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LUCIFER AND THE ARABIC PALAEOGRAPHY.
A CONTRIBUTION ON THE ORIENTAL GLOSSES
OF THE BIBLE OF CAVA DEI TIRRENI[*]

Arianna D'Ottone Rambach[**]

This contribution is intended to fill a gap in the series of studies already devoted to the glosses of the famous codex Cava 1, a Biblical manuscript written in early 9th-century Spain, and to contribute to its better understanding from a cultural and historical point of view. Sixteen glosses in Arabic language and script and one gloss in Hebrew script and Arabic language will be examined from a paleographical point of view, trying to propose a date and a place for their execution. Moreover, the paper will discuss the contents of these glosses, until now discarded by scholars.

KEYWORDS: Glosses, Spain, Arabic, Bible, Latin

T HE *Bible of Cava* is named after Cava dei Tirreni (Province of Salerno in Campania, Italy), the place where it has been preserved since the 12th century.[1] The *Bible of Cava* – also known as the *Bible of Danila* – contains both the Old and New Testaments and it was written by a copyist named Danila, in cooperation with another copyist, in the North of Spain (possibly at Oviedo) at the beginning of the 9th century.[2] The codex of Cava has been identified with the *Bibliotheca una* (that is a Bible comprehending both the Old and New Testaments) in the act of donation known as *Testamentun regis Adefonsi* with which, on 16 November 812, the king Alfonso II of Asturias founded the cathedral of Oviedo and provided it with a number of properties, among which were also manuscripts.

The Bible arrived in Southern Italy at the very beginning of the 12th century. Around the year 1121 the manuscript was brought to the Benedictine abbey by Gregory VIII (anti-Pope 1118-1121). The margins of this Latin manuscript, in Visigothic script, written on three columns, preserve various manuscript notes of different periods (from the beginning of the 9th up to the 12th centu-

[1] The Bible is today kept in the *Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale, Badia della Santissima Trinità*, under the shelf-mark 1.

[2] See CHERUBINI, PAOLO (1999); CHERUBINI, PAOLO (2000); CHERUBINI, PAOLO (2005); CHERUBINI, PAOLO (2010).

ry), different provenance (written in Spain and in Italy), and different languages (in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Arabic).

In 1999 Paolo Cherubini published a long article devoted to the *Bible of Danila* in which he described the codex at length, considering its symbolic values and the palaeographical aspect both of its text and of its Latin glosses.[3] Cherubini did not fail to point out the presence of glosses in Arabic and Hebrew – in addition to one in Greek, in Biblical Uncial, at f. 182*r* – attributing them to different hands from the four who would have written the Latin glosses. This scholar attempted also to give a list of the folios and of the occurrences of the glosses in Arabic script – the only one in Hebrew is at f. 98*r*.

Cherubini's list is, unluckily, not complete as it covers only the following folios: 32*r*, 24*r*, 42*v*, 43*r*, 43*v*, 62*r*, 147*v* and 193*r*.[4] However, at f. 24*r*, there is no gloss in Arabic[5] and the list has to be completed with ff.: 70*v*, 71*r*, 96*v*, 146*r*, 191*r* e 211*r*.

According to Paolo Cherubini the glosses in Arabic and in Hebrew script should be, in comparison with those in Latin, attributed to different hands and to a later period, being all posterior to the 9th century […] and of little critical interest («dovute a mani differenti di epoche successive, tutte di molto posteriori al secolo IX […] e di scarso interesse critico»).[6] As for the place in which the 'Oriental' glosses would have been written, Cherubini does not suggest a region in particular even if he believes that they were made more likely in Southern Italy[7] than in Spain.[8]

This contribution aims to reconsider the sixteen glosses in Arabic language and script[9] as well as the only gloss in Hebrew script, and Arabic

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[3] See CHERUBINI (1999) followed by another article on the most ancient Latin glosses, see CHERUBINI, PAOLO (2012).   [4] See CHERUBINI (1999) p. 97, note 89.

[5] Cherubini wrote that an Arabic note – I could not find it – in this folio would refers to Numbers 11:27, CHERUBINI (1999) p. 43, note 285.

[6] See CHERUBINI (1999) p. 97, the sentence is repeated, as well as the incomplete sequence of folios, in CHERUBINI (2010) p. 43. Unsurprisingly, the only one Greek gloss, consisting of two words (EN ΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΙΣ), was considered worthy of comment as well as the Latin glosses – containing cross-references as: «In Levitico» – written by the "Reader B", see CHERUBINI (2012) p. 100 and CHERUBINI (2010) p. 46. One wonders if, more than the relevance for "textual criticism", following Cherubini's conceptual categories, this is not the case of a linguistic and cultural selective choice leading to an exclusion and a diminution of all the elements that do not enter the sphere of Classical languages and alphabets. This scholar does not give any hints on the contents of the Arabic glosses but, sadly, he does not hesitate in considering them uninteresting. Arabic, and Arabic glosses, seem to provoke the same reaction for a Classical paleographer's eye, as the epics of the Crusaders' time when describing the Saracens: "[…] la descrizione fisica dei Saraceni era il modo più immediato per illustrarne la qualità morale. L'aspetto esteriore dei nemici rimandava senza incertezze a un'immagine demoniaca e si presentavano sempre come uomini deformi, cornuti e neri", SABBATINI, ILARIA (2015), p. 362.

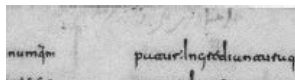[7] On the three Latin glosses in Beneventan script, see LOWE, ELIAS AVERY (1937).

[8] "Non saprei, invece, se in Italia meridionale – come pare più probabile – o quando il codice era nella Penisola iberica, furono scritte alcune note in arabo ed una in ebraico", Cherubini 1999, p. 97.

[9] The existence of Arabic notes in the Bible of Cava was only mentioned through secondary literature by VAN KONINGSVELD, PIETER SJ. (1977), p. 50. The Bible of Cava and its Arabic notes are not mentioned instead in the recent contribution dedicated to Arabic glosses in Visigothic manuscripts, see Aillet, Cyrile (2014) p. 192.

language, in the Bible of Cava through an analysis of their script and – whenever possible – their content.[10] Adopting a palaeographical, cultural and historical perspective I will try to answer the following questions: Is it true that the reader who wrote the Arabic glosses is different from those who glossed the manuscript in Latin? Is it true that the 'Oriental' glosses – in Arabic and Hebrew script – are post-12th century glosses and of "little critical interest"?[11]

THE ORIENTAL GLOSSES

1)

f. 32r	هادا وافهم [...]	
Possibly linked to Numbers 5:7-8[12]	*This, understand!:* [...]	Notes: the letter *dhāl* is missing the diacritical dot and the pronouns *hād-hā* is written in *scriptio plena* – with an *alif* after the letter *hā'*. The imperative *ifham* (understand!) is found in most of the Visigotic manuscripts with Arabic glosses.[13] The rest of the sentence has been trimmed. Brown ink very pale. The sign used as reference to the text[14] is a *lemniscus.*[15]

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[10] For a case of Latin glosses in a Koran manuscript made by two readers, one of which is identified with the Domenican missionary Riccoldo da Monte di Croce (Florence, c.a 1243-1320), see MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ, JOSÉ - DÉROCHE, FRANÇOIS (2010). On Riccoldo da Monte Croce's perception of the Eastern Christainity, see GONZALEZ MUÑOZ, FERNANDO (2007).

[11] On the interest of Arabic glosses in Latin manuscripts as index of the medieval literacy, see AILLET, CYRILE (2014).
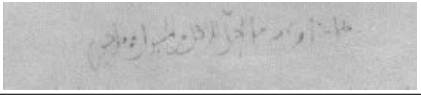
[12] Cherubini considered that the note referred to Numbers 4:49; see CHERUBINI (1999), p. 97, footnote 89 (= CHERUBINI (2010) p. 43, note 285).

[13] See VAN KONINGSVELD, PIETER SJ. (1977), p. 45 n. 1, p. 47, ns. 10-11, p. 48, n. 15 and p. 49, n. 18.

[14] On the variety of signs employed by the glossator as reference to the text, see CHERUBINI (2012) p. 145.

[15] The *lemniscus* sign (that is a comma with a dot above and a dot below), especially favoured by the "older glossator" is also frequently employed by the "reader B" who wrote some of the Latin glosses: see Cherubini, CHERUBINI (1999) p. 103; CHERUBINI (2010) p. 46. It seems worth noting that the same sign was employed in the famous Latin-Arabic glossary in the Leiden University Library - ms. Or. 231: "The form of the insertion-signs found in the margins of the MS and sometimes in the body of the text are the same, regardless of whether they relate to an Arabic word or sentence or to a Latin passage. Thus we find, to mention just one example, the insertion sign % following the passage wa-min al-burūǧ ath-thaur, indicating that it should be inserted after Taurus-faḥl. The same sign, on the other hand, is used in connection with Latin words", VAN KONINGSVELD, PIETER SJ. (1977), p. 37.

2)

f. 42*v*	هاذا وافهم ما يحل اكل من الحيوان ۵ احرم	
Leviticus 11:4-8[16]	*This, and understand! which animals are not allowed to be eaten. Forbid!*	Notes: the hand and the ink are the same to those employed for the previous gloss. The construction of the sentence too is the same with: *hādhā* – referring to the text to which the gloss refers to – followed by the imperative *if ham* that introduces a sentence in which the meaning of the Latin text is summed up. In this case in particular the imperative *iḥram* close the sentence as a warning. This gloss resembles, in both structure and contents, to those Latin glosses that begin with: *hoc est* – and that contain a summary of the Biblical text ("un eventuale riepilogo della materia scritturale").[17] From a palaeographical point of view, one can notice the complete absence of vowels, the presence of the *tashdīd* sign in form of a crescent[18] and the use of diacritical points. The form of the *tashdīd* sign together with the *scriptio plena* employed for the demonstrative (*hādhā*) and the absence of vowels[19] suggest a date to the 9th century AD. As in gloss Nr. 1, near to the verses to which the gloss is referred, there is a *lemniscus* sign in a very pale ink. The use of a pale ink has been already remarked for the most ancient Latin glosses,[20] as well as the use of the *lemniscus* sign.

[16] Cherubini mistakenly attributed this Arabic gloss to Dt 14:8; see Cherubini, Paolo (1999) p. 97, footnote 89 (=Cherubini, Paolo (2010) p. 43, note 285).
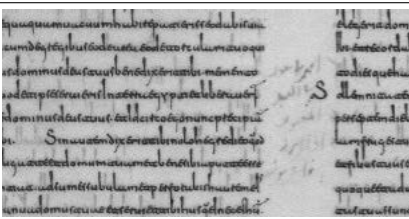
[17] See Cherubini, Paolo (2012) pp. 138-139. For another case of an Arabic gloss in a Visigothic manuscript following Latin syntax, see Aillet, Cyrile (2014) p. 203.

[18] The *tashdīd* sign in form of a crescent is employed also in the Latin-Arabic fragment Vat lat. 12900, dating back to the 9th century, see D'Ottone, Arianna (2013) pp. 10-11.

[19] See Aillet, Cyrile (2009) p. 26.

[20] "L'inchiostro non ha sempre la stessa tonalità: a parte due note in rosso […], tutte le altre sono in bruno talora di tonalità scura come nel testo, tal altra invece tendente all'ocra *e in alcuni casi di tonalità assai chiara* (my emphasis)", Cherubini, Paolo (2012) p. 145.

3)

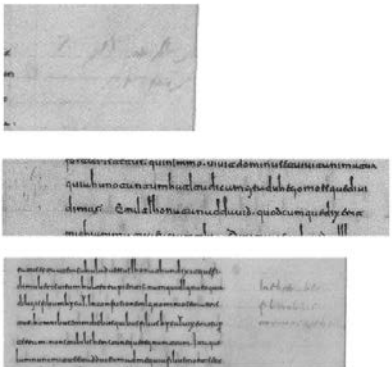| f. 43*r*	افهم ما جري في العبد المعترف او [...] قل و [...]	
Deuteronomy 15:12-18[21]	*Understand what happens to the legal slave* [...]. *Say:* [...]	Notes: The hand and the ink are the same to those of the previous glosses. As in the previous glosses, near to the verses to which the gloss refers there is a *lemniscus*.

4)

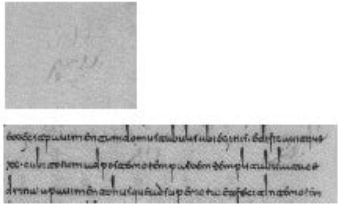| f. 43*v*	هادا امر موسى اسمعو [ا] من بني داود بن سليمن [...] يعرف انني المسمى	
Deuteronomy 18:15-16[22]	*This is what Moses ordered: listen! Amongst the sons of David (?) son of Solomon [...] he knows that I am the chosen one*	Notes: The hand and the ink are the same as those of the previous glosses. Part of the sentence has been trimmed. Ink very pale.

[21] Cherubini considered that the note was referring to Deuteronomy 16:3 and 16:13, CHERUBINI, PAOLO (2010) p. 43, note 285.

[22] Cherubini considered that the note was referring to Deuteronomy 18:15, CHERUBINI, PAOLO (2010) p. 43, note 285.
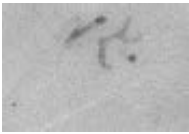
5)

f. 62r	[...] افهم (؟) سلم الله [...]	
Samuel 20:16	[...] *Praise God!* (?) *That is* [...]	Notes: despite the fact that the Arabic script is faded and it is only partially readable, the presence on the same page of both Latin and Arabic glosses allows us to compare the pale brown inks – that seems to be the same for the two marginal notes.[23] As for the text to which the Arabic gloss might be linked – considering that one cannot rely on its contents – it is possible to remark the *lemniscus* sign – usually employed as a link for text and glosses – near to the text corresponding to Esther 8:5-6.

6-7)
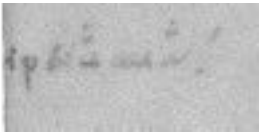
f. 70v	(؟) الى روسهم [...]	
1 Kings 6:16	*Up to their top* (for the Latin: *ad summitatem*) (?)	Notes: Very pale ink. *Ilà rūsihim* (sic) per *ilà ru'ūsihim* (?) Two words in the line-spacing are not readable.

[23] Also in the Latin-Arabic glossary in Leiden van Koningsveld noticed that the ink of both the Latin and Arabic parts is identical, see VAN KONINGSVELD, PIETER SJ. (1977) p. 37.
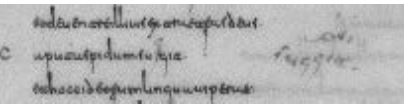
8)

f. 71*r*	بلغ به	
Exodus	*Think about it / read until here*	Notes: the note is placed at the very end of the page. The Arabic expression *balagh / balagha bihi* is one of the most common – together with *ifham* (see *supra* Nrs 2 and 3) – found in Latin manuscripts annotated in Arabic from al-Andalus and it has been linked to a process of thematic selection connected to a reading program.[24]

a)

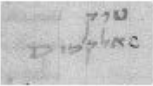|		
f. 95*v*	This Latin note is reproduced for sake of comparison with the other notes presented here.	

9)
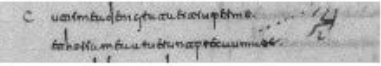
f. 96*v*	يمضى suggit	
Job 20:16	*He takes away He sucks*	Notes: in this case it is clear that the same person corrected the Latin text (*sugit*) adding one / g / (*suggit*) and wrote the two marginal notes in Arabic and Latin next to the corrected word.[25]

[24] See VAN KONINGSVELD, PIETER SJ.(1977) p. 47, n. 7 and p. 48, n. 14; AILLET, CYRILE (2009) p. 23.
[25] This occurrence is particularly helpful for dating the Arabic script, as it has already been pointed out: «El vínculo entre el texto latín y el árabe tambien puede ser un instrument de datación adicional. Cuando se puede evidenciar que hay notas contemporáneas de la copia del texto latino, uno se puede referir a la datacion de aquél, tambien son numerosas los casos de notas bilingües, en latín y árabe. En este caso se puede usar los métodos de datacion de la paleografía visigoda» AILLET, CYRILE (2009) p. 26.
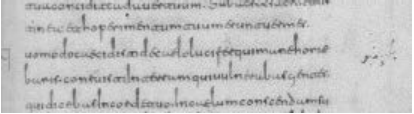
10-11)

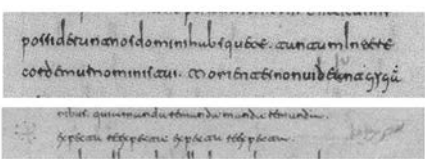| f. 98r	טוק אלקכים طوق القسيس الحر – cauma	
Job 30:4-6 Job 30:30	*The strength of the priest* *The heat*	Notes: the expression in Hebrew script and Arabic language might be referred to the whole Job 30 – as Job represent the model of a man who is tested. The Arabic word: *al-ḥarr* is a translation of the Latin word: *cauma* in Job 30:30. Both the brown ink and the device employed to link the text to the gloss – a series of small dots – are different from the usual ones (pale ochre ink and *lemniscus*) – possibly suggesting a different hand/reader. Noteworthy is also the presence of a miniature letter beneath the *ḥā'* in order to avoid confusion with the other homograph letters. This accuracy contrasts with the informal look of the other Arabic glosses.

12)

f. 146r	بلسمبو	
Isaiah 14:12	*Belsembū*	Notes: the *lemniscus* sign on the Latin word: *Lucifer* is linked to the *lemniscus* on the Arabic word: *Belsembū* (sic, for Beelzebub – see II Kings 1:2; from the Hebrew *Ba'al Zebūb*).[26] A guttural sound like that of the letter *'ayn* might have disappeared in a Western context as well as the sound of the letter *zay* is rendered with a *sīn* as it was possibly pronounced.

[26] The use of the world *Belsembū / Belzebub* seems linked to a Judaeo-Christian and Latin tradition different from the Christian-Ethiopian and Muslim ones in which the word *säyṭan* (Arabic *šayṭān*) for Satan,

13)

f. 147*v*	يمضى من هادا	
Isaiah 26:14 Before Isaiah 29:22[27]	[the reader] *skips this*	Notes: The very same hand corrected the Latin text (*Morientes non videant*) in *ui[e]uant*, i.e. *uiuant* and added the Arabic note. The ochre pale ink is the same. 　The Arabic note is an invitation for the reader to skip a line indicated by an asterisk (a sort of cross surrounded by dots) containing an exercise of inflection.

14)

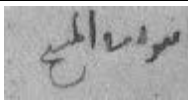| f. 191*r*	[افهم] هذا صحته في المسيح	
Zachariah 9:9	*That is:* *its truth is in the Messiah*	Notes: the glossator clearly made here a connection between Old and New Testament.

is used, see Kropp, Manfred (2007). A further control *sub voce Belzebub* on the manuscript Leiden, University Library, Or. 230, might possibly provide some linguistic material for the history and dissemination of the word(s) linked to Satan/Beelzebub(/l). The other Latin-Arabic lexicon from Spain, knwon as *Vocabulista in Arabico*, that dates back to the second half of the 12th/early 13th century – the codex Florence, Riccardiana Library, 217 – does not list the word Belzebub in this form or in its variants), see Schiaparelli, Celestino (1871), p. XII and p. 264-273. But the *Vocabulista in Arabico* lists the word (*al-*)*zuhra* – from the verb *zahara: lucere* – for the planet Venus (*Venus, signum*) that is the morning star also registered as *Lucifer*, Schiaparelli, Celestino (1871), p. 113 p. 623 and *supra*. Moreover, the *Vocabulista* registers the word *šaytān: Diabolus*, Schiaparelli, Celestino (1871), p. 127. On the other hand, the 11th/12th century grammatical manuscript Toledo, Biblioteca Capitular, Caj. 99, 30 – cited by van Koningsveld, Pieter Sj. (1977) p. 49 – registers: «Bestie. Diabolus. vel homines». See also Mistral, Frédéric (1879-1887), s.v. *Belzebut*. It seems important to note here that the date of the Leiden glossary proposed by P. van Koningsveld, who consider the manuscript the work of a Mozarabic Christian living «in Toledo in the second half of the 12th century» – van Koningsveld, Pieter Sj. (1977) p. 4 – needs to be reconsidered and possibly backdated to the 10th century. Indeed, the entire dating system that van Koningsveld used to judge the age of the various Visigotic manuscripts he mentions in his work appears very problematic and quite unlikely. A quick comparison between the manuscripts in Florence and in Leiden, both written in Spain supposedly at the same time, shows clearly that the way in which van Koningsveld deals with the Latin palaeography is untenable.

[27] Cherubini considered that the note was referring to Isaiah 28:13, Cherubini, Paolo (2010). p. 43, note 285.

15)

f. 193*r*	بنوه في المسيح	
Baruch 3:38[28]	*His son is in the Messiah*	Notes: the glossator clearly made here a connection between Old and New Testament. The dark-brown ink is similar to that employed in the gloss Nr. 11 (see *supra*).

16)

f. 211*r*	[…]	
I Maccabees 8:14	[…]	Notes: the gloss is on top of the text corresponding to I Maccabees 8:14 but it has been trimmed and it results no more readable.

The Oriental glosses. An analysis of their script & contents and a new hypothesis on their origin and date

The importance of the glosses in the Bible of Cava is not limited to their early date and their number, as has been already noted.[29] The variety of languages and alphabets employed by them is another element that enriches their significance and increases the historical value of the Bible of Cava. Unluckily, this aspect has been neglected by the various scholars who dealt, since the mid of the 20th century, with the glosses of this precious codex.[30]

Considering all the occurrences (f. 62*r*, f. 96*v*, and f. 147*v*) in which corrections to the text and the notes show the use of the same ink[31] and the use

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[28] Cherubini considered that the note was referring to Baruch 3:37, Cherubini, Paolo (2010) p. 43, note 285. [29] See Cherubini, Paolo (2010) p. 24.

[30] Invariably all the scholarship dedicated to the codex point out the presence of Arabic and Hebrew glosses but none of them attempts to understand their contents or analyse them. See, for example, the series of articles dedicated to this manuscript by Teófilo Ayuso Marazuela appeared in the journal «Estudios Bíblicos» from 1955 to 1961 – in particular Ayuso Marazuela, Teofilo (1955) and (1956) – as well as the most recent contribution by Cherubini, Paolo (1999), (2000), (2005), (2010) (2012).

[31] It was the intense colour of the ink that suggested to Cherubini the identity, an elderly reader, of the glossator who wrote both the Greek note next to Hosea 4:11, and some Latin glosses in which appear details of a graphic education dating back to the previous century, see Cherubini, Paolo (2010), pp. 44-

of a double language – Latin and Arabic – it seems safe to conclude that both the corrections and the Latin and Arabic glosses were executed by the same hand who, possibly, wrote also the note in Hebrew script on f. 98*r*, as the recurrent pale ochre colour of the ink suggests. From a palaeographical point of view the Arabic notes look rather old and are often lacking diacritical points.

The study of the old Latin glosses already suggests the presence of 4 glossators.[32] Therefore, it is possible to imagine that one of the authors of the Latin glosses, the one using a very pale ochre ink, was able to write in three alphabets: Latin, Arabic and Hebrew. The identity of the Latin glossators is not known, but for the Greek gloss Paolo Cherubini suggested an "elderly reader" (*lettore anziano*) able to write in both the Classical languages. Following this logic, one can consider the author of the trilingual glosses as a "young reader" (*lettore giovane*), with "modern" linguistic competences, as Paulus Alvarus (AD 800-861) – attests.[33] Despite the fact that it is impossible to give an identity to this "young reader",[34] it is possible to stress that some of his scribal habits – such as the use of a pale ink and of the lemniscus sign to connect text and glosses – seem to correspond to those that characterize the Latin glosses written by the "Reader B".[35]

This leads to a reconsideration of the date and place to which these Oriental notes can be attributed. Once again it seems useful to refer to the previous studies of the most ancient Latin glosses according to which: "The script employed by the glossator (or the glossators) is very similar to the script of Danila and his co-worker and it suggests a date rather close to that of the text".[36] Taking into account the fact that the Oriental glosses are contemporary with the Latin glosses considered to be the most ancient ones – because they were

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45. And Cherubini often uses the colour of the ink as an argument – "se trata de la misma tonalidad de tinta" – to stress the identity of the hand who noted, all in all, 10 glosses, see Cherubini, Paolo (2010), p. 45.

[32] "Consisten tales glosas en anotaciones de diverso tipo cuya autoría se debe a cutaro manos," Cherubini, Paolo (2010), p. 43. Moreover, Cherubini adds in footnote 281: "Además de las escritas en árabe y en hebreo" that brings a total of six hands, considering two distinctive glossators for the Arabic and the Hebrew notes, or only five hands if one hypothesizes one glossator competent both in Arabic and Hebrew script.

[33] «…all the young, talented Christians only know the Arabic language and literature, they read and study only Arabic books and spend big amount of money for building up libraries [of Arabic books] affirming loudly that only the Arabic literature deserve admiration», this quote – I translated from Italian – was cited by Levi della Vida, Giorgio (1965) p. 675.

[34] Pieter van Koningsveld, for example, considered «the complete absence of information in the MSS concerning the identity of the Mozarabic glossator(s)» one the difficulties in the dating and localizing Visigothic manuscripts, van Koningsveld, Pieter Sj. (1977) p. 50.

[35] If it is difficult to identify a hand on the basis of a few notes, this does not prevent the possibility of identifying the intervention of the same reader in the marginal glosses of a manuscript, on the basis of the ink, of the paratextual signs he employs, and on the structure of the notes he adopts.

[36] "La grafia usata dal glossatore (o dai glossatori) è molto simile a quella di Danila e del suo collaboratore e farebbe pensare ad una datazione abbastanza vicina a quella del testo", Cherubini, Paolo (2012) p. 146.

written by a same hand using the same ink – then it seems possible to date them to 9[37]ᵗʰ-century Spain.

The hypothesis made by Bartolomeo Pirone and Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti who considered the glosses in the Bible of Cava were written by the same hand that glossed two Cassinese manuscripts ~~seems~~,[38] as already noted by P. Cherubini,[39] is not tenable.

The mixed cultural context of Spain since the late 8th century – that is since the arrival of the Umayyads in the Iberian peninsula – is well known. As far as manuscript production is concerned, it appears meaningful to recall here the Latin-Arabic fragment Vat.lat. 12900, written in Spain around the year 900 AD.[40] The fragment attests clearly that the same copyist was competent in both Latin (Visigothic) and Arabic (Maghribī) scripts at a professional level. Therefore, it seems unsurprising to find in 9ᵗʰ-century Spain someone capable of writing in both Latin and Arabic.[41] It might be useful to recall here a couple of parallels: the codex RBE, ms R. II.18, dating back to the 7ᵗʰ-9ᵗʰ century AD, that arrived in Oviedo during the 10ᵗʰ or 11ᵗʰ century, but has Arabic glosses attributed to the 9ᵗʰ century;[42] and the Bible of Valeránica, copied at the monastery of Valeránica in the mid-10ᵗʰ century and preserved in the cathedral of St Isidore in Léon: in this Bible there are both Latin and Arabic glosses and it has been argued that it was destined for a community of monks formed in al-Andalus, and more familiar with Arabic than with Latin, that moved to the North of Spain.[43] Paolo Cherubini, too, stressed the fact that in Spain the interaction between Arabic and Latin culture was quite strong, as attested by the manuscript evidence.[44] It seems worth remembering here what Cyril Aillet wrote on Spanish manuscript production between 9th and 12th century: "Les cas des notes bilingues confirment que la même personne utilise tour à tour le latin et l'arabe pour transcrire ses remarques de lecture".[45]

Moreover, one has to take into account the policy of Alfonso III who encouraged the immigration of Christian monks to the North of Spain at the end of the 9ᵗʰ century / beginning of the 10th century:[46] "Leur présence persis-

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[37] This hypothesis seems coherent with the presence of abundant notes – that has been defined as an "explosion of *marginalia*", see CHERUBINI, PAOLO (2010) p. 24 – in the Bible of Cava and which has been connected with Spain. The small, but yet not negligible, number of Oriental glosses makes the explosion even bigger, if not more colourful.

[38] See BRAGA, GABRIELLA-PIRONE, BARTOLOMEO-SCARCIA AMORETTI, BIANCAMARIA (2002) p. 76.

[39] See CHERUBINI, PAOLO (2005) p. 144.

[40] See D'OTTONE, ARIANNA (2013). My suggestion about the identity of the scribe who wrote the Latin and the Arabic text as well as the similarity between some graphic elements in the two columns has been accepted; see VIGUERA MOLINS, MARIA JESUS (2016) p. 29.

[41] See AILLET, CYRILE (2014) p. 202.   [42] See AILLET, CYRILE (2009) p. 26.

[43] See AILLET, CYRILE (2008) p. 26.   [44] See CHERUBINI, PAOLO (2005) p. 144.

[45] AILLET, CYRILE (2008B) p. 98.

[46] "nous savons avec certitude qu'Alphonse encouragea l'immigration des moines chrétiens de la partie méridionale occupée de la Péninsule", WILLIAMS, JOHN (1977) p. 15. Cyrile Aillet points out 27 Latin textual mentions of the arrival of the Andalusi people to the North of Spain, see See AILLET, CYRILE (2008) p. 18.

tante là-haut est attestée par le nombreuse notes marginales en arabe dans des codices écrits au León et en Castille dans la première moitié du xe siècle".[47] There are even three luxurious Christian objects in Oviedo cathedral – the Arca Santa, the chest of Bishop Arias and the reliquary of Saint Eulalia – with Arabic inscriptions of Christian content, attesting, in the very same cathedral to which the Bible of Danila was offered, the presence of artefacts showing the coexistence of Latin and Arabic cultures, languages and alphabets.[48]

It seems interesting to consider now, in more detail, the contents of the Oriental glosses and their occurrence in the manuscript. First of all, it is noticeable that only the Old Testament presents Oriental Glosses, as the following table shows:

Book	Numbers of folia
Numbers	1
Leviticus	1
Deuteronomy	2
Samuel	1
I Book of Kings	2
Exodus	1
Job	3
Isaiah	2
Zachariah	1
Baruch[49]	1
I Maccabees	1
Total	**16**

As for the contents, the Arabic glosses might be divided into the categories of "lexical" or "critical" glosses – giving explanations in Arabic and translations, or equivalents, of the Latin text[50] – and "exegetical" glosses – referring to Christ, according to the classification employed by Ayuso Marazuela, and re-employed by Cherubini.[51]

Unlike Riccoldo da Monte di Croce, a Dominican monk who glossed the Koran in Latin with an apologetic goal, the reader of the Bible of Cava who wrote the Oriental glosses is a Christian glossing his own sacred text. He gives explanations of the Latin text – glosses Nrs. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (?) – sometimes trans-

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[47] WILLIAMS, JOHN (1977) p. 19. Also, from the artistic point of view, it is possible to notice Islamic influence in the decoration of Asturian churches at the end of the 9th century.

[48] See MARTÍNEZ NÚÑEZ, MARIA ANTONIA (2016).

[49] On the significance of the Book of Baruch in this copy of the Bible, see CHERUBINI, PAOLO (2010) p. 23.

[50] This is a feature that has been noticed also for the second glossator who realized the Latin glosses: "Talvolta, accanto al testo egli scrive la sola variante, come "portavit" per spiegare il verbo *perferre* in "Sicut et Sarra hobsequebatur" (I Pietro, 2, 24 […]", CHERUBINI, PAOLO (1999) p. 104. See also AILLET, CYRILE (2014) p. 203.

[51] See CHERUBINI, PAOLO (2010) p. 43; AILLET, CYRILE (2014) p. 203.

lates specific words – 6, 7 (?), 9, 11, 12 – and in one case – gloss Nr. 13 – he suggests the reader jump some lines that are not part of the Biblical text. In two instances – Nrs. 14 and 15 – the reader makes a connection between the Old and New Testaments, identifying Christ as the "King riding a donkey for whom the daughter of Sion exults" in Zechariah 9:9 and the one "who came on earth and lived among the human beings" of Baruch 3:38. The gloss in Hebrew script and Arabic language – Nr. 10 – seems to correspond with the conditions of life described in Job 30:4-6, in which the virtues of the religious man are described. In one case – gloss Nr. 16 – what remains of the note, that mostly has been trimmed away, does not allow us to grasp its contents.

From a linguistic point of view, it is possible to note the repetition – glosses Nrs. 9 and 13 – of a same verb with two different nuances and the influence of the spoken language – Nr. 12 – in the rendering of the word *Belsembū* (for *Lucifer*).

The Oriental glosses are not erudite glosses, but they are reading glosses suggesting that the luxurious codex was read by a Christian reader, possibly a (young) Mozarab[52] monk, and that the manuscript was employed as a text and not just as a symbolic and luxurious object.

Conclusions

The Oriental glosses in the Bible of Cava can be attributed to at least one (possibly two) Christian reader(s) who wrote them down in 9th-century Spain who was/were able to write both in Latin and Arabic script as well as in Hebrew script. The pale ochre colour of the ink, the use of lemniscus sign to connect text and glosses and the presence of corrections and bilingual notes on the same folio using it, support this hypothesis. The use of a different dark-brown ink and a different device connecting text and notes points towards a second reader/hand. The contents of the Oriental glosses, far from being uninteresting, give access to a further layer of notes, in addition to those in Latin – ancient and more recent ones – that have already attracted scholarly attention.

The study of the glosses in the Bible of Cava enlarges the corpus of manuscript notes in Arabic found in Visigothic manuscripts already known, and adds new data to the palaeographical series of these para-textual elements. Moreover, it contributes to the study of the glossing practice in Arabic and Latin in the Iberian peninsula, a practice that calls for a joint study with specialists of the Latin manuscript production.[53] Last but not least, the study

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[52] On the term "Mozarab" indicating, since 1024 AD, Christian people speaking Arabic installed in Léon, see AILLET, CYRILE (2008) p. 18. For the identity of Mozarabs and the historiographic use of this term, see AILLET, CYRILE (2009B); AILLET, CYRILE (2010); AILLET, CYRILE (2012).

[53] Considering that scholars working on Latin manuscripts are palaeographers it would be logical to consider as palaeographers Arabists who work in the same field and that read, date and localize the scripts they are dealing with.

of the Arabic glosses throws new light on the reading practice and on the history of the use of the Bible of Cava, a manuscript that did not receive the attention it deserves by Arabists, and a history that Latin palaeographers tended to discard as far as its Arabic past was concerned.

Palaeography can indeed promote a wider and deeper sense of history and a better knowledge of written culture(s) but it cannot be limited especially to the Greek and Latin alphabets because medieval readers and scribes were already able to write in more than one alphabet, in more than a language. In the light of this case study, which is only one of the many possible examples in which Latin (or Greek) share the page with Arabic, it seems time to start thinking about a "Mediterranean Palaeography", if not about a "World Palaeography" – reflecting the new horizons of the "World Philology".[54]

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[54] "Both modern and traditional philology, like other disciplines, run the risk of becoming "sterile, ineffectual, and hopelessly irrelevant to life" the kind of scholarship Said criticized in one of his last essays ("The return to Philology") […] The best antidote to the perils of traditionalism, sterile philology, or even Orientalism seems to be what this book embodies: that is, philology's commitment to historical reflexivity, non-provinciality, and methodological and conceptual pluralism" WANG, FAN-SEN (2015) pp. viii-ix. The same hope for becoming a non-provincial and traditionalist discipline, can be addressed to palaeography, especially in Italy.

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