with the broader contours of what Augustine and numerous other grammarians believed between the tenth and twelfth centuries: that linguistic learning formed the root of knowledge.

For these Arabic-speakers, moreover, Latin fueled the culture of *al-'ajam*. This term literally means “the barbarians,” and in eastern contexts often referred to Persian Muslims, but in al-Andalus, when Christians deployed it, they meant “the Latins.” As Travis Zadeh has shown,

¹³⁸ Francisco Javier Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*; Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary*; Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*. As Aillet especially has made clear, this interest in Latin book culture among the Mozarabs goes against Mikel de Epalza's argument that Latin culture died out in al-Andalus between the ninth and twelfth centuries. See Mikel de Epalza, “Falta de Obispos y conversión al Islam de los cristianos de al-Andalus”, *al-Qanṭara* Vol. 15 (1994), pp. 385-400.

¹³⁹ Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*.

¹⁴⁰ Mikel de Epalza, “Falta de Obispos,” *passim*.

¹⁴¹ Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, pp. 153-175.

¹⁴² Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes* p. 319, offers a brief description of Montecassino, Archivo della Badia, MS 19, a manuscript of Augustine of Hippo's *De trinitate*, which someone annotated in Arabic, before he or someone else brought it to Monte Cassino, Italy. The scribe Motarrafe likewise helped to make Madrid, Real Academia de Historia, MS 29, a copy of Augustine of Hippo's *City of God* in Latin. Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, p. 323, speculates that Motarrafe came from al-Andalus.

Arabic offered a means for Persian elites to promote their own vernacular writings; I suggest something similar happened here with Arabic-speaking Christians and their Latin culture.¹⁴³ That they taught and learned the language of the Latins so thoroughly demonstrates that these Arabic-speakers did not think of their northern neighbors pejoratively; rather, they revered their culture, including scripture.¹⁴⁴ In turning to the language of the *‘ajam*, these anonymous copyists and annotators therefore illuminate how one entered into a rich thought-world built upon luminaries such as Gregory I and Isidore of Seville. To understand these Arabic-speaking Christians, or Mozarabs, we therefore must bear in mind their intellectual debts to the Latin and Arabic languages.

¹⁴³ Cf. Travis Zadeh, *The Vernacular Qur’an: translation and the rise of Persian exegesis* (London: The Institute for Ismaili Studies, 2012), p. 166.

¹⁴⁴ In this regard, I differ from Jason Busic’s argument that Ḥafṣ ibn Albar put himself in a “linguistically awkward position” as he saw Arabs as his opponents with regard to translation, while calling Latin the foreign language. *‘Ajam*, *‘ajami*, and the like had little pejorative force when referring to Latin. See his very interesting work “Between Latin Theology and Arabic Kalām”, p. 575; see as well Geoffrey Martin, “An Anonymous Mozarab Translator at Work,” in Miriam Lindgren Hjälms (ed.), *Senses of Scripture, Treasures of Tradition*, pp. 125-152.

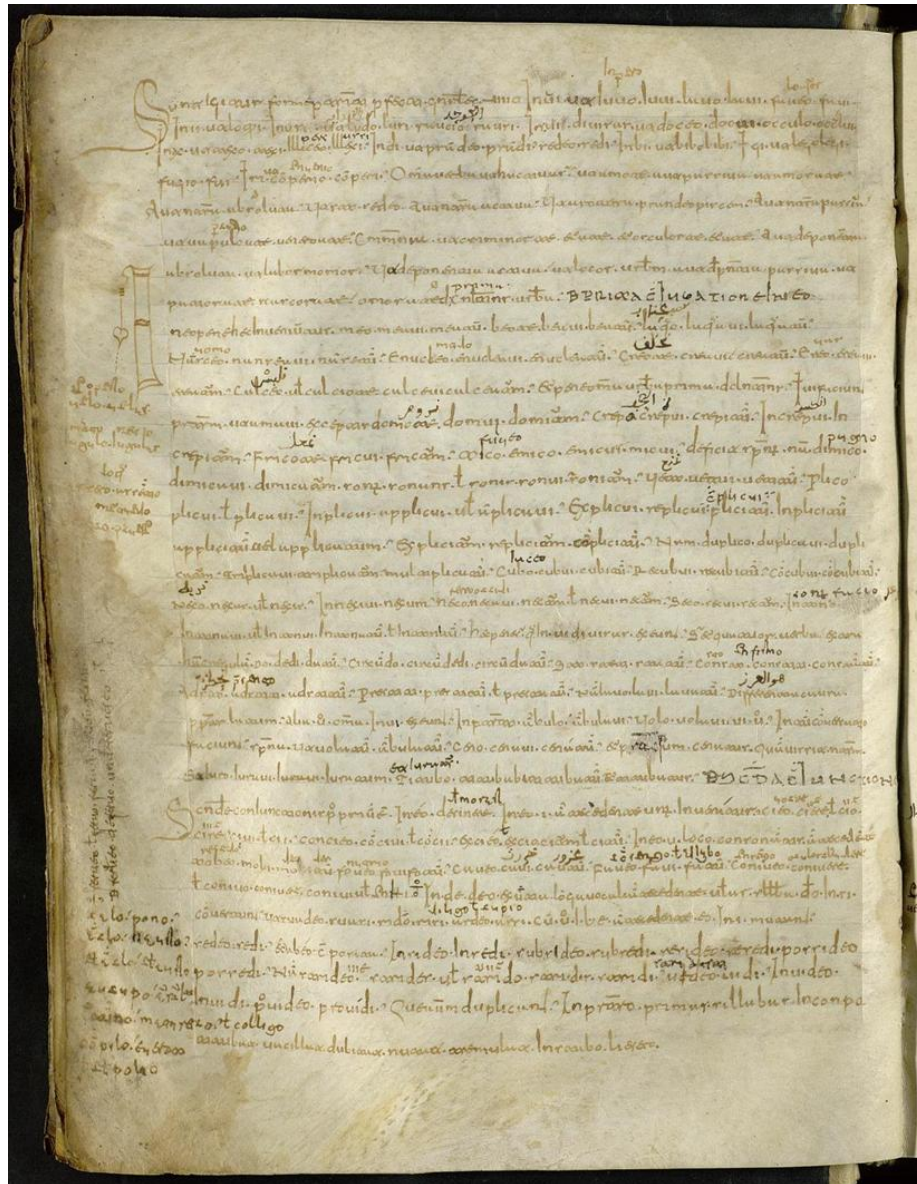


Plate 2 BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 13v. Arabic and Latin interlinear notes, as well as Latin marginal notes

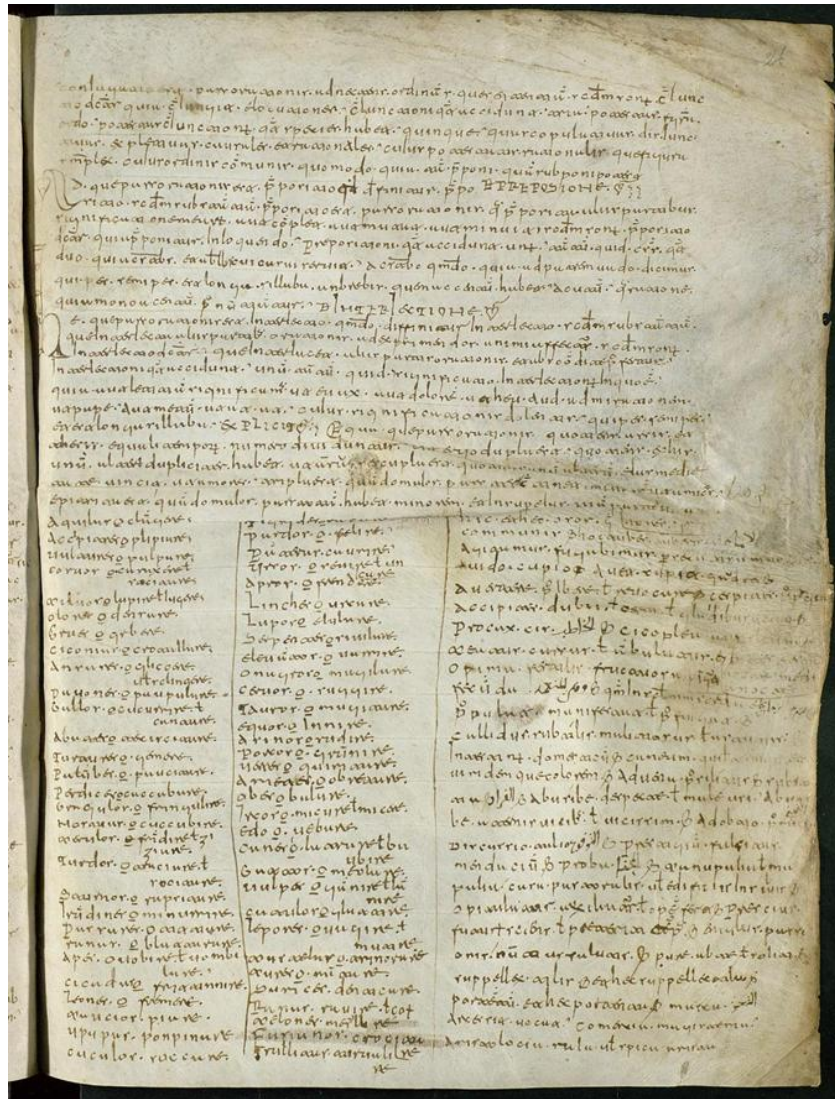


Plate 3 BCT MS Cajón 99.30, fol. 26r. Latin Word lists, which likely come from a Suetonian tradition

Abstract: This article interprets the Latin and Arabic notes of Christians who made a primer of Latin grammatical texts—primarily Donatus’ *Ars grammatica*—in order to shore up their Latin vocabulary. The copyists and annotators of this manuscript on the whole offers excellent evidence for Latin learning among Iberia’s Arabic-speaking Christians, who thrived in much of the peninsula between the ninth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁴⁵

Keywords: Arabic annotations; Latin Grammar; Arabic-Speaking Christians / Mozarabs; Visigothic Manuscripts

Resumen: Este artículo interprete las notas marginales árabes y latines en un libro de texto de gramática latín. Trabajando primeramente con la *Ars grammatica* de Donato, los anotadores y copistas del manuscrito desarrollaron su vocabulario latín por las notas árabes. Es por ello que el manuscrito es una evidencia excelente para el aprendizaje de latín entre los cristianos árabes en Iberia, quienes crecieron durante los siglos IX-XIII.

Palabras clave: Anotaciones árabes; Gramática árabe; Cristianos arabónofos / Mozárabes; Manuscritos visigóticos.

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