

Revisiting the *Cordoban Calendar*

Religious Life and Religious Identity in Medieval al-Andalus

Cathrien Hoijinck

Radboud Institute for Culture & History

RADBOUD UNIVERSITY PRESS

Revisiting the *Cordoban Calendar*

Religious Life and Religious Identity in Medieval al-Andalus

Cathrien Hoijinck

Cathrien Hoijinck
Revisiting the *Cordoban Calendar*
Religious Life and Religious Identity in Medieval al-Andalus

Radboud Dissertation Series
ISSN: 2950-2772 (Online); 2950-2780 (Print)

Published by RADBOUD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Postbus 9100, 6500 HA Nijmegen, The Netherlands
www.radbouduniversitypress.nl

Design: ProefschriftOntwerp.nl
Cover image: Cathrien Hoijinck and folio 81v of the Vat.ar.258 manuscript in the Vatican Apostolic Library
Printing: ProefschriftMaken/Pumbo

ISBN: 9789465153254
DOI: 10.54195/9789465153254
Free download at: https://doi.org/10.54195/9789465153254

© 2026 Cathrien Hoijinck

RADBOUD
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

This is an Open Access book published under the terms of Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-NoDerivatives International license (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). This license allows reusers to copy and distribute the material in any medium or format in unadapted form only, for noncommercial purposes only, and only so long as attribution is given to the creator, see http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/.

Revisiting the *Cordoban Calendar*

Religious Life and Religious Identity in Medieval al-Andalus

Proefschrift ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen
op gezag van de rector magnificus prof. dr. J.M. Sanders,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
in het openbaar te verdedigen op

dinsdag 1 december 2026
om 12.30 uur precies

door

Catharina Elisabeth José Hoijinck
geboren op 27 april 1985
te Warnsveld

Promotor:
Prof. dr. M.L.M. van Berkel

Copromotoren:
Dr. K. Ihnat
Dr. M.R. Shaffer (University of Bristol, Verenigd Koninkrijk)

Manuscriptcommissie:
Dr. M.J.M. de Koning
Dr. S. Boodts
Prof. dr. M. Fierro (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Spanje)
Prof. dr. M. Forcada Nogués (Universitat de Barcelona, Spanje)
Prof. dr. G.A. Wiegers (Universiteit van Amsterdam)

Revisiting the *Cordoban Calendar*

Religious Life and Religious Identity in Medieval al-Andalus

Dissertation to obtain the degree of doctor
from Radboud University Nijmegen
on the authority of the Rector Magnificus prof. dr. J.M. Sanders,
according to the decision of the Doctorate Board
to be defended in public on

Tuesday, December 1, 2026
at 12.30 pm

by

Catharina Elisabeth José Hoijinck
born on April 27, 1985
in Warnsveld (the Netherlands)

Supervisor:
Prof. dr. M.L.M. van Berkel

Co-supervisors:
Dr. K. Ihnat
Dr. M.R. Shaffer (University of Bristol, United Kingdom)

Manuscript Committee:
Dr. M.J.M. de Koning
Dr. S. Boodts
Prof. dr. M. Fierro (Spanish National Research Council, Spain)
Prof. dr. M. Forcada Nogués (University of Barcelona, Spain)
Prof. dr. G.A. Wiegers (University of Amsterdam)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The *Cordoban Calendar* corpus 12

Abbreviations 13

Conventions 14

Acknowledgements 16

Introduction **19**
Books of *anwāʾ* 23
Purpose of this study 24
Dating and core components 26
Historical context 29
Religious life 32
Religious identity 35
Authorship 38
The Christian author Rabīʿ ibn Zayd alias Recemund 41
The Muslim author ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd 46
Alternative views: no Christian author involved 49
Research questions and methodology 50
Outline of the dissertation 52

1. Finding the frame: From the edition to a *Cordoban Calendar Tradition* **57**
Living literature *60*
Manuscripts of the *Cordoban Calendar* 63
CCA: Paris, BnF Hébreu 1082 69
CCL: Paris, BnF Latin 9335 70
Risala: Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥassaniyya 6699 71
KA: Tehran, Malik Millī 2049 71
Balad.2918: Alexandria, al-Maktaba al-Baladiyya 2918 72
Vic167: San Juan de las Abadesas, Arxiu del Monestir de Sant Joan de les Abadesses, *Liber regius sive descriptio temporum* 72
BN6036: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid 6036 73
Lat.qu.198: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Lat.qu.198 73
PA45; ÖNB2462; and Reg.lat.596 74
D18945; T4624; KH10354; Vat.ar.258; and Sbihi 163/9 76

K155 and D2197: Rabat, Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc K155 and D2197 77
P2521: Paris, BnF Arabe 2521 78
Building blocks 79
1. Titles and rubrics 81
2. Introduction to the calendar 86
3. Paragraph on the Christian year 89
4. Prologue and epilogue to each month 95
5. Daily entries 101
6. References to Córdoba 104
Taxonomy 109
Concluding remarks 117

2. Zooming out: Liturgical diversity and the Mediterranean connection 123
Medieval Arabic calendrical texts 125
The *Kitāb al-azmina* by Ibn Māsawayh (ca. 776–857) 128
The anonymous Long Calendar 129
The *Āthār al-bāqiya ʿan al-qurūn al-khāliya* by al-Bīrūnī (973–ca. 1048) 131
The *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharāʾib al-mawjūdāt* by al-Qazwīnī (1203–1283) 132
The *Kitāb al-dalāʾil* by al-Ḥasan ibn Bahlūl (fl. ca. 950–1000) 132
The *Mustawʿib al-kāfī wa-l-muqniʿ al-shāfī* by al-Khaṭīb al-Umawī al-Qurṭubī (1120–1206) 133
The *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* by Ibn al-Bannāʾ al-Marrākushī (1256–ca. 1321) 133
The *Tanbīh al-anām ʿalā mā yaḥduthu fī ayyām al-ʿām* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jādirī (1375–1416) 135
Liturgical content 135
Jewish feasts 135
Persian feasts 137
Coptic feasts 138
Entries concerning prophets and scriptures 138
Islamic historical events (IHE) 159
Concluding remarks 181

3. Zooming in: The use of the *Cordoban Calendar* for understanding Christian practice 187
Sources for Iberian Christian practice 190
The *ʿajam* 194
Comparison to Old Hispanic sources 196
Comparison to Old Hispanic calendars 196
Comparison to other Old Hispanic source 209
Distinctive Christian feasts in CCT 215
Case studies of feasts in the *Cordoban Calendar* 221

Christmastide 222
Holy Innocents 224
The Annunciation of Mary 226
The Purification of Mary / The Presentation of Jesus in the Temple 232
Holy Cross 235
Torquatus or the Seven Apostolic Men 238
Cordoban martyrs 240
Summary of case studies 250
Concluding remarks 250

4. Focusing the lens: A philological analysis of the author's religious identity 257
A qurʾanic verse and the role of Arabic in religious identity 263
The use of Islamic vocabulary in Christian Arabic texts 264
1. Islamic science—*mīqāt* 271
2. The narrative function of the term *ʿajam* 272
3. Perspective on figures and stories from the scriptures 277
4. Names in the Christian and Islamic tradition 281
Jerusalem 283
Jesus 284
Mary 284
John (the Prophet / the Baptist) 286
Other names and terms 286
Concluding remarks 287

Conclusion 293
Definition and dating of the *Cordoban Calendar* 294
Liturgical material and core components 295
Text transmission and original text 297
Parallel sources and the Mediterranean connection 299
Religious life 301
Authorship and religious identity 303
Purpose of the *Cordoban Calendar* 306
Broader discussion 316

Appendices **323**
Appendix 1: al-Bīrūnī's chapter on the Islamic calendar 324
Appendix 2: al-Qazwīnī's chapter on the Islamic calendar 327
Appendix 3: Table of Old Hispanic sources 330
Appendix 4: Most widely celebrated feasts in the Old Hispanic calendars 332
Appendix 5: Feasts in CCT 339
Appendix 6: Unidentified saints in branch C 340
Appendix 7: Folio 92r of Vat.ar.258 342

Bibliography **345**
Primary Sources 346
Secondary Literature 347

English summary **359**

Nederlandse samenvatting **365**

Curriculum Vitae **371**

THE *CORDOBAN CALENDAR* CORPUS

Siglum	Manuscript
CCA	Paris, BNF, Hébreu 1082 (fol. 11v–30v)
Risala	Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥassaniyya, MS 6699, (p. 1–49—pagination, no foliation)
KA	Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Millī-yi Malik, MS 2049 (p. 1–71—pagination, no foliation)
Balad.2918	Alexandria, al-Maktaba al-Baladiyya, MS 2918 (fol. 25–50)
P2521	Paris, BNF, MS Arabe 2521 (fol. 129 r–135v)
D18945	Damascus, (former Al Assad) National Library of Syria, MS 18945 (fol. 1–36)
T4624	Tunis, Bibliothèque Nationale de Tunisie, MS 4624 (56 folios—no foliation)
Vat.ar.258	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.ar.258 (fol. 81v–129r)
KH10354	Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥassaniyya, KH10354 (18 folios—no foliation)
Sbihi 163/9	Salé, Bibliothèque Sbihi, MS 163/9 (fol. 1–94—incorrect foliation)
K155	Rabat, Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc, MS K155 (p. 290–334—pagination, no foliation)
D2197	Rabat, Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc, MS D2197 (p. 75–152—pagination, no foliation)
CCL	Paris, BNF, Latin 9335 (fol. 151v–160v)
Vic167	San Juan de las Abadesas, Arxiu del Monestir de Sant Joan de les Abadesses, *Liber regius sive descriptio temporum* (fol. 1r–8r)
BN6036	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, MS 6036 (38r–45v)
Lat.qu.198	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat.qu.198 (fol. 135v–143v)
ÖNB2462	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 2462 (fol. 27r–72v)
PA45	Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, P.A. 45 (fol. 123r–124v and 130v–142r)
Reg.lat.596	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg.Lat.596 (fol. 36r–45v)

ABBREVIATIONS

CCT	*Cordoban Calendar Tradition*
IHE	Islamic historical events
OV	*Verona Orational*
Carmona	*Calendar of Carmona*
CEA	*Capitularium Evangeliorum Arabicum*
CCAEA	*Collectio Canonum Arabicorum Ecclesiae Andalusiae*

CONVENTIONS

Transliteration

For the transliteration of Arabic, I follow the system of IJMES (the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*). For words and names—such as the Qurʾan, the Fatimids, Shiʿa Islam, surah, hadith, Imam, qurʾanic etc.—that have been anglicized and adopted into the English language, I do not use transliteration or italicization. In contrast to the IJMES guidelines, however, I transliterate the Arabic names (e.g., scholars, rulers, and persons from the early history of Islam) mentioned in this dissertation, since some of these names are relatively unknown and are more easily identifiable in their transliterated form. The rendering of the name of Muhammad (the Prophet) constitutes an exception to this rule.

I have retained the patronymic *ibn* ("son of"), even when it occurs between two names and would formally be pronounced as *bin*. This issue does not arise with the matronymic *bint* ("daughter of"), since it is pronounced as *bint* both at the beginning of a name and between two names.

Following the IJMES guidelines, I do not italicize nor use diacritical marks for (Arabic) place names. Nor do I italicize or use diacritical marks for the Islamic months, such as Muharram, Safar, and Rabiʿ al-awwal. However, I italicize and use diacritical marks for the Persian and Hebrew months, as well as the Arabic names of the Coptic and Syrian months, since they might be less common to the readership of this study.

Names and titles

I refer to figures from the Bible—such as Abraham, Moses, Mary, and Jesus—by the names commonly used in the English-speaking world, even when they also appear in the Qur'an under their Arabic names (i.e., Ibrāhīm, Mūsā, Maryam, ʿĪsā). I only use the transliterated Arabic forms as they appear in the Qur'an when this is relevant to the argument, as in the case of Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā (John, the son of Zechariah). I adopt this approach in order to maintain a degree of consistency throughout the thesis and to ensure that it remains as broadly accessible as possible. The choices made in this regard do not reflect any preference for Christian traditions.

This study mentions many saints, sometimes in large numbers in tables or in the text. For the sake of efficiency and readability, I do not include the title "Saint" in front of their names.

Translation

Unless otherwise indicated, I provide my own translations. This applies in particular to liturgical entries from the Arabic text versions of the *Cordoban Calendar*, as well as to quotations from French, Spanish, and German scholarship (the original text is provided in the footnotes). When quoting from editions—such as those by Pellat (1961), Navarro (1990), or Alkuwaifi Khazʿal

(2022)—I provide my own English translations, even where these editions include French or Spanish translations. In some instances, however, I rely on translations by other scholars; this is always indicated in the footnotes. I also acknowledge in the footnotes the assistance of scholars who have helped with translations from Ottoman Turkish or Hebrew. For cited qurʾanic verses, I use the default English translation available on Quran.com, *The Clear Quran* by Mustafa Khattab.

Calendars and dates

I generally give dates only in the Common Era (CE), rather than in the Hijra Era (A.H.: Anno Hijrae), except in quotations or when it is necessary for the comprehension of the text. Dates are presented in the format [day] [month], for example: "the feast of Theodosia falls on 3 April."

Terminological distinction between "manuscript" and "text version" of the *Cordoban Calendar*

In the scholarly literature on the *Cordoban Calendar*, no clear distinction is consistently maintained between a manuscript and the text it transmits. The term "manuscript" is frequently used when the reference is, more precisely, to a particular text version of the *Cordoban Calendar*. Following this established convention, I use both "text version" and "manuscript" when referring to a particular textual representation of the *Cordoban Calendar*. When discussing textual variation among these representations, however, I generally prefer the term "text version." By contrast, when addressing codicological aspects of the physical codex or other features of a manuscript that extend beyond the text of the *Cordoban Calendar* it contains, I use the term "manuscript" explicitly. Nevertheless, given the widespread use of "manuscript" in the scholarly literature to refer to a particular text version, this dissertation occasionally employs the term in the same sense. Accordingly, following established scholarly practice, I use the sigla listed in the first table of this dissertation to refer to either a text version or the manuscript in which it is preserved.

Pronouns

When referring to the (possible) author of the *Cordoban Calendar*, I use the pronoun "he," since there is no indication that women were compiling texts in tenth-century Córdoba, although historical accounts do inform us of some prolific poetesses as well as female copyists.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisors Maaike van Berkel, Kati Ihnat and Melanie Shaffer. They have supported me throughout this trajectory with their professional guidance, as well as with their humane and understanding attitude in personal matters. Thanks to them, I was able to grow both professionally and personally. I would also like to thank Suzanne van de Liefvoort for her exceptional support in her role as coordinator of the Graduate School for the Humanities at Radboud University.

This project began in the midst of the second wave of COVID-19. In the isolation of the first year, I was especially grateful to the colleagues who were willing to have exploratory meetings with me online. I am also very grateful to all the colleagues at the RomanIslam Center in Hamburg for organizing great lectures and conferences online, which connected the community in a time that it was difficult to meet in person.

I was fortunate to be able to travel to Spain twice for research stays at the Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (in 2021 and 2024). I would like to thank Maribel Fierro for kindly hosting me, helping me find my way around Spanish academia, and introducing me to several of her colleagues. Of particular importance for the direction my research ultimately took were my meetings with Miquel Forcada Nogués and the late Julio Samsó. I owe them a great deal for their extraordinarily generous and collaborative willingness to share their knowledge of the *Cordoban Calendar* and, more generally, of the transmission of the exact sciences in al-Andalus. During both stays, I felt warmly welcomed by my peers Fatmanur Kalan İbrahimoğlu, Covadonga Baratech Soriano, Irene Vicente López De Arenosa and Patricia Carina Sánchez García.

Throughout my research I benefited greatly from the exchange with colleagues from different fields active in and outside of Spain. With the risk of forgetting someone, I would particularly like to mention Adrian Pirtea, Javier Albarrán, Johannes Thomann, Antonia Bosanquet, María Ángeles Navarro García, Charles Burnett, Ann Christys, Emma Hornby, Lukas Mühlethaler, Ana Echevarría Arsuaga, Alejandro García Sanjuán, Eduardo Manzano Moreno, Mònica Colominas, Ahmad Alkuwaifi Khazʿal, Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, Geoffrey K. Martin, Javier Castaño and Linda Jones.

I would not have been able to complete this dissertation without the help of the staff at the many libraries I visited. The director and vice director of the Royal Library of the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, José Luis del Valle Merino and Jaime Sepúlcre Samper, were extraordinarily helpful. The same goes for the staff of the Tomás Navarro Tomás library, at the Centre for Human and Social Sciences at CSIC. At the Netherlands Institute in Morocco, I received invaluable assistance from its director, Léon Buskens, its institute manager, Sarah Michiel, and its librarian,

Koen de Cuyper, who helped me enormously in gaining access to Moroccan libraries and putting me in touch with their librarians. In Morocco, my special thanks go to Ahmed Shawqi Binebine, director at the Royal library of Morocco, the staff of the Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc and the staff of the Bibliothèque Sbihi in Salé. Further, I would like to thank Joan Ferrer, archiver at the Monastery of Sant Joan de les Abadesses, the staff of the Malek National Library in Teheran and the staff of the National Library of Syria, as well as my teacher Asad Jaber, for his tireless efforts to help me obtain scans of the manuscript in Damascus.

I have always felt very fortunate to have been able to conduct my doctoral research within the wonderful chair group of Ancient and Medieval History at Radboud University. This group of colleagues has provided me with a collaborative and fruitful environment in which my research could pleasantly unfold. I have shared many memorable moments with the colleagues in this group, in the *CultuurCafé* and elsewhere, and in particular with Iris Denis, Nathalie de Haan, Ketty Iannantuonu, Angela Isoldi, Eugenio Garosi, Lenneke van Raaij and Gleb Schmidt. Beyond this chair group, I would also like to acknowledge Osman Ciner and Maartje A.B. for being wonderful conversation partners, as well as Nicolas Solari Jarque, who was always ready to help with questions concerning Latin and Spanish.

Finally, I owe a great deal to the people in my immediate surroundings for their friendship and support during these years of research. I would like to thank my father for many lovely evenings after work days in Nijmegen; Giorgos for being the most honest, perceptive and funny sounding board I could have wished for; Herma for the cozy pyjama parties in Arnhem; Anna and Dimitris for literally freeing up my hands to work; Emilie for her continued interest in the progress of my work and in my general wellbeing; Jolyne for her friendship and desire and effort to “know” me; Barbara for the inspiring and joyful time we spent in Bath, London and Málaga and on the phone; Sophie for always being innovative in shaping our friendship and bringing up ideas for new adventures; Yana and Yuri for being my family in Berlin; Anne for unconditional life support; and Fronnie, for encouraging me both to start and to finish this project, and believing in me throughout the way.



Introduction

The establishment of new Islamic empires after the rise of Islam transformed the confessional composition of societies. Large Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian communities now came under Islamic rule. The Islamic conquerors had to contend with new societies that possessed their own languages, religions, and economic, social, and bureaucratic structures. What emerges is a deep interpenetration of cultural traditions and methods of governance, as the conquerors adopted certain practices from the societies they had taken over while also introducing their own, thereby producing highly hybrid societies. In matters of civil administration, such as the agricultural and fiscal cycles, many of the new court administrations retained the existing bureaucratic machinery. As a result, Muslims adopted the solar calendrical systems already in use within these societies, as they were better suited to the organization of the state. The lunar Islamic calendar did not serve this purpose, since it does not correspond to a consistent seasonal cycle from year to year. The solar year, by contrast, proved practical for engagement in the astronomical sciences, agricultural activities, and tax administration. Consequently, newly adopted systems of time reckoning—such as the Coptic calendar in Egypt, the Persian calendar in Persia, the Syriac calendar in the Levant, and the Julian calendar in al-Andalus—remained in use alongside the Islamic calendar.

These solar calendar systems provided the structural framework for a literary tradition that developed in the medieval Islamicate world: the Arabic almanac. The Arabic almanac tradition drew on earlier calendrical traditions from Hellenistic Egypt, including those associated with Hippocrates and Galen, on the solar calendar of the pre-Islamic Bedouins, as well as on Hindu astronomy and the astronomical scholarship cultivated at the court of the Abbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn (r. 813–833).[1] In their medieval Arabic form, almanacs often contained a relatively fixed set of scientific elements, including information on agronomy, astronomy, meteorology, medicine, zoology, and dietary practice. Much of this material is shared across treatises and offers insight into the scientific knowledge current at the time of an almanac's production. At the same time, each Arabic almanac incorporates particular details shaped by its specific context, thereby allowing it to shed light on more localized circumstances.

Because of this dual character, medieval Arabic almanacs have proven invaluable sources for understanding both the state of scientific knowledge at a given moment and aspects of local medieval life. By organizing a wide range of information within a calendrical structure, they indicate the proper times for human activities throughout the seasons and the year. With their numerous recommendations concerning human well-being—physical, mental, and spiritual—they provide insight into what people ate, observed, harvested, hunted, avoided, and celebrated at particular times of the year. The marked events and recommendations in these almanacs may refer to the meridian height of the sun, horse breeding, periods deemed unsuitable for sailing,

1 Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina – Al-Qawl fī l-Šuhur (Tratado sobre los anwāʾ y los Tiempos - Capítulo sobre los Meses)*, ed. Miquel Forcada Nogués, Fuentes Arábico-Hispanas (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993), 41–43; Daniel Martin Varisco, *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science: The Almanac of a Yemeni Sultan* (University of Washington Press, 1994), 8.

the appearance of visible stars, recommended times for sexual abstinence, the collection of tithes, agricultural activities such as threshing, as well as feasts and commemorations observed by Jewish, Christian, and Muslim communities. Yet almanacs do not merely record lived realities; they also convey contemporary perceptions of those realities, at least from the author's perspective. As Daniel Varisco observes, they are "as much a portrait of how the world and cosmos are perceived as a straightforward calendar to mark events."[2]

The usefulness of almanacs for understanding local history is precisely what has attracted scholars to the so-called *Cordoban calendar*, a text compilation with features of an almanac and a liturgical calendar. The text is thought to have been compiled originally in tenth century Córdoba, during the reign of al-Ḥakam II (r. 961–976). This dating is based on a timeframe suggested both by the opening passage in one of the text versions and by an account of al-Maqqarī, as I shall discuss later in this introduction.[3]

The *Cordoban Calendar* begins with an extensive introduction, comprising approximately 15–20% of the text, followed by a month-by-month, day-by-day calendar, which makes up the remaining 80–85%. The introduction provides information on the divisions of the seasons (according to different traditions: four equally long or four unequally long seasons) and their characteristics; on the *anwāʾ* periods (the solar calendar of the pre-Islamic Arab Bedouins—more on this below); on the course of the sun and the zodiac signs; on the phases of the moon and their names; on the structure of the "Christian" (i.e., Julian) year and the "Spanish Era," and their relation to other calendars (the Syrian year and the Era of Alexander the Great). The introduction also prepares the reader—or listener—for what follows in the daily entries of the calendar, where this information is reiterated in small fragments.

The daily entries cover indications and recommendations related to the seasons, *anwāʾ*, the sun and the moon (as presented in the introduction to the almanac), as well as the length of days and nights; the names and duration of months; times for sowing, planting, ripening, and harvesting crops; the preparation of syrups and marmalades; the parturition of animals; appropriate times for bodily purification, bloodletting, and medicines; the zodiac signs and the phases of the moon; and feasts.

The introduction repeatedly emphasizes that these various types of information are "important for the welfare of people and their health," that they must be observed "at the right and opportune moment," and that they "will increase knowledge and aid in reference," specifying "their place in time, their nature, what is good to be used in them and what must not be omitted, what everyone should know, and what everyone should anticipate in terms of facilities, bodily

2 Varisco, *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science,* 7.
3 In CCL. See *Debate about authorship*.

health, and foods."[4] These passages suggest a practical use of the calendar, although little is known about its actual application. Medieval Arabic almanacs are generally thought not to be intended for practical, everyday use.[5] Despite their inclusion of apparently practical information and their connection to local and oral knowledge, these texts may not have been designed for a broad audience, but rather for a learned readership. The information they provide seems too general to satisfy the specific needs of practitioners in fields such as medicine, astronomy, or agriculture. Whatever the precise application of the *Cordoban Calendar*, its contents constitute a particularly interesting example in light of the earlier discussion of hybrid societies.

It is difficult to overstate the importance of the *Cordoban Calendar* for historians of al-Andalus. Given the scarcity of sources from this period, it has attracted considerable scholarly attention in relation to the included scientific disciplines, as well as state organization.[6] The *Cordoban Calendar* has been studied extensively, particularly because it constitutes the earliest Andalusi work on agronomy and on *mīqāt* (the Islamic science of calculating prayer times), and one of the earliest astronomical works produced in al-Andalus.[7] Because the text contains religious information—most notably the inclusion of religious feasts—it has been mined as a source for the study of religious communities and religious life in al-Andalus, as well. Given that only one Christian liturgical source from al-Andalus has survived (the *Capitularium Evangeliorum Arabicum*, hereafter CEA), the *Cordoban Calendar* has therefore become an exceptionally important source for understanding Christian life in the region.[8] For this reason, it has played a central role in attempts to reconstruct the realities of Christian communities in al-Andalus. However, previous studies have not always approached the textual material with sufficient critical scrutiny. Therefore, this research re-examines how the *Cordoban Calendar* can be used as a source for reconstructing religious life in al-Andalus.

One of the more intriguing and insufficiently understood aspects of Arabic almanacs concerns the (authorial) engagement with the religious material they include and what this reveals about

4 C. Pellat, ed., *Le Calendrier de Cordoue* (E.J. Brill, 1961), 3–5 and 21–23.

5 Varisco, *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science*, 8.

6 See, for instance, Julio Samsó Moya, 'Cordoba as a Scientific Center', in *A Companion to Late Antique and Medieval Islamic Cordoba: Capital of Roman Baetica and Caliphate of al-Andalus*, ed. Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala and Antonio Monterroso Checa (Brill, 2023), 443; Miquel Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd' and the Calendar of Cordova'. In *Sic Itur Ad Astra. Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften. Festschrift für den Arabisten Paul Künitzsch zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by M. Folkerts and R. Lorch. Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000; Eduardo Manzano Moreno, *The Court of the Caliphate of al-Andalus: Four Years in Umayyad Córdoba*, trans. Jeremy Roe, Edinburgh Studies in Classical Islamic History and Culture, ed. Carole Hillenbrand (Edinburgh University Press, 2023); José Manuel Fradejas Rueda, 'Shadhāniqāt al-Balansiyya or Shadhāniqāt al-Baḥriyya: On the Arabic Text and the Latin Translations of the Calendar of Cordova', in *Science Translated. Latin and Vernacular Translations of Scientific Treatises in Medieval Europe*, ed. Michèle Goyens et al. (Leuven University Press, 2008); Ángel C. López y López, 'Estudio Particular de las Especies Botánicas Que se Citan en el Calendario de Córdoba de ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd', *Ciencias de la Naturaleza en al-Andalus* 3 (1994): 43–78.

7 Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina – al-Qawl fi l-Šuhur (Tratado sobre los anwāʾ y los Tiempos - Capítulo sobre los Meses)*, ed. Miquel Forcada Nogués, Fuentes Arábico-Hispanas (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993), 41–42.

8 On the *Capitularium Evangeliorum Arabicum*, see Chapter 3.

the religious identity of the author. The reasons for the inclusion of religious feasts, as well as the manner in which it is presented and perceived by the author, have not yet been thoroughly examined—despite the fact that these texts offer an illuminating contrast to religious treatises of a more overtly ideological or polemical character. The rich and striking mixture of religious material contained in the *Cordoban Calendar* makes the author's identity—and his motivations for including and framing this content—far from self-evident. It prompts further reflection on the author's attitude toward, and engagement with, religious practices and diversity, as well as on his underlying interest in such material.

Books of *anwāʾ*

In situating the *Cordoban Calendar* within its literary tradition, it is useful to explain why it is frequently described as a *kitāb al-anwāʾ* (book of *anwāʾ*). First, in some manuscripts the text is referred to as a *kitāb al-anwāʾ*; second, it contains elements comparable to those found in other examples of the literary tradition of *anwāʾ* books. This literary tradition is highly diverse, however, and the *Cordoban Calendar* differs significantly from some other works belonging to it.

The earliest works of *anwāʾ* emerged in the Middle East in the eighth century and were composed by philologists and grammarians who sought to preserve the *anwāʾ* system and its associated terminology. The *anwāʾ* system derives from the solar calendar of the pre-Islamic Arab Bedouins. It divides the year into twenty-eight periods—twenty-seven of thirteen days and one of fourteen days. Each period begins with a *nawʾ* (plural: *anwāʾ*), that is, the setting of one asterism (a group of stars) in the west, accompanied by the simultaneous rising of another asterism in the east. Every period was associated with specific weather patterns, such as rain, cloud formations, or changes in temperature, which the Bedouins believed were caused by the setting asterism.

Much of the knowledge concerning the *anwāʾ* and their climatic effects was preserved in Bedouin proverbs. Early Islamic grammarians, eager to demonstrate the richness and superiority of the Arabic language, therefore began to record these linguistic materials in written treatises. The transmission of books of *anwāʾ* thus served multiple purposes: to preserve the astro-meteorological knowledge attributed to the ancient Arabs, to safeguard the linguistic forms in which it was expressed, and to educate the intellectual elite. In the Islamicate world, the ideal of the courteous and "urbane" man was that he was well-versed in profane culture, including poetry, oratory, the historical and tribal traditions of the ancient Arabs, rhetoric, grammar, lexicography, metrics, and familiarity with non-Arab literature.[9] This broad cultural formation was encompassed by the concept of *adab* (literally "custom" or "habit"), which also embraced knowledge of proper conduct and etiquette. For this reason, *anwāʾ* material is likewise found within the literary tradition of *adab al-kātib* (*Secretaries' Guides*), which set out the body of knowledge expected of a court secretary.

9 F. Gabrieli, 'Adab', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, I, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill, 1960–2005), 175.

The *Cordoban Calendar* does not correspond exactly to the earliest type of *anwāʾ* treatises within this tradition. Miquel Forcada has proposed a typology of books of *anwāʾ*, dividing them into four categories.[10] The first three are primarily lexicographical and philological in character, whereas the fourth comprises almanacs. According to this classification, the *Cordoban Calendar* belongs to the fourth category: almanacs that combine *anwāʾ* material with additional content on medicine (particularly the humoral theory associated with Hippocrates and Galen), agriculture, dietetics, zoology, seafaring, and, in some cases, religious feasts.[11] With regard to the *Cordoban Calendar*, it has been classified both as a book of *anwāʾ* and as an Arabic almanac, and both classifications are justified.

Purpose of this study

This study undertakes a detailed analysis of the text transmission of the *Cordoban Calendar*.[12] A number of commonly held assumptions about the *Cordoban Calendar* are examined and reassessed, including questions concerning its transmission, its original text, when and where it was written, by whom it was composed, and what sources were used in its compilation. The commonly accepted understanding of its manuscript corpus requires thorough revision. The questions of the work's emergence and authorship remain contested. Further, previous scholarship has suggested that the *Cordoban Calendar* was compiled, at least in part, from material transmitted through books imported into al-Andalus from the Middle East, particularly Baghdad, although the extent of this influence remains uncertain. While some potential sources for the *Cordoban Calendar* have been identified, much remains to be explored.

The principal difficulty in using and interpreting this source lies in the uncertainty surrounding its original form: it remains unclear which elements derive from the Cordoban author and the Andalusi context and which were drawn from sources outside of al-Andalus. Any attempt to reconstruct the historical context in which the work was composed must therefore carefully account for both the textual variations among the text versions and the complex interplay between local and imported material.

What is usually referred to as the *Cordoban Calendar* is an edition by Charles Pellat, which is based on two closely related texts, one in Arabic and one in Latin. Initially, the Latin text (hereafter CCL) was discovered and published in 1838 by Guillaume Libri in his first volume of *Histoire des*

10 This almanac is, according to Forcada, strongly indebted to the Greek tradition of *parapegmata* (a classical instrument to keep track of cyclical phenomena). Forcada describes four types of treatises of *anwāʾ*, reflecting a chronological development of the genre. Miquel Forcada, 'Astrology and Folk Astronomy: the Mukhtaṣar min al-Anwāʾ of Aḥmad b. Fāris', *Suhayl* 1 (2000): 107–206, 107–8.

11 Forcada, 'Astrology and Folk Astronomy', 108.

12 This research has been conducted within the framework of the research project *Making a Martyr in Medieval Iberia (589–1080)*, which was funded by the Dutch Research Council (NWO) and took place from 1 February 2020 until 30 January 2025. The data gathered and analyzed for this research project have also served for the development of the interactive map on: .

sciences mathématiques en Italie.[13] Some decades later, Reinhart Dozy identified a Judeo-Arabic text (hereafter CCA) as the Arabic counterpart to CCL. Dozy undertook the important task of deciphering the Arabic text written in Hebrew characters and published an edition of CCA and CCL in 1873. Dozy provided the text with the title *Calendar of Córdoba*, a title that is not present in the text itself. Dozy's edition was revised by Pellat in 1961, and provided with a French translation. In the eighties and nineties, three additional Latin versions, reflecting a "Catalonian translation" of the *Cordoban Calendar* were identified. Of these versions, Vic167 appears in an edition by José Martínez Gázquez and Julio Samsó, and Martínez Gázquez discussed BN6036 and Lat.qu.198 in other articles.[14]

Central to this examination is the discovery that the tradition of the *Cordoban Calendar* is preserved in a larger number of manuscripts than has generally been recognized. Other texts have been recognized as textually close to CCA and CCL, but they were not defined as versions of the *Cordoban Calendar*. One of these texts was edited and translated into Spanish by María Ángeles Navarro in 1990 under the name by which it appears in the library catalogue (but is not contained in the text): *Risāla fī awqāt al-sana* (hereafter Risala).[15] Instead of identifying it as a text version of the *Cordoban Calendar*, she hypothesizes that the *Risāla fī awqāt al-sana* emerged from a merge in the thirteenth century between the *Cordoban Calendar* and a *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* by a certain "Andalusi author," which was until then identified as Ibn al-Kattānī al-Andalusī (d. 1029).[16] This "Andalusi author," however, was identified convincingly by Forcada as ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd.[17] Because of the very close overlap between CCA and KA, Forcada argues that both text were written by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd.[18] The dissertation by Ahmad Alkuwaifi Khazʿal provides an edition of KA, together with a text versions preserved in a manuscript kept in Alexandria (hereafter Balad.2918), which he defines as a summarized version of KA.[19] Three other Latin and another Arabic text version have been signaled as closely related to CCA and CCL, but these have not been subject to any published study yet.[20] In Chapter 1, I will justify the idea that all the above-

13 Guillaume Libri, *Histoire des Sciences Mathématiques en Italie: Depuis la Renaissance des Lettres jusqu'à la Fin du XVIIe Siècle*, vol. 1 (J. Renouard, 1838).

14 José Martínez Gázquez and Julio Samsó, *Una Nueva Traducción Latina del Calendario de Córdoba (Siglo XIII)* (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1981); José Martínez Gázquez, 'Un Nuevo Manuscrito de la Traducción del Calendario de Córdoba', *Actas del I Congreso Andaluz de Estudios Clásicos*, 9 December 1982, 290–93; José Martínez Gázquez, 'El Texto del Calendario de Córdoba en el Manuscrito Berlín Lat.qu.198', in *Studia in Honorem Prof. M. de Riquer*, vol. 4 (Quaderns Crema, 1991).

15 M. Ángeles Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana. Un Calendario Anónimo Andalusí* (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990), 27; Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 248.

16 Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums VII*, VII: Astrologie–Meteorologie und Verwandtes. Bis ca. 430 H, 363–64.

17 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd'.

18 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 248.

19 This dissertation contains a Spanish translation for KA (not for Balad.2918).

20 Latin: PA45, ÖNB2462 and Reg.lat.596. I thank Eduard Frunzeanu for kindly sharing his observations and notes on PA45 and ÖNB2462 with me. Reg.lat.596 is mentioned by Philipp Nothaft. Philipp E. Nothaft, 'A Third Latin Translation of Ibn al-Ṣaffār's Treatise on the Uses of the Astrolabe', *Mediterranea, International Journal on the Transfer of Knowledge* 8 (2023): 378. The Arabic version P2521 is mentioned in Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 249.

mentioned text versions are part of the textual tradition of the *Cordoban Calendar* according to carefully developed criteria.

During the course of this research, I identified seven additional text versions of the *Cordoban Calendar* in manuscripts in libraries in Morocco, Tunisia, Syria and Vatican City by browsing through (digital) catalogues. Altogether, this resulted in a corpus of nineteen manuscripts, rather than the two previously reported (CCA and CCL), while leaving open the possibility that further witnesses remain undiscovered. Accordingly, the *Cordoban Calendar* is at the moment reflected in nineteen manuscripts, the earliest dating to the early twelfth century and the most recent to the early twentieth.

The awareness of this extended corpus forced me to look more closely at the text transmission and the alleged original compilation of the *Cordoban Calendar*. Precisely the complexity of the text transmission and the subsequent uncertainty about the original compilation have been largely overlooked in previous scholarship.[21] Since none of the extant manuscripts can be dated to the tenth century, the first question that arises is whether they may be regarded as reliable witnesses to the tenth-century composition. Contrary to what some scholars appear to assume, there is no firm basis for treating CCA and CCL as complete representations of the tenth-century original, not least because the two versions diverge substantially from one another. The involvement of other manuscripts in this study further problematizes these assumptions and prompts us to adopt a new approach: treating, in principle, all extant manuscripts as equally valid witnesses to the textual tradition. The new approach brings to light possible alterations introduced in the course of the text's transmission, as well as of the potential motivations underlying such alterations.

Another motivation for this study stems from a growing suspicion that the religious identity of the author of the *Cordoban Calendar* remains in many respects poorly understood. Not much is known with certainty about the emergence of the text, intended audience and writer's or commissioner's intention. Nevertheless, various assumptions about its authorship have been echoed repeatedly in scholarship, even though the circumstances of its emergence have never been firmly established. Most problematic is the persistent characterization of the text as a "Christian Arabic" text compiled by a Christian author. These persistent misconceptions—first, that the *Cordoban Calendar* exists only in CCA and CCL; second, that these text versions can be taken to reflect tenth-century realities uncritically; and third, that the work is straightforwardly a Christian text authored by a Christian—underscore the urgency of this research.

Dating and core components

As mentioned before, the *Cordoban Calendar* is thought to have been produced during the reign of al-Ḥakam II (r. 961–976). Such an attribution would make the *Cordoban Calendar* a compelling

21 This observation was made by Ann Christys. Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus* (Routledge, 2002), 108–34.

source for historical research about this period. However, given the textual variation among the text versions, it is necessary to ask to what extent the *Cordoban Calendar* can serve as a reliable source for understanding any particular historical context. None of the surviving manuscripts date from the tenth century, nor are any two of them identical. How, then, can we determine which elements in the text reflect the tenth-century original and which elements attest to contexts of later periods? Before using the *Cordoban Calendar* to address questions of religious life and identity in this period, it is therefore essential to determine at least which elements of the liturgical content were part of the original compilation. With liturgical content I mean all the content in the text versions that concerns feasts, commemorations, historical events, beliefs and practices important to one or multiple religious communities. In most cases, this content is contained in the daily entries of the calendar.

Before discussing the usefulness of the *Cordoban Calendar* for understanding religious life and identity in tenth-century al-Andalus, I will present the most recent scholarly study on the precise year of its composition. Although the year 961 is traditionally mentioned as the original date of compilation—coinciding with al-Ḥakam II's accession—this assumption lacks firm evidence.[22] The dedication to the caliph does not, in itself, imply the date 961. Although no additional evidence has ever been adduced in support of this dating, the year nonetheless recurs throughout the scholarship. Forcada has argued that the text was more likely compiled in 973, due to the fact that this year is mentioned in KA.[23] While this year is not explicitly mentioned as the year of the production of the text, it is given in the introduction to exemplify the conversion of eras. The text thus explains that 1284 in the era of Alexander is 362 in the Hijra era, 1020 in the Spanish era and 973 in the "era of Christ" (*taʾrīkh al-Masīḥ*). In six of the newly identified text versions, the passage about conversion of eras, including the year 973, appears as well, which strengthens Forcada's hypothesis. I have also identified additional evidence for this dating, which will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Having established the date of 973 for the compilation of the *Cordoban Calendar*, the question remains whether the text versions can be considered faithful to the tenth-century original. Previous interpretations of Christian practice in tenth-century Córdoba that are based on the *Cordoban Calendar* have often overlooked the complexities of textual transmission.[24] Many studies fail to consider the absence of an manuscript. The earliest surviving copy is a Latin manuscript dated to 1132 (Qu.lat.198), which notably lacks a list of feasts. Other relatively early Latin copies, from the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, include local saints from Catalonia

22 This interpretation was suggested by Reinaud and later taken up by Guillaume Libri. M. Steinschneider, 'Harib, Sohn Des Zeid, Und Garib, Sohn Des Said. Zur Geschichte Der Mathematischen Wissenschaften Im X. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift Für Mathematik Und Physik* 6, no. 3 (1866): 235.

23 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 237.

24 Christys points out that the textual transmission has not been adequately taken into account. Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 108–9.

and France and omit liturgical information which is more clearly tied to Córdoba (PA45, ÖNB2462, Reg.lat.596). Consequently, the earliest copies that may give indications of Cordoban Christian religious practice date from the thirteenth century (CCL) and the fourteenth century (CCA). Scholars logically rely on these copies but often do not consider the alterations that may have occurred during transmission.[25] It is therefore all the more important that manuscripts identified only more recently—produced mostly between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries—are brought together and scrutinized, for the first time, to shed light on the textual transmission of the *Cordoban Calendar*.

A key objective of this study is to identify the textual strata within the transmission and to determine the "core components" among the liturgical content of the *Cordoban Calendar*. By identifying core components, my aim is neither to reconstruct an *Urtext* (that is, the original text word for word) nor to determine, for each individual liturgical passage, whether it formed part of the original compilation. Rather, "core components" refers to those elements that can be considered to have formed an integral part of the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*, although their precise wording and extent cannot be determined. In order to reach conclusions about these core components, I have established a set of liturgical categories and analyzed, for each category, whether it can be argued that it formed part of the original text. This analysis is based primarily on a comparison of the text versions, identifying the elements they most consistently share. In addition to this principal method, I employ several further approaches to identify core components within the corpus (see below, *Methodology*).

This study does not call for the complete dismissal of the *Cordoban Calendar* as a historical source for Cordoban society or Christian religious life in the tenth century. Rather, it advocates for a critical textual approach that avoids treating CCA and CCL as the most authoritative witnesses to the earliest compilation without sufficient justification and acknowledges the variation within the corpus. In principle, all text versions are considered equally valid until substantial evidence indicates that certain content was introduced at a later stage of transmission. The primary objective is to distinguish core components that most likely belong to the initial compilation from

25 Most scholars consider CCL the most original or complete version. For instance, Simonet only published CCL and Férotin, in his comparison of calendars, only compares CCL. Francisco J. Simonet, *Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe del Siglo X* (Tipografía de Pascual Gonesa, 1871); Marius Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum en Usage dans l'Église Wisigothique et Mozarabe d'Espagne du Cinquième au Onzième Siècle avec une Introduction, des Notes, une Étude sur Neuf Calendriers Mozarabes* (Firmin-Didot, 1904); In the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* it is also assumed that CCL is based on an Arabic exemplar that was more complete than CCA: "En outre, il paraît certain que l'auteur de la traduction latine avait sous les yeux un original en général plus complet que ne l'est le texte arabe conserve en caractères hébreux; c'est ce que prouvent les nombreuses mentions de fêtes chrétiennes, ses commémorations de saints, ses extraits du martyrologe espagnole, don't on ne trouve aucune trace dans la rédaction arabe."Henri Quentin, 'Kalendaria', in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Tome VIII (Judaïsme–Lexique), première partie, 665; Ángel C. López y López, 'Vida y Obra del Famoso Polígrafo Cordobés del s. X ʿArīb Ibn Saʿīd', *Ciencias de la Naturaleza en al-Andalus*, 1990, 341.

those we consider to be later additions—rather than assuming certain text versions are "original," because they were discovered earlier or appear in an edition.

One additional caveat should be noted in the effort to identify the core components of the original text. Due to the chronological gap between the first compilation and the surviving text versions, caution is warranted in asserting the extent to which the core components, as suggested in this thesis, reflect the original text. Revisions may have been introduced into a copy of the lost original. Accordingly, it is possible that all the extant copies derive from an ancestor that stood between the original and the extant copies. This hypothetical ancestor may already have incorporated changes or additions that were not present in the original and are now reflected in the extant text versions. In the absence of counter-evidence, however, the tenth century remains the most plausible context for the emergence of the core components identified here. Accordingly, I cautiously situate my conclusions regarding religious life and identity within the context of tenth-century Córdoba.

Historical context

While the core components established in this dissertation cannot be dated to the tenth century with complete certainty, this period—particularly the reign of al-Ḥakam II—remains the most likely context for the production of the *Cordoban Calendar*. Accordingly, the circumstances that gave rise to the work should be sought in this historical setting. I will first provide some background on the circumstances in which the *Cordoban Calendar* was composed.

Following the cultural florescence of the Abbasid world in the eighth and ninth centuries, Córdoba became the center of the Umayyad Golden Age in al-Andalus by the tenth century, Agriculture, the sciences, and the arts were flourishing, and Córdoba was regarded as one of the foremost cultural and intellectual centers of the world.[26] The vibrant intellectual environment is undoubtedly a result of the fact that al-Ḥakam II was a "great patron of culture" and promotor of writing, even before he became caliph.[27] He gathered numerous books in his famous library, and the library of Córdoba was a true center of intellectual and cultural life, although the legendary figure of 400,000 books is certainly an exaggeration.[28] This library can be regarded as an attempt to rival the Abbasid Caliph al-Maʾmūn and his famous center of learning, the *bayt al-ḥikma* (*House of Wisdom*).[29] Al-Ḥakam II is known as a lover of sciences, who had a particular interest

26 "The reign of the successor to al-Nāṣir, al-Hakam II al-Mustanṣir (350–66/961–76), was undoubtedly the period of greatest splendour in all aspects of Andalusian history." L. Molina, 'Umayyads', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, X, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill, 1960–2005), 852.

27 Mariá Luisa Ávila and Maribel Fierro, 'Do Caliphs Write? The View from the Islamic West', in *Rulers as Authors in the Islamic World*, ed. Sonja Brentjes et al. (Brill, 2024), 221.

28 David J. Wasserstein, 'The Library of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir and the Culture of Islamic Spain', in *Education and Learning in the Early Islamic World*, vol. 43, ed. Claude Gilliot, The Formation of the Classical Islamic World (Ashgate Variorum, 2012), 574.

29 Bruna Soravia, 'Secretaries and the Running of Government', in *The Routledge Handbook of Muslim Iberia*, ed. Maribel Fierro (Routledge, 2020), 273.

in topics related to religion.[30] Among the volumes in his collection were a legal work by al-Shāfiʿī, Orosius' *Historiae* in Latin and in Arabic, an Arabic translation of the New Testament, the Arabic version of the Psalms and an Arabic summary of the Talmud.[31] The extent to which a cultural institution such as the library of al-Ḥakam II could shape societal thought is illustrated by the fact that his successor, al-Manṣūr (r. 976–1009), under pressure from the *ʿulamāʾ* (religious scholars) saw a threat in the library and purged it of philosophical and theological works.[32]

As a patron, al-Ḥakam II attracted scholars, teachers, and works from across the Islamicate world. In this context, one can trace the influence of Jewish intellectual culture, particularly through the renowned Jewish physician Hasdai ibn Shaprut (ca. 905-ca. 975), who himself acted as a patron for Jewish scholars both within and beyond the Iberian Peninsula.[33] In fact, Christians and Jews held important positions at court and were often highly proficient in Arabic. Anyone aspiring to a career in state administration was expected to study Arabic language and literature from an early age.[34]

It is evident that the development of the library was not just a personal hobby of al-Ḥakam II, but rather the result of a desire to promote the education of his functionaries, since they were supposed to be well-versed in various fields of knowledge. As a result of al-Ḥakam II's promotion of learning, al-Andalus became a brimming market for books from the east. Scholars, as well as (aspiring) functionaries of the caliphal administration, especially secretaries, were now studying the literary works of the East.[35] In an effort to compete with and surpass Baghdad, books from the Middle East were brought to al-Andalus by scholars such as the renowned Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī (c. 893–967), who was invited by al-Ḥakam II (then son of the caliph) in 942 and was active at the Cordoban court for around 25 years.[36] Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī had studied in Baghdad under renowned masters and brought an important number of works from his library to al-Andalus, which he then dictated to local scholars.[37]

30 Wasserstein, 'The Library of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir', 569.

31 The work of al-Shāfiʿī, representing the foundations of one of the four legal schools of Sunni Islam, is significant in al-Andalus, in which the Maliki school was the official legal school. Wasserstein, 'The Library of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir', 564–65.

32 Wasserstein, 'The Library of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir', 574. Despite the repression under al-Manṣūr, the caliph continued to make use of the sciences in private. Mònica Rius-Piniés, 'Sciences and Technology', in *The Routledge Handbook of Muslim Iberia*, ed. Maribel Fierro (Routledge, 2020), 442.

33 Wasserstein speaks of a "Jewish revolution." Wasserstein, 'The Library of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir', 573.

34 Jessica A. Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion* (University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 85.

35 Soravia, 'Secretaries and the Running of Government', 273.

36 A list of the books al-Qālī brought to al-Andalus is preserved in the *Fahrasa* (bibliography) by (1108/9–1179). Wasserstein, 'The Library of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir', 565–66; Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina*, 38.

37 Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina*, 38. One of these was the famous *Kitāb adab al-kātib* (*The Secretary's Guide*) by Ibn Qutayba, a scholar who had served the Abbasid Caliph al-Mutawakkil (r. 847–861). Other books al-Qālī brought are listed in Soravia, 'Secretaries and the Running of Government', 273.

As we have seen, certain books of *anwāʾ* were encyclopedic works that contained diverse forms of knowledge relevant to court administrators. By the time the *Cordoban Calendar* was allegedly written, three books of *anwāʾ* were known to be available in al-Andalus: the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* by Ibn Qutayba (828–889), the non-extant *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* by the ninth-century Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (c. 815–c. 895/902) and a calendar by Ibn Durayd (c. 837–933).[38] While the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* by Ibn Qutayba may have circulated on the Peninsula already as of 910 CE, the calendar of Ibn Durayd was certainly introduced by Abū ʿAlī al-Qali, and perhaps the book of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī as well.[39] It is very likely that the *Kitāb al-azmina* (Book of the Seasons) by the East Syrian court physician Ibn Māsawayh (ca. 776–857) from Baghdad, was likewise known in al-Andalus.[40] The *Cordoban Calendar* draws on the eastern *anwāʾ* texts of Ibn Qutayba and Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, and possibly on that of Ibn Durayd and Ibn Māsawayh.[41] The composition of the *Cordoban Calendar* shortly after Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī's arrival in Córdoba is described by Forcada as "certainly a suspicious circumstance," suggesting that the *Cordoban Calendar* might not have come into existence had Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī not brought these books to al-Andalus.[42]

Despite these circumstances, the *Cordoban Calendar* should not be regarded merely as a copy of earlier books of *anwāʾ*. We know of other Andalusi works that were sometimes too easily dismissed as mere copies of Middle Eastern models—an interpretation that does not do justice to the nature of Andalusi writings.[43] While Andalusi works did engage with and imitate models from the East, they also reflected a conscious effort to surpass them and to distinguish Córdoba from Baghdad. A few works from the Abbasid realm may have served as potential sources or models for the *Cordoban Calendar*, but the latter nevertheless contains a significant amount of new and "unique" content.[44] Rather than approaching the *Cordoban Calendar* as the product of a compilation of pre-existing sources, I focus on the way it is embedded within a literary tradition cultivated across the Islamicate world, in which borrowing extensively from other Arabic almanacs was common practice. This approach allows me to re-examine previously assumed connections with eastern works, while texts from the Middle East and Egypt that have not previously been considered are brought into the discussion (see Chapter 2).

38 Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina*, 39–40; Forcada, 'Astrology and Folk Astronomy', 108.
39 Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina*, 38–39.
40 Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina*, 39–40.
41 Miquel Forcada, 'Books of anwāʾ in al-Andalus', in *The Formation of al-Andalus. Part 2: Language, Religion, Culture and the Sciences*, ed. Julio Samsó and Maribel Fierro (Ashgate, 1998), 312; Forcada, 'Astrology and Folk Astronomy', 136; Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina*, 41.
42 Forcada, 'Books of anwāʾ', 316.
43 Wasserstein, 'The Library of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir', 571.
44 Forcada emphasizes the uniqueness of CCT. Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina*, 40–44.

Religious life

The *Cordoban Calendar* has frequently been used as a source for reconstructing the religious life of Andalusi Christians—often referred to as Mozarabs.[45] This emphasis largely derives from the presence of an extensive Christian liturgical calendar within the text, which includes references to celebrated feasts and places of worship in Córdoba and al-Andalus. As a result, the *Cordoban Calendar* has been mined to reconstruct the liturgical cycle and the cultic landscape of Andalusi Christians and to examine how these relate to Christian practice in the northern kingdoms.

Francisco Javier Simonet, in one of the earliest and most comprehensive studies of Christians in al-Andalus, drew on the *Cordoban Calendar* to present the feasts celebrated by Andalusi Christians and to map the locations of relics and places of worship and to assess whether these were still in existence in 961, the commonly accepted date of the *Cordoban Calendar*'s composition. Simonet advanced the view that Spanish culture and the Christian community remained largely unaffected by the presence of Muslims and Jews on the Peninsula. According to him, Christian Spanish culture survived Islamic rule through the agency of the Andalusi Christian community, which preserved pre-conquest traditions.[46] In this light, he argued that the *Cordoban Calendar* reflects Christian feasts adopted during the final period of the Visigothic Kingdom, prior to the Muslim conquest of the Iberian Peninsula.[47] Andalusi Christians would thus have continued practices rooted in the Visigothic past. The problems with Simonet's approach lie not only in its ideological underpinnings, but also in the fact that his analysis was based exclusively on CCL.

Marius Férotin also isolates CCL and situates it alongside Old Hispanic calendars reflecting the Old Hispanic rite.[48] He regarded CCL as being of "greatest interest," since it offers insight into the liturgical calendar of Córdoba.[49] Deviations between CCL and the Old Hispanic calendars were explained as reflecting either more recent developments in Iberian Christian practice or

45 Throughout this study, I refer to Christians in al-Andalus as *Andalusi Christians* rather than *Mozarabs*. The latter term derives from the Arabic *mustaʿrab*, meaning "Arabized" or "becoming Arab." Several issues arise with the use of this label. First, not all Andalusi Christians were Arabized to the same degree—if at all—and no clear or consistent definition of "Arabization" exists. Second, the earliest known occurrence of the term appears not in an Andalusi source, but in a Latin document from the kingdom of León, one of the northern kingdoms of the Peninsula that became Christian by the ninth century, dated 1024. Third, the term has been used in a wide variety of ways: to describe the Old Hispanic liturgy (which predates the Muslim presence in Iberia), an architectural style incorporating Islamic elements (in both al-Andalus and the Christian kingdoms), and even Latin texts composed by Andalusi Christians (for instance, the famous "Mozarabic chronicle" which is written in Latin in the first half of the eight century.). Due to the absence of a more precise alternative, I retain the term *Mozarabs* only when referring specifically to the Arabized Christians of Toledo, where it is attested in contemporary sources and more appropriately applies. For this reasoning, I have followed the arguments of Charles Tieszen. Charles L. Tieszen, *Christian Identity amid Islam in Medieval Spain* (Brill, 2013), 15–16.

46 Francisco J. Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España. Hasta la Conquista de Toledo por Alfonso VI (Años 870 a 1085)*, III (Turner, 1983), 615–18.

47 Simonet compares CCL with the *Gothic Breviary*. Simonet, *Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe*, 11.

48 The Old Hispanic rite developed during the Visigothic period and was celebrated until its abolishment in ca. 1080, when it was replaced by the Franco-Roman rite. I follow the term Old Hispanic rite for what is sometimes called "Mozarabic," "Visigothic" or "Old Spanish" rite. Emma Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office. Texts Melodies and Devotion in Early Medieval Iberia* (Cambridge University Press, 2022), xxx.

49 Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, xxxiv.

commemorations of specifically Andalusi character.[50] The assumption that CCL represents the most authoritative or "truthful" version of the liturgical calendar will be challenged in this study; instead, additional manuscripts will be introduced in order to consider how the CCL may have been modified after the initial compilation.

More recently, Cyrille Aillet has drawn on the *Cordoban Calendar* in his reconstruction of the topography of Andalusi Christian practice.[51] His study traces the development and geographical distribution of Christian cults after the Muslim conquest. Through its references to cities in al-Andalus where saints were buried and their feasts celebrated—sometimes even naming specific churches or monasteries and their locations—the *Cordoban Calendar* occasionally confirms indications found in other textual or archaeological sources, provides evidence for the continuation of particular cults, or stands as the sole testimony for certain traditions.[52] In some cases, however, it presents conflicting information.[53] Aillet has drawn attention to divergences between CCA and CCL and treats them with appropriate caution. Although he is therefore cautious in interpreting discrepancies between CCA and CCL, as well as between these versions and other sources, he does not provide a detailed analysis of the liturgical material within the *Cordoban Calendar* itself. Ann Christys has likewise drawn on the *Cordoban Calendar*'s references to places of worship—such as the church of Acisclus and the church of the Three Saints—in conjunction with other textual and archaeological evidence.[54] In this way, the *Cordoban Calendar* has contributed significantly to discussions of the topography of Córdoba and its surroundings.

The *Cordoban Calendar* has also influenced interpretations of the events of around 850, commonly referred to as the "martyrdoms" of the so-called Cordoban martyrs. These events are described in the writings of the priest Eulogius of Córdoba and his lay friend Paul Alvarus.[55] They recount the alleged execution of approximately fifty individuals by Muslim authorities for acts of blasphemy, apostasy, or proselytization. Although the historicity of these events and individuals remains uncertain, it is clear that Eulogius and Alvarus were invested in promoting

50 Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, xxxi and xxxiv.

51 Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes: Christianisme, Islamisation et Arabisation en Péninsule Ibérique (IXe-XIIe Siècle)* (Casa de Velázquez, 2010).

52 Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 48, 67, 71–72 and 81.

53 Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 66 and 75.

54 Ann Christys, 'The Meaning of Topography in Umayyad Córdoba', in *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400-1500. Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space*, ed. Caroline Goodson et al. (Routledge, 2010), 113 and 120.

55 For more detailed studies of the Cordoban martyrs, see Christian C. Sahner, *Christian Martyrs under Islam: Religious Violence and the Making of the Muslim World* (Princeton University Press, 2018); Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*; Wolf, Kenneth Baxter. *The Eulogius Corpus*. Translated Texts for Historians 71. Liverpool University Press, 2019; Edward P. Colbert, *The Martyrs of Córdoba (850-859): A Study of the Sources* (Catholic University of America Press, 1962); For a survey of the historiographical debate, see Kati Ihnat, 'The Martyrs of Córdoba: Debates around a Curious Case of Medieval Martyrdom', *History Compass* 18, no. 1 (2020).

new martyr cults.[56] The mention in the *Cordoban Calendar* of two Cordoban martyrs, along with four associated individuals (including Alvarus), has been taken by scholars as evidence for their veneration as saints.[57] It should be noted, however, that these entries appear only in CCL. Accordingly, it was proposed that two distinct treatises existed for different audiences on the basis of the inclusion of feasts for a contentious group of individuals. One version would have included the Cordoban martyrs (CCL), and would have been aimed at a Christian readership. Another would have been intended for the caliph (CCA), and omitted the Cordoban martyrs to avoid offence. Since those involved in the execution of these 'martyrs' were his father (in the case of Pelagius), and his ancestors (in the case of the other Cordoban martyrs), al-Ḥakam II would not have been well pleased by their commemoration among the Christians in his realm.[58]

Whereas scholars such as Simonet regard the inclusion of the six cases of Cordoban martyrs in CCL as evidence of the veneration they enjoyed, others have expressed reservations about this conclusion.[59] Kenneth Baxter Wolf observes that the veneration of Esperaindeo and Alvarus would be remarkable, since neither is known to have been regarded as a martyr outside of the text of the *Cordoban Calendar*.[60] Bonnie Effros likewise suggests that their inclusion in the *Cordoban Calendar* "perhaps stemmed from a desire to honor the Cordovan martyrs in an inconspicuous manner," given that the names of Esperaindeo and Alvarus would likely have been unfamiliar to the dedicatee of the text, the caliph al-Ḥakam II.[61] Whatever the motivation behind their inclusion, both Wolf and Effros ultimately argue that the available evidence points rather to the limited popularity of the Cordoban martyrs, despite Eulogius' efforts to promote their cult.[62] A detailed analysis of the Cordoban martyrs in Chapter 3 will offer new insights into the timing and rationale of their inclusion in CCL, as well as their broader significance for understanding martyr cults in Córdoba.

While the liturgical references known from CCA and CCL are largely confined to Christian practice—including certain Eastern Christian traditions such as Coptic, East Syriac, and Melkite—a considerable number of the text versions examined in this study also record Jewish practices, significant events from Islamic history, and numerous references to prophets shared across

56 For questions on the historicity of the accounts on the Cordoban martyrial events, see Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, 'Mitografía Hagiomartirial: De Nuevo sobre los Supuestos Mártires Cordobeses del Siglo IX', in *De Muerte Violenta. Política, Religión y Violencia en al-Andalus*, ed. Maribel Fierro (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2004); Ana María Echevarría Arsuaga, 'Retelling Interreligious Marriage, from Andalusi Christians to Moriscos', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 35, no. 1 (2020): 63–78.

57 Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España*, III, 614; Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, xxxiv.

58 Effros, 'Usuard's Journey to Spain', 28 and 32; and "Recemundus also removed any mention of a later martyr, Pelagius, who was executed in 925, allegedly for refusing the sexual advances of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. There is some question as to the exact provenance of the two versions, but the evidence suggests that Recemundus intended one version for Christian consumption and the other as a gift for the caliph." Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 68.

59 Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España*, III, 614.

60 Wolf, *The Eulogius Corpus*, 40.

61 Effros, 'Usuard's Journey to Spain', 32.

62 Wolf, *The Eulogius Corpus*, 108.

Jewish, Christian, and Islamic traditions. Although this material has been noted in editions and earlier studies, its significance has not yet been systematically analyzed. Navarro briefly remarks that Risala contains Christian, Jewish, Muslim and Persian feasts, but does not contextualize or interpret their presence in the text.[63] Alkuwaifi Khazʿal argues that the feasts included in KA and Balad.2918 reflect those observed by the Andalusi Muslim, Christian, and Jewish communities within the Umayyad caliphate, thereby attesting to "the vibrant, complex and multiform society in which these communities lived together."[64] Forcada proposes that the entries in KA concerning Islamic history and the prophets derive from the copying of other works, such as the *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk* (*The History of the Prophets and Kings*) by al-Ṭabarī (839–923), thus suggesting that they do not per se reflect lived realities in al-Andalus.[65] Hence, both Alkuwaifi Khazʿal and Forcada consider the liturgical content of KA to form part of a tenth-century compilation. However, as Chapters 2 and 3 demonstrate, a closer reassessment of the moment when these liturgical entries were included reveals a more nuanced picture. Not all of this material can be securely attributed to the original author, nor can it be assumed that every liturgical element accurately reflects the feasts observed by Christian communities in al-Andalus.

Religious identity

Scholars have frequently invoked the *Cordoban Calendar* to underscore the deep integration of Andalusi Christians into Arabic culture. The text is commonly regarded as a product of the profoundly Arabized Christian community of al-Andalus and is accordingly classified as "Christian Arabic literature." As a result, it often features in surveys of Andalusi Christian Arabic writing.[66] Other works produced within this milieu include Arabic translations of biblical and other Christian texts, such as the Psalms, the Gospels, Orosius' *Historiae*, and collections of canon law. These translations are characterized by the use of terminology drawn from the Islamic tradition, as well as, at times, by direct citations from the Qurʾan. The inclusion in the *Cordoban Calendar* of a qurʾanic verse and the use of certain vocabulary and terminology has thus been interpreted as a natural consequence of the Arabization—and, in some interpretations, the gradual Islamization—of Andalusi Christians.

63 Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 24.

64 Ahmad Alkuwaifi Khaz'al, 'El Kitāb al Anwā' del Kātib ʿArīb Ibn Saʿīd [Spanish Version]' (Universitat de Barcelona, 2022), 23.

65 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 246.

66 Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, 'The Arabicized Christians in Cordoba: Social Context and Literary Production', in *A Companion to Late Antique and Medieval Islamic Cordoba: Capital of Roman Baetica and Caliphate of al-Andalus*, ed. Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala and Antonio J. Monterroso Checa (Brill, 2023), 363–64; Thomas E. Burman, *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050–1200* (Brill, 1994), 17; Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Identities and Influences* (Ashgate, 2008), 46 and 48; Pieter S. van Koningsveld, 'Christian-Arabic Manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa: A Historical Interpretation', *Al-Qanṭara* (Madrid) 15, no. 2 (1994): 425; Pieter S. van Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature from Medieval Spain: An Attempt at Periodization', in *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period (750–1258)*, ed. Samir Khalil Samir and Jørgen Nielsen (Brill, 1994), 214ff.; Heinrich G. Goussen, *Die christlich-arabische Literatur der Mozaraber* (Otto Harrassowitz, 1909), 18–19; Jesús Lorenzo Jiménez, 'When God Does Not Rule the City of God: Bishops and Episcopal Sees in al-Andalus (711–1147 CE)', in *Canon Law and Christian Societies between Christianity and Islam: An Arabic Canon Collection from al-Andalus and Its Transcultural Contexts*, ed. Matthias Maser et al. (Brepols, 2024), 320.

It is generally accepted that by the tenth century Arabic had become the dominant spoken language across ethnic and religious communities in al-Andalus. Although other languages continued to be used, Arabic prevailed overall.[67] While this linguistic transformation may not yet have been complete at the time the *Cordoban Calendar* was composed, many tenth-century Andalusis were bilingual in Latin or Romance and Arabic, and some were even trilingual, adding Berber to their linguistic repertoire.[68] This multilingual environment characterized Christians and Jews as well as Muslims of Arab, Berber, and local (muwallad) descent.[69] In the course of their Arabization, Andalusi Christians are also said to have undergone a certain degree of Islamization.[70] This process is reflected in the adoption of Islamic customs, legal practices, cultural expressions, and linguistic formulae, without necessarily entailing conversion to Islam.[71] There is, for example, evidence that some Christians adopted Muslim styles of dress and even practiced circumcision while remaining within the Christian faith.[72] In this sense, one may speak of Christians who had become acculturated to the point of cultural alignment with Islamic norms, particularly in matters of clothing, diet, and hygiene. Such adaptation may have been, at least in part, a response to the social prestige of the Muslim elite in al-Andalus, whose lifestyle likely exerted considerable attraction.

Already in the ninth century, concern was expressed by certain authors about the increasing processes of Arabization and acculturation. Alvarus, for instance, laments that young Christians were becoming ever more drawn to Arabic culture and literature. He writes:

> Do not all of the Christian youths, handsome of face, eloquent in language, conspicuous in demeanour and bearing, outstanding in gentile erudition, and elevated by eloquence in Arabic, avidly take out, intently read, and keenly examine the volumes of the Chaldeans [Arabs], and, gathering together with immoderate zeal, make them known by praising them, with ample and constrained language, while, ignorant of ecclesiastical beauty, they disdain as most vile the rivers of the church flowing from paradise?[73]

67 It is important to note, however, that Andalusi extant sources largely stem from the educated urban elite, and the socio-linguistic situation in rural areas remains uncertain. David J. Wasserstein, 'The Language Situation in al-Andalus', in *The Formation of al-Andalus. Part 2: Language, Religion, Culture and the Sciences*, ed. Julio Samsó and Maribel Fierro (Ashgate, 1998), 5–7.

68 Janina M. Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia* (Cornell University Press, 2013), 100.

69 Philippe Roisse, 'Célébrait-on les Offices Liturgiques en Árabe dans l'Occident Musulmán? Étude, Édition et Traduction d'un "Capitulare Evangeliorum" Árabe (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Aumer 238)', in *¿Existe una Identidad Mozárabe?: Historia, Lengua y Cultura de los Cristianos de al-Andalus (Siglos IX–XII)*, ed. Cyrille Aillet et al. (Casa de Velázquez, 2008), 212.

70 Burman, *Religious Polemic*, 15; Mikel de Epalza, 'Les Mozarabes: État de la Question', *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 63–64 (1992): 46.

71 Mayte Penelas, 'Linguistic Islamization of the "Mozarabs" as Attested in a Late Ninth-Century Chronicle', in *Language of Religion – Language of the People*, ed. Ernst Bremer et al. (Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2006), 103–6.

72 Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 57.

73 Translation by Wolf, *The Indiculus Luminosus of Paul Alvarus*, 28.

In these words, Alvarus articulates a profound anxiety that the appeal of the Arabic language might estrange Christian youth from the Church and weaken their religious identity. His critique demonstrates that language was not regarded as a neutral medium of communication, but as a vehicle of cultural—and even religious—influence capable of challenging the boundaries of Christian identity. Whether this development should indeed be interpreted as a threat to Christian identity, as Alvarus suggests, is not for us to determine. What is clear, however, is that the process of Arabization he observed appears to have been a historical reality. During the approximately 150 years (ca. 850–1000) for which Andalusi Christian texts in Arabic are extant, a notable degree of vocabulary derived from qurʾanic and broader Islamic contexts can be identified.[74] Moreover, from the tenth century onward, very few Latin treatises from al-Andalus have been preserved.

The presence of a qurʾanic verse in the *Cordoban Calendar* has led scholars to conclude that its Christian author was highly proficient in Arabic and well acquainted with Islamic tradition.[75] More broadly, the incorporation of qurʾanic language has posed interpretative challenges for modern scholars of Christian Arabic literature, giving rise to divergent views concerning the translators' motivations for employing qurʾanic terminology. In the context of Eastern Christian communities, where biblical texts were translated from Greek and Syriac into Arabic, Miriam Hjälm has observed a comparable phenomenon and outlined several possible explanations. These include the assumption that certain Christian concepts were most effectively expressed through qurʾanic vocabulary, the absence of suitable alternative terminology, the desire to demonstrate literary competence, or even a sign of capitulation or submission to Islam. Hjälm also advances her own thesis, particularly with regard to Syriac-based translations: she suggests that the use of qurʾanic language may have been polemical in nature—an attempt to appropriate the Arabic language and to foreground perceived "Christian" elements within Islam, thereby asserting the superiority of Christian scripture over the Qurʾan. In this way, theologians may have sought to discourage conversion to Islam and perhaps even to encourage Muslims to embrace Christianity.[76]

Other scholars, however, urge caution in attributing such intentionality. It remains uncertain whether contemporary Christian translators perceived this vocabulary as distinctly "Islamic" or assumed that its use necessarily conveyed Islamic theological meanings. Mercedes García-Arenal, for example, argues that the lack of standardized terminology may simply have led

74 The present study does not include documents and sources from the Toledan Mozarab context.

75 Van Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature', 216–17.

76 Miriam L. Hjälm, 'Scriptures beyond Words: "Islamic" Vocabulary in Early Christian Arabic Bible Translations', *Collectanae Christiana Orientala* 15 (2018): 66 and 68–69; Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala points to pre-Islamic terms in use by Eastern Christians from which the Latin Arabic translators of al-Andalus acquired their language. This observation is an argument that the applied Arabic language was not primarily "Islamic" in character. Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, 'Notes on the Lexicon of the Tenth Book of al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas (Mid-11th Century CE)', in *Canon Law and Christian Societies between Christianity and Islam: An Arabic Canon Collection from al-Andalus and Its Transcultural Contexts*, ed. Matthias Maser et al. (Brepols, 2024), 195.

Andalusi Christians to employ the terms most readily available to them.[77] Geoffrey Martin likewise emphasizes that not all Arabic vocabulary carries specifically Islamic connotations and that Christians and Muslims may have shared a common lexicon without attaching particular religious significance to it.[78] To some extent, the adoption of Islamic terminology contributed to the emergence of a shared vocabulary. As Martin observes, "the degree to which Christians and Muslims throughout the Mediterranean world shared vocabulary often creates problems in differentiating between Christian and Muslim vocabulary."[79]

The existence of a shared Christian–Muslim lexicon illustrates the broader difficulty of determining religious affiliation solely on the basis of textual formulations in a context characterized by intense interreligious contact and wide-ranging scholarly engagement with religious knowledge in early medieval al-Andalus. In Chapter 4, I examine the language of the *Cordoban Calendar* and compare it with the language commonly used in Andalusi Christian Arabic translations. Although significant correspondences exist between the *Cordoban Calendar* and these comparative sources, important differences also emerge that point to the Muslim background of the calendar's author.

In the conclusion, I situate these findings on religious identity within the broader scholarly discussion of religious identity in al-Andalus, particularly in the tenth century. The calendar offers numerous points of departure for a wider investigation of religious identities and thereby contributes to ongoing debates on processes of cultural transformation and the delineation of communal boundaries in Andalusi society.

Authorship

Closely connected to the question of the author's religious identity is the debate concerning the historical author. Evidence for attributing the work to specific historical individuals has been sought both in CCA and CCL, which mention the names of presumed authors, and in other sources in which these names appear.

The claim of a "Christian–Muslim co-authorship" by Rabīʿ ibn Zayd together with ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd has become the dominant position in the field and is widely reiterated in the secondary literature. At the same time, some scholars refer to only one of the two as author. The assumption of Christian–Muslim collaboration has given rise to persistent misconceptions, including the belief that the text was originally bilingual, that it was translated from Latin, and that Latin and Arabic

77 Mercedes García-Arenal, 'The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada', *Arabica: Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 56, no. 6 (2009): 527.

78 Geoffrey K. Martin, 'An Anonymous Mozarab Translator at Work', in *Senses of Scripture, Treasures of Tradition: The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims*, ed. Miriam L. Hjälm, Biblia Arabica 5 (Brill, 2017), 127.

79 Martin, 'An Anonymous Mozarab Translator', 149.

versions circulated side by side from the beginning.[80] In fact, Simonet had already demonstrated convincingly, on the basis of linguistic and philological evidence in CCL, that the work must originally have been composed in Arabic.[81] This conclusion is also reflected in several footnotes by Pellat, where he points to errors attributable to the Latin translator.[82] It has since likewise been established that the later-identified Vic167, BN6036, and Lat. qu. 198 were translated from Arabic as well.[83]

The "Christian–Muslim authorship" thesis may be divided into two principal positions. Some scholars regard the *Cordoban Calendar* primarily as a Christian work by Rabīʿ ibn Zayd that incorporated material from an Arabic tradition, possibly authored by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd. Others argue that the work was composed by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd, who incorporated a Christian calendar, possibly written by Rabīʿ ibn Zayd. Despite this difference in emphasis, even scholars in the latter group generally maintain that the Christian sections of the calendar must have been composed by a Christian author. Consequently, both positions ultimately converge on the assumption that a Christian author was necessary for the composition of the sections dealing with Christian practice. Only a small number of scholars have proposed alternative models that reject Christian involvement altogether. These alternative models have exposed significant gaps in the historiography and introduced new ways of thinking about the *Cordoban Calendar*.

The question of authorship constitutes a compelling yet complex puzzle raised by the diverse ways in which the title and author appear in different manuscripts. One of the first-identified text versions (CCA) of the *Cordoban Calendar,* and the basis of the editions by Dozy and Pellat, appears in a Judeo-Arabic fourteenth-century manuscript from Huesca, likely copied for private use by a Jewish physician. It was common by that time in Jewish scholarly circles, especially in the field of medicine, to write and copy Arabic texts in Hebrew script.[84] CCL, by contrast, appears in a thirteenth-century manuscript produced in Northern Italy. It is a copy of a Latin translation of the *Cordoban Calendar*, most likely carried out by Gerard of Cremona (1114–1187) in twelfth-century Toledo.[85] These manuscripts include the following titles and authors:

80 "At least one of the versions of this bilingual calendar was prepared by Bishop Recemundus of Elvira (a.k.a. Rabi ibn Zayd "al-Usquf") for Caliph Hakam II (961–976)" Wolf, *The Indiculus Luminosus of Paul Alvarus*; Effros, 'Usuard's Journey to Spain'; Monferrer-Sala, 'The Arabicized Christians in Cordoba'; Eneko López Martínez de Marigorta, 'La Colaboración entre las Instituciones Cristianas y el Poder Omeya desde la Óptica de Eliberri y Urci', *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies* 41 (2019): 1–18; Pilar Riesco Chueca, *Pasionario Hispánico (Introducción, Edición Crítica y Traducción)* (Universidad de Sevilla, 1995), 131.

81 Simonet, *Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe*, 15–16.

82 For instance, Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 181 (footnote 2).

83 Martínez Gázquez and Samsó, *Una Nueva Traducción Latina*; Martínez Gázquez, 'Un Nuevo Manuscrito'; Martínez Gázquez, 'El Texto del Calendario de Córdoba'.

84 Yom Tov Assis, 'The Judeo-Arabic Tradition in Christian Spain', in *The Jews of Medieval Islam: Community, Society, and Identity*, ed. Daniel Frank (Brill, 1995), 116.

85 This was suggested by Moritz Steinschneider, based on a book of *anwāʾ* (*liber anohe*) in a list of translations by Gerard of Cremona (this list is not further specified), and the numerous other translations by Gerard of Cremona preserved in CCL. Steinschneider, 'Harib, Sohn des Zeid, Und Garib, Sohn des Said', 238.

A) CCA bears the title *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* (*Book on the Division of the Seasons and the Hygiene of the Body*) and mentions Abū al-Ḥasan ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd *al-Kātib* (the Secretary) as its author.

B) CCL bears the title *Liber Anoe* (*Book of anwāʾ*[86]) and attributes authorship to Harib Ibn Zeid the Bishop.

In addition to these text versions, further indications of the supposed authors of the *Cordoban Calendar* appear in a range of other sources that mention the text, including biographical dictionaries and agronomic treatises:

C) The Andalusi historian Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (1213–1286), as cited in the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb (Sweet Fragrance from the Verdant Branch of al-Andalus)* by al-Maqqarī (1578/9–1632), reports that Ibn Zayd the Bishop, the Cordoban, authored a work dedicated to Caliph al-Ḥakam II, titled *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān*.[87]

D) Several sources attest that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd composed a *Kitāb al-anwāʾ*: in the *Kitāb al-takmila li-kitāb al-ṣila* by Ibn al-Abbār (1199–1260);[88] in the *Kitāb al-ḏayl wa-l-takmila* (*Appendix and Supplement*—a biographical dictionary) by ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī (1237–1303); in the *Kitāb al-filāḥa* (*Book of Agriculture*) by Ibn al-ʿAwwām (fl. late twelfth century); and in the anonymous, agronomical treatise *Kitāb fī tartīb awqāt al-ghirāsa wa-l-maghrūsāt* (*Book of the Arrangement of Times for Cultivation and Plantation*).[89]

These pieces of information present conflicting evidence that, simply put, no scholar has yet been able to fully reconcile.[90] The two available titles are both linked to each of the authors in the various sources. This leads to the following possibilities:

- ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd wrote a *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* (according to CCA)
- Harib ibn Zeid the Bishop wrote a book of *anwāʾ* dedicated to al-Ḥakam II (according to CCL)

86 This literary tradition of books of *anwāʾ* will be explained further below.

87 "Concerning astrology, Ibn Zaid the Bishop, the Cordoban, wrote on this subject. He was the favorite of al-Mustansir ibn an-Nasir the Marwanid [al-Ḥakam II] for whom he composed the *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* in which he indicated the stations of the moon and how these matters were related, and their approximate significance." English translation by Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 108; Arabic in Aḥmad al-Maqqarī, *Analectes sur l'Histoire et la Littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, ed. Reinhart Dozy et al. (Oriental Press, 1967), 125.

88 *Supplement to the Kitāb al-ṣila* – a biographical dictionary by Ibn al-Faraḍī (962–1013).

89 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 235; Simon Fitzwilliam Hall, *An Introductory Survey of the Arabic Books of Filāḥa and Farming Almanacs*, October 2010, 6.

90 A detailed overview of the historiographical debate is provided by Ann Christys. Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 108–34 and more specifically 116–34.

- Ibn Zayd the Bishop, the Cordoban wrote a *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* dedicated to al-Ḥakam II (according to Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī / al-Maqqarī)
- ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd wrote a book of *anwāʾ* (according to Ibn al-Abbār, al-Marrākushī, Ibn al-ʿAwwām and the anonymous *Kitāb fī tartīb awqāt al-ghirāsa wa-l- maghrūsāt*).

We are thus left with two titles for the text (*Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* and *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* / *Liber Anoe*) as well as with two authors: ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd and (Harib) ibn Zeid / Ibn Zayd the Bishop, which appear in four different combinations. In the discussion that follows, I will outline how this ambiguity has given rise to divergent scholarly views on the authorship of the *Cordoban Calendar*.

The Christian author Rabīʿ ibn Zayd alias Recemund

The discussion regarding the authorship of the *Cordoban Calendar* began with a few scholars in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Dozy laid out his ideas on authorship in an article in which he proposes that both Rabīʿ ibn Zayd and ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd had written calendars, and that this is where the confusion of names originated.[91] He argues, however, that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd could not have been the author of the *Cordoban Calendar* due to his religion—describing him as a "fanatic Muslim," a characteristic allegedly common among converts from Christianity to Islam.[92] Dozy claims that simply browsing through the text would immediately convince any reader that it was authored by a Christian.[93] He briefly entertains the idea that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd might still have been a Christian when he composed the *Cordoban Calendar*, only to dismiss it outright.[94] Later, when Dozy edited both CCA and CCL in 1873, he suggested that the text may have been put together from two texts, an almanac by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd and a liturgical calendar by Ibn Zayd the Bishop.[95] The latter hypothesis has since become standardized and continues to dominate scholarship today.[96]

91 Reinhart Dozy, 'Die Cordovaner ʿArîb Ibn Saʿd der Secretär und Rabîʾ Ibn Zeid der Bischof: Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte Spaniens im X. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 20, no. 4 (1866): 595–609; An article by Steinschneider in the same year (1866) raises several points with regard to these matters, but does not pose a hypothesis himself. He ends with the words: "Since there has been much discussion lately about the relations between the Arabs in Spain and the Christians, I believed that the author of the Almanac of Córdoba also deserved closer investigation, which should not be concluded with the above information, but rather stimulated." ("Da man nun in letzter Zeit vielfach auf die Beziehungen der Araber in Spanien zu den Christen gerathen ist, so glaubte ich, dass auch der Verfasser des Almanachs von Cordova nähere Nachforschung verdiene, welche mit den obigen Mittheilungen nicht abgeschlossen, sonderen vielmehr angeregt werden sollen."). Steinschneider, 'Harib, Sohn des Zeid, Und Garib, Sohn des Said', 243.

92 Dozy, 'Die Cordovaner 'Arîb Ibn Sa'd', 609.

93 Dozy, 'Die Cordovaner 'Arîb Ibn Sa'd', 604.

94 Dozy, 'Die Cordovaner 'Arîb Ibn Sa'd', 604.

95 Reinhart Dozy, ed., *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'Année 961* (E.J. Brill, 1873), vi–vii.

96 See, for instance, Van Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature', 214; Although Van Koningsveld suggested in an earlier study that the calendar was written by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd. Pieters S. van Koningsveld, 'The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library: A Contribution to the Study of Mozarabic Manuscripts and Literature' (Proefschrift ter Verkrijging van de Graad van Doctor in de Letteren aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, 1977), 59.

It is generally assumed that Ibn Zayd the Bishop refers to Rabīʿ ibn Zayd the Bishop. The name Rabīʿ ibn Zayd the Bishop is reconstructed from the names "Harib ibn Zeid the Bishop" in CCL and "Ibn Zayd the Bishop, the Cordoban" in al-Maqqarī.[97] The reconstruction of Rabīʿ relies on two key sources. The first is a passage by Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406), also preserved by al-Maqqarī, which mentions a bishop from Córdoba named Rabīʿ who was sent as part of an envoy to Otto I by Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III.[98] The second source is a chapter on Andalusi physicians by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa (1203–1270), who mentions "Rabīʿ ibn Zayd the Bishop, the Philosopher," who was the teacher of the teacher of Ibn al-Kattānī al-Andalusī.[99] In terms of timeline, both the bishop called Rabīʿ and Bishop Rabīʿ ibn Zayd referred to in these sources could have written a calendar for al-Ḥakam II.

In the late nineteenth century, it was also suggested that Rabīʿ ibn Zayd the Bishop was in fact the same person as Recemund, a tenth-century bishop of Elvira (near present-day Granada).[100] The principal argument advanced in support of this identification is that, prior to his appointment as bishop of Elvira, Recemund was sent by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III on an embassy to Otto I in 955–956. Dozy proposed that Recemund was the baptismal name of Rabīʿ ibn Zayd, noting that it was common for Arabized bishops and court officials to receive Arabic names.[101]

This identification has maintained a strong foothold in academic literature. The authorship of the *Cordoban Calendar* by Rabīʿ ibn Zayd, alias Recemund, is now reiterated almost without exception and it is not uncommon to find references to the *Cordoban Calendar* mentioning only Rabīʿ ibn Zayd / Recemund as its author.[102] Such common acceptance persists despite compelling counterarguments put forward by Christys. She notes, for instance, that Recemund was neither the only Arabized, educated bishop of the time, nor the only bishop sent on diplomatic missions on behalf of the caliph.[103] There is therefore no reason to conclude that a bishop with this profile must be identified as Recemund.[104] Christys has convincingly argued that the identification of Recemund with either Rabīʿ the Bishop or Ibn Zayd the Bishop is deeply problematic, resting on a patchwork of fragmented evidence.[105]

97 Dozy, 'Die Cordovaner 'Arîb Ibn Sa'd', 608–09.
98 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 133.
99 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 131; Steinschneider, 'Harib, Sohn des Zeid, Und Garib, Sohn des Said', 242.
100 Dozy, 'Die Cordovaner 'Arîb Ibn Sa'd', 608.
101 Dozy, 'Die Cordovaner 'Arîb Ibn Sa'd', 607–8.
102 Literature in which only Rabīʿ ibn Zayd / Recemund is mentioned as the author of the *Cordoban Calendar*: Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*; Monferrer-Sala, 'The Arabicized Christians in Cordoba', 363–64; Burman, *Religious Polemic*, 17; Van Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature', 214; Van Koningsveld, 'Christian-Arabic Manuscripts', 425 and 441; Charles Burnett, 'Traditions and Practices in the Medieval Western Christian World', in *Prognostication in the Medieval World: A Handbook*, ed. Matthias Heiduk et al. (De Gruyter, 2021), 495; Colbert, *The Martyrs of Córdoba (850–859)*, 385; Goussen, *Die christlich-arabische Literatur der Mozaraber*, 18–19; Juan Gil Fernández, *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, II: Scriptoris Muzarabici Saeculi VIII–XI (Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1973); Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 1268–1269.
103 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 133–34.
104 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 108–16, 128–34 and more specifically 132.
105 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 132.

With their assumption that the bishop authored the *Cordoban Calendar,* scholars have still needed to account for the appearance of ʿArīb's name in the sources. Eduardo Saavedra sees reason for a co-authorship in the grammatically incorrect sentence (because of the misuse of the relative pronoun "quem") found in CCL: "*Harib filii Zeid episcopi quem composuit Mustansir imperatori*" ("Harib ibn Zeid the Bishop, which he composed for Emperor Mustansir"). According to Saavedra, the corrected version must be: "*Harib [filii Sad liber, cum additamentis Rabi] filii Zeid episcopi quem composuit Mustansir imperatori*" ("The Book of Harib ibn Sad with additions by Rabīʿ ibn Zayd the Bishop, which he composed for Emperor Mustansir").[106] This interpretation would explain the presence of two authors, but it strikes me as somewhat speculative. In my view, it is unlikely that a copyist would have omitted so many (important) words, especially at the very beginning of the text.

Saavedra's suggestion overlooks the possibility that the names Harib ibn Zeid and ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd are too similar not to derive from the same name, as previously proposed by Christys. Christys points out that the Arabic letter ʿayn (the first letter of ʿArīb) was often rendered as an 'H' in medieval Latin translations, and that Saʿīd could have easily been altered to Zeid. These words may sound similar to a translator or copyist unfamiliar with Arabic, although their orthography is relatively different.[107] This is supported by the fact that the copyist of CCL did not seem to have understood the Arabic language very well.[108] Although Christys's explanation is more convincing, I have found no other scholar who has proposed that the name *Harib* is a corruption of ʿArīb.[109] This interpretation, however, is important, since it challenges the suggestions of a missing second name in *Cordoban Calendar*.

Instead, it is much more likely that the grammatically incorrect Latin sentence at the beginning of CCL must be read as "[*Liber*] *Harib filii Zeid episcopi quem composuit Mustansir imperatori*" ("[The book of] Harib ibn Zeid the Bishop, *which* he composed for the emperor Mustansir"), as Moritz Steinschneider suggests.[110] In this interpretation, the word *liber* might have been omitted intentionally. Perhaps the author planned to add it later in colored ink or as a miniature or that the text that immediately precedes this attribution of authorship implies the presence of the word *liber* to the reader: "*Liber anoe hic incipit. In hoc libro est rememoratio anni, et horarum eius, et reditionum anoe in horis suis, et temporis plantationum, et modorum agriculturarum, et rectificationum temporum, et repositionum fructuum Harib filii Zeid episcopi quem composuit Mustansir imperatori.*" This would yield the same meaning as Steinschneider's suggestion that *liber* is implied at the beginning of the sentence. Although neither explanation resolves the question of authorship, both demonstrate that there is no indication of a missing second name in CCL.

106 Eduardo Saavedra, *Estudio sobre la Invasión de los Árabes en España* (El Progreso Editorial, 1892), 15.
107 The garbled name may have resulted, for example, from dictation to a copyist. Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 126–27.
108 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 126; Simonet, *Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe*, 10.
109 Despite the fact that Dozy points out that the two titles and the two names were likely confused in CCA and CCL, he does not suggest that the names point to one single author. Dozy, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'Année 961*, vi.
110 Steinschneider, 'Harib, Sohn des Zeid, Und Garib, Sohn des Said', 235.

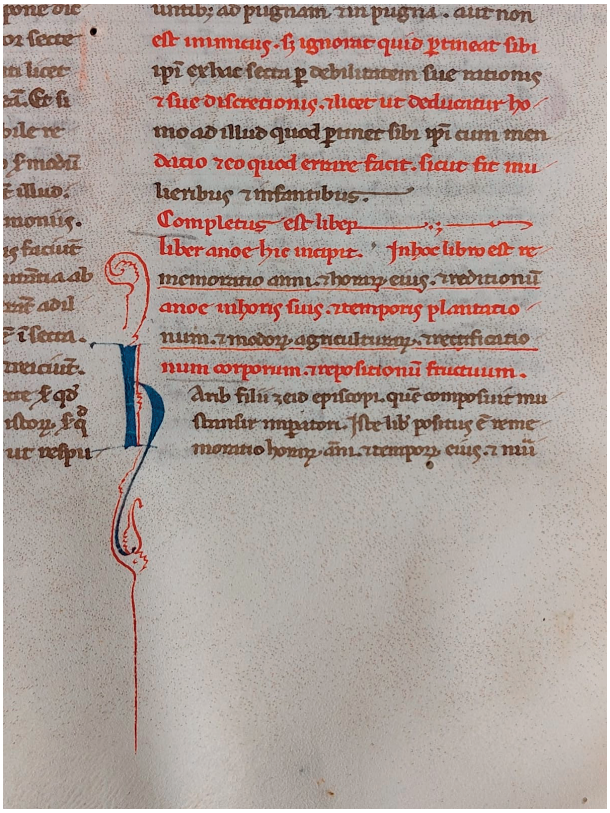


Figure 1. Detail of fol. 151v, MS Latin 9335 in *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*. This is the beginning of the text of CCL with the passage referred to above.

Despite the weaknesses in the arguments, the hypothesis of co-authorship has achieved broad acceptance in the scholarly literature. Pellat builds on this notion by assigning specific sections of the text to each author: he attributes the list of feasts, medical, agricultural, and administrative parts to Recemund, while crediting ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd with the sections containing numerical data and *anwāʾ*.[111] This hypothesis has appealed to scholars because it not only resolves the puzzle of the two names but also explains the presence of both Christian and Muslim elements within CCA and CCL. Scholars repeatedly highlight this duality, as exemplified by Eduardo Cerrato Casado's observation: "The constant references to churches, saints, and Christian feasts suggest that the author was a Mozarab, while at the same time displaying a deep knowledge of the Qurʾan and

111 Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, xiv; This idea is followed by Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala: "This information from Rabīʿ ibn Zayd preserved in ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd's *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* gives insights into administration and agriculture, making it an important source for the social and economic history of 10th-century al-Andalus." Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, 'Rabīʿ Ibn Zayd', in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, 2: 900–1050, ed. David Thomas and Alexander Mallet (Brill, 2012), 349.

Muslim rituals that could only have been possible for a writer firmly committed to Islam."[112] Because of the diverse religious content, Cerrato Casado comes to the conclusion that the text must have been produced by two authors.[113] The widely held assumption for the Christian-Muslim co-authorship seems largely based on the belief that the inclusion of certain religious content directly reflects the author's own religious affiliation.[114]

It is not surprising that some proponents of a Christian authorship belonged to a scholarly tradition that regarded Catholicism as the true religion of Spanish national identity.[115] The *Cordoban Calendar* has been used to support various claims—often shaped by political or disciplinary agendas—about Christian practice in al-Andalus. Attributing the work to a bishop may have further reinforced such interpretations. The issue of commitment to a religious tradition was framed within now outdated interpretative approaches, such as that of Simonet, who viewed the *Cordoban Calendar* as an expression of the "Christian zeal" of Rabīʿ ibn Zayd, given the inclusion in CCL of certain Cordoban martyrs executed under Muslim rule.[116] Another claim suggested that a Jewish doctor altered the name in CCA from Rabīʿ ibn Zayd to ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd because he found it objectionable that a Christian author included a qurʾanic verse in the text.[117] Yet another hypothesis proposed that the text was reworked at a later stage by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd, who removed all Christian elements "with the zeal of a convert" and, by doing so, emphasized its Islamic character.[118] These claims, however, are hypotheses without supporting evidence despite the fact that modern scholarship still often maintains that a Christian author was responsible for the *Cordoban Calendar*.

112 "Las constantes alusiones a iglesias, santos y festividades cristianas sugieren la condición mozárabe del autor, al mismo tiempo que se hace gala de un profundo conocimiento del Corán y el ritual mahometano sólo posible para un escritor firmemente comprometido con el islam." Eduardo Cerrato Casado, 'El Calendario de Córdoba como Fuente para la Reconstrucción de la Topografía Eclesiástica de la Córdoba Altomedieval', in *Nasara, Extranjeros en Su Tierra: Estudios sobre Cultura Mozárabe y Catálogo de la Exposición*, ed. Eduardo Cerrato Casado and Diego Asensio Garcia (Cabildo de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Córdoba, 2018), 49.

113 "Nosotros creemos más convincente la argumentación de Reinhart Dozy y por ello nos unimos al grueso de filólogos e historiadores que consideran al Calendario como la ulterior fusión de dos textos previos compuestos de manera independiente." Cerrato Casado, 'El Calendario de Córdoba como Fuente para la Reconstrucción de la Topografía Eclesiástica', 50.

114 For instance: "Although it cannot be certain whether this Christian information scattered through the text of the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* is from Rabīʿ ibn Zayd or ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd, it seems reasonable to attribute it to the work of the bishop." Monferrer-Sala, under 'Rabīʿ Ibn Zayd', 349.

115 For this view, see Alejandro García-Sanjuán, 'Rejecting al-Andalus, Exalting the Reconquista: Historical Memory in Contemporary Spain', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 10, no. 1 (2018): 127–45.

116 Simonet, *Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe*, 9; Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, xxxi and xxxiv.

117 Goussen, *Die christlich-arabische Literatur der Mozaraber*, 18–19.

118 "Ocurre pensar, entonces, que todo pudo suceder al contrario de lo que se piensa y que tal vez fuera el de Recemundo el texto originario, un texto que más tarde reelaboró ʿArīb con ardor de neófito, despojándolo de todos los elementos cristianos que podrían causar enojo a un musulmán y reforzando en algunos puntos la identidad islámica del tratado. Esta es, a mi juicio, la solución más sencilla." Juan Gil Fernández, *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, II: Scriptoris Muzarabici Saeculi VIII–XI (Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1973), 1268–1269.

The Muslim author ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd

Other scholars support the view that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd was the primary author of the *Cordoban Calendar*, because it is well-established in medieval Arabic sources that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd authored a *kitāb al-anwāʾ*.[119] The historical person ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd (ca. 912–980) is firmly attested in the sources as a tenth-century historian, physician, and poet who served the Umayyad administration—first as governor of Osuna under Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, and later as a secretary at the court of Caliph al-Ḥakam II. The *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* of ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd is said to have enjoyed considerable circulation. According to Ibn al-Abbār, ʿArīb's *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* was "used by people" (*istaʿmalahu al-nās*), while ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī described it as *mufīd*, *mustaʿmal* and *muʿtamad* (useful, widely used, and reliable).[120]

Some scholars put forward biographical arguments to support ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd's authorship of the *Cordoban Calendar*. The intellectual milieu in which he operated would provide the best conditions to author the *Cordoban Calendar*.[121] Juan Castilla Brazales considers the *Cordoban Calendar* "clear evidence of his [ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd's] prolific culture, which encompassed broad and diverse knowledge in disciplines such as agriculture, botany, zoology, etc."[122] ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd is considered to have been born into a family of clients (*mawālī*, singular: *mawlā*).[123] If this is true, it was most likely ʿArīb's father who converted to Islam before ʿArīb's birth or during his early childhood.[124] ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd may have enjoyed a Christian education, both in letters and in the sciences, as well as religious foundations in the Muslim faith, stemming from his father's supposed conversion to Islam.[125] According to Castilla Brazales, ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd's Christian background, combined with his literary and scientific education, may have motivated al-Ḥakam II to employ him at court.[126] Moreover, ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd mentions Ibn Māsawayh's medical treatise in his work on obstetrics, making it quite plausible that ʿArīb knew Ibn Māsawayh's *Kitāb al-azmina*.[127] Notably, ʿArīb ibn

119 For instance, Samsó Moya, 'Cordoba as a Scientific Center', 443; Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd'; Forcada, 'Books of anwāʾ'.

120 *Kitāb al-Takmila li-kitāb al-ṣila* (Supplement to a biographical dictionary by Ibn al-Faraḍī (962–1013)) by Ibn al-Abbār (1199–1260) and in the *Kitāb al-Ḍayl wa-l-takmila* ("Appendix and Supplement" – a biographical dictionary) by al-ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī (1237–1303). Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 248–49.

121 López y López, 'Vida y Obra', 322.

122 "De otro lado – y en eso coinciden todos los estudiosos de su obra – su Calendario de Córdoba es prueba manifiesta de su prolífica cultura, que abarcaba conocimientos tan amplios como dispares en disciplinas tales como la agricultura, botánica, zoología, etc." Juan Castilla Brazales, *La Crónica de ʿArīb sobre al-Andalus* (Impredisur S.L., 1992), 37.

123 López y López, 'Vida y Obra', 319. *Mawālī* were non-Arabs who had a patron-client relationship with an Arab. For more about this see Fierro, Mawālī and muwalladūn in al-Andalus. Maribel Fierro, 'Mawālī and Muwalladūn in al-Andalus (Second/Eighth–Fourth/Tenth Centuries)', in *Patronate and Patronage in Early and Classical Islam*, ed. Monique Bernards and John Nawas (Brill, 2005).

124 López y López, 'Vida y Obra', 319; Castilla Brazales, *La Crónica de ʿArīb sobre al-Andalus*, 31–32; Dozy suggests ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd himself converted and not his father. Dozy, 'Die Cordovaner 'Arîb Ibn Sa'd', 599.

125 Castilla Brazales, *La Crónica de ʿArīb sobre al-Andalus*, 37.

126 Castilla Brazales, *La Crónica de ʿArīb sobre al-Andalus*, 38.

127 López y López, 'Vida y Obra', 336; Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina*, 40.

Saʿīd dedicates his work on obstetrics to al-Ḥakam and this book is among the fifty identified works that survive from al-Ḥakam II's library.[128]

The discovery of KA provided new material which led to revised suggestions about authorship. Although the correspondence between KA and CCA was recognized in an early stage, the mentioned author on the front page of the manuscript, *al-Kātib al-Andalusī* (the Andalusi writer), was initially thought to be Ibn al-Kattānī al-Andalusī.[129] However, Forcada convincingly argued that it is more plausible to identify this "Andalusi author" as ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd.[130] As a consequence, Forcada claims that KA reflects the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd, as the title *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* is also mentioned on the front page of KA.[131] It seems thus that the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd was said to have written, is now to be found in KA.

The identification of KA as the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd raised the question of the relation between KA and CCA. Based on thorough comparison, Forcada acknowledges that "long sections of their texts coincide so closely that it is difficult to explain the similarities in terms of loans from a source into another."[132] Yet there are also clear differences between the two. Accordingly, Forcada hypothesizes that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd would have written two texts: a *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* (reflected in KA), and an abridged version thereof: the *Tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* (reflected in CCA).[133] This hypothesis is supported by the fact that Ibn al-Bannāʾ al-Marrākushī (1256–ca. 1321) mentions ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd in his *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* as a source. The *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* has parts in common with KA, which are not present in CCA or CCL. The correspondence between the *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* and KA suggests that Ibn al-Bannāʾ had an exemplar at hand that was more similar to KA than to CCA/CCL. The same is the case for the twelfth-century agronomist Ibn al-ʿAwwām and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jādirī (1375–1416), who cite ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd and incorporate his work into their own writings.[134] Their works also have passages in common with KA, which are not in CCA/CCL. Forcada solves the confusion of titles and names by the scenario that ʿArīb's work may have been

128 Wasserstein, 'The Library of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir', 564; ʿArīb Ibn Saʿīd al-Kātib al-Qurṭubī, *Kitāb Khalq al-Janīn wa Tadbīr al-Ḥabālā wa'l-Mawlūdīn. Le Livre de la Génération du Fœtus et le Traitement des Femmes Enceintes et des Nouveau-Nés*, ed. Henri Jahier and Noureddine Abdelkader (Faculté Mixte de Médecine et de Pharmacie d´Alger, 1956), 13.

129 Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, VII: Astrologie-Meteorologie und Verwandtes. Bis ca. 430 H (E.J. Brill, 1979), 363–64; Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 28–29; Forcada, 'Books of anwāʾ', 320–21; Miquel Forcada, 'Les Sources Andalouses du Calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannāʾ', in *Actas del II Coloquio Hispano-Marroquí des Ciencias Históricas 'Historia, Ciencia y Sociedad'. Granada, 6–10 Noviembre de 1989* (Instituto de Cooperación con el Mundo Arabe, 1992), 189.

130 Forcada, 'Books of anwāʾ', (in the author's note to the article), 320-21.

131 Forcada, 'Books of anwāʾ', Forcada, 'Books of anwāʾ', (in the author's note to the article), 320–21.

132 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 237.

133 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 248–49.

134 Two agronomic sources, i.e., Ibn al-ʿAwwām's *Kitāb al-Filaha* and the anonymous *Kitāb fī tartīb awqāt al-ghirāsa wa-l-maghrusāt*, and another almanac, i.e., Ibn al-Bannāʾ's *Risāla fī-l-anwāʾ*. Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 248–49; For al-Jādirī, see Emilia Calvo and Montse Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām ʿalā Mā Yaḥduthu fī Ayyām al-ʿĀm (Warning to Humanity about What Happens during the Days of the Year) by "Abdu" l-Raḥmān al-Jādirī (777/1375–818/1416)', *Suhayl* 20 (2023): 43–141.

known under two titles: the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* (represented in KA) and an abridged version of that: the *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* (represented in CCA/CCL).[135]

Crucial in the hypothesis of Forcada is the fact that he considers one of the main differences between KA and CCA to be Christian feasts in CCA ("the only important novelties offered by the *Calendar* are the saints' days").[136] Forcada thinks that these were added to CCA from a text possibly written by Rabīʿ ibn Zayd, although "his contribution to the Calendar seems only of lesser importance."[137] Forcada thinks the Christian feasts were not originally part of the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* and were only added to the abridged version.[138] However, as I will show in this study, KA only *seems* to lack Christian content specific to Iberia. There are textual remnants in KA that attest to specific Iberian Christian content in the exemplar of the text. This finding will open up the discussion about the moment of inclusion of the Christian liturgical calendar to the *Cordoban Calendar*. In Chapter 3, it will be argued that the Christian liturgical calendar was an integral part of the text from the beginning.

I do not subscribe to the conclusion that two substantially distinct works existed from the outset. Rather, it appears that CCA/CCL and KA must both derive from a common ancestor that already contained Christian feasts. This assumption justifies treating the versions as attesting to a single textual tradition, rather than dividing them into separate works such as a *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* and a *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān*. I consider it more likely that both titles were originally present in the text and that each was omitted in different copies over the course of transmission.[139] The mere fact that Balad.2918 bears the title *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* and *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān*—the latter identified as a summary of KA—and that the title *Book of anwāʾ* appears in CCL undermines such a division. Three newly identified text versions (T4624, K155 and D2197) provide additional evidence for the two titles being tied to one original text, as I will outline in Chapter 1.

The debate described above shows that there is a difference between scholars who consider the primary architect of the *Cordoban Calendar* to be ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd, and others who consider that to be Rabīʿ ibn Zayd.[140] Nevertheless, both notions presume commitment to the Christian faith for

135 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 248–49. The differences between those versions will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 1.

136 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 244.

137 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 249; Calvo and Díaz-Fajardo follow the main arguments of Forcada's article. Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 47.

138 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 248.

139 Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España*, III, 613.

140 "Consta de un santoral para cuya confección debió utilizar ʿArīb otro atribuido al obispo Rabi b. Zayd, el obispo Recemundo de los textos latinos cuyo nombre, emparejado con el deʿArīb, ha creado confusión en torno a la autoría de esta obra. No obstante, todos los indicios parecen apuntar a que ʿArīb fuese en realidad el autor de la misma y que sólo se sirviera de la del obispo como punto de partida para la suya propia." Castilla Brazales, *La Crónica de ʿArīb sobre al-Andalus*, 37 and 45–46; Julio Samsó Moya, *On Both Sides of the Strait of Gibraltar: Studies in the History of Medieval Astronomy in the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghrib* (Brill, 2020), 3.

the inclusion of Christian content, leading to the assumption that (at least) the Christian calendar must have been written by a Christian.

Alternative views: no Christian author involved

Some scholars have proposed that there was no Christian involved in the compilation of the *Cordoban Calendar*. This was expressed, for example, by Ángel López:

> Today, there can be no doubt about ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd's authorship of the entire *Calendar*, a work that is also conceived with a unified meaning, making it impossible to see in it the artificial combination of two or more different works. His knowledge of medicine, agriculture, animal husbandry, and astronomy is sufficiently documented in *The Book on Fetal Development* and with regard to Christian feasts, the author himself notes in the prologue to the Calendar that he will discuss them.[141]

López's claim implies that knowledge of and writing about Christian religious practice does not require a Christian author.

Taking up a similar view is Christys. Christys was the first to propose that the *Cordoban Calendar* could have been compiled "by a well-informed Muslim, who 'christianized' an Islamic text for a Muslim audience, perhaps for the caliph himself."[142] While it does not become entirely clear what Christys means by "christianized," she seems to mean that a Christian author is not required for the inclusion of Christian materials in a text. She argues there is sufficient evidence to identify the author as ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd and concludes that "there is no good reason to suppose that a tenth-century Christian was involved in its compilation."[143] Notably, Christys's reference to a Muslim audience broadens the scope of inquiry into the possible intentions behind the creation of the *Cordoban Calendar*.

Janina Safran likewise sees no contradiction in Christian content being prepared and commissioned by a Muslim:

> Al-Ḥakam II seems to have commissioned a calendar noting the Christian holidays, and this too reflects an awareness of temporal differentiation in the context of common time. […] The commissioning of the calendar of Cordoba, with its focus on cycles of agriculture, revenues, and provisions, reflects the ruler's will to assert authority over his domain; his interest in the Christian festival cycle reflects his interest in extending authority over all his dominion.[144]

141 López y López, 'Vida y Obra', 342.
142 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 123.
143 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 124 and 126.
144 Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus*, 89.

Safran's interpretation opens up new avenues for understanding the *Cordoban Calendar*'s context and purpose. Although neither Safran, nor Christys, develops these ideas much further, their thought-provoking ideas have inspired me to revisit existing scholarly interpretations and develop a new methodological approach (explained below), focused on analyzing the use of language in the text, in order to answer questions of authorship and religious identity.

As the preceding discussion has demonstrated, scholars have generally sought to determine the authorship of the *Cordoban Calendar* by identifying a historical figure corroborated by evidence external to the text. It is precisely this approach that appears unable to yield a satisfactory solution, not least because the available data are fragmentary and often contradictory. The absence of reliable evidence has led me to adopt an alternative methodology: rather than attempting to identify a specific individual, I assess the author's religious identity through an analysis of the language employed in the *Cordoban Calendar*. My objective is therefore not to attribute the work to a particular historical person, but to investigate the religious background of its original compiler. This alternative approach, developed in Chapter 4, takes the text itself as the primary point of departure. A close examination of the language used in the *Cordoban Calendar* leads me to conclude that, whether or not a Christian author was initially involved, the section concerning the Christian feasts—if not originally composed by a Muslim—was so extensively reworked by a Muslim redactor that the work ultimately reflects a coherent rationale shaped by a single authorial vision.

Research questions and methodology

In light of the challenges in identifying and interpreting the *Cordoban Calendar*—as described so far in this introduction, this research project is guided by the following principal research questions: What is the *Cordoban Calendar*? What type of liturgical material does its textual tradition contain? Which elements of this material may be regarded as core components of the text? Does the liturgical content correspond to actual religious practice in al-Andalus? What was the religious identity of the author? While these questions are addressed in the chapters that follow, the conclusion proposes a hypothesis regarding the purposes behind the composition of the *Cordoban Calendar* and considers how my findings contribute to the broader discussion of religious identity in tenth-century Córdoba.

Answering these questions requires the use of several analytical methods. The primary methodological approach developed here is rooted in the understanding that none of the extant manuscripts constitutes an autograph, necessitating caution when treating any single version as representative of an "original" text. This is why the question of the definition of the *Cordoban Calendar* becomes relevant. To address this question, I have identified a set of building blocks which structure the text of the *Cordoban Calendar*, as it appears in all nineteen manuscripts

in the corpus.[145] The text versions contained in this corpus were subjected to close reading in order to map out in detail their similarities and differences for each building block. Chapter 1 is primarily concerned with identifying and presenting the building blocks of the text. A building block is represented in all text versions—for instance, the introduction, the daily entries, or the prologues and epilogues to each month. The chapter therefore describes the structure of the text as it emerges from the extant text versions. The building blocks and general structure of the *Cordoban Calendar* reveal little, however, about the textual strata. Building blocks should therefore not be confused with core components (explained below). The result of examining these building blocks is a taxonomy organized into branches, in which text versions within a given branch show closer textual correspondence with each other than with those belonging to other branches. Such an approach contributes to a clearer definition of what constitutes the *Cordoban Calendar* and provides a means of determining whether a given (future) text should be regarded as a text version of the *Cordoban Calendar*, and, if so, of which branch.

The next step—undertaken particularly in Chapters 2 and 3—is to survey the liturgical material and to determine which parts can be considered core components. An assessment of the different text versions makes it possible to identify where various elements entered the tradition. The assessment of core components is carried out through several methods. The most straightforward case is when a passage consistently appears across all text versions, leaving little doubt about it being a core component of the textual tradition. In other instances, certain passages may be absent from some text versions but present in a substantial number of others. Here, the Latin translations play a crucial role. As discussed further in Chapter 1, two independent Latin translations of the *Cordoban Calendar* exist—one likely produced in twelfth-century Toledo (of which CCL is a copy), the other in twelfth-century Catalonia (represented in a series of manuscripts).[146] The existence of these two independent translations turns out to be invaluable for understanding textual transmission. When a Latin passage aligns with the Arabic versions and, moreover, corresponds in both Latin versions, this strongly suggests that it represents a core component that was already part of the text prior to the twelfth century. Even when only one Latin version aligns with certain Arabic versions, this may indicate that the passage was present in the Arabic exemplar used for that translation—offering further indication of it being a core component. It is also possible that multiple Arabic versions were already in circulation at the time the *Cordoban Calendar* was translated into Latin, and that these versions were faithfully rendered in the respective Latin translations. However, this latter explanation seems less plausible considering that the differences between the two Latin translations are mainly found at the lexical

145 Due to the fact that some versions have omitted the introduction, or shortened it significantly, not all building blocks are found in all versions, but these versions correspond still closely to the other versions with regard to the building blocks, that it is justified to classify them as attesting to the *Cordoban Calendar Tradition*.

146 Vic167, BN6036, PA45, ÖNB2462, Reg.lat.596 and Lat.qu.198.

level (i.e., translation style) and in the list of Christian feasts (which was replaced in the Catalonian translation).[147]

Other forms of evidence also contribute to identifying core components. For example, some text versions contain traces of omitted passages—such as the survival of isolated words or entries. The presence of these traces strongly suggest that such material existed in exemplars or in earlier textual layers. In addition, parallel texts—previously known or suggested in this study to have served as sources or models for the *Cordoban Calendar*—can aid in identifying core components. Textual overlap between these parallel texts and the *Cordoban Calendar* sometimes suggest that specific passages were likely part of the first compilation. This may be the case, for instance, when we know that a particular source was known in al-Andalus at the time of the compilation of the *Cordoban Calendar*. In exceptional cases, internal evidence within the texts itself supports the identification of core components, such as the correspondence of Jewish feasts with the presumed year of production, 973.

Once the core components have been identified, I will examine seven case studies drawn from the Christian liturgical material in order to assess whether they could reflect celebrations observed by Andalusi Christians in the tenth century. Each case study involves a close analysis of the wording used in the description of the respective feast. Old Hispanic and Arabic calendrical sources with references to Eastern Christian practice are consulted to contextualize these entries and to situate them within broader liturgical traditions. Particular attention is paid to the manner in which each feast is described, as well as to the terminology employed to designate "Christians," as such philological features may provide important clues regarding the origins of the feasts. Variations among the text versions in both the presentation of the feasts and their wording are systematically taken into account in the analysis.

Finally, an analytical method for determining the author's religious identity is introduced—an approach not previously applied to the *Cordoban Calendar* material. Instead of assuming from the outset that the *Cordoban Calendar* was written by Rabīʿ ibn Zayd or ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd, this study uncovered other, often more subtle, textual markers of religious identity. I analyze the narrative function of specific terms, the ideas conveyed through specific wording, and the use of names for biblical and figures and places. The analysis includes a comparison with terminology found in Christian Arabic literature in order to determine how the *Cordoban Calendar* relates to the philological conventions of that corpus.

Outline of the dissertation

As explained at the beginning of this introduction, this research project seeks to take into account all known *Cordoban Calendar* text versions—a corpus far larger than has previously been

147 Martínez Gázquez, 'Un Nuevo Manuscrito', 292–93.

considered within a single study. Some text versions had previously been studied but attracted little attention, while others were identified yet remained unexamined. Additional manuscripts were uncovered during the course of this study. The reader is introduced to the text versions and the manuscripts in which they appear in Chapter 1. I have approached questions about the definition of the *Cordoban Calendar* through the theoretical framework of *living literature*, which has allowed me to view the entire corpus as part of an evolving textual tradition—one for which the *Urtext* may never be fully known. The surviving material compels us to think of the *Cordoban Calendar* as a dynamic textual tradition and justifies referring to the *Cordoban Calendar Tradition* (hereafter CCT) when meaning the extant material as a whole. The building blocks identified in this chapter define the structure of the *Cordoban Calendar* while also providing a basis for demonstrating variation between text versions. The result of Chapter 1 is a taxonomy which distinguishes the different branches of text versions. The taxonomy serves to organize the discussion in the chapters that follow and offers a convenient framework for future scholarship.

Throughout the chapters, I frequently use the abbreviation CCT (*Cordoban Calendar Tradition*) when referring collectively to the text versions of the corpus, in order to highlight the many uncertainties surrounding its original text. This abbreviation is employed primarily in comparative analyses, as such comparisons concern the material preserved in the extant text versions (rather than the original text) on the one hand, and parallel sources on the other. This usage allows me to avoid repeatedly emphasizing the uncertainty surrounding which elements of the material preserved across the corpus formed part of the original text, and instead simply to refer to "CCT." At the same time, I retain the title *Cordoban Calendar* when referring to the (hypothetical) original text, its nature, its dedicatee, its author and his purposes, as well as when I cite other scholars about discussion surrounding the *Cordoban Calendar*. Although this dual terminology may at times give rise to ambiguity—since in some instances both terms could be applied—it serves to underscore an important methodological point: namely, that the material preserved in the extant text versions cannot be assumed to reflect the content of the original text unless this is supported by the analysis. The dual terminology employed in this thesis signals a gradual transition from the analysis of the material (CCT) to the development of hypotheses regarding the original layer, its author, and the purpose(s) of the *Cordoban Calendar*.

The focus of Chapter 2 and 3 is the liturgical content of the *Cordoban Calendar*. I explore what type of liturgical content is contained in the manuscripts and question which elements of this content can be considered core components. The division of this analysis into two chapters reflects the varying degree to which this content has been previously addressed in existing scholarship. Chapter 2 examines the largely overlooked or understudied liturgical elements in the textual tradition of the *Cordoban Calendar*, including Jewish feasts, Coptic feasts, Persian feasts, entries concerning prophets and scriptures, and Islamic historical events (hereafter IHE). This chapter takes a literary approach, situating these texts within a broader network of Arabic

calendrical sources. Comparing the liturgical entries in the text versions with other, calendrical sources provides essential insights into the possible sources of the *Cordoban Calendar* and the way the *Cordoban Calendar* is embedded in the medieval tradition of Arabic almanacs. Adopting such a comparative approach also helps to identify the types of liturgical content that constituted the core components of the *Cordoban Calendar* and, in doing so, provides a more accurate picture of the original text. By contrast, the Iberian Christian liturgical material discussed in Chapter 3 has already been the subject of substantial scholarly attention. Therefore, the chapter revisits this material with a new focus: to what extent can the *Cordoban Calendar* inform us about Andalusi religious practice? To answer this question, I have selected seven case studies that offer a fresh perspective on these liturgical entries and their significance for understanding religious life in al-Andalus. Both chapters address the issue of the original text, offering conclusions as to which elements were core components. Identifying core components is not only crucial for answering the sub-questions posed in these chapters, but also serves as a foundation for the analysis presented in the final chapter.

The fourth and final chapter addresses the question of the religious identity of the author of the *Cordoban Calendar*. The exploration of authorship is not conducted in the "classical" way. It does not evolve by drawing conclusions from the appearance of authors' names in the manuscripts or references in contemporary sources, nor is it based on the simplistic assumption that Christian content could only have been written by a Christian. Instead, this chapter traces textual evidence to identify the author's attitude toward the religious content he included in his text. This analysis is a response to the common assumption that the *Cordoban Calendar*—or at least its Christian liturgical content—was written by a Christian author. To fully assess this question, the chapter includes a philological comparison with other Christian Arabic texts. It soon becomes apparent that the *Cordoban Calendar* differs in certain characteristic conventions commonly found in these texts. Although sometimes subtle, a closer reading of particular entries containing theological ideas or naming conventions reveals that the *Cordoban Calendar*'s voice carries a subtle, yet distinct Islamic tone.

In the conclusion, I will advance a set of hypotheses concerning the author's intentions in compiling the *Cordoban Calendar*, drawing on the revised understanding of its textual transmission, core components, and the author's religious background. Given the inherent difficulty of establishing authorial intention with certainty, I will not propose definitive claims but rather outline plausible interpretations intended to inform and stimulate further research.[148] Finally, I will consider the broader implications of the findings regarding religious identity in the *Cordoban Calendar* for our understanding of religious identity in tenth-century Córdoba more generally.

148 "There is practically no information known today as to how and why almanacs were compiled in Arabic during the medieval period." Varisco, *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science*, 8.

I hope that this study will offer new impulses for interpreting the *Cordoban Calendar* and serve as an example of how to move beyond entrenched scholarly positions—particularly those that have become disconnected from the textual evidence or that overlook important gaps in the transmission history. It is necessary to bring into sharper focus a crucial point: the *Cordoban Calendar* is not confined to CCA and CCL. Although I am not the first to note this, and additional manuscripts have been studied in recent decades, a comprehensive analysis of the wider corpus has not yet been undertaken.[149] Because the connection between the text versions included in Pellat's edition and those in other manuscripts was rarely made—apart from by a small number of scholars working specifically on these materials—the wider corpus has not yet been incorporated into the broader scholarly discourse. This project represents an initial attempt to draw attention to this and several other underexplored aspects of the *Cordoban Calendar*. In doing so, it contributes to a fundamental reconsideration of our understanding of the text and of the religious identity of its author, and consequently raises further questions about the context of its emergence. This, in turn, calls for a reassessment of how religious practice and diversity in al-Andalus have been interpreted. At the very least, this research highlights the unexpected dimensions of this complex and multifaceted source. More broadly, it advances arguments for reassessing the *Cordoban Calendar* and proposes new ways of approaching it—addressing the challenges and limitations involved in using it, as well as the possibilities it offers for answering broader historical questions about the cultural and religious traditions of the communities concerned.

149 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 128.


1

Chapter 1

Finding the frame:
From the edition to a *Cordoban Calendar* Tradition

Over 20 years ago, Christys issued a call to the field: "Discussions of the Calendar should be widened beyond the two texts edited by Dozy and Pellat."[150] Long considered the only versions of the text, CCA and CCL do not stand alone as the *Cordoban Calendar*. There are more manuscripts that have been identified as witnesses to the *Cordoban Calendar*. Christys herself mentions Vic167, in a thirteenth-century manuscript, as belonging to the same family of texts as CCA and CCL. Although from a different environment, CCL is, just like Vic167, found in a manuscript of the thirteenth century and CCA in a manuscript from the fourteenth century. Like Vic167, both CCA and CCL must have been copied from unknown earlier manuscripts and these text versions may therefore contain additions and omissions. In my view, Christys's proposal also means the following: in the same way we understand Vic167 as a text that has evolved over time, we should bear in mind that CCA and CCL might have been compiled in response to preferences and expectations of the changing historical and cultural circumstances of the time in which they were copied. With the above assertion, Christys raises two important points. First, the Arabic and Latin texts of CCA and CCL belong to a broader textual tradition that is attested by more manuscripts than just these two. Second, we should be cautious about treating any single text version as the "original" *Cordoban Calendar*. In order to achieve a more critical assessment of the *Cordoban Calendar*, the first step is to gather and study all known text versions together, as I shall do here.

This chapter can be read as a direct response to Christys's call for a reassessment of the scholarly approach to the *Cordoban Calendar*. I view this study as a logical next step: while Christys rightly questions prevailing methodologies, her work stops short of offering an alternative framework. In contrast, I incorporate the broader corpus of manuscripts I have been able to identify. This approach shifts the focus away from the editions of Dozy and Pellat, which have remained central to nearly all studies that reference or examine the *Cordoban Calendar*. The editions of Dozy and Pellat are based on 'only' two text versions (CCA and CCL), whereas I have brought together nineteen. Except for CCA and CCL, ten manuscripts have been identified in the last decades by other scholars, and I have found seven more (in Morocco, Vatican City, Tunisia and Syria)[151] by combing library catalogues using newly developed search functions in databases and online libraries.

In this first chapter, I aim to present the corpus of the *Cordoban Calendar* in its entirety as it is currently known, in order to show its breadth, diversity, and complexity as a *textual tradition*.

150 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 128.

151 With regard to access to manuscripts, I am grateful to the staff of the National Library of Syria in Damascus (formerly the al-Assad National Library) and of the Kitābḫāna-yi Millī-yi Malik in Tehran for providing scans of D18945 and KA. I also thank Miquel Forcada for sharing scans of Balad.2918, and Asad Jaber for his assistance in obtaining the scans of D18945 from Syria. In Morocco, I am indebted to the Netherlands Institute in Morocco—particularly Koen de Cuyper and Léon Buskens—as well as to Ahmad Shawqi Binebine of the Royal Library of Morocco and to the staff of the Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc for providing scans of the manuscripts containing Risala, K155, D2197, and KH10354. I further thank the staff of the Bibliothèque Sbihi for granting me access to the digital scans of Sbihi 163/9.

Despite this shift and widening of focus, I have decided to maintain the designation *Cordoban Calendar*, although this title is not present in the text and was chosen by Dozy for his edition of CCA and CCL.[152] One could have reservations regarding this designator, especially because the texts are linked to Córdoba to varying degrees. Nevertheless, I think continuing to use this title ensures a certain recognizability and uniformity that I consider beneficial for scholarship.

Some of the text versions discovered in the last decades have already been discussed in scholarship, but not always with a clear link to the *Cordoban Calendar*. Although their close connection to CCA and CCL has at times been recognized, they have sometimes been referred to by different titles, not always the *Cordoban Calendar*, which has made them less recognizable for other scholars.[153] The scattered nature of these publications has meant that the scholarly audience hardly knows about the existence of text versions beyond CCA and CCL, let alone that they have integrated these in their analyses. With the discovery of several text versions in the eighties and nineties, as well as several more in the course of this research, the source corpus has widened significantly since the editions of Dozy and Pellat. Thus, the question *What is the Cordoban Calendar?* has taken on new importance and meaning.

Even though neither CCA nor CCL is from the tenth century, scholars tend to consult them for understanding many aspects of tenth-century Cordoban life: religious culture, administrative organization, agricultural habits and scientific standards.[154] In their use of the *Cordoban Calendar*, scholars seem to approach CCA and CCL as the 'original,' without giving much thought to possible textual interventions within the period leading up to their respective productions. This approach not only ignores that CCA and CCL are thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts but also blurs the important textual differences between CCA and CCL. The aim of this chapter is to discuss the textual differences and similarities to produce a more comprehensive understanding of the textual tradition. The result is an understanding of the text versions as reflecting a *living* textual tradition, something I will explain in more detail. The chapter suggests a more nuanced approach to the idea that CCA and CCL are one-to-one reflections of a tenth-century reality.[155]

My aim in this chapter is thus to:

1) present the nineteen text versions and how they relate to each other. I have identified six building blocks in them, which I use as tools to analyze and compare between them.

152 Dozy, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'Année 961*.
153 For instance *Risāla fī awqāt al-sana* by Navarro (Risala) and *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* by Forcada (KA).
154 See, for instance, for liturgical organization Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*; for administrative organization Manzano Moreno, *The Court of the Caliphate of al-Andalus*; and for agronomical information López y López, 'Estudio Particular de las Especies Botánicas'.
155 José Martínez Gázquez, 'Santoral del Calendario del s. XIII Contenido en El Liber Regius del Museo Episcopal de Vic', *Revista Catalana de Teología* 6, no. 1 (1981): 162.

The building blocks demonstrate that the textual relationships among the texts are close enough to consider them as representing versions within a single textual tradition;

2) develop a taxonomy of the text versions. The taxonomy visualizes both the similarities and the differences among the text versions by dividing the corpus into branches whose text versions share certain textual elements that distinguish them from those of other branches. The taxonomy also enables us to streamline the discussion of the *Cordoban Calendar* throughout this dissertation.

The outcome of this chapter is a taxonomy which serves to highlight both the coherence and the variations within the manuscript corpus. It allows us to divide the corpus up into distinct branches based on their textual content. This taxonomy does not represent stemmatic relationships (i.e., direct lines of descent between copies), but rather connections in a broader sense. It thus identifies the text versions that share the greatest textual similarities, allowing for them to be discussed by branch. It therefore facilitates a more structured discussion of the *Cordoban Calendar* in the rest of the study. This makes the analysis more accessible for the reader; however, the taxonomy is not merely an organizational tool for this study. It offers other scholars a framework for determining whether a newly discovered text should be considered part of the corpus, and to which other branch it is textually most closely related, by using the building blocks outlined here as criteria.

Living literature

The original text of the *Cordoban Calendar* is no longer extant; what survives is a textual tradition preserved in a diverse corpus, none of whose manuscripts can be assumed to reflect the original text in its entirety. Scholarship until now has not been able to establish an *Urtext* of the *Cordoban Calendar*. How can we then read and interpret the *Cordoban Calendar*? Can we at least know which elements were in the original text and which were not? These questions have significant implications for understanding how we might use the text for historical research. In tackling these questions, I will use the concepts of *living literature* and scribal agency. With this approach, I suggest a shift in understanding and approaching the *Cordoban Calendar*: as it is extant to us, it is not one text by one author with one intention, but a text that exists in multiple witnesses that vary in content and character. Although we can argue that there was at some point an author with a certain intention in writing the text (more about this in Chapter 4), the text versions in front of us may reflect different historical contexts and authorial intentions. As a result, the concept of *living literature* is particularly appropriate for the study of the *Cordoban Calendar*, as it compels us to account for the variation across its extant text versions and the absence of a definitive original text.

The phenomenon of *living literature* has been used by scholars for describing a textual tradition which is known in divergent forms, and which appears with adaptations and modifications in different historical periods, geographical regions and cultural settings. The phenomenon of *living literature* is used, for instance, to refer to folktales, the performing arts and liturgical texts.[156] The texts are traditionally ascribed to one (anonymous) author, albeit the earliest form of the text is often not extant and its exact wording remains unknown. Often it is uncertain if we can assume "one author composing one text." Treating a text as *living literature* in general means that an attempt to find an *Urtext* is set aside, because, as Paul Bradshaw puts it:

> Frequently, it will be obvious which of the various recensions is the original text and which are the later revisions, but sometimes there will be no clear indication that a single *Urtext* ever existed behind the various extant versions.[157]

The focus in studying *living literature* is thus on the varying text versions, and not on a possible original, because we cannot be certain what this original was, or whether one ever existed. Rather, as Bradshaw writes, "*Living literature*… may be characterized either by quantitative differences (i.e., longer and shorter versions of the same material) or by qualitative differences (i.e., various ways of saying the same thing), or often a combination of the two." In discussing *living literature* in relation to liturgical documents, Peter Jeffery argues that, "we are often actually dealing with multiple texts, multiple authors, and multiple editors, each of whom had his own vision of the work, his own individual message, his own intended audience."[158]

I have kept the concept of *living literature* in mind when looking at the corpus, i.e., seeing the tradition as a collection of material with various layers and varied origins, in which texts are a product of the context in which they are produced. Marks of *living literature* can indeed be observed in the text versions, such as periodic revision and rewriting as well as multiple authors or editors. Although the text versions differ somewhat in textual structure—particularly in the introduction and the prologues and epilogues for each month—they generally exhibit a consistent overall structure. Greater differences are observed in certain textual passages, with the most significant variation occurring in the liturgical entries.

156 For instance, Paul Bradshaw more generally on the 'genre' of liturgical texts and Peter Jeffery more specifically on the Ordines Romani. They both refer to Stanislas Giet, who was the first to use the expression when speaking about the Didache as 'une littérature vivante'. Paul F. Bradshaw, 'Liturgy and "Living Literature"', in *Liturgy in Dialogue: Essays in Memory of Ronald Jasper*, ed. Paul F. Bradshaw and Bryan D. Spinks (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1993); Peter Jeffery, '"Living Literature" in Three Dimensions: The Ordines Romani of the Mass', in *On the Typology of Liturgical Books from the Western Middle Ages. Zur Typologie liturgischer Bücher des westlichen Mittelalters*, ed. Andrew J. M. Irving and Harald Buchinger (Aschendorff Verlag, 2023).

157 Bradshaw, 'Liturgy and "Living Literature"' 140.

158 Jeffery, '"Living Literature" in Three Dimensions', 201.

The genre of the text affects the degree to which it could be adapted by generations of copyists. It is probable that the agency of a copyist was greater when copying an Arabic almanac, as compared to other types of texts. Almanacs not only often gather scientific material from various sources and regions, as explained in the introduction, but they usually also contain local information, which is often more bound to a location and a time than what is found in more theoretical texts, for example texts of a philosophical or theological character.[159] In its introduction, the *Cordoban Calendar* claims to be useful for its readership, with practical recommendations for the well-being of the reader. This practical character involves references to astrology (the zodiac signs are mentioned), the preparation of nutrition and medicines or feasts and commemorations. These local and popular features may have added to the freedom felt by copyists to amend the text in a way they deemed useful or convenient. We may therefore expect adaptations to suit the time and location where it was being copied. However, we also know that almanacs were composed of different sources, which makes it hard to distinguish between parts that were "blindly copied" and parts that were amended, not least due to the lack of research on Arabic almanacs more generally.[160]

An understanding of the reasons for the textual variation across the text versions requires insight into the practice of text transmission and the role of scribal agency in Arabic scribal culture.[161] In the first centuries (seventh to tenth) of the Islamic Middle East, there was a growing importance in the role of the copyists. Copyists often worked in workshops to manufacture books as independent professionals, but they do not seem to have lived solely from copying texts. The most important patrons had their own workshops. In these workshops luxurious copies were made by specialized artisans. The readability of the script therefore depended on whether the text was written for the scribe him/herself or for a commissioner. Although calligraphy was a fixed element of the basic education of a Muslim—and some copyists were also responsible for decorative calligraphic work (as well as less ambitious miniatures)—the categories of calligrapher (*khaṭṭāṭ*) and copyist (*nāsikh*) must be separated. Scribal activity also took place in libraries and centers of learning (mainly mosques), and also amateurs, students and scholars were involved in transcribing texts. Another place where texts were copied was at the court (library). An important role in this context was reserved for the *kātib* (secretary of the chancellery or administration), who might have copied texts, although his work was not that of a regular copyist. In Umayyad Spain, we know of professional workshops for scribes, as well as other workshops that were directly tied to the courts of princes and emirs or caliphs.[162]

159 Varisco, *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science*, 6–9.

160 "Given the lack of previous research, the criteria for judging the importance and accuracy of almanac information have not been determined." Varisco, *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science*, 8.

161 Due to the focus of this research on the Arabic versions, I explore these topics with regard to Arabic scribal culture, and not to Latin scribal culture.

162 Alessandro Bausi et al., eds, *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction* (COMSt, 2015), 108–10.

As significant as the contributions of copyists were to the texts they were copying, there is generally very little information in Arabic manuscripts with regard to their historical identities. The name of the copyist, as well as the date and place of production, are not often mentioned; there are few colophons that provide this kind of information.[163] Even if their names are known, we know little else of them; one would need the name of the copyist in combination with a reference to that person in other sources. But such information and corroboration are rarely available, and most of the time, a scribe's identity remains unknown. An example is the copyist of D18945. A name (Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh) is mentioned in the manuscript, yet no information is found as to his historical identity. Even when the identity of a copyist is known, it is hard to determine whether they were responsible for any alterations to a text. Some texts might have been faithfully copied, in others, the copyist might have intervened heavily. It should always be borne in mind that we cannot know if changes in a text are a consequence of intervention of the copyist or are a result of changes in the text made somewhere in the line of the text transmission before the copy in question. This kind of uncertainty makes an assessment of the intervention of the copyist very tricky. Since the *Cordoban Calendar* continued to be copied by hand until relatively recently—for instance, in the case of Balad.2918 (dated 1822) or T4624 (dated 1910)—it is even more difficult to determine when, or indeed if, any scribe intervened in the text, given the extended period of textual transmission.

Although the timing and nature of the interventions in the textual tradition remain uncertain, the corpus clearly reflects the agency of its copyists given its very textual diversity. At some point in the line of transmission, the text was changed to reflect new contexts and interests, as evidenced in the textual differences. There seems to have been room for intervention in many parts of the text, most visibly in the liturgical part. Only two versions (K155 and D2197) are almost identical (in text and layout) that I consider them duplicates. Therefore, I have not treated them separately in the analysis of this chapter, but refer to them as K155 & D2197. Apart from these duplicates, however, other text versions show more textual differences. To remind the reader of these differences, I refer to CCT when meaning the textual tradition and the extant text versions as a whole, as opposed to its (imagined) original text.

Manuscripts of the *Cordoban Calendar*

Before displaying the textual variation on the basis of six building blocks, I will first present the manuscripts in which the text versions are preserved. Table 1 brings together the manuscripts of the *Cordoban Calendar* that will be compared and analyzed in this chapter. The table provides information on the shelf numbers of the manuscripts and the availability of editions and translations. In the last column, I have listed the various titles, sigla or shortened forms under which those manuscripts, as well as the text versions preserved in them, have become known in the secondary literature. The latter is absent in the cases of recently discovered manuscripts, for obvious reasons.

163 Bausi et al., *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies*, 109–10.

Table 1. The table shows all the manuscripts of CCT used in the comparison and analysis of this chapter.

Siglum	Manuscript	Edition	Language	Translation	References in secondary literature[164]
ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS					
CCA	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Hébreu 1082 (fol. 11v–30v)	1873—Dozy and 1961—Pellat (together with CCL)[165]	Arabic in Hebrew script (Judeo-Arabic)	French (in edition 1961)	*Cordoban Calendar Kitāb al-anwāʾ* (by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd) CC (Alkuwaifi Khazʿal) The Arabic text of the *Cordoban Calendar* (Christys, Martínez Gázquez) The *Calendar* (Forcada) I 10 (Borst)
Risala	Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥassaniyya, MS 6699, (p. 1–49—pagination, no foliation)	1990—Navarro[166]	Arabic	Spanish	*Risāla fī awqāt al-sana* (Navarro) RAS (Alkuwaifi Khazʿal)
KA	Tehran, Kitābḫāna-yi Millī-yi Malik, MS 2049 (p. 1–7—pagination, no foliation)	2022—Unpublished dissertation by Alkuwaifi Khazʿal, together with Balad. 2981[167]	Arabic	Spanish	*Kitāb al-anwāʾ* by al-Kātib al-Andalusī (Forcada) KA (Forcada, Alkuwaifi Khazʿal) طه (Alkuwaifi Khazʿal)
Balad.2918	Alexandria, al-Maktaba al-Baladiyya, MS 2918 (fol. 25–50)	2022—Unpublished dissertation by Alkuwaifi Khazʿal, together with KA[168]	Arabic	N/A	*Tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* (Alkuwaifi Khazʿal)
P2521	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Arabe 2521 (fol. 129 r–135v)	N/A	Arabic	N/A	Ar. 2521 (Forcada and Alkuwaifi Khazʿal)
D18945	Damascus, (former Al Assad) National Library of Syria, MS 18945 (fol. 1–36)	N/A	Arabic	N/A	N/A

164 To refer to the different versions within the corpus, I conform to the sigla that are being used by other scholars (mainly Miquel Forcada, Ahmad Alkuwaifi Khazʿal and María Ángelez Navarro for the Arabic and Martínez Gázquez for the Latin versions), to maintain a certain continuity in the field. For reasons of clarity, I refer to the Arabic and Latin texts of the editions of Dozy and Pellat as CCA and CCL. I have found that scholars have too often created confusion with regard to these texts, either by referring to them both at once, or by using confusing short forms like *Calendar* or CC, and thereby leaving the text to which they referred ambiguous.

165 Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*.

166 Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*.

167 Ahmad Alkuwaifi Khazʿal's dissertation (consisting of two parts: the dissertation in Arabic with the edition of KA and Balad.2918 in Arabic and an abridged, Spanish version with a Spanish translation of KA). Ahmad Alkuwaifi Khazʿal, 'El Kitāb al Anwā' del Kātib ʿArīb Ibn Saʿīd [Arabic Version]' (Universitat de Barcelona, 2022); Alkuwaifi Khazʿal, 'El Kitāb al Anwā' [Spanish Version]'. . Last visited: 8 January 2026.

168 . Last visited: 8 January 2026.

T4624	Tunis, Bibliothèque Nationale de Tunisie, MS 4624 (56 folios—no foliation)	N/A	Arabic	N/A	N/A
Vat.ar.258	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.ar.258 (fol. 81v–129r)	N/A	Arabic	N/A	N/A
KH10354	Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥassaniyya, KH10354 (18 folios—no foliation)	N/A	Arabic	N/A	N/A
Sbihi 163/9	Salé, Bibliothèque Sbihi, MS 163/9 (fol. 1–94—incorrect foliation)	N/A	Arabic	N/A	N/A
K155	Rabat, Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc, MS K155 (p. 290–334—pagination, no foliation)	N/A	Arabic	N/A	N/A
D2197	Rabat, Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc, MS D2197 (p. 75–152—pagination, no foliation)	N/A	Arabic	N/A	N/A
LATIN MANUSCRIPTS					
CCL	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 9335 (fol. 151v–160v)	1873—Dozy and 1961—Pellat (together with CCL)[169]	Latin	French (in edition 1961)	*Cordoban Calendar Liber Anoe* (by Rabīʿ ibn Zayd) Translation/Text of Gerard of Cremona (Martínez Gázquez) Latin translation of the *Cordoban Calendar* The *Calendar* (Forcada) Cremona (Fradejas Rueda)

169 Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*; Dozy, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'Année 961*.

Vic167	San Juan de las Abadesas, Arxiu del Monestir de Sant Joan de les Abadesses, Liber regius sive descriptio temporum (fol. 1r–8r) Former: Vic, Museo Episcopal de Vich 167	1981—Martínez Gázquez and Samsó (in article)[170]	Latin	N/A	Ms 167 Liber Regius (e.g., Fradejas Rueda, Alkuwaifi Khazʿal) The translation of the thirteenth century (Martínez Gázquez) Vic(h) Calendar I 12 (Borst)
BN6036	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, MS 6036 (38r–45v)	N/A	Latin	N/A	Liber Egregius BNM 6036 Liber Regius (e.g., Fradejas Rueda, Alkuwaifi Khazʿal)
Lat.qu.198	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat.qu.198 (fol. 135v–143v)	1991—collation by Martínez Gázquez with Vic167 (in article)[171]	Latin	N/A	Berlin Lat.qu.198
ÖNB2462	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 2462 (fol. 27r–72v)	N/A	Latin	N/A	I 11b (Borst)
PA45	Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, P.A. 45 (fol. 123r–124v and 130v–142r)	N/A	Latin	N/A	I 11a (Borst) L (Nothaft)
Reg.lat.596	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg.Lat.596 (fol. 36r–45v)	N/A	Latin	N/A	I 11 (Borst)

Edited texts are marked in yellow, the heretofore known but unedited (and often unstudied) texts are marked in blue, and the texts that I found and identified as belonging to CCT are in green.

170 José Martínez Gázquez and Julio Samsó, *Una Nueva Traducción Latina del Calendario de Córdoba*. (1981).
171 Martínez Gázquez, 'El Texto del Calendario de Córdoba'.

Table 1 contains twelve Arabic and seven Latin manuscripts of the *Cordoban Calendar*. It is further divided up into texts that have been edited (in yellow), identified but not studied (in blue), or newly identified in the course of this study (in green). Also new in this study is the analysis of the corpus as a whole, i.e., Arabic and Latin texts, whereas previous studies have mostly focused on one or two text versions of the same language. I was able to study some of the manuscripts in person (CCA, P2521, CCL, Vic167, BN6036, Lat.qu.198)[172] and had access to digital scans of the other manuscripts. As for the Latin manuscripts, I rely for Vic167, BN6036 and Lat.qu.198 on the findings of other scholars, mainly Martínez Gázquez and Samsó and for PA45, ÖNB2462 and Reg.lat.596 on studies of Eduard Frunzeanu and Arno Borst.[173] The two independent translations, as we will see, provide good material for understanding some developments within the textual tradition. What follows is a description of the production contexts of the text versions as well as of the manuscripts in which they appear.

172 I thank in particular Joan Ferrer, archivist of the Archive of the Monastery of Sant Joan de les Abadesses, for his efforts to enable me to consult Vic167. Further, the work that Martínez Gázquez and Samsó executed on these versions helped immensely to reconstruct the texts, which are often not easy to read in the manuscripts. For the reconstruction of the texts, I rely predominantly on the secondary literature. Martínez Gázquez and Samsó, *Una Nueva Traducción Latina del Calendario de Córdoba.*; Martínez Gázquez, 'Un Nuevo Manuscrito'; Martínez Gázquez, 'El Texto del Calendario de Córdoba'.

173 I thank Eduard Frunzeanu for kindly sharing his observations and notes on PA45 and ÖNB2462 with me. Reg.lat.596 is mentioned by Philipp Nothaft. Nothaft, 'A Third Latin Translation', 378.

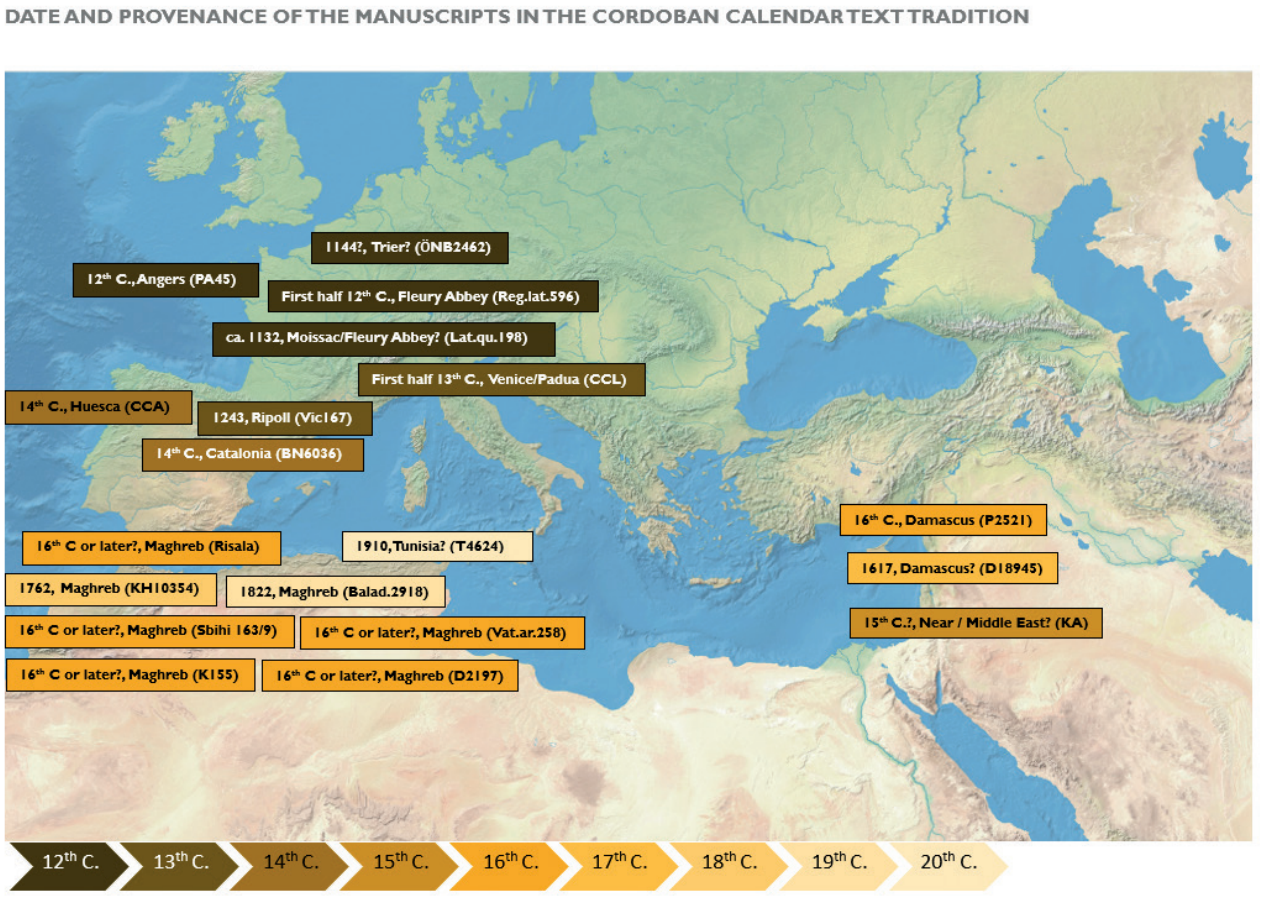


Figure 2. The manuscripts of CCT hitherto identified. The Latin manuscripts are displayed with text in white, the Arabic manuscripts with text in black. They are placed on the map according to their presumed provenance.

Figure 2 provides an overview of the manuscripts of CCT placed on a map according to their supposed provenance. The figure serves to illustrate that CCT is preserved in manuscripts produced in Iberia, Western Europe and around the Mediterranean, with a concentration of the production of Arabic manuscripts in the Maghreb. The manuscripts span a long period of time (the earliest manuscript is from 1132 and the latest is from 1910). Obviously, the contexts in which the *Cordoban Calendar* was copied are very diverse. Although this map leads to interesting observations, such as that the extant Latin manuscripts are earlier than the Arabic manuscripts, all text versions will be equally presented, compared and analyzed here in order to develop a taxonomy at the end of this chapter.

CCA: Paris, BnF Hébreu 1082

The codex of CCA is a medical miscellany, which is mostly written in Hebrew square script. It begins with astronomical tables calculated for the year 5111 in the Jewish era (1351 CE) for the locality of Huesca.[174] It contains a pharmacopoeia connected to the medical faculty of Montpellier (in Hebrew), as well as an incomplete pharmacopoeia of Moses Abenardut (d. 1323), who was born in Huesca and was known for being the personal doctor of Alfonso IV of Aragon.[175] Due to the medical content, the codex is suggested to have belonged to the private library of a Jewish doctor, probably in Huesca.[176] In my view, it is not unlikely that this codex belonged to a descendant of Moses Abenardut, since the latter's son Alatzar (d. 1347?), grandson Jucef (d. 1414), as well as further descendants, were also royal physicians from Huesca.[177] Judeo-Arabic and Arabic were used by Jews on the Iberian Peninsula up until the fifteenth century, despite their mastery of Hebrew.[178] The Jewish intellectual and religious elite continued using Arabic as a language for science, and for medicine in particular, due to the ongoing prestige of Arabic learning.[179] Although the medical content of the manuscript seems to be central to the user's interests, a Hebrew note in the margins which corrects the date of the Annunciation of Mary (from 21 to 25 March), suggests that the dates of Christian feasts mattered to him as well.[180] This

174 Johann Fück, 'Zum Kalender von Cordoba vom Jahre 961', *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 60, nos 1–6 (1965): 333.

175 Hermann Zotenberg and Moritz Steinschneider, *Catalogues des Manuscrits Hébreux et Samaritains de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Bibliothèque Impériale, 1866), 199.

176 Fück, 'Zum Kalender von Cordoba', 336.

177 Antonio Cardoner Planas and Francisca Vendrell Gallostra, 'Aportaciones al Estudio de la Familia Abenardut, Médicos Reales', *Sefarad: Revista de Estudios Hebraicos y Sefardíes* 7, no. 2 (1947): 305 and 318; Eugenio Benedicto Gracia, 'Los Médicos Judíos de Huesca, según los Protocolos Notariales del Siglo XV', *Sefarad: Revista de Estudios Hebraicos y Sefardíes* 68, no. 1 (2008): 57.

178 With thanks to Ilil Baum for sharing this information: Arabic was maintained throughout the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries as a language of science, and mainly of medicine in late medieval Christian Spain not solely in Toledo, but probably also in Seville and certainly in two important centers in the Crown of Aragon: Barcelona (until 1391) and Saragossa (probably until 1492).

179 Assis, 'The Judeo-Arabic Tradition in Christian Spain', 114 and 116.

180 A user note in CCA comments on the date for the Annunciation of Mary on 21 March. The sentence in the margin is in Hebrew (as opposed to the original, which must have been written in Arabic). CCA reads on fol. 18r: "The eid [(i.e., non-Jewish feast) takes place] on the 25th day of March" (האיד ביום כ״ה ממרס). This note derives probably from what the owner or user knew from the Roman rite of the Christians in his fourteenth-century, Aragonese surrounding, but it can also have been added in the period after the book had come to Aleppo. I thank Lukas Mühlethaler for reading the marginal note.

interest would not be surprising for a Jewish minority, considering that they interacted with a Christian majority on a daily basis for economical purposes, especially in the case of a physician.[181] In any case, this manuscript was a practical rather than a decorative or luxurious book, which can be concluded from the quality of the parchment, the traces of usage (holes, wax, and finger stains on the folios), and the numerous corrections, erasures and notes in the margins. Possibly, the eventual transfer of the book from the Iberian Peninsula to Syria (from where it was acquired by a French collector in 1673[182]) was a result of the expulsion of the Jews from the Peninsula.

CCL: Paris, BnF Latin 9335

CCL is part of a large miscellany (370 × 240 mm) from the thirteenth century, in which mainly scientific texts concerning astronomy are found. It contains Latin translations of Arabic texts by Gerard of Cremona including texts by "Abhabuchri" and al-Fārābī.[183] *The Liber Anoe* (the title of CCL as mentioned in the text) is considered to be another translation produced by Gerard of Cremona, given that a *Liber anohe* is mentioned in a list of translation by Gerard of Cremona.[184] The codex itself is extraordinarily luxurious, written all in one and the same hand, using two columns per page and leaving wide blank margins. CCL was found in Italy (possibly Lombardy) and was possibly produced there in the first half of the 13th century.[185] The many Latinizations in CCL, such as *al-megdis* for *al-Maqdis* (Jerusalem) or *Alseclati* for *al-sahla* (plain, used for the plains around Córdoba), make it evident that the exemplar for CCL must have been an Arabic text.[186] Generally, it is widely accepted that CCL is a Latin translation of the text represented in CCA. However, it has also been suggested that CCA has omitted certain "original" elements of the tenth-century text (present in CCL), such as the information for the calculation of Easter, the diagrams of asterisms, some of the Bedouin prose and around thirty feasts.[187] These differences

181 "It is undeniable that a working knowledge of the ecclesiastical calendar, whose numerous saint's days and major feasts governed the rhythms of public life, would have been indispensable for Jews living as a minority within a Christian society. On this knowledge depended the ability to interact with Christians on an economic and mercantile plain—to negotiate and observe contracts, to pay back or receive loans, or to find buyers for one's goods at markets and fairs, which usually took place on fixed dates. C. Philipp E. Nothaft, *Medieval Latin Christian Texts on the Jewish Calendar: A Study with Five Editions and Translations* (Brill, 2014), 11.

182 The manuscript was acquired in 1673 and brought from Aleppo to Paris. There is a note by Étienne Baluzius on fol. 127r in Latin, who took ('deloctus') the book from Aleppo in 1673 for Jean-Baptiste Colbert's library. Colbert was famous for his library, containing many books from the Levant. The book later ended up in Louis XV's library, as he bought the library of Colbert in 1732. Colbert, as well as Baluzius and other orientalists of their time, were known for acquiring books from the Middle East for collections in Paris. Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Institut Bibliothécaire au Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale, 1768), 278.

183 "Liber in quo terrarum corporumque continentur mensurationes Abhabuchri qui dicebatur Heus, translatus a magistro Girardo Cremonensi in Toleto de arabico in latinum abreviatus" and "Liber Alfarabii de scientiis translatus a magistro Girardo Cremonensi." See "en savoir plus" on the website of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France: and . Last visited 8 January 2026.

184 See also footnote 85. Steinschneider, 'Harib, Sohn Des Zeid, Und Garib, Sohn Des Said', 238.

185 For the dating and provenance: . Last visited on 8 January 2026. In the seventeenth century CCL belonged to Ismael Bullialdus (astronomer and librarian in Paris).

186 For more examples, see Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 125–26; Simonet, *Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe*, 13–15.

187 Fück, 'Zum Kalender von Cordoba', 336–37.

were attributed to the fact that CCA was privately owned (and possibly copied) by a Jewish doctor in fourteenth-century Huesca and that such passages would not have been of interest to him.[188]

Risala: Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥassaniyya 6699

Risala is preserved a neat manuscript in Maghrebi script, possibly from the sixteenth century.[189] Unfortunately, the Royal library of Morocco does not grant access to the physical manuscript, and the context of production remains uncertain. It is catalogued as *Risāla fī awqāt al-sana* (*Treatise on the Times of the Year*), but this title does not appear in the manuscript. Navarro argues that Risala was compiled out of a merging of texts as represented in CCA/CCL and KA. At the same time, Navarro admits that Risala is so close to KA that "we have come to think that it concerns the same work."[190] Navarro situates the possible merging of Risala in the thirteenth century in the city of Córdoba, Sevilla or Granada. Her dating is mainly built on the fact that she argues that the compiler of Risala has used values of praying times found in the *Mustawʿib al-kāfī* (*The Comprehensive and Complete Treatise*) by al-Umawī al-Qurṭubī (1120–1206).[191] Furthermore, Navarro identified several important instances in which Risala coincides with CCL rather than with CCA, suggesting that a text closer to Risala (than to CCA) constituted the exemplar for the translation of which CCL is a copy.[192] This makes it more likely that the passages shared by Risala and CCL were omitted in CCA. This argument is further strengthened by the fact that three newly identified text versions (T4624, Sbihi 163/9, and D18945) also preserve these passages.

KA: Tehran, Malik Millī 2049

KA is preserved in a single volume in a typically eastern book hand (*naskhī*). The Malek National Library dates this manuscript to the fifteenth century, but this dating cannot be verified.[193] Malik Millī 2049 has been identified as the manuscript that contained the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd, as referred to in other medieval sources.[194] To give a sense of the differences between the two texts, CCA (as compared to KA) lacks the religious invocations, passages on the visibility of stars, winds, periods of heat, proverbs, Arab names of the month and days of the week and date conversion.[195] It was indeed not unusual in medieval Arabic literature for the same person to compile abridged versions of texts of a longer work they also composed.[196] The reason to propose that the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd is reflected in KA is, according to Forcada, because Ibn al-Bannāʾ mentions that he used ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd's treatise as a source and that his

188 Fück, 'Zum Kalender von Cordoba', 337.
189 This concerns my own assessment of the quality of the paper, based on the digital scans. The library did not grant me access to the physical manuscript. It is therefore also unclear if there are other texts in this manuscript.
190 Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 29.
191 Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 26–29.
192 Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 28.
193 . Last visited on 8 January 2026.
194 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd'.
195 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 238–41.
196 A. Arazi and H. Ben Ṣḥammai, 'Mukḫtaṣar', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, VII, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill, 1960–2005), 536.

works contain passages that are found in KA, but not in CCA/CCL.[197] As a result, Forcada concludes that KA and CCA/CCL are written by the same author, and that CCA/CCL is the abridged version of KA. According to Forcada, CCA could have been merged (possibly by a third person) with a Christian liturgical calendar, since this material is absent from KA.[198] However, as this research will demonstrate, such material is not entirely absent from KA. Moreover, other text versions closely related to KA preserve full lists of Christian feasts, prompting a reconsideration of Forcada's claim.

Balad.2918: Alexandria, al-Maktaba al-Baladiyya 2918

Balad. 2918 is found in a miscellany written in Maghrebi script which probably contains texts on astronomy and astrology. This hypothesis is based on the black-and-white reproductions of Balad. 2918 available to me, which show that the text preceding the *Cordoban Calendar* (f. 24v) concerns zodiacal signs. The title *Tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* appears in the first sentence of the text as well as in the colophon.[199] This title corresponds to the title mentioned at the end of CCA, as well as the title that al-Maqqarī (1577–1632) attributes to Rabīʿ ibn Zayd, yet no author is mentioned in Balad.2918.[200] The colophon informs us about the date of copying (1822) and also mentions the date of the underlying copy (1727).[201] The date of production and the Maghrebi script point to transmission of the text during the Alaouite dynasty in Morocco. The inclusion of the *Cordoban Calendar* in an astronomical miscellany might be evidence that the scribe or compiler saw value specifically in the astronomical values of the text. The Maghrebi script is consistent and easy to read, yet the text seems to have been transcribed in a rather hasty manner. This is definitely not a luxurious edition (no decoration, no calligraphy, no title page, probably only one color of ink, as far as can be concluded from the scan). The many marginal notes could point to a book that was copied for personal use or a book for learning.

Vic167: San Juan de las Abadesas, Arxiu del Monestir de Sant Joan de les Abadesses, Liber regius sive descriptio temporum

Apart from CCL, other Latin text versions have come to light. Vic167 was identified as "a new translation of the *Cordoban Calendar*, independent from the one attributed to Gerard of Cremona

197 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 245.

198 Forcada argues that Ibn al-Bannāʾ refers to the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* of ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd, which is the title of KA. Ibn al-Bannāʾ cites passages that are found in KA, but not in CCA/CCL. Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 248.

199 Fol. 25r and 50r.

200 "Concerning astrology, Ibn Zaid the Bishop, the Cordoban, wrote on this subject. He was the favorite of al-Mustansir ibn an-Nasir the Marwanid [al-Ḥakam II] for whom he composed the *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* in which he indicated the stations of the moon and how these matters were related, and their approximate significance." English translation by Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 108; Arabic in Aḥmad al-Maqqarī, *Analectes sur l'Histoire et la Littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, ed. Reinhart Dozy et al. (Oriental Press, 1967), 125.

201 Both dates are rendered in Hijri era. One is expressed in writing and the other one in a chronogram of *abǧad* letters, which enjoyed favour from the sixteenth century onward in Morocco. Bausi et al., *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies*, 112. The first date is the date of production of this copy: 11 Jumada al-akhira 1237H (5 March 1822). Directly after, the text mentions 24 Sha'ban 1139H (16 April 1727), the date of the underlying copy. The numbers of the day and the year are written with the Maghrebi *abǧad* numerals: طلقش كد = 24 1139. Under the last line, an explanatory '1139 CE' (sic, must be Hijra – the Islamic calendar) in Hindu-Arabic numerals in a different hand is added (ع م ١ ٣ ٩). This was possibly added when the manuscript came to Alexandria.

[CCL], to which a new *sanctorale* was added."[202] Vic167 is preserved in a manuscript most probably produced in 1235.[203] The translation of Vic167 is believed to have been carried out in the monastery of Sant Joan de les Abadesses in Ripoll, Catalonia. This idea is based on philological evidence, as well as on the known interest in Arabic culture found in thirteenth-century Catalonia, and in the monastery of Ripoll in particular.[204] Vic167 contains a list of saints corresponding to the Franco-Roman rite, which reflects or was updated to reflect thirteenth-century practice, as can be concluded from the inclusion of Francis of Assisi, who was canonized in 1228.[205] Vic167's list of saints reflects adaptation to the Roman rite with local particularities of the church of the Catalonian region, including lesser-known saints from the ecclesiastical centers of Barcelona, Gerona and La Seu, such as Narcissus of Gerona, Thecla of Tarragona and Hermengaudius of Urgell.[206] Some of these saints might have been introduced over time, for Vic167 has erasures in the parchment that might point to "corrections" in later periods.[207]

BN6036: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid 6036

BN6036 is contained in a manuscript that was found to be a fourteenth-century copy of Vic167.[208] It is substantially identical to Vic167, yet demonstrates slight differences in vocabulary and syntax.[209] However, BN6036 lacks the first part of the introduction that Vic167 has, possibly because the copyist did not think it added much to the actual content of the text.[210]

Lat.qu.198: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Lat.qu.198

Lat.qu.198 is in the oldest manuscript in our corpus, dated 1132. Lat.qu.198 has been established to represent the same translation as Vic167 and BN6036.[211] Its manuscript may have been produced at Moissac, but could also have been produced at the monastery of Sant Joan de les Abadesses.[212] Notably, Lat.qu.198 does not contain a list of feasts, except for three feasts universal to the Christian calendar: the Annunciation of Mary (25 March), the Assumption of Mary (15

202 Martínez Gázquez and Samsó, *Una Nueva Traducción Latina del Calendario de Córdoba.*; Martínez Gázquez, 'Un Nuevo Manuscrito', 9.

203 Martínez Gázquez and Samsó, *Una Nueva Traducción Latina*; Martínez Gázquez, 'Un Nuevo Manuscrito', 9–10.

204 Mn. Josep Gudiol suggested that the manuscript might have been produced in the scriptorium of the monastery of Sant Joan de les Abadesses. Martínez Gázquez, 'Santoral del Calendario', 161.

205 Thomas Becket is also in Vic167, who was canonized in 1173. Dated around 1235 based on a marginal note on fol. 18v. Fradejas Rueda, 'Shadhāniqāt al-Balansiyya', 62.

206 Martínez Gázquez, 'Santoral del Calendario', 173–74.

207 Martínez Gázquez and Samsó, *Una Nueva Traducción Latina*, 12. I identified erasures in the manuscript in the entries for 17–29 August and 17 October, and possibly in those for 5 July and 28 November.

208 Vic167 and BN6036 bear the same title. The introduction of BN6036 begins with 'descriptio temporum anni' and the explicit reads 'Explicit Liber Egregius', close enough to Liber Regius, in order for Martínez Gázquez and Samsó to assume that it derives from 'Liber Regius'. Martínez Gázquez and Samsó, *Una Nueva Traducción Latina*, 10.

209 Martínez Gázquez, 'Un Nuevo Manuscrito', 293.

210 Martínez Gázquez, 'Un Nuevo Manuscrito', 292.

211 It remains somewhat unclear whether Martínez Gázquez considers Lat.qu.198 to be an independent translation—distinct from both CCL and Vic167—or rather a copy belonging to the translation represented by Vic167. His discussion appears to suggest the latter interpretation, on which the present dissertation builds. Martínez Gázquez and Samsó, *Una Nueva Traducción Latina*; Martínez Gázquez, 'Santoral del Calendario'; Martínez Gázquez, 'Un Nuevo Manuscrito'; Martínez Gázquez, 'El Texto del Calendario de Córdoba', 659.

212 Martínez Gázquez, 'El Texto del Calendario de Córdoba', 658.

August) and the Beheading of John the Baptist (25 September). The dating of Lat.qu.198 raises additional questions, as it predates both Vic167 and BN6036. Martínez Gázquez appears to regard Lat.qu.198 as another version of the same translation branch to which Vic167 and BN6036 belong, while leaving open alternative possibilities.[213] Accordingly, this dissertation provisionally treats Lat.qu.198 as belonging to that branch.

PA45; ÖNB2462; and Reg.lat.596

The text versions of PA45 (Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, P.A. 45), ÖNB2462 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Cod. 2462) and Reg.lat.596 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg.Lat.596) remain unedited, and there is only little information available on their manuscripts.[214] I observed a close textual relationship between Vic167 on the one hand and BN6036, PA45, ÖNB2462 and Reg.lat.596 on the other hand, except for their list of feasts. Based on my assessment, I believe that Vic167, BN6036 and PA45, ÖNB2462 and Reg.lat.596 must be all considered to derive from the same translation (without having gained further insight about an order of copying). PA45, dated by Borst to the late twelfth century, may have been from the area of Chartres, but the saints included in it rather point to Angers.[215] The manuscript of ÖN2462, dated by Borst also to the late twelfth century, includes a computistic text by an unnamed canon of Trier cathedral, written in 1144.[216] With regard to the list of saints, ÖNB2462 has most of what is in Vic167, complemented with many more saints. ÖNB2462 has almost no day without feasts, and there are sometimes three feasts per day. However, entries such as the moveable feast of the Resurrection of the Lord on 27 March, which Vic167 and ÖNB2462 have in common, show an undoubtedly close connection between these two versions. Reg.lat.596, dated before 1150 by Borst, is from the Benedictine Abbey of Fleury.[217] In Reg.lat.596 the feasts are reserved to January, whereas the other months contain almost no feasts. Perhaps the copyist lost his interest in adding or replacing feasts to the text of his exemplar, after he had finished the month of January.

213 "En su conjunto la copia que estamos estudiando corresponde a la nueva traducción del Calendario de Córdoba y presenta características peculiares con respect a las de los manuscritos de nuestra edición anterior. Estos rasgos particulares son del orden acostumbrado en cualquier copia respecto a otras, si bien aparecen en algún caso determinadas lecturas que nos hablarían de familias de manuscritos diferentes. La colación del textos nos permite creer que no depende de él ninguno de los manuscritos posteriores en forma directa. Sus variants, sin embargo, parecen encontrarse más cerca del manuscrito 6036 de la BNM del siglo XIV que no de las correspondientes al 167 de Vic perteneciente al siglo XIII. Las muestras de autonomía del copista del ms. de Berlín son frecuentes y parece posible creer que tenía a su alcance un original muy cercano al traductor árabe o en todo caso una copia libre de algunos errores de las copias que conocemos." Martínez Gázquez, 'El Texto del Calendario de Córdoba'. 659.

214 Arno Borst, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform* (Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998), 346–48.

215 Borst, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform*, 347. Chartres is mentioned once in the manuscript. Frunzeanu, who kindly shared his notes on this version with me, points to a link with Angers, due to saints, such as Licinius, bishop of Angers, and saints celebrated in the diocese of Angers: Samson de Dole, Aubin, Melaine, Maurilius, Martinus abbas, but also to two bishops of Clermont Ferrand, Bonitus and Proiectus.

216 I owe the provenance and dating of this manuscript to Eduard Frunzeanu, who studied this manuscript in Lyon and kindly shared his findings with me. There is a notable number of eleventh- and twelfth-century saints in there, which means that the earliest date of production is somewhere in the twelfth century. Many of the included feasts are from a monastery in Angers, some from Cluny, and others coincide with the Catalonian tradition. In any case, this calendar is disposed of any specific Cordoban or feasts according to the Old Hispanic rite.

217 Borst, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform*, 346–47.

As a result of Samsó and Martínez Gázquez's studies, complemented by my comparative observations, we can say that there are two independent Latin translations of the *Cordoban Calendar*: A twelfth-century translation, probably by Gerard of Cremona (of which CCL is a copy) on the one hand and a twelfth-century Catalonian translation (represented in Vic167, BN6035, Lat.qu.198, PA45, ÖNB2462 and Reg.lat.596) on the other. The Latin of the Catalonian translation reflects a more literary translation, whereas the one by Gerard of Cremona is strictly literal.[218] In line with Samsó and Martínez Gázquez's findings, José Manuel Fradejas Rueda believes that CCL and Vic167 share a common Arabic ancestor, but that the translations were made based upon two different text versions, of which the one underlying CCL was "defective."[219] This conclusion derives, for example, from the Arabic word for a certain type of falcons. CCL mentions Valencian falcons (Arabic: al-shadhāniqāt al-balansiyya), where Vic167 mentions marine falcons (Arabic: al-shadhāniqāt al-baḥriyya). Since other literary sources corroborate that these must be marine falcons, CCL's Arabic exemplar must have contained a miswriting.[220] Such details suggest that the exemplar used for the Catalonian translation differed from that of CCL. However, the notion that the Catalonian translation was therefore more faithful to the original, as Fradejas Rueda appears to suggest, is not necessary. All the Arabic versions, in fact, refer to Valencian falcons rather than to marine falcons.

Regarding the Catalonian translation, Charles Burnett presents an intriguing, unpublished hypothesis.[221] He considers the possibility that the *Cordoban Calendar* was already translated into Latin in the tenth century. Burnett refers to Borst, who suggested that "the text could have come into being a long time earlier in Catalonia."[222] Burnett expands on Borst's suggestion by pointing to the intellectual exchange between scholars in Córdoba and Catalonia during the 960s. This exchange is evidenced by other late tenth-century Latin texts from Catalonia—on subjects such as the astrolabe and astrology—that incorporated Arabic knowledge. In this scenario, Burnett argues, the *Cordoban Calendar* could have been produced almost simultaneously for both Latin and Arabic Christian communities across the Iberian Peninsula. Whether or not this hypothesis holds true is not the central concern of this study. Nevertheless, Burnett's suggestion is significant for our understanding of the *Cordoban Calendar*. After all, the lack of surviving manuscripts from the period of the composition of the text leaves us uncertain about how and in what stages the text was transmitted.

218 Martínez Gázquez, 'Un Nuevo Manuscrito', 292; Fradejas Rueda, 'Shadhāniqāt al-Balansiyya'.
219 Fradejas Rueda, 'Shadhāniqāt al-Balansiyya', 71.
220 Fradejas Rueda, 'Shadhāniqāt al-Balansiyya', 71.
221 I am grateful to Charles Burnett for sharing with me his paper *New Manuscripts and Texts of the Calendar of Córdoba* as well as for making available, with Monica Green's permission, her notes on Lat.qu.198. Charles Burnett, 'New Manuscripts and Texts of the Calendar of Cordoba', paper presented at Calendars in Antiquity and the Middle Ages Conference, University College London, 2017.
222 Borst refers to PA45, ÖNB2462 and Reg.lat.596. As will become clear below, these are copies of Vic167 as well. Borst, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform*, 344–350.

D18945; T4624; KH10354; Vat.ar.258; and Sbihi 163/9

The text versions I identified as versions of CCT are preserved in manuscripts in Morocco, Tunisia, Vatican City and Syria. The manuscripts consist entirely of paper folios, but the specific type of paper cannot be determined, as I did not have access to the physical manuscripts. Presumably, they are all from the sixteenth century or later, based on the dates mentioned in some of them. To the best of my knowledge, there is no existing scholarship on these manuscripts. D18945 (Damascus, National Library of Syria 18945) is written in Eastern script and mentions the year 1617 and further the name of the copyist: Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh.[223] I was not able to identify this copyist.[224] T4624 (Tunis, Bibliothèque Nationale de Tunisie 4624), also written in Eastern script, is from 1910 and clearly erroneously attributed to Ibn Rushd (1126–1198) on a separate folio, placed before the text and written by a different hand.[225] On the separate folio, the title *Tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* is written. KH10354 (Rabat, al-Khizāna al-Ḥassaniyya KH10354), in Maghrebi script, was produced in 1762.[226] Vat.ar.258 (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Vat.ar.258) is written in Maghrebi script (see Appendix 7) and not produced earlier than the sixteenth century, based on other texts in the collection written by authors from the sixteenth century.[227] Sbihi 163/9 (Salé, Bibliothèque Sbihi 163/9) is also written in Maghrebi script (see figure 3). I was not able to determine the dating of Sbihi 163/9.

223 1026 AH (Islamic, or "Hijri" era). Fol. 36r.

224 Unidentified. According to *Bibliotheca Arabica*, an Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh is recorded as the owner of BnF Arabe 2128; however, this identification does not correspond to the period around 1617. For the manuscript, see https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10035158b/f5.item.zoom. Last visited 8 January 2026.

225 Mentioned on fol. 1r.

226 1176 AH. In the colophon on the last page (no foliation).

227 Giorgio Levi della Vida, *Elenco dei Manoscritti Arabi Islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana: Vaticani, Barberiniani, Borgiani, Rossiani* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935), 11–12.



Figure 3. Salé, Bibliothèque Sbihi 163/9, fol. 1 (incorrect foliation)

K155 and D2197: Rabat, Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc K155 and D2197

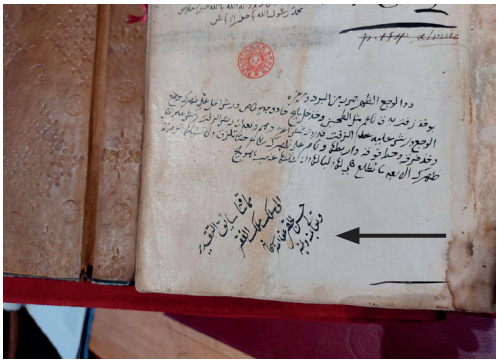
K155 and D2197 are almost identical in their introduction to CCA and almost identical to Risala in terms of the calendar part. Their rule-borders, use of ink colors and layout of the text are similar to what is found in Risala, with the difference that Risala is found in a very neat and carefully manufactured manuscript whereas the manuscripts which contain K155 and D2197 were made quickly and are full of mistakes. This quicker production becomes visible, for instance, in the designing of the tables and in the diagrams of star constellations. They are written in a hastily executed Maghrebi script in red and black ink. K155's arrangement of the text on each page is exactly the same as in D2197 (each page corresponds exactly in text), which makes it likely that K155 and D2197 were direct and exact copies of each other. K155 and D2197 reveal the possible "title" *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* at the end of the text: "The [book of] *anwāʾ* has been completed, by the praise of God and the excellence of His assistance, and [with] blessings upon our Lord Muhammad, His prophet and servant, and upon his family after him."[228] This title is particularly

228 *Kamalat al-anwāʾ bi-ḥamdi Allāh wa-ḥusni ʿawnhi wa-l-ṣalāt ʿalā mawlānā Muḥammad nabiyyihi wa-ʿabdihi wa-ālihi min baʿdihi*. K155, page 334 (no foliation), D2197, page 152 (no foliation). See more under *Concluding remarks* in Chapter 1.

significant for questions of authorship and for understanding the division of the tradition into distinct textual branches.

P2521: Paris, BnF Arabe 2521

P2521 is part of a miscellany containing various texts related to astronomy, astrology and chronology.[229] The manuscript was most likely produced in an Ottoman context, perhaps in sixteenth-century Damascus. I was able to observe this based on an owner's note, a chronogram and the watermarks.



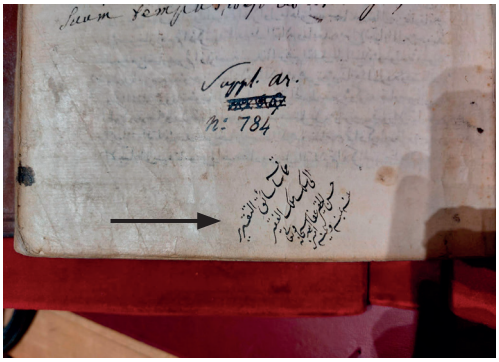


Figure 4. BnF Arabe 2521, fol. 1r. Owner's note[230] **Figure 5. BnF Arabe 1672, fol. 2r. Owner's note[231]**

The owner's note comes from a certain Ḥassan al-Faqīr (i.e., "Ḥassan the poor"—a derogatory adjective to refer to oneself). The name in itself is too common to discover the identity of this person, yet the *Biblioteca Arabica* contains several entries with owner notes with exactly the same formulations, that turn out to be written in the same hand (see figures 4 and 5). In some of the other owner notes—almost identical in wording and seemingly written in the same hand—in, for instance, MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Hekimoğlu, Hekimoğlu 846, 1r, this Ḥassan was the son of ʿAbd al-Muḥsin.[232] ʿAbd al-Muḥsin is found in the biographies of al-Muḥibbī; he

229 Found by Bernard R. Goldstein. The catalogue of BnF reports that already in the seventeenth century, i.e., relatively shortly after its possible production, the manuscript was included in the library of the French orientalist Gilbert Gaulmin (1585 – 1665). Georges Vajda, 'Notices de Manuscrits Arabes Rédigées Par Georges Vajda. Notices Des Manuscrits Arabe 2400 à 2759', n.d, 58. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84701114/f279.item Last visited 8 January 2026.

230 *Mimmā sāqahu sāʾiqu al-taqdīr*
ilā silk malak al-faqīr
Ḥasan al-ḥaqīr ʿafā Allāh subḥānahu wa-taʿālā
bi-mannihi wa-yumnīhi.

231 *Mimmā sāqahu sāʾiqu al-taqdīr*
ilā silk malak al-faqīr
Ḥasan al-ḥaqīr ʿafā Allāh subḥānahu wa-taʿālā
ʿanhu bi-mannihi wa-yumnīhi āmīn.

232 *Mimmā sāqahu sāʾiqu al-taqdīr ilā silk malak al-faqīr*
Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-ḥaqīr ʿafā ʿanhu al-Malik al-Qadīr.

died in 1558 and was a chief judge in Damascus.[233] Additionally, on its last folio, the manuscript bears a chronogram in Ottoman Turkish.[234] This chronogram supports the dating, since it reports the birth of a girl in 1552 (Jumada al-awwal, 959 AH).[235]

Given the diversity of the manuscripts we have just seen, in terms of both dates and contexts of production, as well as the differences in content of the contained text versions that have already been hinted at, we might well wonder what binds these different versions into one tradition. In the following section, I will break the textual characteristics of each text version down into six building blocks in order to allow for a comparison of shared—and differing—material. Such a comparison will allow me to establish that these text versions are indeed representative of the same textual tradition, and what elements might have been included in the earliest version.

Building blocks

In order to facilitate comparison between the text versions, I have identified six building blocks that structure the text as it appears in the nineteen manuscripts. Most building blocks appear in each text version, but, for instance, the introduction is missing in a few of them (and accordingly the paragraph on the Christian year as well, since that is part of the introduction). The text can be roughly divided into an introduction (which comprises around 15%–20% of the text) and the calendar part (around 80%–85% of the text). The six building blocks are:

- titles and rubrics;
- introduction to the calendar;
- paragraph on the Christian year;
- prologues and epilogues for each month;
- daily entries in each month;
- references to Córdoba.

These building blocks are a useful tool for assessing three separate questions: 1) whether we can speak of one textual tradition, based on shared features, 2) the extent to which the text

233 I am grateful to Konrad Hirschler and Boris Liebrenz for referring me to the *Biblioteca Arabica* and particularly the database with manuscript notes.

234 Paris, BnF Arabe 2521, fol. 160r. Georges Vajda identified on the backside of the last folio the date 1552. With the kind help of Osman Ciner (University of Amsterdam) I was able to read the Ottoman note: "In this year, in the month of Jumada al-awwal, on the fourth day, Thursday, after the afternoon, before the Sun sets, for example, between the time of the afternoon (*'aṣr*) and the time of the setting of the Sun (*ghurūb*) and the last half [or] perhaps the last third [of these times] is the time of birth (*walādā*)." Vajda, 'Notices de Manuscrits Arabes', 57. Last visited 8 January 2026.

235 There is another feature of the manuscript that may support the above-mentioned dating. Watermarks of bull's heads are clearly visible on fol. 150, 151, 152, 158 and 160. Despite the abundance of reference material – of bull's heads in particular – in Briquet, Piccard and Velkov, I have not found the exact same watermark. However, the bull's head of MS 37/1565 in Velkov, found in another Ottoman manuscript from Istanbul of the year 1565, comes close. This correspondence could therefore provide an indication for the possible dating of paper production, despite the fact the dimensions of the watermark differ. Asparukh Velkov, *Les Filigranes dans les Documents Ottomans: Divers Types d'Images* (Akadémie des Sciences de Bulgarie, Institut d'Études Balkaniques, 2005), 31 and 406.

versions are related to each other and 3) how similar or distinct the textual tradition is from other calendrical texts. It is first of all significant that almost all these building blocks appear in all text versions, suggesting indeed that these belong to one textual tradition. Nevertheless, these components may vary in their form and content. For instance, the introduction in KA includes passages of poetry in its introduction, whereas in P2521, it does not. Such a comparison also becomes useful in distinguishing the CCT text versions from other (Andalusi) calendrical texts, which sometimes borrow from or show overlap with texts, such as the *Kitāb al anwāʾ wa-l-azmina* (*Book of Anwāʾ and the Seasons*) by Ibn ʿĀṣim (d. 1013),[236] the *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* by Ibn al-Bannāʾ,[237] the *Mustawʿib al-kāfī* by al-Umawī al-Qurṭubī,[238] the anonymous fifteenth-century "calendar of Granada,"[239] the "brief agricultural calendar,"[240] or the "Tunisian calendar."[241] In my survey I have concluded that these texts do not substantially overlap with regard to the building blocks, and can therefore not be considered part of CCT.[242] It will turn out that there are some features unique to the textual tradition analyzed in this chapter, that sets it apart from other (Andalusi) calendrical sources. As a result of this analysis, we can therefore reach the conclusion that all selected text versions belong to CCT, despite the textual differences among them.

In the following section, I will go through each building block separately and show how and to what extent they appear in each text version. The way and extent to which a building block is represented in a text version is captured in tables. Later in this chapter, I will group text versions on the basis of the building blocks that overlap between them, as has become visible in the tables. In the concluding section I will come to a final division into textual branches that have the most textual elements in common, thereby producing a taxonomy of the extant and hitherto identified material.

It is possible that new manuscripts will be identified in the future. My taxonomy should therefore be seen as an attempt to show the connections between the text versions identified so far. The

236 Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina*.

237 Ibn Bannāʾ, *Le Calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâ' de Marrakech (1256–1321 J.C.)*, ed. H. P. J. Rénaud (Larose Éditeurs, 1948).

238 Forcada, 'Books of anwāʾ', 321–22.

239 José Vázquez Ruiz, 'Un Calendario Anónimo Granadino del Siglo XV', *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos* 9–10 (1962 1961): 23–64.

240 Expiración García Sánchez and Julia María Carabaza Bravo, 'Un Breve Calendario de Origen Andalusí', *Revista de Filología de la Universidad de la Laguna* 17 (1999): 233–44.

241 Julio Samsó Moya, 'Un Calendrier Tunisien d'origine Andalouse?- Du XIXe Siècle', *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 26 (1978): 67–84.

242 While it is clear that, for instance, the *Kitāb al anwāʾ wa-l-azmina* of Ibn ʿĀṣim, in which ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd is explicitly cited, is largely different in content and set-up from versions of *CCT* presented here, it is less clear, for instance, in the case of the "brief agricultural calendar." I studied the manuscript of the "brief agricultural calendar" in Rabat, Morocco (Rabat, Bibliothèque Nationale du Royaume du Maroc, MS D1410). According to Carabaza Bravo and García Sánchez, the text of the "brief agricultural calendar" borrows a large part of its text from CCA/CCL as well as having similarities with Risala. And yet, I have not included this calendar in the source corpus for several reasons. The calendar is very short (5 folios) and focuses on agricultural material. The agricultural focus is also indicated by the fact that the calendar begins with the month September, the beginning of the agricultural year. Only two religious feasts are included: a feast for Rufina and *ʿanṣara*. García Sánchez and Carabaza Bravo, 'Un Breve Calendario', 236–38 and 240–41.

fact that I was able to discover new manuscripts, however, gives reason to assume that there are still more copies available. While it is wonderful that manuscripts can often be consulted digitally, it also makes the many more manuscripts in libraries that cannot be found digitally less visible. Some library catalogue entries are incomplete or inaccurate, and therefore require a visit from the researcher. Other libraries do not have digitalized cataloguing systems at all, which makes it difficult to search through their collection remotely. Varisco states that of unstudied Arabic almanacs "hundreds of manuscripts exist, perhaps well over a thousand."[243] It is easy to imagine that among these manuscripts there could be more witnesses to the *Cordoban Calendar*. The hope is that this examination will provide a much-needed set of criteria that can serve in the identification of new text versions of CCT, and their proper cataloguing for scholars to use in future research.

1. Titles and rubrics

The first component worth examining is the title of the text. With title I mean not a separate rubric that preceded the text, but the title that is mentioned within the text itself (whether somewhere at the beginning or elsewhere) and which refers to its content. In medieval Arabic books a title was often incorporated into the preface of the work, but in the CCT manuscripts this is only the case with regard to CCL and Balad.2918.[244] The title *Cordoban Calendar*, as said before, is a modern title given to the text by Dozy.[245] The title *Cordoban Calendar* does not appear in any of the manuscripts, neither does the word *taqwīm* (calendar).[246] Instead, the manuscripts preserve designations and references to the text that can be regarded as titles, most notably *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* and *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān*. These titles are found in different places, for instance, on the front page (KA), on a separate folio by a different hand (T4624) or at the end of the text (CCA, K155 & D2197).

Besides the title of the entire work, we also find two rubrics in the introduction that describe the content of the paragraph that follows (here called rubric 1 and rubric 2 respectively). Rubrics are always marked, either by calligraphy (Risala, figure 6), a different color of ink (P2521 and KA, figure 7 & 9) or majuscules (Reg.lat.596, figure 8) and are integrated into the rest of the text (i.e., are not separated out from it). Rubric 1 reads: "This book (*kitāb*) / chapter (*faṣl*) mentions the knowledge of the division of the year, its seasons, its months and its number of days, the course of the Sun in its zodiac signs and its mansions, etc." and rubric 2 reads: "Description (*descriptio*) / Mention (*dhikr*) of the seasons of the year, dates, numbers of the days, doctrines of scholars in their division and determination." The rubrics split the introduction into two distinct sections. Some versions omit the first rubric (and subsequent paragraph), and start directly with the second rubric.

243 Varisco, *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science*, 7.
244 Adam Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers* (Brill, 2009), 37.
245 Dozy, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'Année 961*.
246 Except for "Kalendarium Perpetuum" in the Latin manuscript of Reg.lat.596.



Figure 6. Risala, p. 1, no foliation).

Rubric 1: "This book mentions the division of the year, its seasons, its months and its number of days, the course of the Sun in its zodiac signs." (in calligraphy with red and blue ink)

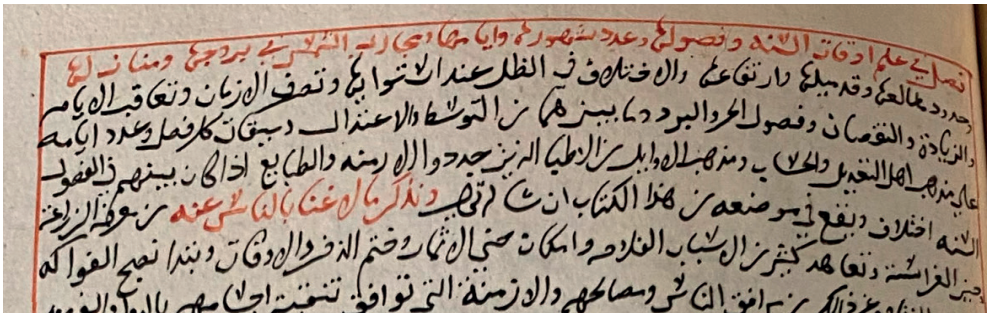


Figure 7. P2521, fol. 129r.

Rubric 1: "Chapter on the knowledge of the division of the year, its seasons, its months and its number of days, the course of the Sun in its zodiac signs and its mansions, etc." (in red ink)

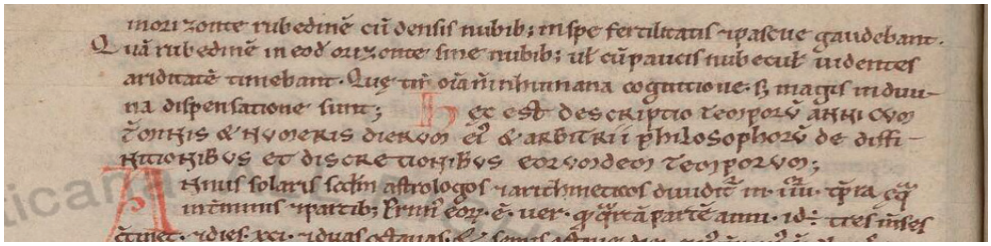


Figure 8. Reg.Lat.596, fol. 36v.

Rubric 2: "Description of the seasons of the year, dates, numbers of the days, doctrines of scholars in their division and determination." (in majuscules and starting with red ink)

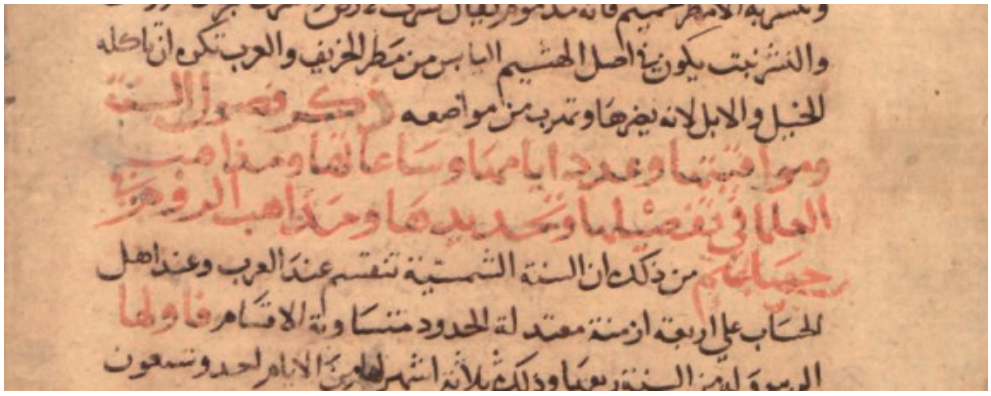


Figure 9. KA, p. 7 (no foliation).

Rubric 2: "Mention of the seasons of the year, dates, numbers of the days, doctrines of scholars in their division and determination." (in red ink and larger script)

Table 2. (Place of) titles and rubrics in text versions or manuscripts of CCT.

Siglum	The place of the title within the text version / MS				Rubrics	
	Kitāb al-anwāʾ	*Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān*	*Liber Regius*	*Kalendarium Perpetuum*	Rubric 1	Rubric 2
CCA		Explicit			✓	✓
Risala					✓	✓
K155 & D2197	Explicit				✓	✓
P2521					✓	✓
KA	Front page				✓	✓
Balad.2918		Incipit and explicit				✓
D18945					✓	✓
T4624		Separate folio			✓	✓
Sbihi 163/9					✓	✓
Vat.ar.258						✓
KH10354						
CCL	Incipit				✓	✓
Vic167			Incipit		✓	✓
BN6036			Explicit			✓
ÖNB2462					✓	✓
PA45					✓	✓
Reg.lat.596				Above text	✓	✓
Lat.qu.198						

Table 2 shows which text versions bear titles and rubrics and the place of these elements in the text or in the manuscript. As for the titles, CCL, KA and K155 & D2197 bear the title *Book of anwāʾ* in the incipit, on a front page and in the explicit, respectively. Three versions, CCA, Balad.2918 and T4624, bear the title *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān*: CCA in the explicit, Balad.2918 in the incipit and explicit of the text and T4624 on a separate folio before the text begins. It is possible that the title *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* was added in Balad.2918 at the beginning because it has a summarized introduction. Balad.2918 might thus have repeated the title in the incipit as a replacement for the first part of the introduction that is omitted. As described above, Forcada suggests that these two titles correspond to two different versions of the text compiled by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd: the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* (KA) and its abridged version *Tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* (CCA/CCL).[247] After the survey presented here, including the newly found manuscripts, this argument can no longer be sustained, since both titles appear in versions that are otherwise very similar to each other. For instance, CCA and CCL, which are very similar

247 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 248.

in text and structure, bear different titles. Further, T4624 and KA, which correspond on a textual and structural level, refer to different titles as well. Notably, the title *Tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* is mentioned in Balad.2918, whereas Balad.2918 is considered a summarized version of KA, which bears in turn the title *Kitāb al-anwāʾ*.[248] Due to the widespread appearance of both titles across the tradition, I think it is more likely that the text of the *Cordoban Calendar* (whether or not extant in an extensive and an abridged version from the beginning) was known amongst copyists and users under both titles.

If only to add to the complexity of the question, it is worth examining the two different Latin translations of the titles. Only CCL bears the title *Liber Anoe* (*Book of anwāʾ*). Vic167, BN6036, PA45, ÖNB2462, Reg.lat.596 and Lat.qu.198 do not bear this title. This might indicate that the title was not integrated into the original text but was instead mentioned separate from the text or on the front page of an exemplar and could thus easily be left out from the translation used for these copies. The translator of CCL may have wanted to mention the title *Liber Anoe* and therefore created a short preface for this purpose. This makes it more plausible that this preface, which is not shared with any other version, was not part of the original text.[249] It is possible that the translator behind Vic167, BN6036, PA45, ÖNB2462, Reg.lat.596 and Lat.qu.198 did not know the meaning of *anwāʾ*, or was not very interested in that element of the text, and left out the title for that reason. An argument for this scenario is that *anwāʾ* is translated in Vic167 and Lat.qu.198 as *nubibus* (clouds), which is not an accurate translation. Some of the Latin versions introduce the titles *Liber Regius* (Vic167 and BN6036) and *Kalendarium Perpetuum* (Reg.lat.596). These titles seem to be the invention of a Latin translator or copyist because none of the Arabic manuscripts bears a similar title.

Comparing the titles that appear in the different versions does not lead to conclusive connections between text versions or the textual division into groups, because the evidence does not reveal a pattern. The most likely explanation for the moment is that the text was known under both titles. As for the rubrics, I was able to distinguish the following groups of versions based on overlap in the use of rubrics.

- CCA, Risala, P2521, K155 & D2197, CCL, Vic167, ÖNB2462, PA45 and Reg.lat.596 begin with rubric 1: "this book/chapter mentions the division of the year, its seasons, its months and its number of days, the course of the Sun in its zodiac signs."
- In KA, D18945, T4624 and Sbihi 163/9 contain rubric 1, which is introduced after a paragraph with a set of religious invocations only found in these versions.

248 Alkuwaifi Khazʿal, 'El Kitāb al Anwā' [Spanish version]', 8.

249 *Liber anoe hic incipit. In hoc libro est rememoratio anni, et horarum eius, et reditionum anoe in horis suis, et temporis plantationum, et modorum agriculturarum, et rectificationum temporum, et repositionum fructuum. Harib filii Zeid episcopi quem composuit Mustansir imperatori.*

- Balad.2819, Vat.ar.258 and BN6036 begin with rubric 2: "Chapter on the seasons of the year, dates, number of the days, etc." These versions omit rubric 1 and its corresponding paragraph.
- KH10354 and Lat.qu.198 do not have an introduction and thus omit rubric 1 and 2 and their corresponding paragraphs entirely.

2. Introduction to the calendar

> This book is created to recall the periods and the seasons of the year, the number of its months and days, and the course of the Sun through the signs of the zodiac and the mansions, the limits of its times of rising and the measure of its declination and elevation, the varying size of its shadow at the meridian and the periodicity of time and the succession of days in the waxing and waning of their length and the cold and hot seasons and the temperate seasons which separate them and the appointed date of each season and the number of its days according to the doctrine of the men of setting straight and computation and the doctrine of the first physicians who determined the seasons and their characteristics, for there were disagreements between them on this subject which will be pointed out in their place in this book, if God so wishes.[250]

In most versions that preserve an introduction, this sentence appears at its beginning. One of the unique features of CCT compared to other Arabic almanacs is the extensive introduction that precedes the calendar itself.[251] Textual variants of this sentence are found on the word level, such as *faṣl* (chapter) versus *kitāb* (book), or *juʿila mudhakkiran* (is created to recall) versus *yudhakkiru* (reports), yet by and large the content and even wording of this introductory sentence is the same in the different text versions. This considerable overlap between versions is found with regard to other paragraphs in the introduction as well. However, there are a few paragraphs that are not contained in all versions (for instance, the religious invocations that are exclusive to KA, D18945, T4624 and Sbihi 163/9). Table 3 presents the paragraphs attested in the introduction and shows how the text versions preserve different selections of them.

250 Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 3; translation by Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 121.

251 Only the *Kitāb al-azmina* by Ibn Māsawayh contains an introduction as well, but that one is much shorter than *CCT*. See Chapter 2, The *Kitāb al-azmina* by Ibn Māsawayh (ca. 776–857). Gérard Troupeau, 'Le Livre des Temps de Jean Ibn Masawayh', *Arabica: Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 15 (1968): 113–42; Paul Sbath, 'Kitāb al-azmina: Le Livre des Temps d'Ibn Massawaïh, Médecin Chrétien Célèbre Décédé en 857', *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 15 (1932): 235–57.

Table 3. Paragraphs in the introduction in text versions of CCT.

Siglum	Paragraphs in the introduction							
	Religious invocations	Presentation of the content of the calendar	Agriculture and medicine	Anwāʾ	Division of Seasons	Solar and lunar year	Poetry / proverbs	Christian year
		Part of rubric 1			**Part of rubric 2**			
CCA		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Risala		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
K155 & D2197		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
P2521		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
KA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Balad.2918					✓	✓		✓
D18945	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T4624	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sbihi 163/9	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Vat.ar.258					✓	✓	✓	✓
KH10354								
CCL		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Vic167		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
BN6036					✓	✓		✓
ÖNB2462		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
PA45		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Reg.lat.596		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Lat.qu.198								

Table 3 shows the composition of the introductions of the CCT versions. The paragraph about *anwāʾ*, for instance, explains the *madhāhib al-ʿarab* (theories of the Arabs) with regard to *anwāʾ*, i.e., how the periods of *anwāʾ* relate to the rising and setting of asterisms, to periods of rain and to the lunar mansions. To illustrate and explain these theories, the text provides some Bedouin verses and a verse from the Qurʾan. The paragraph about *anwāʾ* is found in fourteen versions, and missing from a further five. Of these fourteen, the qurʾanic verse is only found in the Arabic versions (except for Balad.2918, Vat.ar.258, KH10354), and is omitted in the Latin ones (more will be discussed with regard to the qurʾanic verse in Chapter 4).

Leaving aside Lat.qu.198 and KH10354 which have no introduction, what stands out in table 3 are distinguishable groupings of versions based on overlap in the composition of their introduction:

- Introduction with: presentation of the content of the calendar, agriculture and medicine, *anwāʾ*, division of the seasons, solar and lunar year, Christian year: CCA, Risala, P2521, K155 & D2197, CCL, Vic167, ÖNB2462, PA45 and Reg.lat.596. BN6036 only has part of this content, since it begins with rubric 2. Apart from that, BN6036 is most similar to this group of text versions.
- Introduction with: presentation of the content of the calendar, agriculture and medicine, *anwāʾ*, division of the seasons, solar and lunar year, Christian year, and religious invocations and/or poetry/rhymed proverbs: KA, D18945, T4624 and Sbihi 163/9. Vat. ar.258 begins with the second rubric and does not contain religious invocations. Apart from that, it is most similar to KA, D18945, T4624 and Sbihi 163/9 because of the inclusion of passages of poetry/rhymed proverbs, which is why it is reasonable to consider Vat. ar.258 part of this group.
- Shortened and fragmented introduction: division of the seasons, solar and lunar year and Christian year: Balad.2918. All paragraphs present in this version are significantly shorter than in others.

The table shows that all Latin versions, except for Lat.qu.198 (due to the absence of an introduction) fall into the first group. As to BN6036, which begins with rubric 2, Martínez Gázquez argues that BN6036's copyist might have regarded the beginning of the introduction to be redundant.[252] The same could have been the case for Vat.ar.258 and Balad.2918, since it is more likely that their copyists shortened the introduction than that all the other text versions, including the two independent Latin translations, extended the text. The fact that Balad.2918 begins with rubric 2 may also be explained by Balad.2918's general brevity. It remains curious that BN6036, which was likely copied from Vic167, begins at the same place in the text as Vat. ar.258. This is despite the presence of a paragraph on poetry in Vat.ar.258, which is absent in BN6036. The similarity between the BN6036 and Vat.ar.258 therefore seems rather coincidental

252 Martínez Gázquez, 'Un Nuevo Manuscrito', 292.

than meaningful. We can already note that the groups of text versions identified on the basis of the introduction line up well with the groups established on the basis of the first building block.

3. Paragraph on the Christian year

All the text versions that contain an introduction have a paragraph that introduces the "Christian year," i.e., the Julian year. This paragraph on the Christian year sets up the calendar included in the rest of the text and acquaints the reader with what type of calendar it is, i.e., how many months and days it has, the month with which it starts, the era to which it belongs, etc. In this paragraph, the term *ʿajam* and *naṣārā* are introduced for the first time. As will be established in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, the term *ʿajam* refers to Christians with a specific link to Iberia and *naṣārā* refers to Christians more generally. In table 4 below, the paragraph on the Christian year is broken down into sentences, which I have numbered 1–8. Two groups of text versions can be distinguished based on the paragraph concerning the Christian year. The content of this paragraph in both groups of text versions is broadly similar; however, there are some important differences in emphasis, particularly with regard to the scientific structuring of the Christian year (as compared with other calendars) and, respectively, the liturgical content of the Christian year, that is, the cycle of Christian feasts. Moreover, the information they share does not appear in the same order: i.e., a discussion of the Spanish era (system of time reckoning unique to the Iberian Peninsula), mention of the beginning of the year in the Western Christian tradition (1 January, the feast of the Circumcision), the beginning of the year in the Syriac tradition, the length of the year, what information the text contains under each month, and a discussion of the dating of Easter.

The Latin versions (Vic167, BN6036, ÖNB2462, PA45, Reg.lat.596) of the Catalonian translation have a different type of passage on the Christian year and are therefore left out of table 4.[253] In these versions, the paragraph on the Christian year is briefer. These versions read that "regarding the Christian religion, we have described the feasts of the saints on the days of each month, under whose rule they suffered and where they were buried." This group of text versions narrates further that the feast of the Circumcision (on 1 January, the beginning of the New Year) is the moment "in which Jesus was manifested."[254] The introduction notes that the earliest and latest possible dates for Easter will be listed in the calendar section, where they indeed appear on 22 March and 18 April. In general, however, the paragraph on the Christian year in this group is much shorter than in other text versions and does not contain a general explanation of the

253 Except Lat.198, which lacks the introduction.

254 The Latin text in CCL reads: *Set prius dicendum est quod Romani cuncta tempora sua per eram inscribunt, exordium anni in kalendis ianuarii ponentes. Christiani uero precipue quod in ipso celebrator Domini circuncisio et in illo Ihesus manifestari cepit. Egiptii autem omnia sua inscribunt per regnum Alexandri, initium anni in kalendas octobris locantes. Nos etiam pro religione christiana sanctorum festa descripsimus per singulorum mensium dies sub cuius imperio passi uel quo sepulti. Inferiorem quoque et superiorem Pasche terminum notauimus, unicuique uero diei singulorum mensium quid singillatim congrueret assignauimus, in prinicipo ac fine mensis quid cuique generaliter conueniat insinuauimus, que sicut scilicet in diuersis ipsius mensis horis necessaria sunt. Quod non nostro set Dei confisi auxilio agree aggressi sumus.*

Christian year, nor does it discuss Lent, nor that Easter has to fall on a Sunday, etc. It seems that the translator was not acquainted with the different eras, since he refers to the Egyptians as the ones using the Alexandrian era and the "Romans" as using the Spanish era, instead of the Syrians and the Iberian Christians as the versions in group 1 and 2 in table 4 do.[255]

Table 4. The two groups of text versions containing different versions of the paragraph on the Christian year. The Latin versions of the Catalonian translation are left out, since their paragraph on the Christian year must have been significantly altered in the course of the translation.

	Group 1: KA, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258	**Group 2: CCA, Risala, K155 & D2197, P2521 and CCL**
1		Then we will mention the *ʿajamī* months and the zodiac signs and lunar mansions that occur in them and how many days each month has, its place in the seasons, its nature and what is recommended to do during that month and what not, together with all the information and dates that every man should know with regard to the wellbeing, for his body and alimentation. (corresponds to row 5 in group 1)
2	The first [month] of the *ʿajamī* year of the *ʿajam* is January and they reckon time according to the *taʾrīkh al-ṣufr* (Spanish era).	The first [month] of the year of the *ʿajam* is January and they reckon time according to the *taʾrīkh al-ṣufr* (Spanish era). The first month of the year of the Syrians is *Tishrīn al-awwal* and they reckon time according to the Alexandrian era. (last sentence corresponds to row 4 in group 1)
3	Indeed, the *naṣārā* made [the month January] the first of their era, because it is the seventh day after Christ's birth, peace be upon him, as they say, and it was the day of his circumcision.	Indeed, the *naṣārā* made [the month January] the first of their era, because it is the seventh day after Christ's birth, peace be upon him, as they say, and it was the day of his circumcision.

255 The Latin translation does not make this era explicit. Martínez Gázquez and Samsó, *Una Nueva Traducción Latina*, 23 (footnote 39).

4	The first month of the year of the Syrians is *Tishrīn al-awwal* and they use the Era of Alexander, son of Philip, King of the Greeks. *Tishrīn al-awwal* begins on Wednesday, 1 Muharram 363 AH.[256] 1284 complete years have passed in the Era of Alexander. Every *Tishrīn al-awwal*, another year is added to the Alexandrian Era. The Syrian year has 365 and ¼ days. The *ʿajamī* year has 365 and ¼ days and they use the Spanish era. This calendar begins on Wednesday, 23 Rabiʿ al-awwal 362 AH of the Prophet, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace. 1020 complete years have passed in the Spanish era. The *taʾrīkh al-Masīḥ* (Era of Christ), peace be upon him, has reached 973. Every January, another year is added to the Spanish era, as well as to the *taʾrīkh al-Masīḥ*.
5	These are the *ʿajamī* months, and the length of their days, and their corresponding indications, zodiac signs, lunar mansions, the hours of the month and their divisions, and their *anwāʾ*, the rising and setting of stars, what is recommended to do during that month and what not, and what the Arabs said about that in rhymed prose, a description of the stars and an explication of their names, and the differences in their setting and rising, together with all the information and dates that every man should know with regard to the wellbeing, for his body, alimentation, agriculture and other things that relate to wellbeing. (corresponds to row 1 in group 2)

256 Anno Hegirae. This refers to the Islamic, or "Hijri" era, beginning 622 CE.

6	I have gathered for every day of the month everything that is related to that day, and connected to them what I have gathered, and I have indicated them at their date, so that it will be easy to find them in their place. I have added, at the beginning and at the end of each month, what could not be assigned to one given day, nor take their place in the table, because they concern facts which occur at variable dates in the month. By God, exalted be he, whose help I seek, and in whom we take refuge from error, he alone is enough for he is the best protector. God bless our Lord Muhammad and save him. (corresponds to row 8 in group 2)	
7		I have mentioned in this book all the feasts of the *ʿajam* (of which the dates and moments in the year do not change and I have mentioned them feast by feast in every month of the months),[257] so that this could be an increase in knowledge and help to understand them. The *ʿajam* have the feast of Easter, which they call *the Resurrection of Christ* and it is preceded by their fast (and some of their feasts and Easter change their dates in the year. They are not fixed to one date. And their dates depend on the date of Easter).[258] The first possible date for Easter is 22 March and it cannot be any day earlier, and the last possible date for Easter is 24 April and it cannot be any day later. Their fast always begins 42 days before Easter. The breaking of the fast is Easter and it is their biggest feast and it has to fall on a Sunday.
8		I have drawn up tables for the months of the year, containing the numbers of the days on which events occurred, and I have indicated them at their date, so that it will be easy to find them in their place. I have added, at the beginning and at the end of each month, what could not be assigned to one given day, nor take their place in the table, because they concern facts which occur at variable dates in the month. May God grant me help and guiding, if God wills it. (corresponds to row 6 in group 1)

257 The text between brackets is not in CCA.
258 The text between brackets is not in CCA.

As can be observed in table 4, the two versions of the paragraph on the Christian year allow us to divide the text versions roughly into two groups: KA, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9 and Vat.ar.258 on the one hand and CCA, Risala, K155 & D2197, P2521 and CCL on the other. These paragraphs differ in various aspects, specifically to do with their treatment of the conversion of eras, on the one hand, and Christian practice, on the other. Group 1 approaches the year more from a scientific point of view, showing special concern with the conversion of the eras, whereas the second group highlights aspects of Christian practice throughout the year and announces the Christian feasts that will be mentioned in the calendar part. In the conclusion of this dissertation, I will refer to the scientific paragraph of the Christian year when speaking of the group 1, and to the practical paragraph on the Christian year when speaking of group 2.

The scientific and practical paragraphs have important differences, if also some overlaps. Both types of paragraphs mention the *taʾrīkh al-ṣufr* (Spanish era). This era was the common form of time-reckoning on the Iberian Peninsula, beginning 38 BCE.[259] The scientific paragraph elaborates on the Spanish and Alexandrian eras and provides a conversion to the *taʾrīkh al-Masīḥ* (the Era of Christ) and the Hijri era (row 4 in group 1, absent from group 2); it also mentions the year 973.[260] The practical paragraph is less interested in the conversions of the eras and only mentions the Spanish and the Alexandrian eras. Instead, this second group explains details regarding Christian practice that are not in the first group, such as that the calendar "includes all the Christian feasts, so the knowledge about them increases and they serve as guidance" (row 8 in group 2).[261] The second group also has an explanation for the feast of Easter, which discusses its moveability, its relation to Lent (fasting period of 42 days) and its earliest and latest possible dates (22 March and 24 April), as well as the fact that Easter has to fall on a Sunday. It seems that the paragraph on the Christian year as represented in Vic167, BN6036, ÖNB2462, PA45, Reg.lat.596 is based on the practical paragraph of the second group, because of the correspondence in announcing the Christian feasts and some explanation on the feast of Easter. Moreover, both the practical paragraph and the paragraph in Vic167, BN6036, ÖNB2462, PA45, Reg.lat.596 only mention the Alexandrian and the Spanish era, and not the Era of Christ, nor the Hijri era.

259 The first literary evidence comes from Isidore of Seville. Otto Neugebauer, 'On the "Spanish Era"', *Chiron: Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 11 (1981): 375.

260 The year that is mentioned and being converted (973 in the Common era) is understood by Forcada as the actual year of the production of the text (as opposed to 961 which was hitherto suggested as the date of the production of the text). Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 237.

261 Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 21.

Table 5. Sections in the paragraph on the Christian year in the CCT versions.

Siglum	Sections in the paragraph on the Christian year					
	General explanation on *ʿajamī* year and months[262]	The Spanish and the Alexandrian era[263]	First day of the *ʿajamī* year is the day of Jesus's circumcision [264]	Conversion between eras[265]	Organisation of the calendar[266]	*ʿajamī* feasts to increase knowledge and serve as guidance and explanation Easter[267]
CCA	✓		✓		✓	✓
Risala	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
K155 & D2197	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
P2521	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
KA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Balad.2918		✓				
D18945	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
T4624	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Sbihi 163/9	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Vat.ar.258	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
KH10354						
CCL	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Vic167		✓	✓		✓	brief
BN6036		✓	✓		✓	brief
ÖNB2462		✓	✓		✓	brief
PA45		✓	✓		✓	brief
Reg.lat.596		✓	✓		✓	brief
Lat.qu.198						

262 As represented in row 1 of column 2 and row 5 of column 1.
263 As represented in row 2 and 4 of column 1 and row 2 of column 2.
264 As represented in row 3 (both columns).
265 As represented in row 4 of column 1.
266 As represented in row 6 of column 1 and row 8 of column 2.
267 As represented in row 7 of column 2.

Table 5 provides an overview of the different textual elements that appear in the paragraph on the Christian year, which are linked to the sentences in table 4. Table 5 confirms what was already shown by table 4, with the addition that we see how the Latin versions of the Catalonian translation relate to the two other versions of the introduction. Of the Latin versions, only CCL coincides with the practical paragraph on the Christian year. Although CCL generally follows the pattern of the Arabic versions with the practical paragraph on the Christian year (CCA, Risala, P2521, K155 & D2197), it is interesting that it deviates in some details. Instead of 24 April, it has 25 April as the last possible day for Easter, and it mentions 40 days instead of 42 days for the period of Lent. These changes may have been made by the translator or copyist of CCL, because these details are exclusively in CCL.

The observations in this section lead to the following division:

- versions with emphasis on scientific aspects of the Christian year: KA, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9 and Vat.ar.258.
- versions with emphasis on Christian practice: CCA, Risala, K155 & D2197, P2521 and CCL.
- versions with emphasis on Christian practice but with a summarized and slightly altered text: Vic167, BN6036, ÖNB2462, PA45 and Reg.lat.596 (the Catalonian translation).
- KH10354 and Lat.qu.198 lack this paragraph entirely and in Balad.2918 it is reduced to one sentence (on the comparison of eras).[268] In fact, it is very interesting that this specific paragraph is captured in one sentence in Balad.2918, for it supports the thesis that Balad.2918's introduction was abridged from a text corresponding to the text in group 1.

4. Prologue and epilogue to each month

The prologues and epilogues that accompany the entry for each month contain various types of information, which do not always appear in the same order across the versions in the corpus. I have identified several elements that can occur in both prologues and epilogues. As will become clear, the sequence of these elements also plays a significant role in distinguishing between groups of text versions. These elements are described and illustrated with examples in the table below.

268 "The first month of the Christians is January and the Christians made it the beginning of their history, then the first day of it, as they claim, was the seventh day after Christ's birth and the day of his circumcision." Alkuwaifi Khazʿal, 'El Kitāb al Anwā' [Arabic version]', 139.

Table 6. Different types of information in the prologues and epilogues of each month in the CCT versions.

Nr. in table 7	Element	Example
1, 2, 3	Metadata on the month: month names in different calendar traditions, 'sign' of the month,[269] number of days of the month, its zodiac sign, its lunar mansions and its season.	The month of May, in Syriac *Ayyār*, in Coptic *Bashans*, its sign is 2, the number of days 31, zodiac sign Taurus, the lunar mansions 2/3 of *Thurayya*, *al-Dabarān* and 2/3 of *al-Haqʿa*, it is part of the season spring.[270]
4	Humoral theory: each month has a paragraph on the element and humor of that month and recommended behavior for different temperaments, according to humoral theory.	[May's] nature is hot and dry, with moderation. Its element is fire, its dominant humor yellow bile. The best to do in this season in terms of eating, drinking, moving and living is refreshing, moisturizing and cooling down the body. This season is suitable for people with a dry and cold temperament, and for people in an advanced age. It is not suitable for people with a hot and dry temperament and people that are of young age.[271]
5	*Raʿdiyya* (brontology) signifies prognostication based on thunder. The prognoses may refer to the success or failure of crops, the appearance of earthquakes, plagues, epidemics, as well as matters of social and political life, for instance decay, revolts, wars, childbirth, mortality, famine and prices.	If it thunders during the first half of the month, it will be a year in which there will be many diseases, seaquakes and a cruel war that makes everyone return to his country. […] If it thunders during the second half of the month, the sowing will be very good and the prices will become cheaper, with the permission of the One who prevails over all.[272]

269 The "sign" of the month is a numeric value assigned to each month. The function of this "sign" remains obscure, but with the "sign" it is possible to know the "weekday of that month," i.e., the weekday with which that month begins (for this calculation you to add up the "sign" of that month to the "sign" of January). This type of "signs" is found in older mathematical and astronomical works, such as that of al-Khwārizmī (c. 780–c. 850). Samsó Moya, *On Both Sides of the Strait of Gibraltar*; Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 59.

270 Example from Risala, May. Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 82.

271 Example from Risala, May. Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 79.

272 Example from Risala, March. Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 63.

6	Poetry from the astronomer al-Fazārī (d. 777) as well as the author Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. 759), both employed in courtly circles during the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad.	Al-Fazārī said: and after that [the month] *Tishrīn al-thānī* follows, which has in total 30 days, and its sign at any time is four. Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ said: *Tishrīn al-akhir* is a month that comes after *Tishrīn* [*al-awwal*], the luminous solar mansion is Scorpius, the scientists and physicians recommend to eat cooked poultry meat, the days of *Tishrīn al-akhir* in total are 30, in which the sea overflows.[273]
7	Prayer times of the *ẓuhr* (noon prayer) and the *ʿaṣr* (evening prayer). These were calculated by reading the shadow cast of a gnomon (stick of a sundial).	The *ẓuhr* (noon prayer) is said when the shadow reaches eight feet, and the *ʿaṣr* (evening prayer) when the shadow measures thirteen feet.[274]
8	Agriculture, zoology and hunting: what to seed, harvest, pick, hunt or produce in that month.	In this month […] *farīk* is gathered [early wheat, from which premium couscous was made]; olives and grapes begin to take shape; the bees make their honey; the first early fruits: apples, pears, plums, apricots, sweet melons, cherries; preserves are made from nuts, and syrup from pip-less *shaʿbī* apples; poppy seeds are harvested for the making of syrup. The fruit of the sycamore ripens in the Orient. We gather seeds from rue-herb, celery, dill, houseleek, black poppy, mustard, watercress and *ṭarātīt* and extract juice from them; the flowers of the common chamomile are gathered for the making of oil.[275]

273 D18945, November, fol. 31v.
274 Example from Risala, February. Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 56.
275 CCA, May. Translation from . Last visited on 28.01.2025.

9	State administration. These passages inform about some of the practices relating to tax collection, military recruitment, and industries in which the state was involved, especially when it comes to the orders for dyes for embroidery, an industry that, in al-Andalus, was organized in a state-controlled textile production neighborhood (see *References to Córdoba*).	Buying, grazing, and giving birth of the new horses. (Epilogue Jan, 16 Feb, 15 Mar) Letters are being sent to recruit troops for the summer months. (Epilogue Feb) Letters are being sent to officials to buy horses for the (governmental) lands. (Epilogue Mar) Letters are being sent to order kermes, silk and fuller's earth for the *ṭirāz* (embroidery). (Epilogue May) Letters are being sent to officials to collect deer antlers for bows. (Epilogue Jun) The crops are threshed in the fields, and those in charge of the barns begin to collect the tithes. (Epilogue Jun) All the grapes ripen and the harvest is assessed [= taxed] on the spot. (Epilogue Jul) Letters are being sent to order silk and sky-blue pigment for the *ṭirāz*. (Epilogue Aug) Letters are being sent to buy madder red. (Epilogue Sep) The olive harvest is assessed [= taxed] and the picking begins. (Epilogue Oct)[276]

Table 6 provides examples of the different elements that appear in prologues and epilogues to each month. The following table provides an overview of the inclusion of these elements per text version.

276 Examples from CCA. In KA, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, Vat.ar.258 and Balad.2918 there are other examples or variations. For instance, in the epilogue of January, on 18 February and in the epilogue of October: "orders are sent out to workers to check the alimentation of horses with early grain," "orders are issued to the inspectors for the return of the horses from their grazing grounds" and "they prepare zircon and verdigris."

Table 7. The presence of different elements in the monthly prologues and epilogues per text version.

	Prologue							**Epilogue**	
Elements in the prologues and epilogues →	1) Name of the month in different calendars	2) 'Sign' of the month	3) Number of days of the month, season, zodiac sign	4) Humoral recommendations	5) Brontology	6) Poetry	7) Prayer times	8) Agriculture, zoology, hunting	9) Administration of the state
Siglum↓									
CCA	✓		✓	✓				✓	✓
Risala	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
K155 & D2197	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
P2521	✓		✓	✓	✓			✓	
KA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Balad.2918	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
D18945	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
T4624	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Sbihi 163/9	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Vat.ar.258	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
KH10354	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
CCL	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓
Vic167		✓	✓	✓				✓	
BN6036		✓	✓	✓				✓	
ÖNB2462		✓	✓	✓				✓	
PA45		✓	✓	✓				✓	
Reg.lat.596		✓	✓	✓				✓	
Lat.qu.198		✓	✓	✓				✓	

Table 7 displays the elements available in the prologues and epilogues in CCT. There is some variation across text versions regarding which elements are present as well as to the order in which they occur (whether in the prologues or epilogues). Table 7 allows us to distinguish between groups of texts that correspond more closely to each other in terms of elements and textual structure:

- CCA and CCL are very similar to each other in their prologues and epilogues, with the only exception that CCL mentions signs of the months, whereas CCA does not. They mention the humoral recommendations in the prologue and do not contain passages on brontology. Similar in structure to CCA and CCL are the Latin versions of the Catalonian translation (Vic167, BN6036, PA45, ÖNB2462 and Reg.lat.596). However, in Vic167, BN6036, PA45, ÖNB2462 and Reg.lat.596 only Julian months are mentioned (the Arabic calendars, as well as CCL, mention also the name of corresponding months in the Syriac and Coptic calendars). The Catalonian translator may not have regarded the conversions relevant and omitted them. These copies, furthermore, lack any reference to administrative organization.
- KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258 and KH10354 all contain the same textual elements (except for the absence of poetry in Balad.2918 and the absence of administration of the state in KH10354, probably as a result of their general brevity). A significant element that KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258 and KH10354 have in common is that humoral recommendations are found in the epilogue, as opposed to the other versions which include this element in the prologue. Another correspondence within this group is the different information related to state administration, i.e., different from CCA, Risala, K155 & D2197 and CCL. All of these aspects indicate a strong connection between the text versions in this group.
- Risala, K155 & D2197 and P2521 are difficult to allocate to any of the aforementioned groups. Risala, K155 & D2197 and P2521 include brontology, which they have in common with KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258 and KH10354. However, Risala, K155 & D2197 and P2521 do not include humoral recommendations in the epilogue, as KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258 and KH10354 do. Since this is such a distinctive feature of KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, we should consider Risala, K155 & D2197 and P2521 to belong to a different group. Risala and K155 & D2197 are the only versions to mention prayer times. P2521 is unique in the way that it has the passage on agriculture, zoology and hunting in the prologue, and not, as is the case in all other versions, in the epilogue. It is thus the case that Risala, K155 & D2197 and P2521 have aspects in common with KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258 and Balad.2918 in the sense that they include brontology, but they differ from these versions, because they do not include poetry and have the humoral recommendations in the prologue, two features that they share with CCA and CCL.

As shown above, roughly three groups of text versions can be identified on the basis of the textual material linked to the entries for each month. This tripartite division has become increasingly clear over the chapter, and as we will see in the discussion below, these three groups form the basis for the branches in the taxonomy of the text versions. This building block of prologues and epilogues demonstrates that textual organization can also serve as a useful indicator of similarity between versions. The fact that KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, and KH10354 include the humoral recommendations in the epilogue—rather than in the prologues, as is the case with all other versions—provides strong evidence that these versions are closely connected within the textual transmission. The fact that Risala, K155 & D2197, and P2521 show partial overlap with CCA, CCL, and the Catalonian translation on the one hand, and with KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, and KH10354 on the other, in terms of their prologues and epilogues, ultimately supports the creation of a branch for these versions. Furthermore, the significant differences between Risala and K155 & D2197, on the one hand, and P2521, on the other, as emphasized above, justify assigning them to different subbranches.

5. Daily entries

Each month has, between its prologue and epilogue, a list of all the calendar days of the month. The calendar days contain entries with information that applies to that day of the month. Some of the versions list all days, even those without events, where only the date is recorded with no further information. Other versions only list the days for which there is an entry. I have divided the daily entries into categories (table 8), loosely based on the division established by Forcada for his comparison of CCA with KA.[277] I have added underlined categories to this list by distinguishing among Christian liturgical feasts to include the *feasts of the ʿajam* (what Forcada calls *saints' days according to the Mozarabic tradition of al-Andalus*), as well as *Coptic feasts* and *entries concerning prophets and scriptures* (for what I suppose Forcada refers to as *other Christian feasts*). These categories are the result of my closer analyses of the character of these feasts in Chapter 2 and 3.[278]

277 I adjusted the entries on zodiac signs and on the beginning of the seasons. Whereas Forcada splits those entries up according to the authority to which is referred (for instance: "zodiac signs according to the *mumtaḥan* (examiners)" and "zodiac sings according to the Sindhind"), I use one category. For the "beginning of the seasons" calendars refer to different authorities, such as "the examiners," "Sindhind," "astronomers," "Arabs" or "farmers." For the liturgical material, on which this thesis is focused, I specified the categories "feasts according to the Franco-Roman rite," "Coptic feasts," "Persian feasts," "Jewish feasts," "IHE" and "entries concerning prophets and scriptures." Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 243.

278 Forcada named this category "Saints' days according to the Mozarabic tradition of al-Andalus." Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 243.

Table 8. Types of daily entries in the CCT versions.

Siglum	Types of daily entries													
	Length of day and night	Length of dusk and dawn	Solar meridian and its corresponding shadow length	Zodiac signs	Beginning of the seasons	Feasts of the *ʿajam*	Feast according to the Franco-Roman rite	Coptic feasts	Persian feasts	Jewish feasts	IHE	Entries concerning prophets and scriptures	*Anwāʾ* materials	Other events (related to agriculture, climate, *dies nefasti*,[279] navigation, habits)
CCA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓				✓	✓	✓
Risala	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
K155 & D2197	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
P2521	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓				✓	✓	✓
KA				✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Balad.2918	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
D18945	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
T4624	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sbihi 163/9	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Vat.ar.258	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
KH10354	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
CCL	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓				✓	✓	✓
Vic167	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓				✓	✓	✓
BN6036	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓				✓	✓	✓
ÖNB2462	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓					✓	✓	✓
PA45	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓					✓	✓	✓
Reg.lat.596	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓					✓	✓	✓
Lat.qu.198	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓						✓	✓

279 Days on which certain (public) activities are forbidden. Given the material in the versions, it may concern specifically the days on which bloodletting should not be conducted.

Table 8 shows the different types of daily entries that are found on calendar days in the month. The table opens up new insights into the level of correspondence between versions in the calendar part of the text. Interestingly, the greatest variation is found among the liturgical entries (underlined in table 8). All the other elements are covered almost equally in the versions. The considerable variation in liturgical content allows for the identification of numerous groups of text versions:

- CCA and CCL contain feasts of the *ʿajam*, traces of entries concerning prophets and scriptures and Coptic feasts.
- P2521 contains the same liturgical categories as CCA and CCL. Further, P2521 contains a set of Eastern Christian feasts and commemorations that are exclusive to this version. P2521 also contains a single entry that I identify as a Jewish feast (see *Jewish feasts* in Chapter 2). However, because this entry concerns Rosh Hashanah rather than Pesach or Purim, as in the other versions, it is not counted here as a point of similarity between P2521 and other versions that include Jewish feasts.
- Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9 and Vat.ar.258 contain feasts of the *ʿajam*, Coptic feasts, Persian feasts, Jewish feasts, IHE and entries concerning prophets and scriptures. Despite the correspondence between the categories of feasts, there is a great amount of variation in individual feasts within this group. For instance, of these versions, T4624, Sbihi 163/9 and D18945 have a further set of saints that I could not identify and with whom the copyist seems to have been unacquainted (see for a further discussion in Chapter 2).
- KH10354 is similar to the group above, but it lacks Persian and Jewish feasts.
- Vic167 and BN6036 include a few entries concerning prophets and scriptures, feasts according to the Franco-Roman rite and Coptic feasts. The entry on 9 March, where there is a Coptic feast in Vic167 (and other versions), is unreadable in BN6036. However, since BN6036 is a copy of Vic167, we may imagine it shares the Coptic feast on 9 March with Vic167.
- ÖNB2462, PA45 and Reg.lat.596 include the same types of liturgical entries with Vic167 and BN6036, except for the Coptic feasts.
- Lat.qu.198 preserves three feasts that are commonly observed across Christian traditions: the Annunciation (25 March), the Assumption of Mary (15 August), and the Beheading of John the Baptist (25 September), and contains none of the liturgical content found in other versions.

As the many groups illustrate, we can observe considerable variation in the types of liturgical information present in the versions. This variation is one of the main reasons why liturgical content will be examined in detail in Chapters 2 and 3. A rough way to categorize the versions—also with a view to the taxonomy being established—with respect to their liturgical content is as

follows: those that include feasts of the ʿ*ajam* and those that follow the Franco-Roman rite. This division clearly highlights the distinction between the two Latin translations. CCL corresponds to the Arabic versions, all of which include ʿ*ajam* feasts, while the remaining Latin versions of the Catalonian translation reflect the Franco-Roman liturgical tradition. Within the first group, a further subdivision can be made: one subgroup includes numerous IHE and entries concerning prophets and scriptures (Risala, K155 & D2197, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, D18945, KA, Balad.2918 and KH10354), while the other does not (CCA, P2521 and CCL).

6. References to Córdoba

Critical to any discussion of the *Cordoban Calendar* is the question of its specifically Cordoban character. The title *Cordoban Calendar* suggests a text marked by distinctly Cordoban features, and it was Dozy who first applied this title to CCA and CCL in 1873.[280] Indeed, both CCA and CCL contain elements that point to Córdoba as the place of origin. As mentioned earlier, these two versions reference Andalusi authors, the Spanish era, feasts of the ʿ*ajam* (Iberian Christians), and details related to Cordoban and Andalusi agriculture and zoology. In this section, I will trace the Cordoban features across the textual tradition. Do all of them establish a clear connection to Córdoba, such that the designation *Cordoban Calendar* is warranted? As we shall see, the text versions differ not only in their inclusion of Cordoban elements but also in how explicitly they link the text to Córdoba. For example, each month's epilogue contains descriptions of agricultural practices from a specific region. In some versions, Córdoba, its surroundings, or the broader region of al-Andalus are explicitly mentioned as the region in question. In others, such explicit references are absent, although the textual connections to versions that do mention Córdoba remain unmistakable.

An obvious place to look for a Cordoban connection is in the astronomical data. This information, i.e., the length of day and night, the length of dusk and dawn, the solar meridian and the corresponding shadow length, would have been specific to a given geographical location, and can therefore indicate where the text was composed. Such details have been studied in CCA and CCL.[281] Some of these values, such as length of day and night, correspond to the Cordoban latitude as it was determined by scholars in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[282] However, other values, such as the duration of dawn and dusk do not apply to Córdoba, and seem to have been calculated according to an Indian formula.[283] With regard to the astronomical data, I was able to check whether data in the text versions corresponds to the data in CCA. Risala, K155 & D2197, P2521, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9 and Vat.ar.258 correspond to CCA in values regarding length

280 Dozy, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'Année 961*.
281 Julio Samsó, *Las Ciencias de los Antiguos en al-Andalus* (Fundación Ibn Tufayl de Estudios Árabes, 2011), 73–74.
282 Julio Samsó, 'Sobre los Materiales Astronómicos en el Calendario de Córdoba y en su Versión Latina del Siglo XIII', in *Nuevos Estudios sobre Astronomía Española en el Siglo de Alfonso X*, ed. Juan Vernet (Instituto de Filología, Institución 'Milá y Fontanals', Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1983), 136–37; Samsó, *Las Ciencias de los Antiguos*, 73–74.
283 The Brahmagupta formula. Samsó, 'Sobre los Materiales Astronómicos', 136; Samsó, *Las Ciencias de los Antiguos*, 75.

of day and night, length of dusk and dawn but not in values regarding the solar meridian and its corresponding shadow length. The values given within this group of text versions for the solar meridian and its corresponding shadow length nevertheless correspond to each other. KA does not contain any of these values. Balad.2918 corresponds to CCA in values regarding length of day and night and length of dusk and dawn, but it does not contain values regarding the solar meridian and its corresponding shadow length. KH10354 contains values regarding length of day and night and length of dusk and dawn, of which neither corresponds to what is in CCA. Although this is possibly a way of understanding more about the production context of the various copies in the corpus (based on the astronomical data included), I was unfortunately not able to assess this. What it does reveal is a closer correspondence between CCA and CCL on the one hand and between Risala, K155 & D2197, P2521, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9 and Vat.ar.258 on the other.[284] Since I am not in a position to determine which astronomical data can be associated with Córdoba, I have not included this material in the table below.

With regard to the agricultural information in the text, it has been argued that the information in CCA relates to both cultivated and wild species known from tenth-century Córdoba.[285] However, some of the information corresponds to earlier Arabic written sources from the Middle East.[286] It was not possible within the scope of this study to explore in depth whether or not the agricultural information does in fact relate to a (tenth-century) Cordoban reality or not. Instead, I have had to rely on explicit internal references linking the agricultural material to Córdoba or al-Andalus, such as mentions of Cordoban or Andalusi locations, which vary across the text versions.

284 Ibn ʿĀsim, al-Umawī, and Ibn al-Bannāʾ borrow values from the *Kitab al anwāʾ* by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd, which are included in Risala, K155 & D2197, P2521, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9 and Vat.ar.258. Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 48.

285 López y López argues that of the 107 botanical species mentioned in CCA, 73 were cultivated and 34 were wild. López y López, 'Vida y Obra', 339.

286 Alkuwaifi Khazʿal has suggested that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd may have known the Middle Eastern agricultural treatises *al-Filāḥa al-Nabaṭiyya* by Ibn Waḥshiyya (d. ca. 930) and *al-Filāḥa al-Rūmiyya* (the *Geoponica*, based in part on the work of Cassianus Bassus) and used material from these sources for his text. Alkuwaifi Khazʿal, 'El Kitāb al Anwā' [Spanish version]', 15–16.

Table 9. This table shows the textual elements in the CCT versions that are determined by their connection to a Cordoban environment.

Siglum	Cordoban elements					
	Arrangement according to the Julian year	Spanish era and use of leap year of the *ʿajam*	Feasts and habits of the *ʿajam*	Places of worship in Córdoba	Agriculture and zoology of Córdoba and al-Andalus	Andalusi author
CCA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Risala	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
K155 & D2197	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
P2521	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
KA	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Balad.2918	✓	✓	✓		✓	
D18945	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
T4624	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sbihi 163/9	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Vat.ar.258	✓	✓	✓		✓	
KH10354	✓	✓	✓		✓	
CCL	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Vic167	✓	✓			✓	
BN6036	✓	✓			✓	
ÖNB2462	✓	✓			✓	
PA45	✓	✓			✓	
Reg.lat.596	✓	✓			✓	
Lat.qu.198[287]	✓	✓			✓	

In table 9, textual elements that are associated with Córdoba are presented. One of the distinctive characteristics of the textual tradition, present in all versions, is its arrangement according to the Julian year and the Spanish era "of the *ʿajam*," this being a term to refer to Iberian Christians. The use of the Julian year and the Spanish era were both typical for the time-reckoning practices in al-Andalus, and one finds references to the Spanish Era and the Julian months as the "era of the *ʿajam*" and the "*ʿajamī* months" in other Andalusi texts.[288] In contrast, other calendrical texts, some of which are referred to in debates about the *Cordoban Calendar*, such as a parchment

287 The Spanish era is used in another part of the manuscript. Fol. 128v.
288 Forcada, 'Astrology and Folk Astronomy', 109 and 132–33.

fragment from Egypt,[289] the *Brief Calendar*,[290] or the *Kitāb al-azmina* by Ibn Māsawayh, are arranged according to the Syriac year (beginning in October) or the agricultural year (beginning in September). Further Cordoban details found in all text versions are the agricultural and zoological specifications, although these are not explicit in all versions (this is further explained below). Other Iberian characteristics are the feasts and habits of the *ʿajam*, which are found in all versions except for the Latin translation from Catalonia. The highest degree of variation is found in the mention of Cordoban places of worship as well as the mention of a Cordoban author, which occurs in four of the studied text versions, although there is no reason to assume that Ibn Rushd (1126–1198, mentioned as author in T4624) would have been involved in the textual tradition as an author or transmitter.

From table 9, an image arises of text versions that are more *Cordoban-heavy* than others. The degree of this association with Córdoba depends, however, also on *how* these textual elements appear in the text. The division into groups of text versions below is partially based on this latter feature. The *how* is not always deducible from table 9, but I will elucidate where necessary. With inclusion of these particularities beyond what is captured in the table, I have come to the following division of text versions:

- Most Cordoban elements: CCA and CCL are the two versions that contain the most information related to Córdoba. Not only are they the only versions that contain all elements displayed in table 9, they are also most explicit in mentioning places of worship, and agriculture and zoology connected to Córdoba and al-Andalus.

An example of explicit place-mentioning in CCA/CCL in agricultural and zoological passages, as opposed to other versions, is provided in table 10:

289 Parchment fragment 153 (Plate XXII) in the University Museum in Philadelphia (Pennsylvania). Giorgio Levi della Vida, *Arabic Papyri in the University Museum in Philadelphia (Pennsylvania)* (Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1981), 176–82.

290 This calendar was arranged according to the agricultural year, beginning in September. García Sánchez and Carabaza Bravo, 'Un Breve Calendario'.

Table 10. Example of different formulations of agricultural and zoological passages in the CCT versions.

CCA and CCL	Other CCT versions
There are Valencian falcons laying eggs on the islands and they breed for 30 days until the beginning of April. (CCA—epilogue Mar)	The birds are laying eggs. (Risala—epilogue Mar).
The people of the coast start to harvest in Málaga, Córdoba, Sidonia, Tudmir [Murcia] and the like. (CCA/CCL—5 May)	The people of the coast start to harvest in Córdoba and Sidonia. (Risala—4 May)
The cutting of the grapevines starts in the Sahla, to the West of Córdoba. For the grafting of the grapevines in the Sahla and the mountains they choose the end of the month. (CCA/CCL—10 Jan)	The cutting of the grapevines starts. For the grafting of the grapevines in the Sahla and the mountains they choose the end of the month. (P2521—10 Jan)

An example of places of worship that are dedicated to certain saints and/or where saints feasts are celebrated is: "the feast of the three martyrs killed in Córdoba and buried in the neighborhood of the Tower."[291] CCL is even more extensive than CCA in providing this kind of information. It describes a few more places of worship within Córdoba or describes them more specifically. For instance, the example cited above (from CCA) has the following phrase added to it in CCL: "Their feast is in the Church of the Three Saints."[292]

- Significant number of Cordoban elements: Risala, K155 & D2197, P2521, T4624, Sbihi 163/9 and D18945 contain feasts and habits of the ʿ*ajam* to a significant degree. These versions describe certain habits of the ʿ*ajam*, e.g., what the ʿ*ajam* eat or sow or prepare. Occasionally, they describe places of worship in (the surrounding of) Córdoba. As opposed to CCA and CCL, they do not mention an Andalusi author (except for T4624, but we can safely consider this attribution to Ibn Rushd erroneous). T4624, Sbihi 163/9 and D18945 contain a further set of feasts of the ʿ*ajam*, which are not in other versions, often connected to a place in Iberia, that I could not identify. Among the unidentified saints (65), twelve are described as coming from or being killed on the Iberian Peninsula (see Appendix 6 and Chapter 3).
- Some Cordoban elements: KA, Balad.2918, Arab.vat.258 and KH10354 contain certain elements associated with Córdoba, and of those, KA and Arab.vat.258 have more than Balad.2918 and KH10354. This group of text versions has limited information as to feasts and habits of the ʿ*ajam* and does not refer to places of worship on the Iberian Peninsula. In this group, only KA mentions *al-Kātib al-Andalusī* (the Andalusi author).
- Few Cordoban elements: Least Cordoban are the Latin versions of the Catalonian translation: Vic167, BN6036, ÖNB2462, PA45, Reg.lat.596 and Lat.qu.198. They do not include feasts of the ʿ*ajam*, places of worship in Córdoba, nor mention an Andalusi author. As discussed,

291 CCA/CCL. Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 150–1.
292 CCL. Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 151.

their lists of feasts have been replaced and updated based on Franco-Roman traditions and according to the new local contexts in which they were copied. Lat.qu.198 is similar to Vic167, BN6036, ÖNB2462, PA45 and Reg.lat.596, but due to the lack of an introduction, it also lacks mention of the Spanish era and the use of the leap year of the *ʿajam*, but the year of copying according to the Spanish era (corresponding to 1132 CE) appears in the *explicit* of another text in the manuscript.[293] Martínez Gázquez points to the repeated omissions of references to the mountains of Córdoba, which are replaced by the unspecified "in certain places."[294] However, Lat.qu.198 does maintain some details referring to Córdoba. For instance, it mentions sowing in Córdoba several times.[295] It also mentions the seven apostles, amongst which Torquatus, who were, according to legend, sent by Peter to evangelize Spain.[296]

This survey of Cordoban elements demonstrates the variation in their presence across the textual tradition. The Latin versions Vic167, BN6036, ÖNB2462, PA45, Reg.lat.596 and Lat.qu.198 do not contain feasts and habits of the *ʿajam* nor references to places of worship in Córdoba. However, other textual elements (Julian year, Spanish era, and agriculture and zoology of Córdoba and al-Andalus) are found in all text versions. Even if these textual elements do not always occur to the same degree, they strongly give the text versions an *Andalusi*—and even *Cordoban*—character. This is strengthened by the absence of any other locality mentioned in any of the copies, unless one would consider the feasts according to the Franco-Roman rite in Vic167, BN6036, ÖNB2462, PA45, Reg.lat.596 references to another context; indeed, they suggest the cultural transfer that occurred when the text was translated in a Catalonian sphere, where the Franco-Roman liturgical tradition had been dominant since the ninth century. Analysis of the Cordoban elements shows that they constitute a distinctive feature of the corpus under examination, thereby justifying the designation *Cordoban Calendar*.

Taxonomy

Based on the building blocks discussed so far, there are certain conclusions that can now be reached about the CCT corpus. These lead us not just to a more precise taxonomy of text versions, but also to firmer ground on which to determine the very existence of the *Cordoban Calendar*. We have been able to establish 1) that all building blocks are represented in the text versions, except elements from the introduction, which some versions lack; the overlapping elements suggest significant connections between the versions that can allow us to refer to a single textual tradition; 2) that apart from the large overlap between all text versions, the versions all show

293 Lat.qu.198, fol. 128v.

294 Martínez Gázquez, 'El Texto del Calendario de Córdoba', 660.

295 Martínez Gázquez, 'El Texto del Calendario de Córdoba', 665.

296 *Est autum septem diebus, quatuor ab hoc mense et tribus a subsequenti qui 'Septem Socii' uocantur. Quidam autem putant hoc uocabulum traxisse a septem apostolis Torquatum, uidelicet, et socios eius quos beatus Petrus misit ad Yspaniam predicandam.* ("Now there are seven days, four in this month and three in the next, which are called the 'seven messengers'. But some think that this term was taken from the seven apostles, Torquatus and his associates whom Saint Peter sent to preach in Spain.") Martínez Gázquez, 'El Texto del Calendario de Córdoba', 664–65.

individual differences which reflect the scribal agency of copyists and which allow us to speak of *living literature* and 3) that all versions have sufficient links to the Cordoban and Andalusi context, which justifies retaining the name *Cordoban Calendar* for referring to the textual tradition to which these versions belong.

I shall now demonstrate how the building blocks lead to the establishment of a taxonomy for the CCT corpus. This taxonomy does not aim to establish which copy was copied from which, nor does it seek to replace a *stemma codicum*. Rather, it serves to illustrate the grouping of text versions based on their textual overlap. In general, branches of versions share certain textual elements that distinguish them from other branches, although textual differences also exist among versions within the same branch, albeit to a lesser extent. Table 11 is a meta-table combining the other tables in this chapter and demonstrates how the outcomes of these tables build the basis for the branches of versions I propose.

Table 11. Most remarkable correspondences between the CCT versions per building block.

Titles and rubrics			
Beginning with religious invocations, followed by first rubric	**Beginning with first rubric**	**Beginning with second rubric**	**No introduction**
KA	CCA	Vat.ar.258	Lat.qu.198
T4624	CCL	Balad.2918	KH10354
Sbihi 163/9	Risala	BN6036	
D18945	K155 & D2197		
	P2521		
	Vic167		
	ÖNB2462		
	PA45		
	Reg.lat.596		
Introduction to the calendar			
Presentation of the content of the calendar: agriculture and medicine, anwāʾ, division of the seasons, solar and lunar year, Christian year	**Introduction as in column 1 with additional elements: religious invocations, poetry/rhymed proverbs**	**Shortened and fragmented introduction: division of the seasons, solar and lunar year and Christian year**	**No introduction**
CCA	KA	Balad.2918	Lat.qu.198
CCL	T4624		KH10354
Risala	Sbihi 163/9		
K155 & D2197	Vat.ar.258		
P2521	D18945		

Vic167			
BN6036			
ÖNB2462			
PA45			
Reg.lat.596			
Paragraph on the Christian year			
Practical	**Scientific**	**Abridged and slightly amended paragraph**	**(Almost) absent**
CCA	KA	Vic167	Balad.2918
CCL	T4624	BN6036	Lat.qu.198
P2521	Sbihi 163/9	ÖNB2462	KH10354
Risala	Vat.ar.258	PA45	
K155 & D2197	D18945	Reg.lat.596	
Prologue and epilogue to each month			
Humoral recommendations in prologue	**Humoral recommendations in prologue + Brontology**	**Humoral recommendations in epilogue + Brontology**	
CCA	P2521	KA	
CCL	Risala	T4624	
Vic167	K155 & D2197	Sbihi 163/9	
BN6036		Vat.ar.258	
ÖNB2462		Balad.2918	
PA45		D18945	
Reg.lat.596		KH10354	
Lat.qu.198			
Daily entries—feasts			
Feasts of the ʿajam, Coptic feasts and traces of entries concerning prophets and scriptures	**Feasts of the ʿajam, Coptic feasts, IHE and entries concerning prophets and scriptures and, in some versions, Persian feasts, Jewish feasts**	**Franco-Roman feasts, traces of entries concerning prophets and scriptures and, in some versions, Coptic feasts**	**Few Franco-Roman feasts**
CCA	Risala	Vic167 (+ Coptic)	Lat.qu.198
CCL	K155 & D2197	BN6036 (+ Coptic)	
P2521	T4624	ÖNB2462	
	Sbihi 163/9	PA45	
	Vat.ar.258	Reg.lat.596	
	D18945	BN6036 (+ Coptic)	
	KA		

	Balad.2918 (no Jewish feasts)		
	KH10354 (no Persian and no Jewish feasts)		
References to Córdoba			
Most	**Significant**	**Some**	**Few**
CCA	P2521	KA	Vic167
CCL	Risala	Vat.ar.258	BN6036
	K155 & D2197	Balad.2918	ÖNB2462
	T4624	KH10354	PA45
	Sbihi 163/9		Reg.lat.596
	D18945		Lat.qu.198

In table 11, some text versions are more often found together than others. This leads to the following division into groups of versions on which the taxonomy will be based:

Branch A: CCA, CCL, Vic167, BN6036, ÖNB2462, PA45, Reg.lat.586 and Lat.qu.198

Branch A is characterized by a shorter introduction (than branch C), a practical paragraph on the Christian year, humoral recommendations in the monthly prologues and the absence of passages with brontology. Additionally, the traces of entries concerning prophets and scriptures in this branch are shared between all versions, which suggests a common ancestor to the copies of branch A (only Lat.qu.198 lacks liturgical content almost entirely).

- **A1: CCA and CCL (6/6)**

CCA and CCL are, in all categories of building blocks, always found together (6/6). In the last two categories (*Daily Entries* and *References to Córdoba*) their strong Cordoban character stands out, as opposed to other witnesses. The overlap is further demonstrated by the exact same structure of these two versions; they have the same textual elements and virtually the same wording. This correspondence does not mean they have everything in common. Differences between CCA and CCL are found in small but significant details, such as the title and the author. There are minor differences found as well in details such as the dates of Easter and duration of Lent. Larger discrepancies are found in the inclusion of feasts, of which CCL has around 30 more than CCA (a more thorough analysis of these differences will be conducted in Chapter 3). CCA has most probably omitted certain textual elements, which CCL has in common with Risala, T4624, Sbihi 163/9 and KA.[297]

297 Examples of this correspondence of CCL with other versions (material that is not in CCA) are in the epilogue March: "eggs of marine falcons until the beginning of April" (in CCL, T4624, KA, Vat.ar.258); on 7 January: "Monastery of Fragellas, in the mountains of Córdoba" (in CCL, Risala); on 25 June: about the effect of heat on the humors (in CCL, Risala); and in the prologues: the "signs" of the month (in CCL, KA, T4624, Balad.2918).

- **A2: Vic167, BN6036, ÖNB2462, PA45 (6/6), Reg.lat.586 (5/6) + Lat.qu.198 (2/6)**

Vic167, BN6036, ÖNB2462, PA45 and Reg.lat.596 correspond in almost all building blocks except for rubrics and titles (5/6). A word-by-word comparison conducted by Martínez Gázquez already proved that Vic167 and BN6036 belong to the same translation which was based on a text similar to CCA. My additional textual comparison in this chapter demonstrates that ÖNB2462, PA45, Reg. lat.586 belong to that translation as well.[298] Vic167, BN6036, ÖNB2462, PA45 and Reg.lat.596's differences with A1 lie mainly in the liturgical entries as well as in the paragraph on the Christian year. Vic167, BN6036, ÖNB2462, PA45 and Reg.lat.596 do not contain feasts of the *ʿajam*, but contain instead a list of saints that corresponds to the Franco-Roman rite. Another distinguishing feature of A2 as opposed to A1 is the absence of elements related to the Cordoban context. Additionally, compared to A1, the paragraph on the Christian year in A2 is shorter and slightly amended, which is a unique element of this sub-branch.

I have assigned Lat.qu.198 to A2 as well, although it is different from A2 on various points (it shares only 2 out of 6 points with Vic167, BN6036, ÖNB2462, PA45 and Reg.lat.596). These differences result partially from the lack of an introduction in Lat.qu.198. Additionally, in Lat. qu.198, religious feasts are almost entirely absent. There is good reason, however, to group Lat. qu.198 with Vic167, BN6036, ÖNB2462, PA45 and Reg.lat.586, namely the collation by Martínez Gázquez, who suggests that Lat.qu.198 most likely belongs to the same (Catalonian) translation as Vic167 and BN6036.[299]

Branch B: Risala, K155 & D2197 and P2521 (5/6)

Risala, K155 & D2197 and P2521 correspond on all building blocks except for their inclusion of feasts (5/6). The introductions in Risala, K155 & D2197 and P2521 are shorter compared to branch C. Branch B has its introduction in common with branch A, as well as the practical paragraph on the Christian year and the humoral recommendations in the monthly prologues. However, Risala, K155 & D2197 and P2521 correspond with branch C by sharing the passages on brontology, as well as the diversity in the liturgical content. This correspondence with branch A on the one hand, and with branch C on the other justifies assigning Risala, K155 & D2197 and P2521 to their own branch.

- **B1: Risala and K155 & D2197**

I divided P2521, K155 & D2197 and Risala thus into separate subbranches, because of a few significant differences that positions P2521 closer to branch A and Risala and K155 & D2197

298 Martínez Gázquez, 'El Texto del Calendario de Córdoba', 659.

299 It remains somewhat unclear whether Martínez Gázquez considers Lat.qu.198 to be an independent translation—distinct from both CCL and Vic167—or rather a copy belonging to the translation represented by Vic167. His discussion appears to suggest the latter interpretation, on which the present dissertation builds. Martínez Gázquez and Samsó, *Una Nueva Traducción Latina*; Martínez Gázquez, 'Santoral del Calendario'; Martínez Gázquez, 'Un Nuevo Manuscrito'; Martínez Gázquez, 'El Texto del Calendario de Córdoba', 659.

closer to branch C; these differences are mainly based on their liturgical content. Branch B1 has the IHE and entries concerning prophets and scriptures in common with branch C. At the same time, B1 does not have the humoral recommendations in the epilogue in common with branch C, nor the longer introduction, which is why it is not assigned to branch C.

- **B2: P2521**

P2521 has in common with CCA and CCL that they only have feasts of the ʿ*ajam*, traces of entries concerning prophets and scriptures and Coptic feasts. Besides that, P2521 contains an exclusive set of Eastern Christian feasts and commemorations (not captured in table 8 and 11, but discussed in Chapter 2). P2521 has some other unique features, which it does not share with any other version, i.e., it mentions the names of the Syrian months first (although the text starts with January and not with the first month in the Syriac year, which is October), uses Ḥimyarī months, and includes the passages on agriculture, zoology and hunting in the monthly prologues instead of the epilogues. Moreover, it includes names of Ḥimyarī months, as well as a Jewish feast (Rosh Hashanah) that no other version includes.[300]

Branch C: T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, KA, Vat.ar.258, Balad.2918 and KH10354

Branch C is characterized by the longer introduction that includes passages of poetry by al-Fazārī and Ibn Muqaffaʿ. The poetic passages also occur in the monthly prologues. Additionally, this group includes humoral recommendations in the monthly epilogue instead of the prologue and has the passages on brontology. The paragraph on the Christian year, in the versions that have an introduction, is of the scientific type. The group is also consistent in its combination of entries for feasts of the ʿ*ajam*, Coptic feasts, Persian feasts, Jewish feasts, IHE and entries concerning prophets and scriptures.

- **C1: T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945 (6/6)**

D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9 adhere to the same building blocks in all the cases compared (6/6). As opposed to C2, C1 has generally more liturgical entries of almost all types, including an exclusive and extensive set of unidentified saints (see Chapter 3). This sub-branch is characterized by a set of religious invocations at the beginning of the introduction, which further only KA (in C2) has.

- **C2: KA, Vat.ar.258 (5/6) + Balad.2918 (4/6) + KH10354 (3/6)**

A defining characteristic of the C2 versions that distinguishes them from C1, is the limited number of feasts of the ʿ*ajam*, while IHE and entries concerning prophets and scriptures are more central. Whereas KA and Vat.ar.258 correspond to branch C1 with regard to the longer introduction and the poetic passages, this is different for KH10354 and Balad.2918, given that KH10354 lacks an introduction and Balad.2918 has a very brief introduction. On the other hand, KH10354 and

300 Alkuwaifi Khazʿal raises the possibility that the Ḥimyarī months were added *a posteriori*. Alkuwaifi Khazʿal, 'El Kitāb al Anwā' [Spanish version]', 26.

Balad.2918 share textual features with the versions of this group, as well as the structure of the text. A significant example of this is in the organization of prologues and epilogues: Balad.2918 and KH10354 have the humoral recommendations in the epilogue just as KA and Vat.ar.258 do, and they include passages on brontology. The allocation of KH10354 and Balad.2918 into a subbranch with KA and Vat.ar.258 is primarily based on similarities regarding the inclusion of feasts as well as the humoral recommendations in the epilogue.

Throughout this chapter, the analysis of building blocks has functioned as a guiding principle for the establishment of the taxonomy. The grouping of versions above into branches, together with the outline of their most significant correspondences, differences and relations, leads to the construction of a taxonomy rendered in figure 10 below.

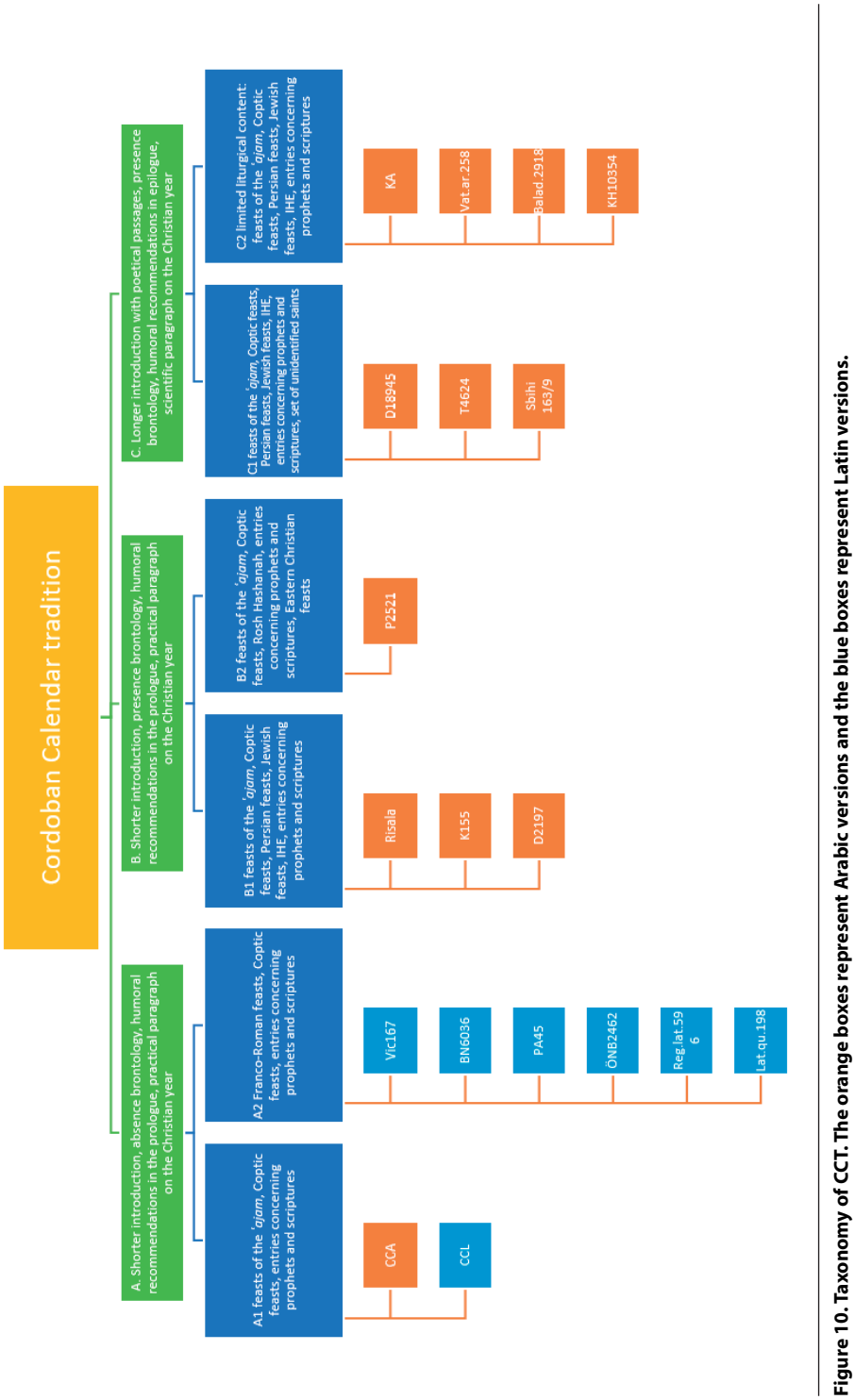


Figure 10. Taxonomy of CCT. The orange boxes represent Arabic versions and the blue boxes represent Latin versions.

Figure 10 shows the taxonomy that results from the comparison based on building blocks in this chapter. This taxonomy helps to streamline the analyses and discussions around aspects of the *Cordoban Calendar* in the following chapters. In this way, I will be able to refer to branches (A, B, C) and sub-branches (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1 and C2) within the tradition as well as to refer to individual text versions when necessary. It also constitutes a major contribution to the study of the *Cordoban Calendar*, incorporating the many recently and newly discovered manuscripts into a holistic picture of what this tradition comprised.

Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I demonstrate that the *Cordoban Calendar* encompasses significantly more manuscripts than previously recognized. I have synthesized the study of all nineteen identified text versions, several of which had until now only been examined in isolation. While there have been studies on certain Latin versions—CCL, Vic167, BN6036, and Lat.qu.198—others, such as ÖNB2462, PA45, and Reg.lat.596, had not yet received scholarly attention. Although this chapter does not primarily focus on the Latin versions, the existence of two distinct Latin translations of the *Cordoban Calendar* provides valuable reference material for analyzing the text's transmission history. The Latin versions are also interesting from the viewpoint that all of them are preserved in earlier manuscripts than the Arabic versions, although this does not mean that they are closer to the original text than the Arabic versions. As part of this study, I identified seven additional Arabic versions and incorporated them into the corpus. The discovery of new manuscripts further supports the notion of the *Cordoban Calendar*'s wide dissemination and suggests that additional, as yet unidentified, witnesses may exist in libraries across both the Arab world and in Europe.

The expanded CCT corpus brings into sharper focus a key feature already evident in previously known materials: the textual diversity of the tradition. To clarify and analyze this diversity, the chapter introduces a taxonomy that also reveals a notable degree of textual overlap among the text versions. These points of intersection support the view that the text versions represent expressions of a single, coherent textual tradition, despite the variation between them, rather than being merely related to the *Cordoban Calendar* while standing outside its tradition. Beyond organizing the structure of this study and improving the clarity of its argument, the taxonomy offers a practical tool for scholars working with newly discovered texts whose relation to the *Cordoban Calendar* remains uncertain. By reframing how the *Cordoban Calendar* can be approached, this taxonomy proves both functional and relevant across a broad range of academic disciplines.

The textual evidence available today—nineteen text versions, varying in numerous aspects, written over several centuries, and lacking a surviving original—exhibits many characteristics of what has been termed *living literature*. This concept works particularly well in cases where there is no autograph preserved, where attempts to reconstruct such a version face significant

obstacles, and where multiple textual variants circulate without clearly pointing to an *Urtext*—all features that apply to the textual tradition of the *Cordoban Calendar*. Other hallmarks of *living literature*, such as periodic rewriting and revision in response to changing historical and cultural contexts, are equally relevant to CCT, as reflected in the varying selection of feasts recorded across the versions. These diverse contexts are especially evident in the multilingual nature of the manuscript corpus, which includes manuscripts in Latin, Arabic, and Judeo-Arabic. The variation across manuscripts reflects developments in textual transmission, shaped by the interventions of translators, copyists, commissioners, and the communities that engaged with the text. In other words, the variety amongst the versions and manuscripts should be understood as the result of an adaptation by various actors for different purposes. This approach necessarily entails that the two versions commonly referred to as the *Cordoban Calendar*—CCA and CCL—must be examined in light of their specific production contexts as well.

Classifying the textual tradition of the *Cordoban Calendar* as *living literature* acknowledges the textual diversity of the corpus while inviting fresh perspectives on both previously known and newly discovered manuscripts. This classification also allows us to better understand the nature of the material as it exists today and to discuss it in appropriately nuanced terms. While I am interested in identifying chronological layers within the transmission of the text—and in distinguishing between the core components belonging to the original text and later additions—my aim was not to reconstruct an *Urtext*. Rather, as stated earlier, my primary objective was to demonstrate that it is valid to speak of a single textual tradition, albeit one with multiple textual branches, and that it is possible to identify components that constitute its core.

Previous scholarly assessments of the interrelationships among the manuscripts were necessarily based on the limited number of manuscripts available at the time or known to a certain scholar. As discussed in the introduction, various theories have been proposed regarding the relationships between CCA and CCL, CCA and KA, and among CCA, KA, and Risala, several of which required reconsideration in light of the present analysis. The first hypothesis challenged by this chapter is Forcada's suggestion that one author composed a longer version without Christian feasts and an abridged version with Christian feasts.[301] While it is not impossible that both a longer and an abridged version were compiled simultaneously by the same author, I argue that the longer version would not have omitted Christian feasts and that consequently, KA is not a good representation of that longer version. The traces of Christian Iberian practice in KA suggest that the original text already included such a list of Iberian Christian feasts. This is strengthened by a more extensive list of Iberian Christian feasts in newly discovered manuscripts that are similar to KA.

301 Forcada claims that KA and CCA reflect two texts of the same author, with KA containing a text written before the text of CCA and the latter being an abridgment of the first. This would mean that Jewish feasts, Persian feasts, IHE and entries concerning prophets and scriptures were inherent to a text in an early layer of the textual tradition, whereas Christian feasts of Iberia were not. In Forcada's theory, the Christian feasts of the Iberian Peninsula were added later to the text of CCA. Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 248.

This chapter also nuances the thesis that the two existing titles were used for two different compilations: the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* for a longer version as represented in KA and the *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* for an abridged version. The division of *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* as referring to the more extensive compilation, and *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* as denoting the abridged version, cannot be upheld. This is evident from the appearance of the title *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* in manuscripts that reflect both a longer and an abridged version (KA, CCL), while the title *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* also appears in both longer and abridged versions (CCA, T4624 and Balad.2918). It can therefore be argued that both titles were originally associated with the text and were both transmitted across the tradition. Notably, K155 and D2197, which lie between the longer and the abridged version, indicate the use of the title *Kitāb al-anwāʾ*.[302] The appearance of *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* in more versions (K155 & D2197) is further evidence that this title may have been generally linked to the *Cordoban Calendar* from the outset. It is therefore reasonable to argue that both titles were associated with the original text and survived in different manuscripts.

Another important contribution of this chapter concerns the position of Risala within the text transmission. In her study and edition of Risala, Navarro argued that Risala represents a combination of KA and CCA/CCL, compiled in the thirteenth century.[303] While there is compelling reason to believe that Risala could have been compiled after al-Umawī's *Mustawʿib al-kāfī* (since the prayer times found in Risala could have been copied from al-Umawī), Navarro's justification for the merging of two versions proves unconvincing in light of the findings presented in this chapter.[304] Rather, we must consider Risala to be another version of the *Cordoban Calendar*. As opposed to Navarro's argument that the author of KA was Ibn al-Kattānī al-Andalusī, Forcada has convincingly established that KA was more likely written by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd.[305] This takes away the premise that KA was written by a different author from CCA/CCL and calls into question the view that Risala is composed of two distinct texts.

Regarding the Latin versions Vic167, BN6036, and Lat.qu.198, Martínez Gázquez and Samsó have argued that they represent a distinct Latin "Catalonian" translation of the *Cordoban Calendar*, independent of the Latin translation transmitted in CCL. Through a detailed textual comparison of

302 K155 and D2197 reveal a possible "title" at the end of the text: ("The [book of] anwāʾ has been completed, by the praise of God and the excellence of His assistance, and [with] blessings upon our Lord Muhammad, His prophet and servant, and upon his family after him." (*Kamalat al-anwāʾ bi-ḥamdi Allāh wa-ḥusni ʿawnhi wa-l-ṣalāt ʿalā mawlānā Muḥammad nabiyyihi wa-ʿabdihi wa-ālihi min baʿdihi.*) K155, page 334 (no foliation), D2197, page 152 (no foliation).

303 Navarro states this upon her assessment that virtually everything in Risala can be found in CCA, KA or in both. As a third source, she mentions the *Mustawʿib al-kāfī* of al-Umawī al-Qurṭubī (d. 1206) of which the author of Risala would have copied the times for prayer, calculated by measuring the shadow according to the position of the Sun. Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 27–29.

304 Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 26.

305 Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 28–29; Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums VII*, VII: Astrologie-Meteorologie und Verwandtes. Bis ca. 430 H, 363–64.

selected passages at the word level, rather than a comparison of overall content, I have identified that the versions ÖNB2462, PA45, and Reg.lat.586 also belong to this "Catalonian" translation.

A key element in understanding the corpus as part of a single textual tradition is their shared connection—direct or indirect—to Córdoba. Although this connection is expressed to varying degrees across the textual tradition, it is a significant finding, as it locates the origin of the textual tradition in Córdoba and supports the hypothesis that the text was composed there. Crucially, no other geographic references—except for a few references to the Nile—emerge in the versions that could rival or challenge Córdoba's centrality.[306] While it is true that some text versions contain fewer references to Córdoba than others, the absence of other named places reinforces the city's importance as the text's point of origin. One exception to this pattern is branch A2, whose liturgical content is confined to Franco-Roman feasts. In these versions, references to Córdoba and its surrounding region are accompanied—and, in some cases, overshadowed—by a strong presence of saints associated with Catalonian or French local traditions.

Given the expanded list of manuscripts presented in this study, the field would greatly benefit from a new critical edition of the *Cordoban Calendar*. However, this dissertation is not the appropriate venue for such an undertaking, as my primary focus has been on understanding textual variation, the rationale behind the inclusion of different feasts, and the compiler's broader editorial decisions. Nonetheless, a new edition of the *Cordoban Calendar* would be a valuable contribution to scholarship. In future, following a more extensive survey of the manuscripts in library collections, a new critical edition should be undertaken to provide a more comprehensive picture of this rich textual tradition.

The cumulative result of this chapter's analysis is in a sense paradoxical: there are considerably more text versions belonging to CCT than previously thought and a great deal of variation among them, yet despite this variation there is a clear textual tradition discernable. We are therefore justified in continuing to speak of a *Cordoban Calendar*, although we may not have access to the original. The following chapters build on the *Cordoban Calendar* as a textual tradition and the taxonomy developed in this chapter. In particular, the taxonomy provides a structured framework for the discussions that follow, especially those concerning liturgical content. This material will be analyzed in order to determine which elements were core components, i.e., formed part of the original text.

306 References to the Nile are also found in Arabic almanacs from outside Egypt. Entries with regard to Egyptian agriculture and the Nile are found in, for instance: the *Kitāb al-azmina* by Ibn Māsawayh on 21 October, 23 March, 17 May, 27 May and 13 September; and in CCT, on 3 August, 9 September, 2 October and in the epilogue of October.


2

Chapter 2

Zooming out: Liturgical diversity and the Mediterranean connection

This chapter investigates the previously unstudied liturgical content in the *Cordoban Calendar* corpus and seeks to presents its liturgical diversity and to determine whether these liturgical elements were core components. This previously unstudied material is primarily found in branches B1, C1, and C2. Some of the versions in these branches (Risala, KA, and Balad.2918) were known to scholars, but little attention was given to their liturgical content. Most of the versions in C1 and C2 were discovered in the course of this study. In this chapter, I consult parallel sources to contextualize the liturgical content found in the corpus. Based on comparisons with Arabic calendrical sources, I conclude that the *Cordoban Calendar* is not unique in presenting information about the practices and beliefs of different religious communities. The term "calendrical sources" refers to almanacs and to other calendrical texts in which information typical of almanacs is not present (e.g., agricultural, medical or dietary information). One of the key outcomes of this chapter is to demonstrate that the *Cordoban Calendar* must be situated within a broader tradition of Arabic calendrical literature, from which it might have borrowed material or by which it was inspired. While this study does not aim to identify a direct source for the *Cordoban Calendar*, one of its main outcomes is the recognition that the *Cordoban Calendar* forms part of a wider network of Arabic calendrical texts and should be studied within the context of this tradition. This chapter therefore contextualizes the liturgical content of CCT by drawing on select Arabic calendrical sources that contain entries similar to those found in the corpus. The aim is to better understand the moment of inclusion in the copies and the meaning of these entries both within CCT and within the broader Arabic calendrical tradition. Do these entries point to actual practice or what are they referring to? What is their function in the text? By answering these questions, we gain a deeper understanding of the nature of the *Cordoban Calendar*, which in turn facilitates our understanding of its liturgical content.

In order to ease discussion of a great deal of diverse material, I have divided the liturgical content into the following categories: Jewish feasts, Persian feasts, Coptic feasts, entries about prophets and scriptures and Islamic historical events (IHE). These categories emerge from the way in which they are introduced (for instance, "On this day, it is Purim for the Jews" or "On this day, it is New Year for the Copts") or from comparisons with Arabic calendrical sources (in which, for instance, the same feast as found in CCT is listed in a chapter on "the feasts of the East Syrians" or presented as "a feast of the Melkites"). For each category, I will elaborate on the link the liturgical entry has to a certain community or communities and the terms being used to refer to them. It is important to bear in mind that the categories serve as a tool for discussing the diverse and abundant content of these feasts and commemorations, but they are not always framed in CCT as an explicit category.[307]

307 Calvo and Díaz Fajardo, for instance, suggest different categorization of the entries. They distinguish between Christian and Islamic ephemerides, but this categorization is problematic in my view, because of the appearance of many of the events and figures in both the Bible and the Qurʾan. I will explain my view further under *Entries concerning prophets and scriptures* in this chapter. Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 81–84.

To give just one example of the difficulties involved in categorization, a particularly problematic group of entries concerns prophets and scriptures. As I will demonstrate, it is not easy to attribute them to a certain community or tradition. These entries often bear stylistic resemblance to Eastern Christian material but frequently reflect qurʾanic narratives or an Islamic interpretive lens. Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to draw clear boundaries between the categories, especially between entries concerning prophets and scriptures and IHE, as they collectively form a framework of historical events derived from different traditions, while often expressing ideas and beliefs shared across Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. However, as much as they confuse us as contemporary readers, they may have been entirely coherent from the perspective of the author of the *Cordoban Calendar*.

The abundant liturgical information in the corpus that can be connected to the Iberian Christian context is dealt with in a separate chapter, because of the considerable attention it has already received. Scholarly attention has traditionally focused on the Iberian Christian content—a focus that is understandable given that many versions in the corpus studied here were not (widely) known. I have chosen to discuss the liturgical material other than that connected to the Iberian Christian context in this chapter, because this content has barely received attention and it will shed new light on the composition of and rationale for the *Cordoban Calendar*. The conclusions we can draw from these entries will be better understood when looking at the tradition of Arabic almanacs more generally. Moreover, including the non-Iberian liturgical material not only deepens our understanding of the *Cordoban Calendar* as a whole, but also contextualizes the Iberian elements within a broader, interreligious framework.

Medieval Arabic calendrical texts

Before looking more closely at the liturgical entries in the text versions, it is worth discussing the role such entries played in the broader genre of the Arabic almanac.[308] This is especially important since, as Varisco, who has extensively studied medieval Arabic almanac literature states, Arabic almanacs should not be regarded or studied as isolated texts:

308 I would like to thank Miquel Forcada for drawing my attention to the calendar attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, preserved in al-Marzūqī's *Kitāb al-Azmina wa-l-Amkina*. I agree that this source should be taken into account in the survey of this chapter in any future publication based on this thesis, even though its inclusion is not expected to impact my argument. In any case, I have mentioned Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī's calendar as a source for the *Cordoban Calendar* (see *Historical context* in the introduction of this thesis). After the completion and approval of this thesis, I further noticed a strong connection between the *Cordoban Calendar* and the encyclopedic *Kitāb al-Qānūn al-Masʿūdī*, compiled in 1030 by al-Bīrūnī. Correspondence with the *Cordoban Calendar* could especially be detected in the chapter on the fasts, feasts and commemorations of the Christians (Copts, East Syrians, Melkites and "common"); the chapter on the Arabs; the chapter on the Persians; and the chapter on the Jews. I first recognized this parallel through a paper held by Adrian Pirtea at the conference *Sanctity and Ritual Remembrance* organized by the Österreichische Akademie für Wissenschaft and University Vienna, taking place in Vienna on 5 and 6 March 2026. One of the manuscripts Adrian Pirtea consulted (MS. Bodl. Or. 516) is particularly interesting, since it is dated 1082 and written in Maghrebi script. These parameters strongly suggest that the *Kitāb al-Qānūn al-Masʿūdī* was known in al-Andalus by 1082 at the latest. The parallel between the *Cordoban Calendar* and this text require more detailed study in the future.

> Study of the almanac is enhanced if the research is part of a more comprehensive approach to the tradition. It is obviously important to examine a number of almanac texts rather than to rely on any particular text as definitive. It would be wrong to assume that there was one basic almanac text, despite the seeming similarity of much of the information, and that eventually this text will come to light, if it is not assumed to be already known. No single almanac speaks for the tradition, because different compilers invariably add and subtract information. An event omitted or barely mentioned in one text may be elaborated in another. In some cases, a compiler may cite the source for the information, although this is dropped from another text.[309]

In the passage above, Varisco highlights the challenges of studying Arabic almanacs in isolation, arguing instead for a comparative approach across multiple texts. In fact, Varisco's description comes close to the definition of *living literature*, as discussed in Chapter 1. In the course of the current chapter, it will become evident that the CCT versions exhibit numerous parallels and overlap with Arabic almanacs and other calendrical sources, including the *Kitāb al-azmina* by Ibn Māsawayh, the *Kitāb al-dalā'il* (*Book of Signs*) by al-Ḥasan Ibn Bahlūl (fl. ca. 950–1000), the anonymous *Long Calendar*, the *Āthār al-bāqiya ʿan al-qurūn al-khāliya* (*The Remaining Signs of Past centuries*) by al-Bīrūnī (973–ca. 1048), and the *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharāʾib al-mawjūdāt* (*The Wonders of Creatures and the Marvels of Creation*) by al-Qazwīnī (1203–1283), to name a few. There is a particularly striking similarity between the liturgical entries discussed in this chapter and entries in the so-called *Long Calendar,* an anonymous text which is included in the *Kitāb qawānīn al-dawāwīn* (*Rules for the Councils of State*) written by Ibn Mammātī (ca. 1149–1209).[310] I will present these sources in more detail below.

Another important feature of Arabic almanacs is identified by Varisco, namely that they frequently record Christian liturgical feasts and, in the case of almanacs arranged according to the Islamic calendar, key events from Islamic history.[311] It is noteworthy, therefore, that the text versions incorporate Christian, Jewish, Persian and Islamic feasts, commemorations and historical events. This is especially remarkable because the *Cordoban Calendar* is organized according to the Julian solar calendar, which is ill-suited for rendering Jewish or Islamic feasts. The Islamic calendar is a lunar calendar that consists of twelve months of 29 or 30 days each. An Islamic year thus consists of 354 or 355 days and is 10 to 11 days shorter than the solar year (365 ¼ days). While the solar year corresponds to the cycle of the four seasons, the Islamic calendar is not in harmony with the seasons, because there are no intercalary days or months (days or months that are inserted

309 Varisco, *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science*, 9.

310 Whereas Ibn Mammātī's ancestors had occupied key positions at the Fatimid court, with his father being vizier for the last Fatimid caliph, Ibn Mammātī himself held the secretaryship of all diwans under the Ayyubid Sultans Saladin and al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān. The *Kitāb qawānīn al-dawāwīn* was written for the second Ayyubid Sultan of Egypt, sultan al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān. The striking similarity between CCA/CCL and the *Long Calendar* was observed by Charles Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene* (Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire, 1986), ix.

311 Daniel Martin Varisco, 'Traditions and Practices in the Medieval Islamic World', in *Prognostication in the Medieval World: A Handbook*, ed. Matthias Heiduk et al. (De Gruyter, 2021), 641.

into some calendar years) in the Islamic calendar system. The Islamic months therefore "travel" through the seasons. Accordingly, dates in the Islamic calendar fall 10 or 11 days earlier each year in the solar calendar, such that 1 Muharram (the first day in the Hijri calendar) in 1 AH fell on 16 July 622 CE, while 1 Muharram in 2 AH fell on 5 July 623 CE. The solar Julian calendar year, however, consists of 365 days in a normal year and 366 days in a leap year every four years. This structure makes the *Cordoban Calendar* suitable for the representation of Christian feasts that fall on fixed days in the Julian calendar. Because Islamic feasts are fixed according to the lunar Hijri calendar, which is approximately 11 days shorter than the Julian year, Islamic feasts occur on different dates in the Julian calendar each year. Despite this mismatch, we do encounter IHE in the versions, even though these would fall on different Julian dates each year. The versions have this feature of combining feasts fixed to different calendars in common with the *Long Calendar*, which is arranged according to the Coptic calendar, and which is also 365 days long. As we will see in the discussion that follows, even the dates for IHE, as they appear in some versions, closely correspond to those in the *Long Calendar*.

Before embarking on a discussion of the liturgical material found in the CCT versions, it is necessary to provide a background on the possible sources that may have inspired it. It is important to note at the outset that the nature of the Arabic calendrical sources varies considerably: not all of them fit the definition of an almanac. Almanacs, such as the *Long Calendar* or the *Kitāb al-dalāʾil* by Ibn Bahlūl, typically compile various types of agricultural, dietary and medical information relevant throughout the year. These should be distinguished from Islamic calendars found in the works of authors like al-Bīrūnī and al-Qazwīnī, which are better described as collections of historical events organized by day of the year, which read like histories in calendrical form. Moreover, not all parallel sources date from the period of the compilation of the *Cordoban Calendar*. This is not necessarily problematic, because some later sources can plausibly be traced back to earlier prototypes. For example, the *Long Calendar* preserved in the *Kitāb qawānīn al-dawāwīn* by Ibn Mammātī is said to originate from the earlier Fatimid period, and significant overlaps between al-Qazwīnī's *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharāʾib al-mawjūdāt* and al-Bīrūnī's *Āthār al-bāqiya* suggest that much of the material in the former ultimately derives either from al-Bīrūnī or from a shared source.[312] That being said, it remains a matter of debate which elements of these later sources were already in circulation at the time of the initial compilation, something that should be kept in mind when dealing with them. The *Mustawʿib al-kāfī* by al-Umawī and the *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* by Ibn al-Bannāʾ are later compilations, but since they borrowed from the *Cordoban Calendar* (Ibn al-Bannāʾ mentions ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd *al-Kātib* as a source), they are useful as a parallel source in a different way. It supports claims about liturgical content presumably present in the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*. In order to illustrate how these parallel sources can help us to determine the liturgical content of the *Cordoban Calendar*, I shall discuss them in turn.

312 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, xv.

The Kitāb al-azmina by Ibn Māsawayh (ca. 776–857)

While it is the first source in al-Andalus to combine *anwāʾ* and liturgical material, the *Cordoban Calendar* may well have derived its model or material from the Arabic almanac *Kitāb al-azmina* (*Book of the Seasons)*.[313] The *Kitāb al-azmina* was written by the East Syrian Ibn Māsawayh, who was a physician at the Abbasid court in Baghdad. *The Kitāb al-azmina* is an Arabic almanac, organized according to the Syriac calendar, which includes *anwāʾ* content, as well as agronomical and medical content and liturgical information from the Christian communities of Egypt, the Arabian Peninsula, Syria and Iraq. Ibn Māsawayh stands in a tradition of books about *anwāʾ* and time reckoning that developed from the eighth century onwards in the Middle East. In the early tradition, books of *anwāʾ* were mainly works of a grammatical and lexicographical nature. In the ninth century, the Greek sciences were integrated into this tradition, as a result of the scientific interest in and translation of Greek, Persian, Indian and Syriac sources into Arabic.[314] The *Kitāb al-azmina* can be distinguished from the earlier books of *anwāʾ*, since it is the oldest known Arabic almanac that incorporates liturgical material into an Arabic almanac, although there are other, contemporaneous treatises with the same title (*Kitāb al-azmina*) that have not survived and whose content is unknown.[315]

The *Kitāb al-azmina* shows great similarity to CCT in its composition and liturgical entries, although it is arranged according to the Syriac year and months, and CCT according to the Julian year. The structure of the *Kitāb al-azmina* is very similar to CCT, although the latter is more extensive: the book of Ibn Māsawayh begins with a shorter introduction that includes a schematic view of the seasons and their characteristics: number of days, zodiac signs, *anwāʾ*, months and humors. Then it proceeds through the months, starting with a prologue that contains information about the number of days, zodiac signs, *anwāʾ* and humors of that particular month. It ends each month with an epilogue containing information that did not fit into the daily entries. In the daily entries, we find weather and climatic conditions, information on the natural environment and thirteen entries for fasts and (saints') feasts identifiable from an East Syrian context.[316] The *Cordoban Calendar* has all these structural elements in common with the *Kitāb al-azmina*. Some of the liturgical entries in the *Kitāb al-azmina* are similar to those in our versions, and some entries are

313 Christys mentions the *Kitāb al-azmina* as an example of such an almanac from the Middle East. Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 123; Van Koningsveld mentions that the author of the *Cordoban Calendar* may have known the work of Ibn Māsawayh and points to some corresponding passages. Van Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature', 215–16; Pellat mentions the *Kitāb al-azmina* as the possible specimen of Arabic almanacs. Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, xxi.

314 Sbath, 'Kitāb al-azmina', 55.

315 Troupeau, 'Le Livre des Temps', 113.

316 "Commemoration of the saints Sergius and Bacchus" (7 October), "the day when Abraham, God's friend, brought out his son Isaac to sacrifice him" (10 October), "feast of saint Asya the physician and saint Isaia of Aleppo"(15 October), "mihrajān" (a Persian feast, 25 November), "the night of the glorious Nativity" (25 December), "the great Nativity that is the feast of Baptism" (6 January), "Fast of the Christians" (25 February), "the day of the Annunciation of the Virgin of the miraculous conception and it is a feast of the Christians" (25 March), "Adam was created" (6 April), "feast of the saint Shamūnī" (1 May), "feast of the Ascension" (10 May), "Beginning of New Year of the Persians" (16 May), "feast of the Migration of the Lady" (15 August), "Feast of the Holy Cross" (11 September) and "Feast of the Church of Resurrection in Jerusalem" (14 September).

almost identical, such as the one about the feast of the Baptism (in all CCT branches), or "the fast of the Christians" (in B1, B2, C1 and C2). There are also differences between the sources that reflect their respective geographical contexts. Ibn Māsawayh mentions, for example, markets in different cities and areas (e.g. Amman, Damascus, Palestine), and includes some astronomical events that can be observed in Yemen.

The anonymous Long Calendar

CCT has much in common with the so-called *Long Calendar*. It is unknown who composed the *Long Calendar*. The text does not survive independently, but is preserved in the *Kitāb qawānīn al-dawāwīn* written by Ibn Mammātī (ca. 1149–1209), who was a Muslim of Coptic descent.[317] Ibn Mammātī composed the *Kitāb qawānīn al-dawāwīn* for the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt, al-ʿAzīz ʿUthmān (r. 1193–1198).[318] The *Long Calendar* does not contain an introduction nor monthly prologues. Yet scholars have suspected a possible connection of the *Cordoban Calendar* with calendars from Egypt for some time. They noted the entries in the *Cordoban Calendar* that refer to practice in Egypt, such as agriculture, the fluctuation of the Nile and the Invocation of the Nile.[319] Some of the formulations regarding these features are almost identical in the *Long Calendar* and the *Cordoban Calendar*. For example, the *Long Calendar* has "the people of Egypt sow alfalfa and the Nile starts to fall," on 9 October, where the *Cordoban Calendar* has "the Nile falls, the people of Egypt start to sow alfalfa, that is their feed" on 2 October.[320] There is a parallel at the beginning of the months as well. The introduction to the months in the *Long Calendar* follows the formula "month of *Bābah*. Second month of the Coptic year. This is *Tishrīn al-awwal* in the Syriac year and *Tīr Māh* in the Persian year."[321] CCT versions use a similar formula: "month of September. This is *Tishrīn al-awwal* in the Syriac year and *Bābah* in the Coptic year."[322] Fuat Sezgin also recognized the link between Egyptian calendars and the *Cordoban Calendar* also on the basis of coinciding numerical data. He points to the fact that certain numerical data in the *Cordoban Calendar* do not correspond to the situation of al-Andalus but to Egypt and therefore the author (ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd) must have based his text on sources from other regions, especially Egypt.[323]

In addition to the above-mentioned elements, there are other correspondences with the *Long Calendar,* including medicine according to Hippocrates and Galen, maritime navigation, meteorological periods, agricultural information, the *anwāʾ*, calculations for prayer times,

317 See footnote 310.
318 A. S. Atiya, 'Ibn Mammātī', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, III, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill, 1960–2005), 862–63.
319 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 245–46; Forcada, 'Books of anwāʾ', 312; López y López about plants in CCA/CCL and the influence of Egyptian calendars. López y López, 'Estudio Particular de las Especies Botánicas', 44; Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, xi. Entries with regard to Egyptian agriculture and the Nile are found in, for instance: the *Kitāb al-azmina* by Ibn Māsawayh on 21 October, 23 March, 17 May, 27 May and 13 September; and in CCT, on 3 August, 9 September, 2 October and in the epilogue of October.
320 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 14–15; Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 148–49.
321 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 12–13.
322 For instance, Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 134–35.
323 Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums VII*, VII: Astrologie-Meteorologie und Verwandtes. Bis ca. 430 H, 355.

religious feasts, the names of months from different calendars and information regarding state organization. In both sources, the months end with epilogues concerning state administration, humoral recommendations and agricultural information. Pellat divided these shared features into six categories:[324] A) the name of the month in the solar system and, where applicable, their correspondence with one or two calendars also based on the solar year; B) information on farming (ploughing, sowing, fruit and vegetable ripening, harvesting, etc.) and livestock; C) taxation, i.e., dates for the collection of *kharāj* (land tax) or *zakāt* (almsgiving); D) liturgy, religious celebrations, various anniversaries; E) astronomical and meteorological calendar; and F) the dominance of the cardinal humors, medical, dietary and hygienic data, customs.

Pellat did not, however, observe the correspondence between certain liturgical content in CCT and the *Long Calendar* (for instance, the IHE), because the CCT versions available (CCA and CCL) to him did not contain it. One example of common content is found on 3 *Amshīr*, which is 28 January: "On this day, it is the feast of the entrance of Christ in the Temple,"[325] which is found with identical wording in branches B2, C1 and C2.[326] Another example is: "the feast of Stephen, the first of the martyrs,"[327] which appears in branch A1, B1 and B2 as: "the feast of Stephen, who is buried in Jerusalem, and they call him the first of the martyrs."[328] Another example from the *Long Calendar* is: "On this day, it was the killing of John, son of Zechariah,"[329] which reads in CCT: "The *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the killing of John, son of Zechariah"[330] and "The *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the Beheading of John, son of Zechariah, peace be upon them. The Queen's messengers killed him during the era of the *Banū Israel* [the Children of Israel]."[331] I shall explore more of that shared content below.

It should be noted that another text from the same circles that supposedly produced the *Cordoban Calendar* was also linked to the *Long Calendar* included in the *Kitāb qawānīn al-dawāwīn* of Ibn Mammātī. The *Mukhtaṣar min al-anwāʾ* (*Abridged Treatise on the Anwāʾ*) was written by the tenth-century astrologer Aḥmad ibn Fāris, the chief astrologer at the Umayyad court of al-Ḥakam II.[332] Pellat identified the correspondence of the *Mukhtaṣar* with the *Long Calendar* and points to parallels in the use of star names, mansions and general terminology.[333] According to Forcada,

324 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, viii–ix.
325 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 45.
326 P2521, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, Vat.ar.258 and KA.
327 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 33.
328 CCA, CCL, P2521, Risala.
329 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 91.
330 24 September. CCA, CCL, P2521, Risala, Balad.2918.
331 24 September. KA, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945.
332 Forcada, 'Astrology and Folk Astronomy', 111.
333 Kunitzsch identified star names in the *Mukhtaṣar* that were not known from other sources. Pellat concludes that these star names corresponded to the *Long Calendar* in the *Kitāb qawānīn al-dawāwīn* of Ibn Mammātī. Paul Kunitzsch, *Über eine Anwā'-Tradition mit bisher unbekannten Sternnamen*, Beitrage zur Lexikographie des klassischen Arabisch 4 (Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1983), 35–37; Miquel Forcada, 'Mīqāt en los Calendarios Andalusíes', *Al-Qanṭara* 11 (1990): 62.

the *Mukhtaṣar min al-anwāʾ* must have been written in al-Andalus in 982.[334] He further suggest a possible explanation for the Egyptian influence in al-Andalus: one of the nisbas (an adjective indicating someone's place of origin) of Ibn Fāris was *al-Miṣrī*, meaning *the Egyptian*. Ibn Fāris's possible Egyptian background could explain the link between these Andalusi and Egyptian sources.[335]

Additionally, I have noticed a very close textual relationship between the *Long Calendar* and an anonymous text in a paper manuscript in Eastern script with astronomical content that is kept in the Library of San Lorenzo de El Escorial: MS 924.[336] The manuscript is undated, but contains a text by the North African scholar Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Zanātī, who died in 1202. The similarity between these texts (the *Long Calendar*, CCT and the anonymous text in Escorial 924) proves that texts with similar content traveled across the Mediterranean region and were interrelated. The relationships between these texts suggest strongly that Egyptian and Eastern almanacs, as well as the *Cordoban Calendar* might share a common ancestor or archetype.[337] The fact that the text in Escorial 924 is arranged according to the Syriac calendar, suggests that the possible common ancestor may have followed the Syriac calendar system. A tenth-century parchment fragment from Egypt, which corresponds in part to CCT, but is otherwise arranged according to the Syriac year, supports this hypothesis.[338] Additional evidence is provided by the oldest known Arabic almanac that includes *anwāʾ* and liturgical material—the previously discussed *Kitāb al-azmina* by Ibn Māsawayh—which is likewise based on the Syriac calendar. This possible Syrian ancestor may have influenced Egyptian and Iberian calendars. This link with Syriac calendars, as well as the link of the *Cordoban Calendar* with Egypt was noted previously by scholars. Forcada suggests that KA provides proof that Egyptian calendars were present in Córdoba by the tenth century.[339] However, it cannot be ruled out that elements of CCT found their way into, for example, Egyptian calendars, given its attestation in manuscripts from across the Mediterranean.

The Āthār al-bāqiya ʿan al-qurūn al-khāliya by al-Bīrūnī (973–ca. 1048)

Another source with parallels to CCT is the *Āthār al-bāqiya ʿan al-qurūn al-khāliya* (*The Remaining Signs of Past Centuries*).[340] The *Āthār al-bāqiya* is written around the year 1000 by the Persian polymath al-Bīrūnī. Al-Bīrūnī was active in the Ghaznavid Empire (modern-day Afghanistan). In this collection, al-Bīrūnī engages with practices that were in place amongst Christian communities of Central Asia in the tenth and eleventh centuries, in addition to describing calendrical traditions

334 Forcada, 'Astrology and Folk Astronomy', 109.
335 Forcada, 'Astrology and Folk Astronomy', 143.
336 MS Arabe 924, fol. 15r–22v. As opposed to the *Long Calendar*, the text of MS 924 is not arranged according to the Coptic calendar but to the Syriac calendar.
337 Pellat already suggested that the *Kitāb al-azmina* by Ibn Māsawayh could be a common ancestor of the Egyptian almanacs and the *Cordoban Calendar*. Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, xxi.
338 Parchment fragment 153 (Plate XXII) in the University Museum in Philadelphia (Pennsylvania). Levi della Vida, *Arabic Papyri*.
339 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 245.
340 Also known under the English titles *Vestiges of the Past* and *Chronology of Ancient Nations*.

of Sogdians, Khwarizmians, Zoroastrians, ancient Greeks, Jews, pre-Islamic Arabs, Muslims, Magians and Sabians). The *Āthār al-bāqiya*'s chapters on the Melkites, East Syrians and Muslims are especially relevant in comparison to CCT. Parallels between the chapters on the Melkites and East Syrians in al-Bīrūnī with the *Kitāb al-azmina* and Ibn Māsawayh were already noted by Gérard Troupeau.[341] I have further observed an overlap between IHE in CCT and the chapter *On what the Muslims do in the Arab months* in the *Āthār al-bāqiya*; eight out of ten of the IHE in CCT appear in the *Āthār al-bāqiya*. Because the *Āthār al-bāqiya* is contemporary to the period in which we presume the compilation of the *Cordoban Calendar*, it offers a very useful framework for comparing content and terminology in both sources.

The ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharāʾib al-mawjūdāt by al-Qazwīnī (1203–1283)

A similar text to the Islamic calendar in the *Āthār al-bāqiya* is found in the *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharāʾib al-mawjūdāt* (*The Wonders of Creatures and the Marvels of Creation*) by Zakariyyā al-Qazwīnī. This work has a chapter on the Islamic calendar that is clearly modelled on that of al-Bīrūnī. The majority of the calendar's entries in al-Qazwīnī's work correspond with al-Bīrūnī's. Despite the overlap, al-Qazwīnī's chapter *The Arabic months* also varies on multiple points from the Islamic calendar by al-Bīrūnī and often differs from it in dates and details. An example is the entry on 4 Rajab: "ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya meet at Siffin" in al-Bīrūnī is found as "anniversary of the Battle of Siffin" in al-Qazwīnī. There are sometimes ideological differences behind such varying details. These differences are relevant for understanding the IHE in CCT, which will be discussed later in this chapter. Additionally, al-Qazwīnī mentions Muhammad's marriage to Khadīja (10 Rabiʿ al-awwal), the Battle of the Camel (3 Jumada al-awwal) and that the Qurʾan was sent down to Muhammad (4 Ramadan), whereas al-Bīrūnī does not. The text of al-Qazwīnī is relevant for comparison, because its entries correspond to CCT in six out of ten of the IHE.

The Kitāb al-dalā'il by al-Ḥasan ibn Bahlūl (fl. ca. 950–1000)

A possible further source or model for the *Cordoban Calendar*, not hitherto discussed in scholarship, is the *Kitāb al-dalā'il* (*Book of Signs*).[342] This book was written in Arabic by al-Ḥasan Ibn Bahlūl, a learned member of the East Syrian Church from the Ṭirhān diocese north of Baghdad.[343] It includes a calendar with feasts and commemorations of the East Syrians, Melkites and Copts. The *Kitāb al-dalā'il* was probably written between 942 and 968 and contains primarily prognostic signs as they may occur in the Syriac and the Islamic year (these are discussed in two separate chapters in the *Kitāb al-dalā'il*).[344] Although *Kitāb al-dalā'il* focuses on prognostics, it shares many

341 Troupeau, 'Le Livre des Temps', 114–15.

342 I am grateful to Adrian Pirtea (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften) for drawing my attention to this very interesting and not much studied source.

343 Kevin T. van Bladel, *From Sasanian Mandaeans to Ṣābians of the Marshes* (Brill, 2017), 47.

344 About the dating of the *Kitāb al-dalā'il*: Joseph Habbi, 'Le Livre des Signes de al-Ḥasan b. Bahlūl', in *Oriens Christianus. Hefte für die Kunde des christlichen Orient*, vol. 68, ed. Julius Assfalg (Otto Harrassowitz, 1984), 212; Jean-Maurice Fiey, 'Sur le Calendrier Syriaque Oriental Arabe de Bar Bahlūl (942/968 A. D.)', *Analecta Bollandiana* 106 (1988): 271.

elements with CCT.[345] Both have elements in common mainly in terms of structure: month names in different calendar traditions, number of days of the month, humoral theory, brontology and agriculture. But there are also a few instances of liturgical entries in which the overlap between both sources is remarkable. In this chapter, I will for the first time point to this shared material between CCT and the *Kitāb al-dalā'il*. In some cases, the correspondence between the sources has proved very helpful in understanding CCT's content, especially with regard to the entries concerning prophets and scriptures. Especially because of the Eastern Christian background of Ibn Bahlūl, the *Kitāb al-dalā'il* is a useful source for comparing Eastern Christian feasts and commemorations to the way they are presented and phrased in CCT.

The Mustawʿib al-kāfī wa-l-muqniʿ al-shāfī by al-Khaṭīb al-Umawī al-Qurṭubī (1120–1206)

The *Mustawʿib al-kāfī wa-l-muqniʿ al-shāfī* (*The Comprehensive and Complete Treatise*) by al-Khaṭīb al-Umawī al-Qurṭubī contains a Julian calendar of the *ʿajam*, as well as twenty-four chapters about astronomy and meteorology.[346] Al-Khaṭīb al-Umawī al-Qurṭubī was a scholar from Córdoba specializing in Arabic language and Islamic religious sciences and he may have been a *muwaqqit* (timekeeper) in a mosque as well.[347] The calendar proves useful in understanding certain entries in CCT. Al-Umawī al-Qurṭubī's work likely drew on the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina* by Ibn ʿĀṣim as a primary source, to which he added *mīqāt* material (calculations for prayer times).[348] Al-Umawī al-Qurṭubī borrowed astronomical data from the *Cordoban Calendar*, such as the length of the day, the altitude of the Sun, and the date of the equinoxes and solstices.[349] The *Mustawʿib al-kāfī* offers valuable material for comparison, since some liturgical entries in it overlap directly with those in CCT, and we may well ask if al-Umawī copied them from CCT.

The Risāla fī al-anwāʾ by Ibn al-Bannāʾ al-Marrākushī (1256–ca. 1321)

The *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* (*Treatise on Anwāʾ*), written in the thirteenth century by the astronomer and Sufi Ibn al-Bannāʾ al-Marrākushī from Marrakech, has significant textual parallels with CCT, notably astronomical data, classical learning and the agricultural sections.[350] Ibn al-Bannāʾ's *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* was composed in Marrakesh but is clearly a work in the Andalusi tradition,

345 The *Kitāb al-dalā'il* comprises 49 chapters. It is found in the manuscript MS Hekimoğlu 572/1, ff. 1–291, which is dated to 1160 CE. Chapters 3 to 14 are each for one Syriac months and the meaning of the signs that (may) occur in that month. It is this part that is closest to the *Cordoban Calendar* in structure and content.

346 Roser Puig, 'Le Kitāb al-Mustawʿib al-Kāfī wa-l-Muqniʿ al-Shāfī d'Ibn Khalaf al-Umawī al-Qurṭubī (m. 1206). D'Après le Manuscrit Aḥmadiyya 11925/12 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Tunis', in *Actes du XIIIème Colloque Maghrébin sur l'Histoire des Mathématiques Arabes*, ed. Mahdi Abdeljaouad and Hmida Hedfi (COMHISMA 13, 2018), 274.

347 Miquel Forcada, 'Umawī: Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Khalaf al-Umawī', in *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers (Springer Reference)*, ed. Thomas Hockey et al. (Springer, 2007),
https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-30400-7_1402. Website last visited 05 August 2025.

348 Forcada, 'Umawī'. Website last visited 05 August 2025.

349 Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 48.

350 Paul Kunitzsch, ''Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb's Book on the Stars', in *The Formation of al-Andalus. Part 2: Language, Religion, Culture and the Sciences*, ed. Julio Samsó and Maribel Fierro (Ashgate, 1998), 284.

because it builds heavily on Andalusi material.[351] During Ibn al-Bannāʾ's lifetime, the Maghreb stood in close relationship to al-Andalus because of the Almohad dynasty which ruled over both regions. The literary activity in the Maghreb was partly due to the movement of Andalusians to the Maghreb.[352] Ibn al-Bannāʾ, who had Andalusi origins himself, stands in this tradition.[353] He explicitly mentions in his opening the texts of authors that he used for his work: "I will note in this [book of] *anwāʾ* the information that people of the literary works of *anwāʾ* agreed on, such as ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd the Secretary and al-Khaṭīb al-Umawī al-Qurṭubī and ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Ḥusayn Ibn ʿĀṣim known as al-Ghurbāli and I connected that to what I found especially for every month in the *Kitāb al-filāḥa* [*Book of Farming*] and [the *Kitāb*] *al-nabāt* [*Book of Plants*] and others apart from these two."[354] The *Kitāb al-filāḥa* is identified as the *Kitāb al-filāḥa* by Ibn al-ʿAwwām and the *Kitāb al-nabāt* could have been a work of Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī.[355] Ibn al-Bannāʾ's *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* includes all kinds of material that he gathered in the sources mentioned above. The *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* was thus clearly not a source for the *Cordoban Calendar*, but it can contribute to understanding the core components of the *Cordoban Calendar*, because it explicitly cites ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd. The *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* contains certain values and long passages that correspond to CCT.[356] It is likely that the liturgical entries in *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* were copied from ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd as well, since the *Mustawʿib al-kāfī* by al-Umawī,[357] the *Kitāb al anwāʾ wa-l-azmina* by Ibn ʿĀṣim, and the *Kitāb al-filāḥa* by Ibn al-ʿAwwām contain very limited liturgical information. Ibn al-Bannāʾ's text is valuable for identifying core components because it can allow us to determine if the liturgical content in the *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* was copied from the *Cordoban Calendar*. Forcada has demonstrated that the text of Ibn al-Bannāʾ has entries in common specifically with KA, such as the IHE, which are not found in CCA. Forcada considers this overlap between Ibn al-Bannāʾ and KA proof of IHE being a part of the longer and earlier version of the *Cordoban Calendar* by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd: the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ*.[358] With regard to other liturgical content, the *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* mentions some Christian feasts and fasts, of which most are not specified, but formulated only as "Christian fast" or "Christian feast." Some of this content corresponds to CCT, most notably the entry for Circumcision, *ʿanṣara* (the solstice festival coinciding with the Nativity of John the Baptist) and the Nativity of John the Baptist, the Nativity, as well as the Coptic New Year.[359] The *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* also contains an entry for the Jewish fast-breaking on 20 March, which may point to Jewish content already being part of the original text as well (see *Jewish feasts*).

351 Forcada, 'Books of anwāʾ', 323.
352 M. Shatzmiller, 'Al-Muwaḥḥidūn', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, VII, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill, 1960–2005), 805.
353 Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 48.
354 Ibn Bannāʾ, *Le Calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâ'*, 27.
355 Ibn Bannāʾ, *Le Calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâ'*, 7.
356 Kunitzsch, ''Abd al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb', 284.
357 Al-Umawī al-Qurṭubī's work likely drew on the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina* by Ibn ʿĀṣim (d. 1013) as a primary source. Forcada, 'Umawī'.
358 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 246.
359 Respectively 1 January, 24 June, 24 December and 29 August.

The Tanbīh al-anām ʿalā mā yaḥduthu fī ayyām al-ʿām by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jādirī (1375–1416)

The *Tanbīh al-anām ʿalā mā yaḥduthu fī ayyām al-ʿām* (Warning to humanity about what happens during the days of the year) was compiled in Fez in 1399 by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jādirī.[360] Al-Jādirī based his *Tanbīh al-anām* on Ibn al-Bannāʾ's *Risāla fī l-anwāʾ* and, but it was also "strongly influenced" by the *Cordoban Calendar*.[361] He cites ʿArīb in the entry on 7 February.[362] As opposed to the other parallel sources listed here, al-Jādirī expresses a clear scorn for Christian practice.[363] Although this is in itself intriguing, the interest here lies in the overlap between the *Tanbīh al-anām* and CCT, which becomes visible, besides other information, in liturgical entries on Coptic feasts, IHE and entries concerning prophets and scriptures.

The preceding parallel sources and instances of textual overlap demonstrate that CCT was embedded within a broader literary tradition of Arabic almanacs and calendrical texts. Such parallels contribute to a deeper understanding of the liturgical entries in CCT, shedding light on their origins and significance. As will be shown, some of these parallels may serve as supporting evidence for hypotheses regarding the original compilation of the *Cordoban Calendar*.

Liturgical content

Having described, if briefly, a series of sources that could either have shaped the *Cordoban Calendar* or been shaped by it, I will turn now to the liturgical content found in CCT. It is worth recalling that this chapter will cover only that liturgical content that has been studied less or not at all; the Western Christian liturgical entries that have been the object of study, will be analyzed in greater detail in the chapter that follows. I have divided the relevant entries by category, each followed by a comparative examination of their parallels in other sources. This approach serves to contextualize the material and to shed light on the liturgical diversity within CCT. Additionally, the aim is to identify which of these liturgical categories may be regarded as core components of the *Cordoban Calendar*.

Jewish feasts

The Jews (*al-yuhūd*) are referred to in a few instances in branch B1, B2, C1 and C2, as shown in table 12. In certain of these branches (B1, C1 and C2) the feasts of Purim and Pesach appear together with a passage that explains the calculation of Pesach as compared to the calculation of Christian Easter. Whereas the feasts of Purim and Pesach are called "feast of the Jews," Rosh Hashanah is not mentioned explicitly as a feast of the Jews and only appears in B2. The reason for this could be that B2 has a remarkably Eastern Christian character and that its copyist did

360 Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 43.
361 Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 43.
362 In the entry of 7 February: "One of the three *jamarāt* occurs, although ʿArīb [ibn Saʿīd] said that it happens on the eighth day." Translation Calvo and Díaz-Fajardo. Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 56 and 88.
363 Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 57, 99 and 104.

not realize the entry concerned a Jewish feast, because the liturgical year for Melkites starts on 1 September.[364] That being said, Rosh Hashanah is mentioned in the *Long Calendar* on 29 September in the following terms: "The feast of the Jews which they call *ra's al-sana* and they say they go on pilgrimage."[365] In this case, the Jews are mentioned explicitly in connection with Rosh Hashanah. As a result, we can imagine that in B2, where no community is mentioned in relation to Rosh Hashanah, the entry nevertheless originally concerned the New Year's feast of the Jews. The *Long Calendar* additionally mentions "Pesach of the Jews" on 5 April and "feast of the Unleavened Bread" on 9 April.[366] Although only some CCT versions contain Jewish feasts, and only a few at that, they are important indications of the potentially diverse composition of the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*.

Table 12. Purim, Pesach and Rosh Hashanah in CCT.

Date	Feast	Entry	CCT version
20 Feb & 11 Mar	Purim	On this day, it is Purim for the Jews.	T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, Vat.ar.258 and KA
22 & 23 Mar	Pesach	The Jews celebrate Fast-Breaking / the feast of the Unleavened Bread.	Risala, K155 & D2197, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, Vat. ar.258, KA
27 & 28 Mar	Pesach	As for the Jews, they celebrate their Pesach on Saturday, if it falls on that day, and if not, they celebrate it on another day.	Risala, K155 & D2197, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, Vat. ar.258, KA
11 & 12 Apr	Pesach	Feast of Pesach for the Jews	Risala, K155 & D2197, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, Vat. ar.258, KA
1 Sep	Rosh Hashanah	On the first, it is *ra's al-sana* (Beginning of the year—Rosh Hashanah)	P2521

I argue that the presence of Jewish feasts in these branches helps to support a case for the production of the *Cordoban Calendar* in 973 CE. This year is explicitly mentioned in the introduction of branches C1 and C2 and understood by Forcada as the year of the production of the text. I consider this a valid hypothesis, and am able to confirm the dating not only from text-internal references but by comparing and conducting the necessary conversions from the Jewish year to the Julian year.[367] The Jewish feasts of Purim, Pesach and Rosh Hashanah indeed

364 Al-Bīrūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations. An English Version of the Arabic Text of the Athār al-Bākiya of Albīrūnī*, ed. Edward Sachau (W.H. Allen & Co., 1879) 297.
365 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 13.
366 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 63.
367 For Forcada's hypothesis for the dating of the *Cordoban Calendar*: Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 237.

fell on respectively 20 February, 22 March, and 1 September in the year 973.[368] This can hardly be a coincidence, given the nature of the Jewish year, which is approximately 10 days shorter than the Julian year and would thus fall on different dates each Julian year. Moreover, the Jewish system consists of seven leap years every nineteen years. In the case of the Jewish year, a leap year means an extra month of 30 days. Accordingly, it does not happen often that the three feasts all fall on the Julian dates as attested in CCT. The first year (counting from 973) in which the Jewish feasts mentioned above all coincide on these Julian dates is in 1011 and the next possible year after that is 1106. This correspondence provides additional evidence for the compilation of the *Cordoban Calendar* in 973. The correspondence also makes a strong case for the Jewish feasts being part of the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*. If the feasts had been added to the text in a different year, it is highly unlikely that the person responsible would have adjusted their dates to match the year 973. Together, the explicit mention of 973 in some versions, and the correspondence to this year of the Jewish feasts, suggest that the text was indeed composed in that year.

Persian feasts

In the versions of B1, C1 and C2 we find the pre-Islamic Persian feasts of *mihrajān* (festival) and *nawrūz* (New Year). The Persians are referred to in the liturgical calendar entries by the common term *al-furs*. The "*mihrajān* of the Persians" (on 16 October in Risala and on 15 November in T4624, Sbihi 163/9 and D18945) originally refers to the beginning of autumn.[369] Additionally, the Persian New Year is found on 1 April (T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, Vat.ar.258, KA, Balad.2918). It cannot be established with certainty whether the Persian feasts formed part of the original text, yet their presence in a tenth-century Andalusi calendrical text would not be unexpected. Persian calendars were used in Arabic astronomical and calendrical sciences, and their correspondences to dates in other calendars were often provided.[370] This practice is also attested in al-Andalus.[371] Moreover, Ibn Māsawayh records the exact same Persian feasts as CCT in his *Kitāb al-azmina*: the *mihrajān* on 25 November, and the Persian New Year on 16 May. Although the dates are not exactly the same, the fact that he includes the same two feasts is remarkable. It is not unlikely that the Persian feasts were copied from the *Kitāb al-azmina* into the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*, especially considering that there are indications that the *Kitāb al-azmina* was known in al-Andalus by the tenth century.[372]

368 I made use of the calendar converter for Near East Historians (https://www.muqawwim.com/) and I thank Javier Castaño (CSIC) for the inspiring conversations on the Jewish calendar and on Jewish feasts.

369 Troupeau, 'Le Livre des Temps', 120.

370 For instance, Johannes Thomann, 'A Fragment of an Unusual Arabic Almanac for 297 AH/910 CE (P.Berl. Inv. 12793)', in *New Frontiers of Arabic Papyrology: Arabic and Multilingual Texts from Early Islam*, ed. Sobhi Bouderbala et al. (Brill, 2017), 179; Johannes Thomann, 'The Arabic Ephemeris for the Year 1149/1150 CE (P.Cambridge UL Inv. Michael. Chartae D 58) and the Arabic Baḫnīṭas, Greek Παχνίτης and Coptic Ⲡⲁϣⲟⲛⲥ', *Chronique d'Égypte* 90 (2015): 208.

371 Samsó Moya, *On Both Sides of the Strait of Gibraltar*, 52–53 and 877.

372 These indications include the fact that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd mentions Ibn Māsawayh as a source in his book on obstetrics (*Kitāb khalq al-janīn wa-tadbīr al-ḥabālā wa-l-mawlūdīn*). Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina*, 41.

Coptic feasts

Entries in CCT containing *nawrūz* (New Year) on 10 August, 29 August and 14 September, the feast of the Red Soil on 9 March and the feast of saint Basil on 1 January mention the *qibṭ* (the Copts, or, more generally, the Egyptians).[373] The feast of Basil was indeed celebrated by the Copts on 6 *Ṭūbah* (1 January).[374] I have not been able to find more information on the feast of the Red Soil. In the case of New Year, not only are the Copts mentioned by name, but the entry also notes that this feast is celebrated in Egypt. It is, therefore, not surprising to find these feasts also in medieval Arabic calendars from Egypt.[375] An entry for the feast of New Year is found three times in different CCT versions, on 10 August, 29 August and 14 September.[376] We know that the first of the Coptic month *Tūt*, which is the first day of the Coptic year, corresponded to 29 August in the Julian calendar.[377] However, since the Gregorian reform in 1582, the first year of the Coptic calendar fell on 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 September.[378] This may explain the entry on 14 September in some of the versions (D18945, Balad.2918 and KA), which may indeed all postdate 1582.[379] Although 14 September in the Gregorian calendar does not correspond precisely to the Coptic New Year, it is possible that the date of the Coptic New Year according to the Gregorian calendar was added to these versions, albeit with a discrepancy of several days. Egyptian almanacs do refer to the feasts of New Year and the Red Soil, but they never mention the Copts nor refer to these feasts as being celebrated in Egypt, probably because an Egyptian calendar would not have to specify that feasts in it are Egyptian or even Coptic. It is therefore interesting then that CCT *does* explicitly mention the Copts and Egypt, which strengthens the impression that the author was outside of Egypt and aware that these entries concerned "foreign" feasts and consciously referred to them as such. It also supports the hypothesis that the entries for these feasts are merely literary copies from Coptic calendars rather than referring to celebrations on the Iberian Peninsula, moreover because there is no evidence of a Coptic community in al-Andalus.[380] Given that the Coptic feasts appear in all CCT versions, including the two independent Latin translations, there is little doubt that they formed part of the original text.

Entries concerning prophets and scriptures

CCT contains a number of entries referring to prophets and scriptures that pose special difficulties in terms of categorization by religious community. The entries concerning prophets

373 See for the various hypotheses on the definition of "Copts," S. J. Pierre du Bourguet, 'Copt', in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, ed. Aziz S. Atiya (Macmillan, New York, 1991), 599-601.

374 Wolfgang Kosack, *Der koptische Heiligenkalender: Deutsch-Koptisch-Arabisch* (Verlag Christoph Brunner, 2012), 66.

375 For instance, Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 102 and 130.

376 10 August: T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, Vat.ar.258, KA, Balad.2918; 29 August: CCA, CCL, P2521, Risala, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, Vat.ar.258, KH10354, KA, Balad.2918; 14 September: D18945, KA, Balad.2918.

377 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 233.

378 Aelred Cody, 'Calendar, Coptic', in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, ed. Aziz S. Atiya (Macmillan, New York, 1991), 435.

379 We know of D18945 and Balad.2918 for sure that they postdate 1582, of KA this is uncertain. See *Manuscripts of the* Cordoban Calendar in Chapter 1.

380 I am grateful to Maribel Fierro for drawing my attention to the strong connections with Egypt that existed from the time of the conquest onwards, and hence to the fact that familiarity with the Coptic milieu is hardly surprising.

and scriptures evoke well-known stories from Jewish, Christian, and Islamic historiographical traditions, including, for instance, the creation of Eve, the judgment of Solomon, and Moses's parting of the sea. It will turn out that they are difficult to attribute to a single tradition or community. Some of them are found in parallel sources with Eastern Christian material, others are found in Islamic calendars. Making matters even more confusing, some of the events that have a pronounced Islamic character are presented as feasts of the ʿ*ajam* (Iberian Christians). In any case, they appear to hold potential religious significance for various communities, as they reference events from sacred scriptures and prophetic narratives found in the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament and the Qurʾan. It remains unclear whether these references are connected to any specific liturgical practice. On the basis of their widespread distribution across CCT versions, as well as the presence of similar or identical entries in parallel sources, I nevertheless conclude that the entries concerning prophets and scriptures most likely constituted part of the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*.

Table 13 below provides a full overview of these entries in the CCT corpus, as well as their appearance in parallel sources.

Table 13. Entries in CCT versions concerning prophets and scriptures and their inclusion in parallel sources. Entries with exclusively qur'anic stories are underlined.

Date	Figure involved	Entry	CCT versions	Date and entry in parallel sources	
1 Jan	Adam	And it is the first day in the year of Adam.	KA, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, KH10354		
1 Jan	Torah	On this day, it is the feast of the circumcision of Jesus, peace be upon him, according to the tradition of the Torah (*bi-sunnat al-tawrāt*).	CCA, Risala, K155 & D2197, P2521, KA, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat. ar.258, KH10354, CCL[381]	1 Jan; 1 Jan; 1 Jan	Ibn al-Bannāʾ; al-Umawī;[382] al-Jādirī[383]
6 Jan	Jesus	The *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the Baptism, the day on which Christ was baptized, peace be upon him. (It is the second Nativity and on the day of the Baptism they bathe. And they baptize the children in the *sunnah* (tradition) of sanctification. And they say that a star appeared over Jesus Christ, peace be upon him. And it is the feast of the bathing, because in it, Mary, mother of Jesus, peace be upon them, bathed.[384]	CCA, Risala, K155 & D2197, P2521, KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, CCL	10 Jan; 6 Jan; 6 Jan; 6 Jan	al-Umawī;[385] Ibn Bahlūl;[386] *Long Calendar*; Ibn Māsawayh

381 *secundum ystorie legem*. Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 27.

382 Puig, 'Le Kitāb al-Mustawʿib al-Kāfī', 278–79.

383 All entries in this table from al-Jādirī's *Tanbīh al-anām* can be found in Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 81–84.

384 CCA, CCL and P2521 describe that "the *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the Baptism of Jesus. They say that a star appeared over him in this night," B1, in contrast, has: "the *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the Baptism of Jesus. They say that a star appeared over him in this night. And this is the 'second Nativity'." Other versions of branch C1 and C2 (T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, Vat.ar.258, KA and Balad.2918) read: "the *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the Baptism, the day on which Christ was baptized, peace be upon him. It is the 'second Nativity' and on the day of the Baptism they bathe. And they baptize the children in the "*sunnah* (tradition) of sanctification. And they say that a star appeared over Jesus Christ, peace be upon him. And it is the feast of the bathing, because in it, Mary, mother of Jesus, peace be upon them, bathed."

385 Puig, 'Le Kitāb al-Mustawʿib al-Kāfī', 278–79.

386 Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Daláėl (IV H./X A.D. Century)*, ed. Joseph Habbi (Institute of Arab Manuscripts, Arab League Educational Cultural & Scientific Organization, 1987), 177.

15 Jan	Shem, son of Noah	On this day, it is a feast for the *ʿajam*, because on this day Jesus, peace be upon him, revived Shem, son of Noah, God willing, when the Children of Israel asked him to do so.	KA, Balad.2918, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, KH10354		
21 Jan	David, Joshua, son of Nun, Jeremiah, Shuʿayb	On this day, David died, peace be upon him, and Joshua, son of Nun, and Jeremiah, and Shuʿayb, peace be upon them.	Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9	21 Jan; 21 Jan	Ibn al-Bannāʾ; al-Jādirī
24 Jan, 17 May, 11 Jun, 21 Jun	Mary	On this day, Mary (daughter of Amram), peace be upon her, went on *ḥajj* (pilgrimage).	Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, KH10354	16 Jan; 13 Jan; 15 Aug	Ibn Bahlūl;[387] *Long Calendar*;[388] Ibn Māsawayh[389]
23 Jan; 25 Jan	Gospels	On this day, (they say) it is the feast of the writing of the Gospels.	Risala, K155 & D2197,[390] KA, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat. ar.258	18 Ramadan; 18 Ramadan	al-Bīrūnī; [391] al-Qazwīnī[392]
7 Feb	Qurʾan	On this day, the Prophet prophesied, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace, as the historians say.	Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, KH10354	17 Ramadan& 24 Ramadan	al-Bīrūnī;[393] al-Qazwīnī[394]

387 Commemoration of when Mary went (*maḍat*) to Egypt. Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Daláél*, 188.
388 "On this day, Mary went on pilgrimage." Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 40–41.
389 Troupeau, 'Le Livre des Temps', 137.
390 Risala, K155 & D2197: on 26 January.
391 "The Gospels were revealed to Jesus." See Appendix 1 (18 Ramadan).
392 "The Gospels were revealed to Jesus." See Appendix 1 (18 Ramadan).
393 "Revelation of the Qurʾan." See Appendix 1 (17 Ramadan).
394 "The *Furqān* was revealed to Muhammad." See Appendix 2 (24 Ramadan).

12 Feb	Abyssinians, Muhammad	On this day, the Abyssinians arrived to destroy the Kaʿba, the Arabs call this the Year of the Elephant, in which the Prophet was born, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	Risala, K155 & D2197, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9	17 Muharram; 17 Muharram; 12 Feb; 10 Mar	al-Bīrūnī; al-Qazwīnī; al-Umawī;[395] *Long Calendar*
25 Feb	People of ʿĀd	It is the first of the days on which the (people of) ʿĀd were destroyed	Risala, K155 & D2197, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, KH10354		
27 Feb	Moses	On this day, Moses, peace be upon him, died, as the historians report.	KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258	27 Feb; 27 Feb	*Long Calendar*; al-Jādirī
Epilogue Feb	David, Joseph	On this day, David built Jerusalem, peace be upon him, Joseph was taken from the well by the Children of Israel.	KA, Balad.2918,[396] D18945[397]	10 Muharram; 10 Muharram; Epilogue Feb; 18 Feb	al-Bīrūnī; al-Qazwīnī; al-Jādirī; *Long Calendar*
Epilogue Feb	Qurʾan	The Prophet was sent, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	KA,[398] Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, KH10354[399]	7 Feb	al-Jādirī
6 Mar	Zechariah, Mary	On this day, it is a feast for the ʿ*ajam*, Zechariah became Mary's guardian, peace be upon them.	Risala, K155 & D2197, P2521,[400] KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9		
12 Mar	Jesus	On this day, it is a feast for the ʿ*ajam* of the children who were turned into monkeys by God the Almighty, upon the invocation of Jesus.	Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, KH10354		

395 Puig, 'Le Kitāb al-Mustawʿib al-Kāfī', 278–79.
396 "Joseph was taken from the Nile."
397 "Joseph was taken from the Nile."
398 "Our prophet."
399 "Our prophet Muhammad."
400 4 March: "On this day, Zechariah became Mary's guardian."

22 Mar	Mary	On this day, Mary conceived Jesus, peace be upon them.	Risala,[401] K155 & D2197,[402] P2521,[403] KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624,[404] Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258	19 Mar; 22 Mar; 25 Mar; 25 Mar	*Long Calendar;*[405] al-Jādirī;[406] Ibn Māsawayh;[407] Ibn Bahlūl[408]
26 Mar	Jesus	Feast of the descent of the table to Jesus, son of Mary, peace be upon them, for the Children of Israel, when they asked him for that.	Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, KH10354	26 Mar	al-Jādirī
27 Mar	Joshua	On this day, it is the feast of Joshua, son of Nun, when he prophesized.	Risala, K155 & D2197, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624	14 Jun & 4 Aug	Ibn Bahlūl[409]
2 Apr and 1 Oct	Adam	Adam was created.	Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, KH10354, Vic167	6 Apr; 1 Apr; 2 Apr	Ibn Māsawayh;[410] Ibn al-Bannā';[411] al-Jādirī[412]
10 Apr	Adam	On this day, they say that Adam, peace be upon him, died.	Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, KH10354	10 Apr; 5 Apr	al-Jādirī; *Long Calendar*

401 30 March: "Naw of the Annunciation (*bishāra*)."
402 30 March: "Naw of the Annunciation (*bishāra*)."
403 30 March: "Naw of the Annunciation (*bishāra*)."
404 "as the *ʿajam* say" ("*fī mā qālat al-ʿajam*").
405 "On this day, Mary conceived Jesus, peace be upon them." Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 57.
406 "On the 22nd, it is said that Mary became pregnant with Jesus." Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 83.
407 Troupeau, 'Le Livre des Temps', 137.
408 "Feast of the Annunciation (*bishāra*) for the Melkites." Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Daláél*, 135.
409 "Commemoration of Joshua the Prophet (*Yushaʿ al-nabī*), for the Melkites"; and "Joshua the Prophet (*Yushaʿ al-nabī*), peace be upon him." Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Daláél*, 159 and 182.
410 "Adam was created." Troupeau, 'Le Livre des Temps', 127.
411 "Beginning of the era of our father Adam, peace be upon him." Ibn Bannāʾ, *Le Calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâ'*, 7 and 38.
412 "On the second day [of this month], it is said that God created Adam, although it is also said that this took place in the beginning of October." Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 83.

10 Apr	Jesus	On this day, Jesus, son of Mary, peace be upon them, spoke (in the cradle).	Risala, K155 & D2197,[413] KA,[414] Balad.2918, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, KH10354[415]	10 Apr	al-Jādirī
20 Apr	Adam	On this day, the Greek historians say that Adam died, peace be upon him.	Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, Balad.2918, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, KH10354,		
7 May	Shuʿayb	On this day, the Prophet Shuʿayb died, peace be upon him.	KA, D18945,[416] T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, KH10354		
11 May	Jesus	Jesus, son of Mary, was taken up into heaven, peace be upon them, as the historians/chroniclers claim.	Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, KH10354[417]	10 May; 10 May; 10 May	Ibn Māsawayh;[418] *Long Calendar;*[419] al-Jādirī[420]
13 May	Moses	On this day, God split the sea for Moses, peace be upon him, and he crossed, and the Pharaoh drowned, and the sea calmed down by the will of God, the Mighty and Majestic, because Moses hit it with his stick.	KA,[421] D18945	10 Muharram; 10 Muharram; 13 May; 13 May; 27 Oct	al-Bīrūnī; al-Qazwīnī; Ibn al-Bannāʾ;[422] al-Jādirī; *Long Calendar*

413 Risala, K155 & D2197: "On this day, Jesus spoke."
414 "On this day, Jesus, son of Mary, peace be upon them, spoke in the cradle."
415 "On this day, Jesus spoke, peace be upon him."
416 "Peace be on our prophet and upon him."
417 In Risala it reads "Moses," but comparison with the other versions indicates that the reference is more likely to be to Jesus.
418 "Feast of the Ascension." Troupeau, 'Le Livre des Temps', 128.
419 "Jesus, peace be upon him, was taken up into heaven." Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 71.
420 "On the tenth day [of this month], Jesus is said to have returned." I think this concerns a confusion between "taken up" (*rafaʿa*) and "returned" (*rajaʿa*). Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 83.
421 "On this day, the sea was split for Moses, son of Amram, peace be upon him, and Pharaoh drowned. The sea calmed down by the will of God the Almighty."
422 "God split the sea to give way to Moses, son of Amram and his army, while he swallowed Pharaoh and his army."

17 / 18 May	People of the Cave	People of the Cave.	KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, KH10354	4 Oct; 19 May	Ibn Bahlūl;[423] *Long Calendar*
25 May	Muhammad	On this day, the Prophet died, may the blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, Balad.2918, D18945, Sbihi163/9; KH10354	25 May; 1 Rabiʿ al-awwal; 20 May	al-Jādirī; al-Bīrūnī;[424] *Long Calendar*
12 Jun	Joseph	On this day, it is the feast of Joseph, peace be upon him.	Risala, K155 & D2197, D18945		
16 Jun	Solomon, son of David	Judgement of Solomon, son of David, peace be upon them both, as mentioned by the people of history. Only God knows	Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9		
24 Jun	Joshua; John the Baptist	On this day the Sun was stopped in the time of Joshua, son of Nun, peace be upon him. And it is the day of the Nativity of John, son of Zechariah (Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā), the Prophet, peace be upon him.	CCA, Risala, K155 & D2197, P2521, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, KH10354, CCL[425]	24, 25 Jun & 27 Aug; 24 Jun; 24 Jun; 24 Jun; 15 & 17 Jun	Ibn Bahlūl;[426] al-Jādirī;[427] Ibn al-Bannāʾ;[428] al-Umawī;[429] *Long Calendar*

423 "Commemoration of the People of the Cave." Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Daláèl*, 94.

424 See Appendix 1.

425 T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, Vat.ar.258, Balad.2918 (all these versions have John the Baptist on 25 June), KH10354 has only the entry of Joshua on 24 June, not the entry on John the Baptist. KA lacks the month of June.

426 "Commemoration Joshua and the Nativity of John the Baptist (*Mār Yūḥannā al-maʿmadān*)." Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Daláèl*, 159 and 183.

427 "On the twenty-fourth day [of this month], the Sun was blocked for Joshua, son of Nūn, for a period of one day for the conquest of Ashkelon in the Levant. And it is the feast day for Christians: the day of Pentecost, which is John's birthday." Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 83.

428 "The Nativity of John, son of Zechariah. Also on that day, God stopped the sun in favor of Joshua, son of Nun."

429 Puig, 'Le Kitāb al-Mustawʿib al-Kāfī', 278–79.

30 Jun	Noah	On this day, Noah embarked the ark.	Risala, K155 & D2197, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vic167	9 Mar; 9 May; 15 Mar; 10 Muharram; 10 Muharram	al-Umawī;[430] *Long Calendar*;[431] al-Jādirī;[432] al-Bīrūnī;[433] al-Qazwīnī[434]
5 Jul	Solomon	On this day, it was the pilgrimage of Solomon, peace be upon him.	KA, Balad.2918, D18945	8 Jul	*Long Calendar*
29 Jul	Moses	On this day, it is the nativity of Moses, peace be upon him, and the destruction of Jerusalem, as the masters (*aṣḥāb*) of history mention.	KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624,[435] Sbihi 163/9, KH10354	4 Aug; 29 Jul; 25 Jun	Ibn Bahlūl;[436] al-Jādirī;[437] *Long Calendar*
25 Aug	Moses	On this day, it is the fast of Moses ibn Amram, peace be upon him.	Balad.2918, D18945		
26 Aug	Torah	On this day, the Torah was revealed, as is mentioned by the people of history.	Risala, K155 & D2197[438]	6 Ramadan; 6 Ramadan; 25 Sep/30 May	al-Bīrūnī; al-Qazwīnī; *Long Calendar*
1 Sep	Joshua	The *ʿajam* say that on this day Joshua, son of Nun died.	CCA, Risala, K155 & D2197, P2521, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, CCL	1 Sep	al-Jādirī;[439] al-Umawī[440]

430 "On this day Noah embarked the Ark and there was a flood." MS Arabe 941 El Escorial, fol. 13v; and Puig, 'Le Kitāb al-Mustawʿib al-Kāfī', 278–79.
431 "On this day, Noah, peace be upon him, embarked the ark." Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 71.
432 "On the fifteenth day [of this month], according to al-Jawharī, on a day like this, Noah sheltered the ship and the flood did not cease." Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 83.
433 "The ark of Noah stood still." See Appendix 1.
434 "The ark of Noah stood still on mountain Ararat." See Appendix 2.
435 On 28 July.
436 "Commemoration of Moses the Prophet, blessings of God upon him" Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Daláél*, 182.
437 "On the twenty-ninth day [of this month], Moses was born." Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 83.
438 Risala, K155 & D2197: "As they claim."
439 "On the fifteenth day [of this month], according to al-Jawharī, on a day like this, Noah sheltered the ship and the flood did not cease" Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 83.
440 Puig, 'Le Kitāb al-Mustawʿib al-Kāfī', 278–79.

8 Sep	Mary	The Nativity of Mary	CCA, CCL	2 Sep	*Long Calendar*
14 Sep	Adam	On this day, a plough come down [*unzila*] to Adam, peace be upon him, and this is the first time that the land was worked with a plough.	KA, D18945	14 Sep	*Long Calendar*
25 Sep	Joshua, Elijah	On this day, it is a feast for the *ʿajam*, because Joshua was sent by Elijah the Prophet, peace be upon them, to the people, instead of himself, by the order of God.	D18945, T4624,[441] Sbihi 163/9		
1 Oct	Adam	On this day, Adam, peace be upon him, was created.	KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, KH10354	1 Oct	al-Jādirī
2 Oct	Eve	On this day, Eve, peace be upon her, was created.	KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624,[442] Sbihi 163/9, KH10354	2 Oct	al-Jādirī
8 Oct	Isaac	It is the sacrifice of Isaac.	KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, KH10354,	8 Oct; 12 Oct; 10 Dhu al-Hijja; 10 Dhu al-Hijja; 3 Oct	Ibn Bahlūl;[443] Ibn Māsawayh;[444] al-Bīrūnī;[445] al-Qazwīnī;[446] *Long Calendar*

441 "Peace be upon him, God the almighty."
442 "Our mother Eve."
443 "Commemoration that Abraham [text stops]." Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Daláèl*, 94.
444 "Abraham is ready to sacrifice his son Isaac."
445 "Isaac was ransomed with the ram."
446 "Isaac was ransomed with the ram."

18 Oct[447]	Prophets	With *al-ghafr*, [...] the prophets were born, peace be upon them.	Risala, K155 & D2197,[448] P2521,[449] KA, Balad.2918,[450] D18945, T4624,[451] Sbihi 163/9,[452] Vat.ar.258,[453] KH10354[454]	18 Oct	*Long Calendar*
3 Nov	Zechariah	On this day, Zechariah's call was heard, peace be upon him.	KA, D18945, T4624,[455] Sbihi 163/9	10 Muharram; 10 Muharram	al-Bīrūnī; al-Qazwīnī
4 Nov	Manna and quails	On this day, they say it is the time of the descent of manna and quails.	KA,[456] Balad.2918, D18945,[457] T4624, Sbihi 163/9, KH10354		
12 Dec	Daniel	And it is the feast of Daniel, peace be upon him.	KA, D18945	12 Dec; 17 Dec	Ibn Bahlūl;[458] *Long Calendar*

447 The entry on 18 October is worth discussing in more detail. We encounter two formulations for the entry: 1) the birth of the prophet (*al-nabī*, in T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, Balad.2918) and 2) the birth of the prophets (*al-nabiyūn or al-anbiyāʾ*, in D18945, KA, P2521, KH10354 and Risala). There are several reasons to assume that this entry must have undergone alteration by copyists at some point from "the prophets" to "the prophet." Although it is one of the versions in which we find this entry in the singular, Balad.2918 refers explicitly to Ibn Qutayba (c. 828–889) as the source of this information. Alkuwaifi Khazʿal, 'El Kitāb al Anwā' [Arabic version]', 248. This entry is indeed found in Ibn Qutayba's *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* in which 'the prophets' are said to have been born under the star sign *al-ghafr*. Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ fī Mawāsim al-ʿarab* (Dāʾirat al-maʿārif al-ʿUṯmānīya, 1956, 68. An entry with the same content, mentioning the birth of the prophets is found in al-Bīrūnī's *Āthār al-bāqiya*, but not in the chapter about the Islamic calendar, but in the chapter on the lunar stations. Al-Bīrūnī notes that people say that horoscopes of all the prophets lie in this station, i.e., *al-ghafr*, although he uses the occasion to refute that. Al-Bīrūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 347. The early Islamic tradition thus shows that the entry was about prophets. It is convincing, given the antiquity of the Kitāb al-anwāʾ tradition, that the original reading of this entry was therefore 'prophets' in the plural. The transformation from prophets to prophet as found in T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258 and Balad.2918 could have happened for various reasons. Possibly, certain copyists in the transmission branch were not familiar with the tradition of the birth of the prophets under the star sign *al-ghafr*, and considered the plural *al-nabiyūn* or *al-anbiyāʾ* a mistake. This is all the more likely since the versions T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258 and Balad.2918 are late, and copyists may not have been acquainted with traditions that went back many centuries. The copyists might have changed the word to *al-nabī* and matched the grammatical number of the honorifics accordingly (peace be upon him versus peace be upon them). It is hard to determine the moment when this could have happened, but we know that T4624 and Balad.2918 are probably the latest copies in the corpus (1910 and 1822), meaning it could have been a late change.

448 Risala, K155 & D2197: "They say that with *al-ghafr* the prophets were born, may blessings of God be upon them as well as peace."

449 24 October: "They say that with *al-ghafr* the prophets were born, peace be upon them."

450 "With *al-ghafr*, [...] the prophet was born, peace be upon him."

451 "With al-ghafr, [...] the prophet was born, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace."

452 "With al-ghafr, [...] the prophet was born, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace."

453 "With *al-ghafr*, [...] the prophet was born, peace be upon him."

454 "With al-ghafr, [...] it is the birthday of the prophets, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace."

455 "On this day, God answered Zechariah's call, peace be upon him."

456 Omitted: "descent" and "they say"; added: "and the sea closed."

457 Omitted: "descent" and "they say"; added: "and the Mediterranean sea closed."

458 "Commemoration of Daniel the Prophet, and his death in Sus, for the Nestorians." Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Dalάėl*, 109.

25 Dec	Jesus	On this day, it is the Nativity of Jesus Christ, peace be upon him, and it is one of their greatest feasts.	CCA, Risala,[459] K155 & D2197,[460] P2521, KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, KH10354, CCL	25 Dec; 25 Dec; 25 Dec; 25 Dec; 25 Dec	Ibn Māsawayh;[461] al-Umawī;[462] al-Jādirī; Ibn al-Bannāʾ;[463] Ibn Bahlūl; *Long Calendar*

459 26 December.
460 26 December.
461 Troupeau, 'Le Livre des Temps', 137.
462 Puig, 'Le Kitāb al-Mustawʿib al-Kāfī', 278–79.
463 "Birth of Jesus, day of the great feast for the Christians."

Appearance in Islamic calendars

As can be seen in table 13, some of the entries concerning prophets and scriptures are found in the Islamic calendars by al-Bīrūnī and al-Qazwīnī. For instance, "Joseph was taken out of the well" (10 Muharram), "the prayer of Zechariah was granted and John was given to him" (10 Muharram) and "the People of the Elephant [Ethiopians from the South of Arabia] arrived and God sent birds in big quantities" (17 Muharram).[464] While the first two entries are shared across religious traditions, the last example is a qurʾanic story that is not known from the Bible. There are more examples of entries with exclusively qurʾanic stories, which are underlined in table 13. These reference stories about, for instance, the prophet Shuʿayb, the People of the Cave, the Descent of the Table, Isaac, and manna and quails. Although some of these stories are shared across traditions, it is in the qurʾanic version that they appear in CCT. In Chapter 4, I will provide further background on this Islamic character of these entries and their significance for determining the identity of the author.

We may not be surprised to find such extensive information on prophets in Islamic calendars. Traditions regarding the prophets are found in various Islamic genres: *tafsīr* (qurʾanic exegesis or commentaries), hadith treatises, works of history, and the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* (*Stories of the Prophets*).[465] A connection between the shared prophetic figures and the sequence of various revelations—the Torah, the Psalms, the Gospels and the Qurʾan—was also very common in medieval Islamic literature. Such references to the revelation of scriptures are gathered below in table 14.

464 See Appendix 1 and 2.

465 The *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* make use of biblical texts and traditions to provide exegetical depth and narrative coherence to the Qurʾan and the sayings of Muhammad, since the Qurʾan contains relatively few linear accounts of the prophets, apart from the story of Joseph. Roberto Tottoli, 'Prophets', in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*, IV, ed. John L. Esposito (Oxford University Press, 2009), 425–427.

Table 14. Entries concerning scriptures in the CCT versions.

Date	Scripture	Entry	CCT version
1 Jan	Torah	On this day, it is the feast of the circumcision of Jesus, peace be upon him, according to the tradition of the Torah (*bi-sunnat al-tawrāt*).	CCA, Risala, K155 & D2197, P2521, KA, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat. ar.258, KH10354, CCL[466]
23 Jan	Gospels	On this day, it was the writing of the Gospels.	KA, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9
25 Jan	Gospels	On this day, they say it is the feast of the writing of the Gospels.	Risala, K155 & D2197,[467] KA, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258
7 Feb	Qurʾan	On this day, the Prophet prophesied, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace, as the historians say.	Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, KH10354
Epilogue Feb	Qurʾan	The Prophet was sent, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	KA,[468] Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, KH10354[469]
26 Aug	Torah	On this day, the Torah was revealed, as is mentioned by the people of history.	Risala, K155 & D2197[470]

One of the most famous works of history in which the prophets represent a substantial part of pre-Islamic history, is the *Taʾrīkh* by al-Ṭabarī. In this work, al-Ṭabarī narrates the stories of biblical prophets, starting from the creation of the world with Adam and Eve, the Hebrew Bible patriarchs and prophets, the rulers of ancient Israel and Persia, and the prophets before Muhammad, such as Jesus and John the Baptist, followed by the account of Muhammad. After that, the *Taʾrīkh* follows Islamic history year by year, up to 915CE. Al-Ṭabarī also informs us of the dates on which certain events happened. For example, he writes that Adam was created on 6 April and died in the same month.[471] These dates correspond roughly to the dates in CCT for these events (2 and 10 April). Given the proximity of their content, it is not surprising that Forcada has suggested that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd may have derived this material from al-Ṭabarī, especially because ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd wrote a compendium of al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*. However, as will be demonstrated below, certain entries related to the scriptures in CCT correspond even more closely to the Islamic calendars of al-Bīrūnī and al-Qazwīnī. These calendars explicitly connect various significant events to specific dates, including the revelation of the Torah, the Psalms, the Gospels, and the Qurʾan. For example, the calendar of *al-Bīrūnī* marks:

466 *secundum ystorie legem*. Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 27.
467 Risala, K155 & D2197: on 26 January.
468 "Our prophet"
469 "Our prophet Muhammad"
470 Risala, K155 & D2197: "As they claim."
471 J. Pedersen, 'Ādam', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, I, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill, 1960–2005), 178.

3 Ramadan: The scrolls were sent down from heaven to Abraham.
4 Ramadan: The Qurʾan was revealed to Prophet Muhammad.
7 Ramadan: The Torah was revealed to Moses.
18 Ramadan: The Gospels were revealed to Jesus.[472]

Placing the revelation of sacred texts into a chronological sequence is not unique to Islamic calendars but also occurs in Islamic histories. The work of the Cordoban historian ʿAbd al Malik Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 853) *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh* (*Book of History*) provides an early example of such a sequence. In his *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh*, Ibn Ḥabīb constructs a universal history that begins with the prophets from Adam through to Jesus and Muhammad and concludes with a brief history of Islam in al-Andalus.[473] Notably, in the chapters entitled *The Books that God Sent Down from Heaven* and *The Number [of Years] Between the Torah and the Psalms, Between the Psalms and the Gospels, and Between the Gospels and the Qurʾan,* Ibn Ḥabīb treats the revelation of these religions as part of a continuous narrative. In the first chapter, he mentions that "God sent down the Torah to Moses, the Psalms to David, the Gospels to Jesus and the Qurʾan to Muhammad, may God's prayers and blessing be upon him."[474] He then goes on to provide a timeline of these events, showing the passage of time between the different prophets and sacred texts. The *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh* reports:

> ʿAbd al-Malik said: Adam lived for 1,000 years, and between him and Noah were 1,000 years, which makes 2,000 years. Noah lived for 1,000 years, and between him and Abraham were 1,000 years, which makes 4,000 years. Another 1,000 years passed until God sent down the Torah to Moses, making 5,000 years. Between the Torah and the Gospels were 500 years, and between the Psalms and the Gospels were 500 years, adding up to 6,000 years. And from Jesus to Muḥammad—Peace and blessings upon him—another 500 years passed.[475]

This attempt to link the different Abrahamic scriptures in terms of chronology is a clear example of the desire to show the history of the traditions as something shared, with relatively little distinction made between them. Such content reflects an understanding of a scriptural foundation shared by multiple religious communities. CCT seems to encompass a similar notion of a shared history of the Jewish, Christian and Islamic religions, and therefore aligns with this broader intellectual Islamic tradition by marking key scriptural milestones in the history of revelation. Since the historical framework of revelation in CCT includes the Islamic scriptures (on 7 February and in February's epilogue), the sequence of events serves to show that Islam is a central part of scriptural revelation.

472 Zakarīyā b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *Zakarija ben Muhammed ben Mahmūd el-Kazwīni's Kosmographie. Die Wunder der Schöpfung*, vol. 1, ed. Dr. Fleischer, trans. Hermann Ethé (Fues's Verlag, 1868), 145.
473 I am very grateful to Ann Christys for her extensive feedback on my paper at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds 2022 and for suggesting to look at Ibn Ḥabīb's work *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh* for reference.
474 ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Ta'rīj (La Historia)*, ed. Jorge Aguadé (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991), 28.
475 ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Ta'rīj*, 73.

Appearance in sources with Eastern Christian feasts and commemorations

Some of the entries from table 13 can with some certainty be attributed to Eastern Christian practice. Some, for example, are found in parallel sources that contain Eastern Christian content. There, they are often described as a feast (*ʿīd*) of commemoration (*dhikr*). The term *naṣārā*, which has the general meaning of *Christians* in Arabic, is used in entries in CCT that concern universal Christian practices or in which the practice is unspecified: "Fast of the *naṣārā*," "Easter of the *naṣārā*," "Feast of all the *naṣārā* in which they make fires in the night," and, in an entry for 25 December (the Nativity), "it is a great feast of the *naṣārā*." There is compelling evidence, however, that the entries mentioning *naṣārā* in CCT have a link with Eastern Christian sources.[476] When we consult Arabic calendrical sources from the Middle East, they use the term *naṣārā* when describing the practice of Eastern Christians.[477] It is common, for example, to find the sentence "and this is a feast of the *naṣārā*" in entries in CCT as well as in parallel Arabic calendrical sources.[478] In the *Kitāb al-azmina* of Ibn Māsawayh, feasts typical for East Syrians, are referred to as feasts and fasts of the *naṣārā.*[479] Al-Bīrūnī uses the term, and distinguishes between the *naṣārā al-nasṭūriyya* (East Syrians) and the *naṣārā al-malkāniyya* (Melkites).[480] The CCT entry *feast for all the naṣārā in which they make fires in the night* is also found in al-Bīrūnī's calendar as a feast of the Melkites of Khwarizm on the same date (1 September) as in CCT.[481] 1 September was the first day of the calendar of the Melkites (and the Byzantines), which indicates that the entry in CCT on 1 September refers to the Melkite tradition. Similarly, the "fast of the *naṣārā*," as it appears in CCT, is also present in other sources, for instance, in the *Kitāb al-azmina*.[482] In the *Kitāb al-dalā'il* the term *naṣārā* is used to refer to feasts of East Syrians and Melkites, although the East Syrians and Melkites are also referred to without using the term naṣārā (i.e., *al-nasṭūr*, and *al-malkāniyya / al-malkiyya*).[483] In Egyptian almanacs, *naṣārā* is used in connection with saints with the Syriac

476 Eastern Christian is a very broad term and refers to a very diverse group of religious traditions. This group can be distinguished as being different from Latin Christianity and their derived Catholic and Reformist churches. The term "Eastern Christian" traditionally encompasses the following three groups of churches, divided based on dogmatic issues: the churches of the Byzantine-orthodox tradition, which follow the seven ecumenical councils; the so-called "oriental" churches, which only accepted the first two or three ecumenical councils, such as the Nestorian church (or East Syriac church), the West Syriac church (or Antiochian church) and the Coptic church; and the Eastern Catholic churches, which acknowledge the Pope of Rome and the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church. See for this definition Gerard Rouwhorst, 'De Oriëntaalse Liturgieën', in *Handboek Oosters Christendom*, ed. H. Teule and A. Brüning (Peeters, 2018), XI.

477 Of the Eastern Churches, the Coptic, Melkite, East and West Syriac Churches have in common their establishment under Muslim rule. Their embedding in an Islamicate realm set them apart from Christian communities in the Byzantine Empire, the kingdoms of Armenia and Georgia to the north, or in Nubia and Ethiopia to the south. Françoise Micheau, 'Eastern Christianities (Eleventh to Fourteenth Century): Copts, Melkites, Nestorians and Jacobites', in *Eastern Christianity*, ed. Angold Michael, The Cambridge History of Christianity 5 (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 373–74.

478 Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Daláėl*, 173; Troupeau, 'Le Livre des Temps', 126.

479 For instance "Fast of the *naṣārā*" (25 Feb) and "Annunciation of Mary the Virgin, of the miraculous conception, it is feast of the *naṣārā*" (25 March).

480 Al-Bīrūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 352, 374 and 381.

481 Al-Bīrūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 297.

482 P2521: 17 Nov and 14 Feb; Risala, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, KA: 30 Jan; and Troupeau, 'Le Livre des Temps', 124.

483 Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Daláėl*, 159.

title *Mar*.[484] Ibn Bahlūl, al-Bīrūnī and Ibn Māsawayh also refer to Eastern Christian saints with the Syriac title *Mar*, which occasionally also appears in CCT, for instance on 3 November (KA, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9).[485] However, it remains uncertain whether the term in CCT represents a later interpolation, since it is absent from other versions.

Considering the contexts in which it appears, the term *naṣārā* in CCT is employed in a relatively unspecific manner. The feasts attributed to the *naṣārā* in CCT are either universally Christian (for instance, Easter or the Nativity), or the feast or fast is not specified (for instance, in the case of "and this is a feast of the *naṣārā*" or "fast of the *naṣārā*"). The use of *naṣārā* in CCT is different from the use of the term *qibṭ* (Copts), of which we know more specifically to which community it refers. The link to the Eastern Christian context is clear, due to parallels with the Arabic sources, but the community it refers to specifically is uncertain. Whereas *naṣārā* appears in the parallel sources also in connection to saints, this is never the case in CCT. The author of the *Cordoban Calendar* may have copied certain entries related to the *naṣārā* from an Arabic calendrical source, but omitted saints' feasts which were more specific to a certain place. He may have taken some of the *naṣārā* feasts, such as the Nativity, from other Arabic calendrical sources, because they were known to him from the Iberian context as well. *Naṣārā* seems to have been used whenever it concerned all Christians, or whenever it was not important (or perhaps not known to the author) to specify which community of Christians it concerned. As we will see in the next chapter, the use of the term *naṣārā* causes confusion, because we do not always know whether an entry mentioning the *naṣārā* refers to a practice from the Peninsula or from outside of the Peninsula.

There is another example of a trace of Eastern Christian content in CCT that I would like to emphasize here, although it is not in combination with the term *naṣārā*. This is the description of baptism on 6 January. CCA, CCL and P2521 describe that "the *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the Baptism of Jesus. They say that a star appeared over him in this night," B1, in contrast, has: "the *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the Baptism of Jesus. They say that a star appeared over him in this night. And this is the *second Nativity.*" Other versions of branch C1 and C2 (T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, Vat.ar.258, KA and Balad.2918) read:

> The *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the Baptism, the day on which Christ was baptized, peace be upon him. It is the *second Nativity* and on the day of the baptism they bathe. And they baptize the children in the *sunnah* (tradition) of sanctification. And they say that a star appeared over Jesus Christ, peace be upon him. And it is the feast of the bathing, because in it, Mary, mother of Jesus, peace be upon them, bathed.[486]

484 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 174.

485 Ibn Bahlūl: "Commemoration of Saint (Mar) Sergius and Bacchus"; Ibn Māsawayh: "Commemoration of Saint (Mar) Sergius and Bacchus"; Al-Bīrūnī: "Commemoration of Saint (Mar) Sergius and Bacchus." Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Daláél*, 94; Troupeau, 'Le Livre des Temps', 117; Al-Bīrūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 286.

486 For instance, T4624, fol. 9r–9v.

This entry clearly refers to the feast of Epiphany, during which the Magi's visit to Jesus is commemorated. However, the way this event is phrased reminds us of Eastern Christian practice, in which the baptism is the main focus of the feast.[487] This focus is represented in entries found in Eastern Christian sources, such as that of Ibn Māsawayh, who mentions "the Great Nativity, which is baptism" on 6 January.[488] It is also described by the Cordoban al-Umawī al-Qurṭubī in his calendar on 7 January: "Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Jawharī claims that this is the day of baptism of the *naṣārā* in the Nile."[489] In the Latin West, the emphasis during the feast of Epiphany is not on baptism, but rather on the appearance of the star and the adoration of the Magi.[490] Although the *ʿajam* are mentioned in CCT entries about baptism, this entry on 6 January seems to come from a source with Eastern Christian content, due to the way this feast is described. Although the feast of the Epiphany was celebrated in the Western church on 6 January, including in Iberia, this Eastern description of the feasts is found in almost all CCT versions, suggesting that Eastern Christian content was part of the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*.

The correspondence of entries concerning prophets and scriptures between CCT and parallel sources is remarkable. The similarities in phrasing of these entries are particularly striking between CCT and the *Long Calendar*, which underscores the connection of CCT with Egyptian sources. On the one hand, it appears that some entries are found in sources with Eastern Christian content and thus refer to liturgical practices of Eastern Christian communities. On the other hand, there is a clear Islamic inflection, given the presence of qurʾanic stories, as well as the use of patronyms. For instance, the entries in CCT contain patronyms for Mary (daughter of Amram), Joshua (son of Nun), John (son of Zechariah) and Moses (son of Amram), which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. The use of patronyms in CCT suggest an Islamic perspective, whereas the parallel sources from the Eastern Christian context speak of Mary (*Maryam*), our Lord Christ (*sayyidunā al-Masīḥ*), Joshua the Prophet (*Yushaʿ al-nabī*), Saint John the Baptist (*Mār Yūḥannā al-maʿmadān*) and Moses the Prophet (*Mūsā al-nabī*). While the combination of Islamic and Eastern Christian material is not unique to CCT, the Islamic inflection rather is, which raises questions about the autonomy and identity of its composer.

The exception of branch B2

Branch B2 (P2521) contains some Eastern Christian feasts and commemorations that are not found in any other CCT versions, namely entries such as the feast of the Rose (on 4 and 25 May), a fast for the illness and death of Mary starting on 1 August, the feast of the Church of Mary (31 July), the feast of the Transfiguration of Jesus (6 August), the Fast of Elijah (29 August), the

487 Henri Leclercq, 'Épiphanie', in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, V (Encaustique–Fustel de Coulanges), première partie, 199–201.

488 Troupeau, 'Le Livre des Temps', 122 (footnote 2).

489 Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Jawharī is mentioned on MS Arabe 941 El Escorial, fol. 7v. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Jawharī remains unidentified. Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 181 (footnote 162).

490 Leclercq, under 'Épiphanie', 199–201.

Fast-breaking of Elijah (15 October) and the feast of the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem (14 September). P2521 also contains a few fasts that are not found in other CCT versions. These fasts are always mentioned in conjunction with the *naṣārā*. We find this association also in the entry for "the fast of the *naṣārā*" on both 14 February and 17 November, as well as that for "the beginning of the fast of the *naṣārā*" on 30 January. The use of the term *naṣārā* in the entries for these fasts, together with the appearance of similar entries in parallel sources describing Eastern Christian practice, strengthens the likelihood that the fasts in question refer to an Eastern Christian tradition. For instance, some fasts appear in the *Āthār al-bāqiya* as East Syrian practice.[491] The feast of the Church of the Resurrection is also found in Ibn Māsawayh (14 September).[492] Some of the P2521 feasts also appear in the *Kitāb al-dalā'il*: the feast of the Transfiguration (6 August) and the feast of the Church of the Resurrection (24 September).[493] It is an unresolved question why the Fast-breaking of Elijah is listed in branch B2 as being celebrated by the *ʿajam* (Iberian Christians), instead of by the *naṣārā* (more about this in Chapter 3).

Because the examples mentioned here are unique to P2521 and not found in other versions, it is more plausible that they were added only to this branch and were not part of the original text. Interestingly, P2521 is also the only version that uses the Arabic loanword *dinḥ* from Syriac for Epiphany (7 January).[494] The prominent Eastern Christian elements in P2521 might be due to the context of its production. Our considerable certainty that P2521 was produced in the mid-sixteenth century in Damascus (see *Manuscripts of the* Cordoban Calendar in Chapter 1) could explain the influence of Eastern Christian sources and terminology at the time of the copying of P2521.[495]

Entries concerning prophets and scriptures in the original text

By far the highest concentration of entries concerning prophets and scriptures is found in branches B1, C1, and C2. I argue that, despite their apparent absence from the other branches, there are strong reasons to argue that such entries formed part of the original text. First, traces of these entries can be identified in branches A1, A2, and B2; second, identical entries appear in sources that are known to have drawn from the *Cordoban Calendar*.

491 "Beginning of the fast of the Christians (*naṣārā*)" and "The fast of Elijah." Al-Bīrūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 306,307 and 309.

492 Troupeau, 'Le Livre des Temps', 134.

493 "The appearance of our Lord Christ, blessings of God be upon him, on Mount Tabor, and this is the feast of the Transfiguration for Simeon, Jacob, Yuhanna, Elijah and Moses, peace be upon them" and "feast of the church of Resurrection." Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Daláél*, 183 and 193.

494 Gérard Troupeau, 'Le Vocabulaire Arabe Chrétien dans Le "Kitāb al-Muḫaṣṣaṣ" d'Ibn Sīdah', *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 25 (1993): 296; *Dinḥ* is also used by Ibn Bahlūl, where we would expect it, because of his East Syrian background. Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Daláél*, 117.

495 See also for the question on usability of P2521 for understanding Andalusi practice: Kati Ihnat and Cathrien Hoijinck, 'Christian Practice under Muslim Rule: New Insights into the Christian Rite Celebrated in al-Andalus', *Hispania Sacra* 76, no. 154 (2024).

One of the examples for a trace of an entry concerning prophets is the entry about Joshua on 24 June:

> This is the day of ʿ*anṣara*. On this day, the Sun was stopped in the time of Joshua, son of Nun, peace be upon him (in order to conquer Ashkelon in the Levant). And it is the day of the Nativity of John, son of Zechariah, the Prophet, peace be upon him.[496]

ʿAnṣara was the festival celebrated in al-Andalus on summer solstice, on 24 June, which coincided with the feast for the Nativity of John the Baptist.[497] Eastern Christian sources indicate that Eastern Christian communities customarily commemorated the events of Joshua and John the Baptist in close proximity. The *Kitāb al-dalā'il* for example, records a feast for Joshua on 24 June, the Nativity of John the Baptist on 25 June, and a joint feast for both on 27 August ("Commemoration of Joshua and the Nativity of John the Baptist"). Simonet indeed identifies this entry as a vestige of an Eastern Christian feast.[498] However, the rendering of Joshua as Joshua, son of Nun in CCT alludes to Islamic tradition rather than to the designation Joshua *the Prophet*, as it is found in the *Kitāb al-dalā'il*. If the author did derive this entry from an Eastern Christian source, he may have chosen to adapt it by introducing an Islamic inflection. The reference in both Latin translations to *Ioshua filius Nun* suggests that this Islamic inflection was already present in both exemplars and was therefore most likely part of the original text.

Importantly, the above entry is found in almost all CCT versions, except Lat.qu.198 (which has only three entries for feasts) and KA (where the month of June is missing).[499] Its inclusion even in the two Latin translations strongly suggests that the entry is part of the original text. Further supporting evidence for this entry being part of the original text, is its appearance in the *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* of Ibn al-Bannāʾ, in which ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd is explicitly cited and which includes the same entry on 24 June regarding ʿ*anṣara*: "the day of ʿ*anṣara*, and the day of the feasts for John, son of Zechariah, peace be upon him and on our Prophet, and the best prayers and peace upon him, and the Sun was stopped in the time of Joshua, son of Nun, prayers of God upon him and upon

496 CCA. Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 101. This entry is found in all versions except for Lat.qu.198 and KA. T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, Vat.ar.258, Balad.2918 have John the Baptist on 25 June. KH10354 has only the entry of Joshua on 24 June. Small variations in the texts of the entries per version (between brackets here in the quote).

497 Fernando de la Granja, 'Fiestas Cristianas en al-Andalus (Materiales para su Estudio). I: "Al-Durr al-Munaẓẓam" de al-ʿAzafī', *Al-Andalus: Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada* 34 (1969): 4.

498 Simonet, *Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe*, 16.

499 With regard to Vic167, Borst suggests that entries in this category were linked to the Carolingian tradition. Borst, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform*, 349. These entries concern Noah's embarkation on the ark, Adam's sin and Adam's creation (26 April, 18 February and 23 March). Although some of these entries, for instance Noah's embarkation and Adam's creation, are found in other versions as well (see table 13), Vic167 also contains entries that are not found in any other version, such as "the devil withdrew from his master" (15 Feb). Since Vic167 is the only Latin version containing the latter entries, it is likely that they were added to this copy through interpolation. Due to the resemblance of similar entries concerning prophets between the *Cordoban Calendar* and Eastern Christian sources, I deem it more plausible, however, that the entries concerning Noah's embarkation and the creation of Adam—found in other versions as well as in parallel sources with Eastern Christian content—became part of the *Cordoban Calendar* due to the use of Eastern sources during its compilation, rather than as a result of Carolingian influence.

our Prophet."[500] Also al-Umawī and al-Jādirī have very similar entries on 24 June.[501] Given the fact that Ibn al-Bannāʾ and al-Jādirī explicitly cite ʿArīb as their source, and that al-Umawī must likewise have drawn from the *Cordoban Calendar*, the overlap of the passage about *ʿanṣara* in all these sources, supports the inclusion of this entry in the original text.[502]

A possible explanation for this entry having survived in A1, A2 and B2, as opposed to other entries that were potentially omitted, is the fact that the entry about Joshua on 24 June was placed between two other feasts: *ʿanṣara* and the Nativity of John the Baptist. This placement could have prevented a copyist or translator from recognizing that the part about Joshua was an Eastern Christian feast that should be omitted.

Throughout this section I have pointed to parallels between CCT and Arabic calendrical sources. The overlap in entries that concern prophets and scriptures between CCT and its potential sources—as well as texts that had CCT as their source—is significant, sometimes matching word-for-word. As a result, I argue that (ancestors to) these parallel sources found their way to the Iberian Peninsula and served there as sources or models for CCT. I have established that all CCT branches contain (traces of) entries concerning prophets and scriptures, which confirms the hypothesis that these entries constitute core components of the *Cordoban Calendar*. However, it turned out to be impossible to prove to what extent this was the case. The entries of this category preserved in B1, C1, and C2 may reflect the original *Cordoban Calendar*. Under this hypothesis, branches A1, A2, and B2 would have largely omitted material belonging to this category. Alternatively, only a limited number of such entries may have been present in the initial composition, with the category subsequently expanded at a later stage. In any case, the material found in B2 (P2521) is unique to this branch and most likely reflects later stages of interpolation from a source recording Eastern Christian feasts.

It is striking that some entries in this category display a distinctly Islamic character, through the use of patronyms or allusion to stories from the Qurʾan. This is particularly evident in the entry on Joshua—found in nearly all CCT versions—in which he is referred to as *Joshua, son of Nun*. The widespread attestation of this entry suggests that the Islamic inflection in entries concerning prophets and scriptures formed part of the original text rather than representing a later interpolation. This Islamic inflection will be further explored in Chapter 4.

By examining this particular type of entry, the aim is not to identify the specific source that directly influenced the first compilation of the *Cordoban Calendar*, but rather to demonstrate the existence of a tradition of almanacs and other calendrical sources that emerged across different

500 Ibn Bannāʾ, *Le Calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâʾ*, 11 and 43.
501 Puig, 'Le Kitāb al-Mustawʿib al-Kāfī', 278; Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 83.
502 Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 43 and 48.

religious contexts, frequently borrowed from one another, and were potentially interrelated. As we have seen, entries concerning prophets and scriptures in CCT are found in Islamic calendars as well as in texts with Eastern Christian content. Therefore, it is hard to distinguish whether the underlying source was a Christian calendar or an Islamic source. This textual culture of exchange helps to illuminate the manner in which the *Cordoban Calendar* was compiled: the liturgical material included in the *Cordoban Calendar* need not reflect actual practice in al-Andalus, yet the compiler nonetheless considered it worthwhile to include. The motivation for this inclusion will be examined in Chapter 4 and in the conclusion of this dissertation. A brief note is in order here: given the argument that an East Syrian community existed in al-Andalus, it is conceivable that some of the practices described in CCT were indeed relevant to them and to the author of the *Cordoban Calendar*.[503]

Islamic historical events (IHE)

Belonging to a different category from the entries discussed above, are those that record IHE. I prefer to use the more neutral term "Islamic historical events" than "Islamic feasts," because we are uncertain if the IHE were the subject of actual celebration. The Islamic liturgical cycle is difficult to define precisely. There are only a few universally accepted feasts in Islam, but variations exist between denominations, creeds and regions. Sunni Islam traditionally recognizes two feasts: *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* (feast of the Sacrifice) and *ʿīd al-fiṭr* (feast of the Fast-Breaking, after fasting the entire month of Ramadan), but the calendar expanded over time and new feasts were added.[504] Shiʿa Islam was from an early period more tolerant towards feasts and commemorations besides *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* and *ʿīd al-fiṭr*, such as *Ghadīr Khumm* (celebration of the appointment of ʿAlī as the successor of Muhammad), *ʿāshūrāʾ* (commemoration of the death of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī), and different mawlids (birthdays) and martyrdoms of revered men and women, of which ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Fāṭima, Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī and Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī are the key figures. Therefore, the Shiʿi ritual calendar includes the commemoration of events in the lives of these figures.[505] In Sunni Islam too we find popular and widespread feasts other than *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* and *ʿīd al-fiṭr*, though their permissibility was, and sometimes still is, disputed. Besides canonical and popular feasts, there are other observances, such as obligatory fasting during the month of Ramadan, commendable fasts and prayers for certain occasions, for instance, during designated holy nights, i.e., sacred nights in which certain qurʾanic events are commemorated, such as the night journey of Muhammad to Jerusalem and to heaven or the night the Qurʾan was first revealed to Muhammad. In some

503 Monferrer-Sala, 'The Arabicized Christians in Cordoba', 364–65; Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, '¿Circularon Textos Cristianos Orientales en al-Andalus?', in *¿Existe una Identidad Mozárabe?: Historia, Lengua y Cultura de los Cristianos de al-Andalus (Siglos IX–XII)*, ed. Cyrille Aillet et al. (Casa de Velázquez, 2008), 196–97.

504 Linda Jones, *The Power of Oratory in the Medieval Muslim World* (Cambridge University Press, 2012); Maribel Fierro, for example, refers to the celebration of ʿĀshūrāʾ in al-Andalus as attested in the ninth century. Maribel Fierro, 'Religious Beliefs and Practices in al-Andalus in the Third/Ninth Century', *Rivista Degli Studi Orientali* 66, no. 1/2 (1992): 26.

505 Juan Eduardo Campo and Richard C. Martin, 'Ahl al-Bayt', in *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, I (Macmillan Reference USA, 2004), 26.

cases, it is hard to tell where and when certain commemorations developed. The *mawlid al-nabī* (birthday of the Prophet) is a good example of a festival whose development has been studied in detail. Studies indicate that the first accounts of celebrations for this occasion date from the eleventh-century Fatimid Empire, before the practice spread from Cairo to other cities in the Middle East. In the thirteenth century, the feast was introduced in Ceuta.[506] Even now, there are Muslims who consider this feast a *bidʿa* (innovation), a practice considered forbidden for Muslims.

Since the IHE entries in CCT do not refer to any of the before-mentioned canonical feasts, fasts or holy nights, I hesitate to call the entries in CCT *Islamic feasts* or *Islamic commemorations*, as others have done.[507] As we will see, there is a strong overlap of the IHE in CCT with the text of the *Long Calendar*. Pellat considered the IHE in the *Long Calendar* Fatimid celebrations.[508] It is true that two of the events refer to martyrdoms of revered figures in Shiʿa Islam (ʿAlī, and his son Ḥusayn), which do play a role in commemorations in Shiʿa Islam. However, CCT and the *Long Calendar* never uses terms to describe the IHE as a feast (*ʿīd*) or a fast (*ṣawm*) as opposed to how it commonly refers to feasts of the Christians or Jews. While Nico Kaptein demonstrates that there were specific Fatimid festivals, for instance the *four mawlids* (which are sometimes six), none of the festivals he mentions correspond to the IHE discussed here.[509] It is thus too simple to claim that the IHE in the *Long Calendar* and CCT are feasts celebrated by the Fatimids, in terms of public festivals or other types of liturgical celebration. In fact, there is no evidence that the IHE entries refer to an actual celebratory practice. In my view, the two events that do play a role in Islamic commemorations do not justify the assumption that all IHE implied commemorations or celebrations.

The calendars of al-Bīrūnī and al-Qazwīnī do not solve the question whether IHE were celebrated. Al-Bīrūnī (which corresponds to CCT in eight out of ten IHE) presents the "honored days" (*ayyām muʿaẓẓam*) in the chapter *On what the Muslims do in the months of the Arabs* (*al-faṣl ʿalā mā yastaʿmiluhu al-muslimūn fī shahr al-ʿarab*) (see Appendix 1). In my view, Sachau translated these passages incorrectly to the "celebrated days" and the "festivals of the Muslims."[510] Certainly, it is

506 Nico Kaptein provides an insightful study in the development of the *mawlid al-nabī*. N. J. G. Kaptein, *Muhammad's Birthday Festival: Early History in the Central Muslim Lands and Development in the Muslim West until the 10th/16th Century* (Brill, 1993), 7–30, 89–91.

507 Alkuwaifi uses the term "Islamic events" (*al-munāsabāt al-islāmiyya*), while Pellat refers to them as "Islamic feasts." Alkuwaifi's "Islamic events" appears a bit too broad and too unspecific, because it could refer to any Islamic event, whereas it concerns here specific historical events from early Islam. Pellat's use of this label stems from his assumption that the events reflect liturgical customs in a Fatimid Shiʿi context, an assumption for which he provides little supporting evidence. Alkuwaifi Khazʿal, 'El Kitāb al Anwā' [Arabic version]', 378; Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, xv.

508 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, xv.

509 Kaptein, *Muhammad's Birthday Festival*, 11 and 13.

510 Sachau translated these passages as "On the festivals of the Muslims" and "The Arabs celebrate the following days of their calendar." Other chapters in al-Bīrūnī refer more specifically to the feasts (*ʿiyād*) of a community, for instance, the chapters on the Sogdians, the Persians, the Sabians and the ancient Magians. The word *ʿīd* (plural: *ʿiyād*) is not employed in these sentences about the months of the Arabs. Al-Bīrūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 325.

unclear what the implication of an "honored day" versus a "celebrated day" would be, but it is important to underscore that we do not know whether the entries on these days were celebrated or commemorated. Al-Qazwīnī's chapter (corresponding to CCT in six out of ten IHE) is called *The Arabic months*, a title which represents the content of the chapter in a more neutral way (see Appendix 2). Although the chapters of al-Bīrūnī and al-Qazwīnī contain some information on prayers, pilgrimage and fasting that Muslims are supposed to perform on specific days during the Islamic year, the chapters read as Islamic history, such as when it reports on the "revolt of al-Burquʿī in Basra" or "ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya meet at Siffin (i.e., the Battle of Siffin)." It remains unclear whether, in what form, and by whom the IHE would have been celebrated or commemorated.

The IHE in CCT are found in daily entries and concern events in the lives of figures in early Islam, i.e., Muhammad (birth, prophecy, hijra, death); the four caliphs Abū Bakr (r. 632–634), ʿUmar (r. 634–644), ʿUthmān (r. 644–656), ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (r. 656–661) and the latter's son, Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī; and the first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, Muʿāwiya (r. 661–680). To streamline the discussion of these entries, I have divided them into events related to these three categories, based on the ideological differences revealed between them. Whereas the events in Muhammad's life are rather uncontroversial amongst different branches of Islam, issues around the successors of Muhammad as leaders of the Muslim community caused division and conflict and formed the foundation of the split into what later became Sunni and Shiʿa Islam. The discrepancy between these traditions in their acceptance of early Islamic figures informs my division of the Islamic entries into categories for the purposes of analysis: the first dealing with the uncontroversial events regarding the life of Muhammad, the second dealing with the controversial events regarding the four caliphs after Muhammad (referred to in Sunni Islam as the Rashidun caliphs),[511] and the third dealing with the controversial figure of Muʿāwiya as the founder and first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty. This is important because it helps us to understand the ideological stance behind including them in the text.

The *Long Calendar* offers a useful perspective on the liturgical category of IHE, since it corresponds in eight out of ten IHE entries with CCT. Although Pellat noticed the correspondence of the *Cordoban Calendar* to the *Long Calendar*, it was not with regard to the IHE, which is understandable given the versions available to him.[512] On the contrary, Pellat even mentions the IHE as one of the distinctive components that distinguishes the *Long Calendar* from the *Cordoban Calendar*.[513] Pellat observed the Shiʿi character of the IHE in the *Long Calendar*. In his view, the IHE reflect a calendar from the Fatimid Empire, an Ismāʿīlī[514] Shiʿi dynasty ruling from the tenth

511 I do not refer to these first four caliphs as *al-khulafāʾ al-rāshidūn* (rightly-guided caliphs) in this dissertation, since their status as "rightly-guided" is disputed within Islam and not shared by all Muslims.
512 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, xi, xv, xxi, xxiii.
513 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, xi.
514 The Ismāʿīlī's are Shiʿis who trace the Imamate through the sixth Imam Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's son Ismāʿīl.

to twelfth century in Ifriqiya and Egypt.[515] The Shiʿi character of the IHE in the *Long Calendar* is exemplified by entries about the marriage of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Fāṭima and the killing of Ḥamza ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, all revered figures in Shiʿa Islam. The Fatimids, in fact, claimed descent from the Prophet Muhammad through ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Fāṭima.[516] It is therefore in line with the Ismāʿīlī Shiʿi creed that the *Long Calendar* puts emphasis on ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the killing of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, the use of the title "Imam" for Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, the killing of Ḥamza ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and the marriage between ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Fāṭima. It is instructive to compare the *Long Calendar*—generally understood to have originated in a Shiʿi Fatimid milieu—with the *Cordoban Calendar*, which is thought to have been compiled in a Sunni Umayyad context. How might we explain the appearance of identical events in both sources, despite their phrasing suggesting a predominantly Shiʿi perspective? I shall attempt to answer this question once I have discussed the entries themselves.

Other valuable points of comparison are the Islamic calendars in al-Bīrūnī's *Āthār al-bāqiya* and al-Qazwīnī's *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt*. While they are not Shiʿi sources per se, they are in line with the anti-Umayyad sentiment which was present in the rest of the Middle East after the demise of the Umayyads. Besides the first four caliphs, al-Bīrūnī's *Āthār al-bāqiya* mentions some important figures from the Abbasid caliphate. For instance, we find the general who led the Abbasid revolution that toppled the Umayyad dynasty and the seventh Abbasid Caliph al-Maʾmūn ibn al-Rashīd, yet none of the Umayyad rulers.[517] It is not difficult to read al-Bīrūnī's disapproval of Umayyad practice in the entry about the general. Although there are a few passages in which al-Bīrūnī is loyal to the Abbasids (who were ruling at al-Bīrūnī's time), his chapter on Muslim practice has a rather Shiʿi character, which would fit well within the Muslim community in Central Asia where he was based, such as the Shiʿi Buyid Empire. These ideological backgrounds reflected in the parallel sources are important to bear in mind when analyzing the IHE in CCT.

Table 15 presents all entries relating to IHE in the ten versions of branches B1, C1 and C2, listed by category. Seven newly discovered versions prove that the IHE cannot be overlooked and they offer an excellent opportunity to consider the moment when these entries were first included, their development over the course of copying, and the reasons for including them in CCT.

515 Although there are variations between the five manuscripts of the *Kitāb qawānīn al-dawāwīn*, especially with regards to the *Long Calendar*, and Ibn Mammātī is thought to have altered the text, Pellat identified these entries and concluded that the text of the *Long Calendar* must have been produced in an environment in which Shiʿa Islam was dominant, i.e., under the Fatimids. Pellat states that specifically the IHE must derive from a Shiʿi context. Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, v and xv.

516 Paula Sanders, *Ritual, Politics and the City in Fatimid Cairo* (State University of New York Press, 1994), 1.

517 Al-Bīrūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 328 and 330.

Table 15. Entries with regard to 1) the life of Muhammad, 2) the first four caliphs, and 3) Muʿāwiya in CCT versions.

Event	Date	Entry	CCT version
Events related to the life of Muhammad			
Prophecy of Muhammad	7 Feb	On this day, the Prophet prophesied, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace, as the historians say.	KA, Balad.2918, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258
		On this day, the Prophet prophesied, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	Risala, K155 & D2197, D18945
		On this day, the Prophet prophesied, peace be upon him.	Balad.2918,
	End of Feb	The Prophet was sent, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, KH10354
		Our Prophet was sent, may the blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	KA
		Our Prophet Muhammad was sent, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	KH10354
Hijra of Muhammad	14 Jul	On this day, it was the hijra of the Prophet, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, KH10354
Death of Muhammad	25 May	On this day, the Prophet died, may the blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, Balad.2918, D18945, Sbihi163/9
		On this day, Muhammad died, may the blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	KH10354

Events involving the four caliphs after Muhammad			
Death Abū Bakr, succession ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb	11 Aug	On this day, Abū Bakr died, may God be pleased with him, and ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb became caliph, may God be pleased with him.	T4624, Sbihi 163/9
		On this day, Abū Bakr died and ʿUmar became caliph, may God be pleased with them.	Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, Balad.2918, D1894, KH10354
Caliphate ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb	19 Jun	On this day, it was the succession of the Commander of the Faithful, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him.	Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9
		On this day, it was the succession of ʿUmar, may God be pleased with him.	KH10354
Death ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb	8 Nov	On this day, ʿUmar died, may God be pleased with him.	KA, D18945, KH10354
		It is said that on this day, ʿUmar died, may God be pleased with him.	Balad.2918, T4624, Sbihi 163/9
		On this day, ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb died, may God be pleased with him.	Risala, K155 & D2197
Killing ʿUthmān, succession ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib	7 Jun	On this day, ʿUthmān was killed and ʿAlī became caliph, may God be pleased with them.	Risala, K155 & D2197, D18945
		On this day, ʿUthmān ibn Affan was killed, may God be pleased with him, and ʿAlī became caliph, may God be pleased with him.	Balad.2918, T4624, Sbihi 163/9

Killing ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib	20 Jan	On this day, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was killed, may God be pleased with him. On this day, no stone can be lifted in Jerusalem, or it will gush blood. This is common for killed prophets and the *awṣiyāʾ* [executors of Muhammad's will], peace be upon them.	KA, KH10354
		On this day, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was killed, may God be pleased with him. On this day, no stone can be lifted in Jerusalem, or it will gush blood. This is common for killed prophets and the *awṣiyāʾ* [executors of Muhammad's will], blessings and peace be upon them.	Risala, K155 & D2197, Sbihi 163/9
		On this day, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was killed, may God be pleased with him. [few unreadable words] On this day, no stone can be lifted in Jerusalem, or it will gush blood. This is common for unjustly killed prophets and the *aṣbiyāʾ* (?), peace be upon them.	Vat.ar.258
		On this day, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was killed, may God be pleased with him.	D18945
		On this day, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was killed, may God be pleased with him. On this day, the stone of God in Jerusalem sheds tears. This is common for killed prophets and the *awliyāʾ*, peace be upon them.	Balad.2918

Killing Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī	9 Oct	On this day, Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was killed, may God be pleased with them.	D18945
		On this day, it is said that it was the killing of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, may God be pleased with them.	Balad.2918
		On this day, it was the killing of Ḥusayn, may God be pleased with him.	KA
	14 Jan	On this day, Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī was killed, may God be pleased with them.	KA, Balad.2918
		On this day, it was the killing of Ḥusayn, may God be pleased with him.	KH10354
Succession Muʿāwiya	5 Nov	On this day, Muʿāwiya, may God be pleased with him, became (*tawallā*) caliph.	Balad.2918, T4624, Sbihi 163/9

What follows is an analysis of what is noteworthy about the selection and wording of IHE in CCT. The parallel sources help to contextualize and sometimes contrast with what is in CCT. I will primarily compare CCT with the *Long Calendar*, as both the wording and the dates of the entries largely correspond. Such a close correspondence between the two sources could not have happened by coincidence and deserves a detailed textual analysis. Pellat's claim that the IHE in the *Long Calendar* have a Shiʿi character will be taken as a starting point for the analysis of IHE in CCT. Are the IHE in both sources the same or in what details do they differ? What does this say about the inclusion of IHE in CCT? It is through the wording and selection of events that the individual voices of these texts begin to emerge, allowing us to hear differences between them.

Events relating to the life of Muhammad

An overview of events in table 16 and 18 consists of crucial moments in the life of the most important Prophet of Islam, Muhammad, namely his prophecy, the hijra and his death. With regard to events relating to the life of Muhammad, it is remarkable that CCT versions correspond largely with each other, but also with the *Long Calendar*.

Table 16. Entries relating to events in the life of Muhammad in CCT versions.

Event	Risala	K155 & D2197	T4624	KA	Balad.2918	Vat. ar.258	D18945	KH10354	Sbihi163/9
Prophecy	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hijra	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Death	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓

Table 17. Entries relating to the life of Muhammad in CCT versions.

Event	Date	Entry	CCT version
Prophecy of Muhammad	7 Feb	On this day, the Prophet prophesied, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace, as the historians say.	KA, Balad.2918, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258
		On this day, the Prophet prophesied, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	Risala, K155 & D2197, D18945
		On this day, the Prophet prophesied, peace be upon him.	KH10354
	End of Feb	The Prophet was sent, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	Balad.2918, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat. ar.258
		Our Prophet was sent, may the blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	KA
		Our Prophet Muhammad was sent, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	KH10354
Hijra of Muhammad	14 Jul	On this day, it was the hijra of the Prophet, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, Balad.2918, D18945 T4624, Sbihi 163/9, KH10354
Death of Muhammad	25 May	On this day, the Prophet died, may the blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	Risala, K155 & D2197, KA, Balad.2918, D18945
		On this day, Muhammad died, may the blessings of God be upon him as well as peace.	KH10354

In the entries of events relating to the life of Muhammad in table 17, we see *al-nabī* mentioned very often. *Nabī* literally means 'prophet', but whenever the word is used in the Islamic tradition with the definite article *al-nabī* (the Prophet), we can expect it to mean Muhammad. To my knowledge, the word *al-nabī* does not appear in Christian Arabic texts, without specifying which prophet is meant.[518] The word *al-nabī* appears 28 times in the Qurʾan with a definite article. In those cases, the word always refers to Muhammad (and in the instances where it is used without a definite article, it does not). For events relating to the life of Muhammad in CCT, the use of the word *al-nabī* is very consistent in all versions and entries except in KH10354. KH10354 stands out in that it twice uses Muhammad's name, namely in the entry about his prophecy and his death. KH10354 writes Muhammad's name in red ink, whereas this color is otherwise only used to mark the calendar days and occasionally to refer to a source (for instance, to Ibn Qutayba). The understanding of *al-nabī* as Muhammad is supported in T4624 by the use of red ink for *al-nabī*.[519] When speaking about the prophecy of Muhammad, KH10354 and KA establish a bond between the author and the reader as belonging to the *umma* (community of Muslims) by writing that *"our* Prophet Muhammad was sent." These instances in KH10354 and KA can be interpreted as emphases to express a notion of belonging to an Islamic community. It is nevertheless likely that they represent a later emendation to the text, because these wording is only represented in these two versions. Examining the differences in these entries allows us to get a sense of the type of community from which a given version of CCT arises and helps us to hypothesize further about which elements were part of a core, and which were pertinent to practice in al-Andalus.

As to the three events listed in table 16 (prophecy, hijra and death), there is a high degree of consistency between CCT versions. There are seven versions that contain all three events (Risala, KA, Balad.2918, D18945, KH10354). The entry relating to the death of Muhammad is not observable in T4624 due to water damage, but there is no particular reason to assume it was not included in the text, especially because Sbihi 163/9 contains the entry as well and this version is very similar to T4624. The absence of the hijra of Muhammad and the death of Muhammad in Vat.ar.258 seems to be the result of a more general arbitrariness in its copying; Vat.ar.258 omits many days and reveals no recognizable pattern of avoiding or including certain content.

A comparison in table 18 with the *Long Calendar* shows that all the events regarding the life of Muhammad coincide between CCT and the *Long Calendar* (3/3), and that the wording is often identical (2/3). As articulated above, the dates of IHE entries in CCT and the *Long Calendar* largely correspond. The few discrepancies between the dates on which events occur in the two sources

518 In the *Kitāb al-dalāʾil*, for instance, the word al-*nabī*, is always accompanied by the name of a prophet. See, for instance: *dhikrān shamuwīl al-nabī* (commemoration of Samuel the prophet). Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Daláël*, 183.

519 Fol. 44v.

could be explained by the erroneous conversion of the dates from one calendar to the other (Coptic versus Julian).[520]

Table 18. Entries with regard to the life of Muhammad in CCT and the *Long Calendar*.

Event	Date	Entry in CCT	Date	Entry in Long Calendar
Prophesy	7 Feb; end Feb	The Prophet prophesied (*tanabbaʾa*) The Prophet was sent (*buʿitha*)	3 Feb	Revelations were made (*uḥiya*) to the Prophet
Hijra	14 Jul	It was the hijra of the Prophet	8 Jul	It was the hijra of the Prophet
Death	25 May	It was the death of the Prophet	20 May	It was the death of the Prophet

The only difference in wording between the two sources is found in the entry on prophecy. In this phrase, not only is a different verb used (table 18) in CCT versus the *Long Calendar*, but it is also unclear if the same event is meant. We could wonder if "prophesied" and "the Prophet was sent" are actually the same as "revelations were made," since Islamic tradition claims that there was a pause of three years between the first revelations and Muhammad's reciting of the revelation.[521] In the *Long Calendar*, emphasis is placed on the moment when the Prophet received the revelations—according to Islamic tradition, from God through the angel Gabriel while alone in a cave—whereas in CCT the focus appears to be on the moment when Muhammad conveyed these prophecies to the people. Nevertheless, the proximity of the dates suggests that the entries in both sources were borrowed from each other, or from a shared ancestor, particularly given that other events in the *Long Calendar* also occur a few days earlier than in CCT. The other entry on prophesy, also in CCT, emphasizes that Muhammad was 'sent' in that month, which may refer to Muhammad being sent by God as the last in a chain of prophets [Qurʾan 33:40]. However, although there is an apparent difference in emphases in the entry on prophecy, there is no evidence for doctrinal variety or other circumstances that might have caused this difference.

Summarizing from the three IHE related to the life of Muhammad, we have been able to demonstrate a high degree of consistency between the different CCT versions, in the type of events they include, the dates and the way in which they are phrased. The IHE related to the life of Muhammad overlap closely with what is found in the *Long Calendar*. This close correspondence between CCT and the *Long Calendar* implies either a common ancestor to both sources or the

520 I use Pellat's conversions of the Coptic calendar to the Julian calendar. Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 2–93.

521 "At the same time tradition claims that there was a *fatra* ("pause") of three years between the time he received these "first revelations" and the time he began his public ministry." F. Buhl and A. T. Welch, 'Muḥammad', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, VII, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill, 1960–2005), 363.

borrowing of content between CCT and the *Long Calendar*. We will see more correspondence between CCT and the *Long Calendar* in the rest of this section, and I will discuss the possible implications in the conclusion of this section.

Events relating to the first four caliphs

In this section, I turn to the other category of IHE, i.e., the ones that are related to the first four caliphs. As explained earlier in this chapter, there was disagreement in the *umma* about the eligibility of a successor to Muhammad as the leader of the Muslim community. The question of the succession led to conflict in the community of believers right after Muhammad's death, and the perception of these events and figures varies according to the creed of different Islamic branches and denominations. The disagreement becomes tangible, for instance, in how branches and denominations refer to these figures. This is why the IHE in CCT are particularly interesting in terms of how they are phrased. Some of the wording in the entries concerning the successors of the Prophet hints at possible sources for the IHE in CCT and, intriguingly, suggests a Shiʿi context for their provenance.

To analyze the entries presented here, we have to understand the background of the historical figures Abū Bakr (r. 632–634), ʿUmar (r. 634–644), ʿUthmān (r. 644–656), ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (r. 656–661), Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, and Muʿāwiya (r. 661–680). The stories and significance of these figures, especially the early Islamic caliphs ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, are valued differently by Islamic groups. All these figures are relevant in relation to the succession of Muhammad because, as caliphs (literally meaning 'successor'), Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib were the first four successors after Muhammad's death. The question of rightful succession immediately after Muhammad's death hinged on whether Muhammad's successor should be someone from his *ahl al-bayt* ('people of the house'—which means here his family) or from his *ṣaḥāba* (trusted companions). Partisans of the *shiʿat ʿAlī* (party of ʿAlī) claimed that ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, who was a cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad, should succeed Muhammad as he was a member of the *ahl al-bayt*. However, due to ʿAlī 's young age at the time, ʿAlī's followers had accepted the first two caliphs, despite them being of the *ṣaḥāba*. Following the murder of the second caliph, ʿUmar, the first *fitna* (conflict) divided the *umma* into different parties. ʿAlī had grown older and was considered a legitimate successor by his supporters. The supporters of the *shiʿat ʿUthmān* (party of ʿUthmān), however, legitimated ʿUthmān's succession of Muhammad on the basis that he was from among the *ṣaḥāba*. As a result, the *shiʿat ʿAlī* did not recognize ʿUthmān as the third caliph. Instead, they only recognized the fourth caliph, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, who should have been the first caliph in their eyes. They considered him their first Imam, followed by ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib's sons, Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī and Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī as the second and third Imams. However, after ʿAlī was killed during the first *fitna*, Muʿāwiya managed to take over central power instead of Ḥasan or Ḥusayn, and he founded the first dynasty in Islamic history: the Umayyad caliphate. The later killing of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī turned this figure into a protomartyr for the followers of the *shiʿat ʿAlī*.

The first *fitna* marks the beginning of the development of different Islamic groups, but these groups did not manifest and define themselves as Sunnis and Shiites until later. This early Islamic period rather became a model to refer back to for Islamic branches that developed at a later stage. The return to this early Islamic period also became part of almost every legitimization narrative of Islamic rulers and dynasties. Having said this, the *shiʿat ʿAlī* were not the only ones to reject Muʿāwiya. The emergence of an Umayyad dynasty was opposed and considered unrighteous by virtually all contemporaneous groups except by the Umayyads themselves, although we have to keep in mind that traditional historiography about the Umayyads is not contemporaneous and is colored by the projection of later ideas into the Umayyad past.[522] The subsequent dynasty of the Sunni Abbasids presented themselves as being direct descendants of Muhammad (via ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, one of the uncles of Muhammad). However, the Abbasid caliphs were not on the side of the *shiʿat ʿAlī* either, although both groups claimed legitimacy on the same grounds and the *shiʿat ʿAlī* had supported the war against the Umayyads. The Abbasids rejected Muʿāwiya and the Umayyads as rightful successors of Muhammad. Accordingly, the narrative that Muʿāwiya was not a rightful successor of Muhammad became part of the Abbasid legitimization when they overthrew the Umayyad caliphate, although it is evident that this was in part also a strategy to distract from internal problems.[523]

I will return to Muʿāwiya in the next section, but the focus here will be on events concerning the first four caliphs. The split between different branches of the *umma* and the narratives that underlay this split influenced the way different moments in Islamic history were depicted, something that is reflected in the IHE recorded in CCT. Table 19 lists all entries relating to the first four caliphs in CCT.

522 Molina, under 'Umayyads', 840.

523 Antoine Borrut, 'La Memoria Omeyyade: Les Omeyyades entre Souvenir et Oubli dans les Sources Narratives Islamiques', in *Umayyad Legacies. Medieval Memories from Syria to Spain*, ed. Antoine Borrut and Paul M. Cobb (Brill, 2010), 56.

Table 19. Entries relating to the succession of Muhammad in CCT versions.

Event	T4624	Risala	KA	Balad.2918	Vat. ar.258	D18945	KH10354	Sbihi163/9
Death Abū Bakr–succession ʿUmar	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Death ʿUmar	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Killing ʿUthmān–succession ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib	✓	✓	✓[524]	✓		✓		✓
Killing ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib	✓[525]	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Killing Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓

What can be concluded from table 19 is an overall consistency between the versions in the category of entries relating to the first four caliphs. There is some variability in the names used (ʿUmar in KA, D18945, KH10354, Balad.2918, T4624, and Sbihi 163/9 versus ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in Risala), but these entries concern the same historical person, and the differences in formulation cannot be explained by ideological considerations. The absence of some entries in certain versions can be explained by parts of the text missing in these versions. The absence of the entry about the killing of ʿUthmān and the succession of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib" in KA, for example, might be the result of the entire month June lacking in that version, and the absence of an entry for the killing of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib in T4624 could be due to what seems to be the paper having been ripped off at the top of the relevant folio.

With regard to the differing visions of early Islamic history discussed above, there are three observations that stand out in this set of entries in CCT: 1) the succession of ʿUthmān is not included in this set; 2) the killing of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib has an extensive and very characteristic entry, and; 3) the killing of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī is included. All three point to a Shiʿi perspective. The first two caliphs, Abū Bakr and ʿUmar were less controversial from a Shiʿi perspective (and do not stand out in the entries in any case). The specific Shiʿi context appears from the succession of ʿUthmān onwards (which is when the entries appear to become specific). My hypothesis is that these entries must derive from a source produced in a Shiʿi context. In order to demonstrate this, I will now elucidate on the three observations mentioned above.

524 In KA, the month June is absent.

525 In T4624, part of the folio is ripped off where this entry could have been included. Considering that Sbihi163/9 (which is textually very close to T4624) includes this entry, we may expect T4624 to have included this entry as well on the missing part of the folio.

The succession of ʿUthmān

In CCT there are entries for the death or killing of the first four caliphs. Whereas the entries of the first (Abū Bakr) and third caliph (ʿUthmān) are accompanied by information about who followed them in succession, the death of the second caliph (ʿUmar) is not followed by information about his successor ʿUthmān. If it is true that the succession of ʿUthmān was deliberately left out of the chain, this could be supporting evidence for a Shiʿi context for the production of these entries, since the followers of ʿAlī opposed and revolted against ʿUthmān.

Table 20. Entries related to the succession of Muhammad in CCT and in the *Long Calendar*. Differences between CCT versions are displayed between parentheses.

Event	Date	CCT	Date	*Long Calendar*
Death Abū Bakr Succession ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb	11 Aug	On this day, Abū Bakr died and ʿUmar became caliph, may God be pleased with them.	1 Aug	Death of the Imam Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, may God be pleased with him.
Death ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb	8 Nov	On this day, (they say that) ʿUmar died, may God be pleased with him.	29 Oct	Death of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him.
Killing ʿUthmān Succession ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib	7 Jun	On this day, ʿUthmān was killed and ʿAlī became caliph, may God be pleased with them.	11 Jun	Killing of ʿUthmān, may God be pleased with him

The passages in table 20 show that CCT entries are similar to the *Long Calendar* in that the entries mention the deaths of the first four caliphs. However, as we see in table 20, in two out of three entries, CCT also mentions the succession of the next caliph, but ʿUthmān's succession is surprisingly not mentioned. The absence of ʿUthmān's succession from the entry about ʿUmar in CCT is significant, therefore, and it strengthens the impression that the IHE come from a Shiʿi context. It has to be mentioned, however, that references to ʿUthmān appear in both CCT and the *Long Calendar* with the honorific *may God be pleased with him*.[526] Such an appellation would be unusual in a Shiʿi context, given the strong resentment that must have existed against ʿUthmān in the Shiʿi Fatimid period.[527] Whereas the title Imam for Abū Bakr in the *Long Calendar* fits a Shiʿi perspective, the honorific for ʿUthmān would be difficult to explain. Pellat speculates that ʿUthmān could have been included in the *Long Calendar* because this would also have meant the succession of ʿAlī ibn Abi Talib. However, he also comments that it is very unlikely that the

526 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 77.

527 The Shiʿis did not recognize ʿUthmān as legitimate ruler. Maribel Fierro, *ʿAbd al-Rahman III : The First Cordoban Caliph* (Oneworld Publications, 2013), 58.

Fatimids would have commemorated ʿUthmān and does not comment on the honorific for him.[528] Maybe this honorific in the *Long Calendar* can be explained by the Sunni environment of Ibn Mammātī, who may have added it when he copied the calendar into his *Kitāb qawānīn al-dawāwīn*. While it remains uncertain why the *Long Calendar* has these honorifics for ʿUthmān, it still remains that the entries relating to the first four caliphs in CCT and the *Long Calendar* make a strong impression of deriving ultimately from a Shiʿi environment.

The killing of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib

Further suggestion of possible Shiʿi influence is found in the importance attributed to ʿAlī in CCT. The description of his killing is remarkably long and dramatic compared to other IHE entries in CCT: "On this day, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was killed, may God be pleased with him. On this day, no stone can be lifted in Jerusalem, or it will gush blood. This is common for (unjustly) killed prophets and the awṣiyāʾ (executors of Muhammad's will)/*awliyāʾ* (saints), peace be upon them."[529] We encounter some variation in the versions with regard to this last word (*awṣiyāʾ* versus *awliyāʾ*), which reveals some ambiguity in the entry. *Awṣiyāʾ* (sg. *waṣī*) is a theological term in Shiʿa Islam, meaning executor, successor or heir. This term was first used to designate ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib as the heir of Muhammad's possessions and spiritual and political authority. According to Shiʿi belief, Muhammad was informed by a revelation that ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was his *waṣī*.[530] Most versions choose *awṣiyāʾ* (KA, 10354, Risala, K155 & D2918 and Sbihi 163/9), again reflecting a Shiʿi perspective. Only Balad.2918 has *awliyāʾ*, which, in Sufi Islam, is used for 'someone who is very close to God' (sometimes translated as 'Sufi saint' or 'ascetic').[531] As a result, we can imagine that Balad.2918 emerged in a context of Sufi Islam. The appearance of a Sufi term could be explained by the provenance of Balad.2918 which is found in a late, Maghrebi manuscript. This cultural area was deeply imbued with Sufi culture.

528 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, xv.

529 The word *awṣiyāʾ* is in KA, KH10354, Risala and Sbihi 163/9. The word *awliyāʾ* in Balad.2918. The words *aṣbiyāʾ* (unidentified word) is only found in Vat.ar.258: fol. 87r. The word *unjustly* is found in Vat.ar.258.

530 E. Kohlberg, 'Waṣī', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, XI, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill, 1960–2005).

531 *Wilāya/walāya* in Sufi Islam points to the spiritual power through which the journey to God is made possible, a central aspect in Sufi Islam. In Sufi Islam, it is believed that ʿAlī, from whom nearly every Sufi order claims their lineage, inherited this power from the Prophet. It is not a coincidence that perhaps the most controversial verse in the Qurʾan [5:55] is about *wilāya*. B. Radtke, 'Walī', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, XI, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill, 1960–2005).

Table 21. Entry about the killing of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib in CCT and in the *Long Calendar*. Differences between CCT versions are displayed between parentheses.

Event	Date	CCT	Date	*Long Calendar*
Killing of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib	20/21 Jan	On this day, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was killed, may God be pleased with him. On this day, no stone can be lifted in Jerusalem, or it will gush blood. This is common for (unjustly) killed prophets and the *awṣiyāʾ* [executors of Muhammad's will/saints], peace be upon them.	N/A	N/A

Surprisingly, the *Long Calendar* has no entry at all for the killing of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Pellat attributes the absence of the entry referring to the killing of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib to an oversight by the copyist of the *Long Calendar*—since it would be unusual for this entry not to appear alongside other entries of a Shiʿi character—and highlights other typical entries (absent from CCT) that unequivocally demonstrate its Shiʿi character, such as the account of the marriage of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Fāṭima, and the entry concerning the killing of Ḥamza ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib, a figure revered in Shiʿa Islam.[532] In light of the presence of these entries, it would indeed be unlikely that an entry for the killing of ʿAlī would be absent in a Fatimid calendar.

The killing of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī

Another noteworthy entry that demonstrates the Shiʿi nature of IHE in CCT concerns Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, the second son of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Fāṭima. As Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī refused to recognize the Umayyad caliph, Yazīd I, Muʿāwiya's son, he did not plead allegiance and was therefore killed by Yazīd I's army in the battle of Karbala. As a result, he became an important martyr—often referred to as the protomartyr—in Shiʿa Islam. The inclusion in CCT of the killing of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī thus serves as another indication that its IHE may have originated in a Shiʿi milieu, even though Ḥusayn himself is also widely revered in Sunni Islam for his descent from the Prophet and because he had sacrificed himself for an ideal.[533]

532 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, xv.

533 L. Veccia Vaglieri, '(Al-)Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, III, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill, 1960–2005), 614.

Table 22. Entry about the killing of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī in CCT and in the *Long Calendar*. Differences between CCT versions are displayed between parentheses.

Event	Date	CCT	Date	*Long Calendar*
Killing of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī	14 Jan & 9 Oct	On this day, (it is said) that it was the killing of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, may God be pleased with them [i.e., Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib]	6 Oct	On this day, [...] it was the killing of Ḥusayn, peace be upon him"

From the above discussion on the IHE included in CCT that relate to the succession of Muhammad, we can identify three notable characteristics in CCT that indicate a Shiʿi influence. The absence of the succession of ʿUthmān, the extensive entry for the killing of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and an entry for the killing of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī, all reflect a particular Shiʿi perspective with regard to these early Islamic figures. This creates the impression that these entries were based on a source that originated in a Shiʿi context. It would be unusual for such a source to be used in a tenth-century Umayyad context, where Sunni Islam was the dominant branch and, in this context, Shiʿi propaganda—associated with the rival Fatimid caliphate—was perceived as both a threat and a competing ideology.[534] In order to resolve this apparent contradiction, I shall now turn to the events relating to Muʿāwiya, which offer a possible explanation.

Events relating to Muʿāwiya

Given that the entries in CCT related to the first four caliphs appear to have roots in a Shiʿi context, as we have now seen, it is therefore all the more surprising to find among the entries of IHE in CCT an entry about Muʿāwiya, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty. In this, CCT differs from the *Long Calendar.* Due to the refusal by the Fatimids to accept Muʿāwiya, for reasons explained earlier, it is hardly surprising that there is no entry for Muʿāwiya in the *Long Calendar*. Yet, given the similarities seen thus far between CCT and the *Long Calendar* in their inclusion and formulation of IHE, this discrepancy is significant.

534 Molina, under 'Umayyads', 851.

Table 23. Entry about Muʿāwiya in CCT and in the *Long Calendar*.

Event	Date	CCT	Date	*Long Calendar*
Succession Muʿāwiya	5 Nov	On this day, Muʿāwiya, may God be pleased with him, became (*tawallā*) caliph / took the power of (*qaʿada*) caliph.[535]	N/A	N/A

Table 23 shows that CCT contains an entry about Muʿāwiya becoming caliph on 5 November. While it is hard not to hear in the entries related to the succession of Muhammad an echo of what is found in the *Long Calendar* for other caliphs, the entry about Muʿāwiya in CCT must be seen separately from the entries about the first four caliphs. It should be noted that a similar entry is found in the *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* by al-Qazwīnī, a Sunni scholar from the thirteenth century. However, crucially, the *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* does not include an honorific for Muʿāwiya.[536] Like the *Āthār al-bāqiya*, the *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* disapproves of Umayyad practices, which may explain the absence of the honorific.

As we can see, however, CCT does include an honorific for Muʿāwiya. We may hypothesize that the person who included this honorific did not share a disapproving attitude towards Muʿāwiya. A positive stance towards Muʿāwiya would be expected in an Umayyad environment, such as that of the Umayyads in al-Andalus. The Umayyads, who were Sunni Muslims adhering to the Maliki school of law, believed the caliphate was set aside for the *Banū Umayya*, a tribe to which Muʿāwiya belonged. The fact that the Andalusi Umayyads claimed legitimacy based on their Damascene Umayyad ancestors is, for instance, expressed in the architecture of the Great Mosque in Córdoba, which followed the model of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. The entry about Muʿāwiya thus fitted well in an Andalusi-Umayyad context, in which Muʿāwiya was an important figure for the dynasty's legitimization of power. This is reflected in Ibn Ḥabīb's *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh*, which presents Muʿāwiya as a legitimate ruler by incorporating a chapter on his ascent to the throne in neutral terms.[537]

To conclude this section, we do not find a straightforward approach to early Islamic history in the IHE of CCT. Whereas the entries on the life of Muhammad seem uncontroversial, the entries relating to the first four caliphs and Muʿāwiya call for a close analysis and attention to ideological and theological details. This analysis leads to some ambiguity regarding the confessional perspective being represented. A Shiʿi context can be argued for the IHE in CCT on the basis

535 Risala, K155 & D2197, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, KA, Balad.2918.
536 Zakarīyā b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *El-Kazwīni's Kosmographie*, vol. 1, 142.
537 ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-Taʾrīj*, 116–19.

of the lack of an entry for ʿUthmān as well as the entries for the killing of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī. Because of the strong correspondence with the *Long Calendar*, I argue that it is likely that these entries were copied from an Egyptian calendar that preceded the *Long Calendar* or that both depended on a common ancestor, Egyptian or otherwise, but likely Shiʿi. A curious piece of counter-evidence is the entry on Muʿāwiya, because we would not expect it in a Shiʿi environment. My hypothesis is that this entry—with honorific—reflects an "Umayyad" mark placed on a series of IHE that generally bear a Shiʿi character. The mention of an entry on Muʿāwiya in al-Qazwīnī's *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* could mean that this event was considered a "neutral" fact in Islamic historiography. But the inclusion of an honorific in the entry in CCT implies that this event was marked in CCT with approval. Such a textual intervention may plausibly have taken place in al-Andalus, where the legitimation of Umayyad rule was closely tied to the figure of Muʿāwiya—an association that aligns well with the Andalusi Umayyad context in which the *Cordoban Calendar* was produced.

Islamic historical events in the original text

Despite the entry on Muʿāwiya fitting more logically into an Umayyad Andalusi context, it remains unclear why an Andalusi author in the tenth century would include the other entries, of which some have a distinct Shiʿi character. It is possible that these entries were simply copied into the text—either by the original author or a later scribe—without significant concern for their ideological implications. Yet it is difficult to imagine that contemporary readers would have overlooked the Shiʿi perspective. Given the perceived threat of Shiʿi propaganda during the reign of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III—a concern that may have persisted under al-Ḥakam II—the idea that the author was indifferent to these implications seems unlikely.[538] I argue that the incorporation likely took place at the moment of the compilation of the *Cordoban Calendar*, while not discarding the possibility of it happening in a later transmission stage. Research concerning the *Cordoban Calendar* is at too early a stage to allow for a definite conclusion, but I will provide some initial arguments for my hypothesis.

Grounds to suggest that the IHE were part of the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar* are found in their appearance in sources that explicitly cite the *Cordoban Calendar* or ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd. We find them in the thirteenth-century *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* by Ibn al-Bannāʾ, and in the *Tanbīh al-anām* by al-Jādirī from 1399.[539] The IHE in the *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* are fewer (3) than in CCT (10), but two of them correspond to CCT. These concern the killing of Ḥusayn (14 January) and the killing of ʿAlī

538 Molina, under 'Umayyads', 851.
539 Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 81–82.

ibn Abi Talib (20 January).[540] In the *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ*, the killings of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib are described in terms almost identical to those in CCT.[541] Al-Jādirī even has nine out of ten of the IHE in common with CCT. This makes it plausible that these entries were in the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*, since Ibn al-Bannāʾ and al-Jādirī mention ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd as one of their sources. Even in the case that the IHE were not part of the earliest compilation, it is likely that they were added in al-Andalus or the Maghreb sometime before the thirteenth century, when Ibn al-Bannāʾ copied them into his *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ*.

The occurrence of these same events across a significant number of CCT versions increases the possibility of their appearing in the original text. There are several versions containing the IHE in Maghrebi script (Risala, Balad.2918, Vat.ar.258, KH10354, Sbihi 163/9), which is proof of the circulation of the IHE in a Maghrebi-Andalusi context. Hence, even if the IHE were added at a later stage of the text transmission, it is unlikely that they were added outside of the Maghrebi-Andalusi context. The absence of the IHE in other CCT versions—namely A1, A2, and B2—may indicate either that the IHE were later additions to the other branches, or that A1, A2, and B2 reflect a branch within CCT from which the IHE had been deliberately removed. However, we do not encounter traces of IHE in branches A1, A2 and B2 to strengthen this hypothesis as we did in the case of entries concerning prophets and scriptures.

There are therefore limits to establishing with certainty whether the IHE were part of the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*, as I have noted. However, if they were, the central question becomes: what might have motivated the author of the *Cordoban Calendar*—presumably loyal to the Umayyad Sunni caliph—to include entries on early Islamic events that reflect a distinctly Shiʿi perspective? One possible explanation for the presence of IHE in CCT lies in the Umayyad aspiration to assert authority over their dominion.[542] This rationale was also proposed by Safran in her explanation of the inclusion of the Christian liturgical content in the *Cordoban Calendar*.[543] Extending this logic, the inclusion of IHE may be seen as part of a broader strategy of political legitimation. This interpretation gains further clarity when viewed in light of the legitimizing

540 The third entry is on 13 November: "And when the year of ashes came, the year of dearth under the caliphate of ʿUmar ibn. al-Khaṭṭāb, the companions became afraid, and the Muslims asked ʿUmar to perform the *ṣalāt al-istisqāʾ* (prayer for rain) for them. But he asked them: 'How many days are left until the nawʾ of the Pleiades?' 'So many and so many,' they answered. 'Well, when the time comes, let me know.' This is what they did. Then al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib recited the *ṣalāt al-istisqāʾ* and the Muslims were granted it." Ibn Bannāʾ, *Le Calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannā'*, 54–55.

541 The difference is mainly that al-Bannāʾ uses the title *mawlānā* (our Lord) for Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī and ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib. Ibn Bannāʾ, *Le Calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannā'*, 2 and 29.

542 I am grateful to Maribel Fierro for kindly drawing my attention to her article "La política religiosa de ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III" (*Al-Qanṭara* XXV (2004), 119-156), in which she demonstrates that, by the time of al-Ḥakam II, a trend towards Shiʿi normalization had emerged in Umayyad al-Andalus, manifested, for example, in the rejection of an attempt to remove the chapter on the merits of ʿAlī from one of the hadith collections (p. 152). This trend means that references to ʿAlī and to his son should not come as a surprise. It also provides further support for my argument that entries containing IHE, especially those referring to ʿAlī, are not implausible to have appeared in the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*.

543 Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus*, 89.

narrative constructed by the Andalusi Umayyads. Understanding this narrative requires recalling the historical context in which the Andalusi Umayyad caliphate was established. The Umayyad empire unfolded in two distinct phases. The first phase followed the rule of the first four caliphs and comprised the Umayyad caliphate in Damascus (661–750). During this period, vast territories including parts of Central Asia, North Africa, and the Iberian Peninsula were brought under Umayyad control. The rapid conquest of the Iberian Peninsula began in 711 under Umayyad rule. This region remained a province of the Umayyad caliphate until the dynasty was overthrown by the Abbasids in 750. While most members of the Umayyad ruling family were killed in the Abbasid revolution, the Umayyad prince ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I managed to escape. He arrived in the Iberian Peninsula in 755 and established the Umayyad dynasty there, inaugurating a second phase of Umayyad rule (756–1031)—this time independent from the Abbasids, who had claimed the caliphate for themselves.

The Umayyad emirate established by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I in 756 transitioned into a caliphate in 929. In that year, the Andalusi-Umayyad emir ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III declared himself *amīr al-muʾminīn* (Commander of the Faithful), a title confined to the caliph. While it was formally not possible to have more than one caliph leading the Muslim *umma*, the Andalusi-Umayyad caliphate (929–1031) was a caliphate among caliphates. In 910, ʿAbd Allāh Abū Muḥammad had declared himself caliph of the Ismāʿīlī Shiʿi Fatimid Empire (909–1171), while before that the sole caliphate was that of the Sunni Abbasids (750–1517). This means that at the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's self-declaration as caliph, there were three contemporaneous caliphs contesting the exclusive title: the Abbasid, the Fatimid and the Andalusi-Umayyad caliph. At the time of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's claim, the Abbasid caliphate had weakened significantly, and it was the Fatimid caliphate that achieved a powerful hold in the Arabic-Islamicate world. The most significant rivalry was thus, from the perspective of the Andalusi Umayyads, with the Fatimid Empire. In this challenging environment of competing caliphates, the new Andalusi-Umayyad Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III presented himself as the defender of the true faith and God's chosen leader, echoing the messianic propaganda of the Fatimids.[544] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III based his legitimacy on following the "true" path of the four "rightly-guided" caliphs and on continuing the Syrian Umayyad dynasty whose caliphate he claimed to restore.[545] Both the Syrian Umayyad caliphs in Damascus (661–750) and the self-proclaimed Umayyad caliphs in Córdoba based their legitimacy on the idea of an inheritance from the *Banū Umayya*, of which Muʿāwiya was the first to establish a dynasty. While the Fatimid and Abbasid caliphates dismissed the Syrian Umayyad *dawla* (state), ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III saw the Syrian Umayyads as his ancestors and sought to emphasize continuity

544 Janina M. Safran, 'The Command of the Faithful in al-Andalus: A Study in the Articulation of Caliphal Legitimacy', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 2 (1998): 190; Fierro, *ʿAbd al-Rahman III*, 56.

545 Safran, 'The Command of the Faithful in al-Andalus', 188–90.

with the Umayyad caliphate.[546] In doing so, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III defined his caliphal authority in opposition to Fatimid Shiʿi beliefs and challenged Fatimid claims to the caliphate.[547]

The motivations for the author of the *Cordoban Calendar* to use a calendar of the rival Fatimid Empire might at first seem counter-intuitive, but can be explained by precisely the political circumstances described above. Including Shiʿi commemorations could have been a way of exerting some kind of ownership over them, from a Sunni perspective. The same appropriation is seen in the way ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III echoed the messianic propaganda of his Fatimid rivals.[548] Umayyad legitimacy was then further strengthened by having an entry for Muʿāwiya in CCT in which this ruler is approved by honorifics. Inclusion of this entry, with honorific, served the Andalusi-Umayyad narrative that Muʿāwiya rightly followed after the first four caliphs. It also supported the Andalusi Umayyad desire to restore the Syrian Umayyad caliphate founded by Muʿāwiya. We can compare this to the rationale behind building Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ—as a way of exerting authority over and above the Fatimids by naming it after Fāṭima, who was nicknamed "al-Zahrāʾ" (the Radiant) and therefore claiming her for the Umayyads.[549] The motivations for including the Shiʿi entries in CCT may thus be sought in the context of rivalry between the Andalusi-Umayyad and the Fatimid rulers.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has surveyed a diverse range of liturgical material hitherto largely unnoticed in CCT. As a result of detailed comparison between versions, we can detect Jewish, Persian, Coptic and entries concerning prophets and scriptures. There is also significant Islamic material, of both Sunni and Shiʿi character, that is probably less commemorative than it is historical. It is possible to claim with that at least some of this material likely formed part of the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*. The Jewish, Persian and Coptic feasts, and the entries about prophets and scriptures, all appear in sufficient versions to suggest this. However, it remains difficult to draw definitive conclusions regarding the moment at which the IHE material was incorporated into CCT.

Making such assessments has been made possible through the use of parallel sources, of which I have identified several more than had previously been discussed. In this respect, this chapter confirms Varisco's assertion that Arabic almanacs and calendrical sources cannot be studied in isolation. While Varisco's research focuses primarily on the agricultural and astronomical content of Arabic almanacs, the present chapter demonstrates that his observation equally applies to their liturgical aspects. A comparative analysis between CCT and other Arabic calendrical sources has proven essential for contextualizing much of CCT's liturgical content. Many of the feasts, commemorations, and historical events recorded in CCT also appear in other Arabic calendrical

546 P. M. Holt, 'Ḵẖalīfa', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, IV, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill, 1960–2005), 943.
547 Safran, 'The Command of the Faithful in al-Andalus', 190.
548 Safran, 'The Command of the Faithful in al-Andalus', 185.
549 Fierro, '*Abd al-Rahman III*, 114.

sources, where they are attributed to the practices of specific communities. These parallels have significantly contributed to the interpretation of previously misunderstood entries in CCT or entries that were incorrectly attributed to the Iberian context. This suggests that the liturgical material in CCT should be viewed as part of a broader literary tradition reflecting the practices and beliefs of diverse religious communities.

Remarkably, this tradition was not confined to a single faith but was shared and developed by authors from various religious backgrounds. It is therefore crucial to approach the *Cordoban Calendar* not as a calendar whose entries were all composed in their first instance by a single author or rooted in one specific environment, but rather as a product of a wider network of Arabic calendrical writing. This broader context must be taken into account by tracing connections to other Arabic calendrical texts, an approach which some studies of the *Cordoban Calendar* have failed to apply. The aim of this chapter, however, has not been to pinpoint the exact sources from which the *Cordoban Calendar* may have drawn its liturgical content. Instead, it offers a presentation of the liturgical material in the CCT versions and its affiliations with other sources within a vast Mediterranean network of Arabic calendrical literature.

There is likely no single explanation for the diversity of content in CCT, particularly concerning the transmission of material traditionally preserved in Arabic calendrical texts. Dozy proposed that the "Eastern traces" in the *Cordoban Calendar* may have resulted from the travels of Rabīʿ ibn Zayd to Syria.[550] While such journeys could indeed account for the familiarity with Eastern Christian traditions in al-Andalus, there are other explanations as well. It is more likely that Arabic calendrical books found their way to al-Andalus through other channels, due to the textual overlap with many parallel sources demonstrated in this chapter. There is significant overlap between CCT and sources from the East Syrian context, such as that of Ibn Māsawayh and Ibn Bahlūl, Egyptian almanacs with Coptic content and accounts of the Melkite and East Syrian liturgical year in the *Āthār al-bāqiya* of al-Bīrūnī. None of these sources, however, fully accounts for all the feasts or dates in CCT. In terms of structure and content, the ninth-century *Kitāb al-azmina* may have inspired the compiler of the *Cordoban Calendar*, or even served as one of its sources. The author of the *Cordoban Calendar* may subsequently have expanded the text using material from other works, such as Ibn Bahlūl's *Kitāb al-dalāʾil*, or from a similar text or an earlier version thereof.

The underlying aim of examining each category of liturgical content was to assess whether the various categories—or specific elements within them—belonged to the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*. In some cases, this could be determined with greater certainty than in others. For instance, regarding the Jewish feasts, I argue that they were most likely part of the original text. This conclusion is supported by the alignment of their dates with the supposed year of the production of the *Cordoban Calendar* found explicitly mentioned in several

550 Simonet, *Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe*, 16.

versions. The agreement of the Jewish feasts and the date articulated for the composition of the *Cordoban Calendar* suggests that these feasts were included at the moment of the text's original compilation. The Persian feasts present a more ambiguous case. While it is difficult to confirm definitively whether they formed part of the original text, their presence remains entirely plausible. The same two Persian feasts appear in the *Kitāb al-azmina* by Ibn Māsawayh, a work known to have circulated in al-Andalus, further supporting the possibility of their inclusion in the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*. Coptic feasts, by contrast, are attested in all extant CCT versions, including both Latin translations. Their widespread presence in CCT versions strongly indicates that Coptic feasts were an integral part of the original text.

As to the entries concerning prophets and scriptures which are extensively included in branches B1, C1, and C2, it seems certain that they are core components of the text. It is reasonable to suggest their inclusion based on several observations: the correspondence with the texts of Ibn Bannāʾ, al-Jādirī and al-Umawī, who cite and draw from ʿArīb, and the presence of comparable content in other Arabic historical and calendrical sources. Most importantly: traces of these entries can also be found in the remaining branches (A1, A2, and B2), including both Latin translations. The recurrence of these commemorations, albeit in limited form, constitutes relatively strong evidence for their presence in the original text—despite being largely absent from branches A1, A2, and B2, where only occasional traces remain. We may expect that an Andalusi writer in the tenth century would have had access to texts with such content, including the *Kitāb al-taʾrīkh* of Ibn Ḥabīb, composed in al-Andalus, and the *Taʾrīkh* of al-Ṭabarī, which was transmitted there.[551] The established close correspondence with Arabic calendrical sources (e.g., *Kitāb al-azmina*, the *Kitāb al-dalāʾil*, the *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt*, and the *Long Calendar*) nuances Forcada's hypothesis that the entries concerning prophets and scriptures derive specifically from ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd's familiarity with al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*, but suggests that this material in CCT may also have been drawn from a calendrical source.[552] While the evidence suggests the these entries were present in the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*, the exact representation and the extent of their presence remains uncertain. This uncertainty is compounded by the ambiguity surrounding the nature of these entries and their relation to Eastern Christian sources on the one hand, and to their frequent appearance in Islamic historiographical sources on the other.

The IHE form a separate category because they describe religious and political events from early Islamic history, although they may be somewhat connected to the entries concerning prophets and scriptures, as some of the latter entries also reference early Islamic events (for example, "the Abyssinians destroyed the Kaʿba"—Q105:1–5). However, the categorization of IHE is justified by their specific focus on key events in the life of Muhammad and the first four caliphs who

551 The *Taʾrīkh* by al-Ṭabarī's must have been transmitted by that time, given the fact that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd wrote a compendium of al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*.

552 Forcada does suggests Egyptian calendars in Córdoba in the tenth century, but not as a source for the IHE in the *Cordoban Calendar*. Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 245–46.

succeeded Muhammad as political leaders. This category is relatively consistent across branches B1, C1, and C2, but is entirely absent from branches A1, A2, and B2. Therefore, it remains difficult to determine whether these entries were part of the original text, despite some correspondence between a few IHE entries and the *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* by Ibn al-Bannāʾ. I have identified a strong correspondence between CCT's IHE entries and those in the *Long Calendar* that points to a shared ancestor. Such a common ancestor was possibly arranged according to the Syriac calendar, given the correspondence of both sources to a calendar on an Egyptian parchment fragment dated to the tenth century, as well as to the anonymous text in El Escorial manuscript MS 924, which are both arranged according to the Syriac year.

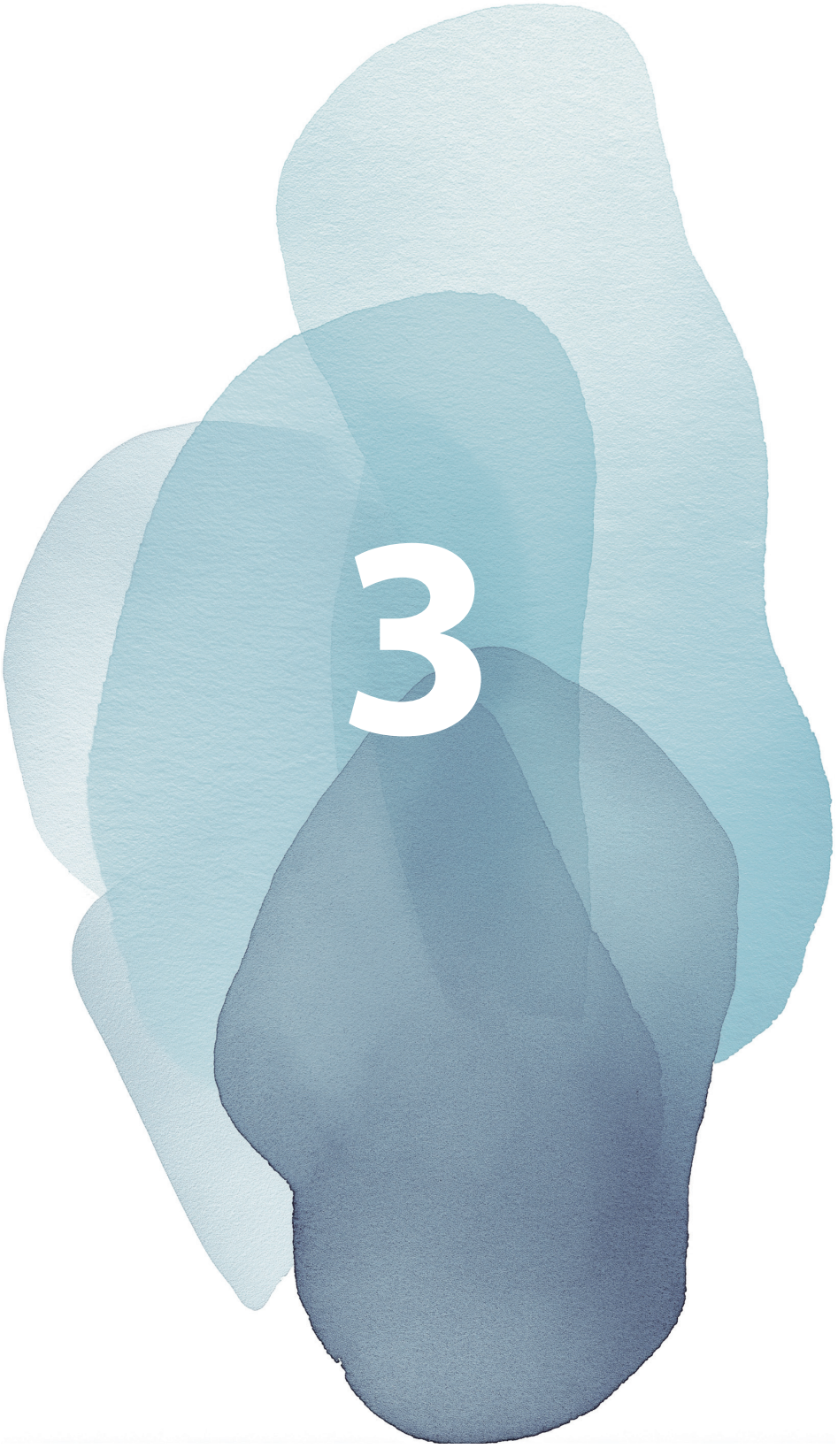
While the Shiʿi phrasing of these entries would make sense in the Fatimid context of the *Long Calendar*, they make much less sense in the Andalusi Sunni context of the *Cordoban Calendar*. Their distinctly Shiʿi character can potentially be explained by an attempt to assert the superiority of the Umayyad caliphate over the Fatimid and Abbasid dynasties. This is suggested by the entry concerning the caliphate of Muʿāwiya, which points to an adaptation of the IHE to a Sunni context. The possible absence of the IHE from the original text has implications for the analysis in Chapter 4, which examines the author's religious outlook, and I will therefore exclude these entries from the arguments presented there. Nevertheless, as will become clear, even without these explicitly Islamic entries, the Muslim perspective of the author remains evident.

The *Cordoban Calendar* was not the first to include such a wide array of liturgical material in an almanac, nor the first to draw on traditions from various communities. Ibn Māsawayh, for instance, combined Eastern Christian content with two Persian feasts, Egyptian customs related to the Nile's invocation, and entries that fall within the category of prophets and scriptures. There is also substantial overlap in liturgical content with the *Long Calendar*, which includes Jewish, Persian, Coptic, and Eastern Christian feasts and commemorations, as well as entries concerning prophets, scriptures, and IHE.

Notably, branches B1, C1, and C2 contain a considerably broader and more varied range of liturgical material than parallel calendrical sources. Although other Arabic calendrical texts also incorporate liturgical elements, the *Cordoban Calendar* stands out for the extent to which it does so, a feature that distinguishes it within the Arabic calendrical tradition. As this chapter has shown, the *Cordoban Calendar* participates in a wider Mediterranean calendrical tradition while simultaneously reflecting substantial input from the compiler of the original text. The prominence of liturgical material may therefore point to a deliberate authorial intention. Indeed, the text's distinctive composition and recurring phrasing suggest specific aims and concerns on the part of its compiler, contributing to its characteristic profile. These observations connect directly to the broader questions explored in this dissertation regarding the author's objectives and motivations.

A final point worth making concerns the problematic nature of the liturgical categories defined in this chapter. For analytical purposes, these categories were delineated in somewhat arbitrary terms; yet such distinctions are not always reflected in CCT itself. It is possible that the author did not consistently perceive these entries as belonging to distinct religious communities—particularly in the case of entries concerning prophets and scriptures. He may have deliberately left it ambiguous which communities these events concerned, perhaps with the intention of constructing a kind of universal historical framework to which different religious groups—Christian, Jewish, and Muslim—could relate. The *Cordoban Calendar* might reflect a broader phenomenon attested throughout the Mediterranean: the fluidity of religious boundaries in belief and practice, and the ability to claim the traditions of other communities for one's own. There are numerous examples of shared celebrations and venerated figures in this region.[553] The difficulty we face in contextualizing some of these entries today may stem from our modern tendency to assign them to specific communities—whereas the author and his contemporaries may have regarded them as universal events, not owned by any one single tradition. Without attempting to portray tenth-century Andalusi society as a setting in which religion only played a minor role, the diversity of material in the *Cordoban Calendar* may nonetheless suggest a notion of historical events as universal or shared across religious boundaries that was characteristic of the relatively stable and flourishing environment of tenth-century al-Andalus—more so than in later centuries or in other regions of the Mediterranean. To fill in the picture of liturgical traditions represented in the *Cordoban Calendar*, I shall turn in the next chapter to the Iberian Christian material. As will become clear, the findings of the present chapter help to contextualize this Iberian Christian content and to relativize the presumed centrality of Christianity within the *Cordoban Calendar*, as well as the tendency to frame it primarily as a Christian text.

553 Alexandra Cuffel, *Shared Saints and Festivals among Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Medieval Mediterranean* (ARC Humanities Press, 2024).


3

Chapter 3

Zooming in: The use of the *Cordoban Calendar* for understanding Christian practice

One of the primary distinguishing features of the *Cordoban Calendar* that has made it so interesting to scholars is the abundance of material on Christian feasts and saints. It is this content that has led the *Cordoban Calendar* to be used so extensively in discussions of Christian life in al-Andalus, on which there are very few additional sources. This chapter therefore reexamines CCT's material on Christian feasts and saints that bear a particular relation to Iberia. It might be assumed from the outset that such a connection exists, given that previous studies have compared CCT material with Old Hispanic calendars.[554] At the same time, certain particularities in CCT make it worthwhile to revisit earlier conclusions. What I will be discussing specifically is a Christian calendar—that is, a list of days marking Christian celebrations, including feasts dedicated to saints (*sanctorale*) and feasts commemorating events in the life of Christ (*temporale*). The primary aim of this chapter is twofold: to determine which feasts belonged to the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar* and to determine whether or not certain feasts reflect actual religious practice in tenth-century Córdoba.

The analysis in this chapter responds to various studies in which CCT, and especially CCL, has been used as evidence of what religious practice looked like in tenth-century Córdoba. I question this assumption by 1) comparing CCT versions with one another, 2) comparing CCT versions with other sources, and 3) examining a series of case studies in-depth in order to assess what these versions reveal about religious practice. The disciplinary approach in this chapter thus differs from that of Chapter 2. Since the liturgical material discussed in Chapter 2 had been largely overlooked and unstudied, I offered a first attempt at exploring the literary environment that led to the inclusion of diverse liturgical entries in CCT in order to determine whether or not they formed part of the original text. I shall do some of this same work in the current chapter by assessing which Christian feasts were part of the original text. This is not always easy, as the relevant entries differ considerably across CCT versions. In some cases, however, such textual variation can help in identifying the core components, as was the case in the previous chapter. Because previous studies have made assumptions about the Iberian Christian material that may not be justified, the present chapter goes further in its approach by adding case studies that explore how, and to what extent, feasts can be said to reflect actual practice. While it is not possible to investigate the practice of every feast in CCT, I have selected seven case studies to explore whether specific feasts were celebrated in Córdoba, and, if so, on which date. These case studies illustrate a novel approach to understanding the liturgical entries in CCT that relate to Iberian practice, combining a critical examination of the different CCT versions with a comparative analysis of parallel sources, mainly Old Hispanic sources (see Appendix 3) and Eastern Christian sources.

Taking such an approach is much needed, because the few studies of the *Cordoban Calendar*'s Christian liturgical content assume that the *Cordoban Calendar*, and more specifically CCL, is an exact reflection of tenth-century Andalusi practice. This assumption is understandable given

554 Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*; Simonet, *Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe*.

that the *Cordoban Calendar* is one of the only extant sources that might disclose something about Andalusi Christian practice. However, these studies do not take into consideration the text transmission of the *Cordoban Calendar* and the textual differences between its versions. A more critical approach is thus essential, because there are many significant indications that not all feasts in CCT were part of the original text. Feasts may have been added in later centuries and at different locations reflecting different traditions. The limited overlap between expertise in Arabic sources and in medieval Christian—particularly Old Hispanic—liturgy has further contributed to a restricted academic understanding of the Christian liturgical content of the *Cordoban Calendar*. One of the ways in which we see this limited understanding is in comparative studies of the *Cordoban Calendar* with Old Hispanic calendars that leave out CCA.[555] Of CCA and CCL, scholars have treated CCL generally as a more faithful reflection of the tenth-century text, while the Arabic version has been dismissed as incomplete.[556] CCL has thus been understood as the source that best represents the ritual practices of Andalusi Christians in the tenth century without critically asking about the provenance of the feasts in this version; as we will see, these differ significantly from what is in CCA, most notably in the addition of 30 more feasts.[557] I will demonstrate that some of these feasts can be recognized as later additions since cults for certain saints only developed later on the Peninsula. At other times, there are no clear indications that contribute to understanding if a feast was included in the original text or not.

There are further complications in the kind of study undertaken in this chapter, arising from the very nature of calendars. As with all liturgical calendars, it is difficult to determine whether the inclusion of a feast in a calendar indicates its actual celebration.[558] As will be shown, saints' cults expanded over time, and liturgical calendars were correspondingly modified. This makes it harder to conclude that all feasts recorded in a given calendar were actually observed at a particular moment. Moreover, the *Cordoban Calendar* is not, strictly speaking, a liturgical text; it was not intended for use in the liturgy. As an almanac that incorporates information from various sources, it poses additional challenges for drawing firm conclusions about religious practice. Nonetheless, understanding how calendars accumulate feasts over time can help establish when particular entries were added to the different text versions.

555 Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, 450–496; Marius Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et Les Manuscrits Mozarabes*, Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica, VI (Firmin-Didot, 1912), . XLIII – LIV. José Vives and Ángel Fábrega leave out the *Cordoban Calendar* from their comparison of Old Hispanic calendars, because "there is no original manuscript" and it is debatable whether it concerns "a real calendar"; José Vives Gatell and Angel Fábrega Grau, 'Calendarios Hispánicos Anteriores al Siglo XIII', *Hispania Sacra* 2 (1949): 339.

556 "Alles dies weist darauf hin, dass in A [CCA] ein für private Zwecke hergestellter Auszug vorliegt. Damit gewinnt die lateinische Übersetzung trotz aller ihrer Mängel an Bedeutung, zumal da sie möglicherweise von Gerard von Cremona angefertigt ist, unter dessen Übersetzungen ein liber anohe angeführt wird." Fück, 'Zum Kalender von Cordoba', 337; Quentin, under 'Kalendaria', 665.

557 Ibid.

558 Tuomas Heikkilä and Teemu Roos, 'Quantitative Methods for the Analysis of Medieval Calendars', *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 33, no. 4 (2018): 767.

The presentation and analysis of Iberian Christian material in CCT in this chapter will unfold by comparing CCT versions with one another and through comparison with sources that reflect the Old Hispanic rite. The Old Hispanic rite developed during the Visigothic period and was celebrated until its abolishment in ca. 1080, when it was replaced by the Franco-Roman rite.[559] We know of the particularities of the Old Hispanic rite through a number of different sources. Some of the liturgical sources that have been preserved are thought to have been produced in the Visigothic period, but most are from the tenth- and eleventh-century northern Christian kingdoms of Asturias–León and Navarre. Only one source (apart from the *Cordoban Calendar*) is considered to come from an Andalusi context.[560] Comparison of CCT with Old Hispanic sources is central to this chapter because they are our only reference material for Christian practice on the Peninsula. As a result, I take a first step in this chapter by laying out the different types of calendrical and liturgical sources that bear similarities with CCT's Christian content, including martyrologies, passionaries and liturgical texts (Section 1). To determine whether this content can be considered to be Iberian in nature, I discuss the terminology that is often used to describe it, namely through use of the word *ʿajam* (Section 2). Having established the generally Iberian character of the feasts attributed to the *ʿajam,* I then compare this material to other Old Hispanic sources, taking into consideration the differences between these and CCT (Section 3). Finally, this comparison leads me to ask whether the liturgical content can be considered to reflect actual Christian practice in Córdoba by examining a series of case studies of individual feasts (Section 4). In this way, this chapter enhances our understanding of the development of the textual tradition, revising key assumptions and bringing new parallels with other sources to light. Moreover, the case studies generate important findings about possible Andalusi Christian practice, something about which so little is still known.

Sources for Iberian Christian practice

What kind of source underlies the list of Christian feasts in the *Cordoban Calendar*? The Christian liturgical content in CCT is usually referred to as a "liturgical calendar," although scholars such as José Vives and Ángel Fábrega Grau[561] and Carmen García Rodríguez[562] have already questioned its classification as such. Scholars have also wondered whether the entries for Christian liturgical feasts existed previously in a Latin text and/or were part of an Andalusi liturgical work before it was

559 Raquel Rojo Carrillo, 'Old Hispanic Chant Manuscripts of Toledo: Testimonies of a Local or of a Wider Tradition?', in *A Companion to Medieval Toledo: Reconsidering the Canons*, ed. Yasmine Beale-Rivaya and Jason Busic (Brill, 2018), 97.

560 There are also some Toledan manuscripts from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, thought to belong to the few Mozarab parishes in Toledo that were allowed to continue their practice of the Old Hispanic rite after its abolishment in the late eleventh century. See for a description of Old Hispanic sources from this context: Rojo Carrillo, 'Old Hispanic Chant Manuscripts of Toledo'.

561 "Es sabido que Dom Férotin los publicó todos por primera vez como apéndice de su magnífica edición del Liber Ordinum, añadiendo además el famoso calendario de Córdoba que nosotros omitimos aquí por no conservarse el manuscrito original, escrito en árabe, y por discutirse si se trata de un verdadero calendario." Vives Gatell and Fábrega Grau, 'Calendarios Hispánicos', 339.

562 "En realidad, no puede considerarse como un calendario puro, sino una compilación de diversas fuentes." Carmen Garciá Rodríguez, *El Culto de los Santos en la España Romana y Visigoda* (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1966), 91.

integrated into the *Cordoban Calendar*.[563] One of these scholars was Pieter van Koningsveld, who argued that the information on Christian feasts consists of "citations from the religious calendar of Recemundo" which he argues was added to the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* of ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd.[564] According to Van Koningsveld, the citations are recognizable due to the appearance of the Christian feasts specifically at the end of daily entries. While it is incorrect that feasts appear always at the end of daily entries (sometimes they do and sometimes they do not), it is indeed possible that a calendrical text with liturgical content existed separately before it was incorporated into the *Cordoban Calendar*. It is indeed very likely that Andalusi Christian communities possessed texts to support the organization of their liturgical year. It remains uncertain what kind of text this might have been, since what is found in CCT differs from the liturgical calendars known from the Iberian Peninsula and elsewhere.

Liturgical calendars are texts frequently found in liturgical books (containing other types of liturgical material) that generally recorded the feast days celebrated at a given religious institution. Liturgical calendars generally contain the name of the feast (usually the name of the saint); sometimes with the addition of the type of saint, such as virgin or confessor; their clerical role, such as priest or bishop; whether they had companions; and their city/region of origin. For instance, "Saint Nicolas, Bishop of Palestine."[565] Unlike such calendars, CCT not only lists the names of saints but also provides additional biographical details and information regarding the location of their veneration. CCT entries contain more biographical data about the saints, for example the whereabouts of their death and burial and sometimes more specifically the place of worship of the saint, for instance, in the following entry: "The ʿ*ajam* celebrate the feast of Justus and Abundus, martyrs, buried in Jerusalem"[566] or "The ʿ*ajam* celebrate the feast of Martin the Bishop, the Venerable, whose tomb is in France, in the village of Tours."[567] If the author of the *Cordoban Calendar* used a local liturgical calendar, he must have altered the way these feasts were presented to a significant extent. Moreover, CCT does not concern the liturgical year of one institution, but describes celebrations at different places of worship, in Córdoba and beyond.[568] These features have not been discussed as marking CCT out as something quite different from other Iberian liturgical calendars.[569]

Other scholars have pointed out a correspondence of the *Cordoban Calendar* with the genre of the martyrology. Martyrologies are lists of saints' feasts organized according to the liturgical calendar,

563 Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 197.
564 Van Koningsveld, 'The Latin-Arabic Glossary', 59.
565 L8: 23 June.
566 CCA, CCL, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945: 14 December.
567 CCA, CCL, P2521, Risala, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945: 11 November (textual variations between the versions).
568 An exploration of stational liturgy in Córdoba was conducted by Ellen Joosten, 'All over Córdoba, They Run to Celebrate! An Exploration of Stational Liturgy and Stational Movement in Medieval Córdoba (Ninth-Tenth Centuries)' (Master thesis, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, 2023).
569 Férotin compares CCL to Old Hispanic calendars, but does not discuss CCL's different nature compared to other liturgical calendars. Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, 450–96.

although they can contain more information than a calendar (including a short description of the life and death of the saint) and may not themselves have had a liturgical function. The entries in CCT do bear important similarities with the genre of the martyrology. Some information provided in CCT regarding the death and burial or the place of worship for a saint does indeed coincide especially with the historical martyrology.[570] Historical martyrologies contain short descriptions of the whereabouts of the saints' relics and typically the way saints were put to death and where they were buried. One entry in CCT reads: "the *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of Julian, killed and buried in Antioch, and they call him a martyr. They gather for him in the famous monastery of Jelinas, in the mountains of Córdoba."[571] This entry contains several elements of what can be found in a martyrology, such as where the martyr died and the place of worship where the saint was celebrated. Other features of historical martyrologies—the description of the way martyrs were tortured and died, and sometimes also the year in which this happened—are barely noted in CCT versions that are known so far. However, in the recently discovered versions of branch C, there are some entries that include the year in which or the manner by which a martyr died, for instance: "the feast of Isidore the scholar who died in the year 674 of the Spanish era [corresponding to 636 CE]"[572] "the feast of Māla, buried in the ocean,"[573] "Mary killed by the sword and they call her martyr,"[574] "feast of Paulus the apostle buried in Rome and he was hanged"[575] and "feast of Yūmāniya who was burned by the ruler of Amorium."[576] Although these are rare exceptions, the significance of these entries in branch C for understanding the possible models for the *Cordoban Calendar* should not be underestimated.

As a result of these similarities, Richard Hitchcock called the *Cordoban Calendar* a "martyrology-cum-astrological calendar," that is "essentially a cross between an almanac and a martyrology."[577] While the similarities with the genre itself are clear, there are unfortunately few surviving martyrologies from the Iberian Peninsula with which to verify this claim. A possibly ninth-century martyrology written in Visigothic script, and therefore Iberian (MS El Escorial, I-III-13), survives.[578] This martyrology is greatly influenced by the martyrology of Corbie, a family within the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* tradition, which was then combined with a local Iberian

570 García Rodríguez distinguishes between two types of martyrologies: one type which connects dates to names, with or without a topographical rubric, and another type which includes biographical details. The second type is known as "historical martyrology." Garciá Rodríguez, *El Culto de los Santos*, 79.

571 Risala: 7 January.

572 T4624 (fol. 21v.), Sbihi 163/9, D18945: 4 April.

573 Vat.ar.258 (fol. 87r.): 26 January.

574 T4624 (fol. 22r.), Sbihi 163/9, D18945: 6 April.

575 T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945: 21 June.

576 T4624, Sbihi, and D18945: 10 February. The versions contain differences in the spelling of names.

577 Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 46 and 48; It is interesting that a later hand in PA45 described the text as *martyrologium*. PA45, fol. 124v: "Hic deberet subscribi martyrologium" ("This should be written under the martyrology"). Borst describes this designation in P45 as "naive." Borst, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform*, 348.

578 Héribert Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln* (C.H. Beck, 1906), 85–86.

calendar.[579] Its editor does not mention al-Andalus as a possible context of production, but this possibility is also not excluded. Héribert Plenkers does not go into the possible use of the martyrology, and it is uncertain if and how this martyrology could have been used liturgically on the Peninsula. In general, it is important to note that martyrologies and liturgical calendars do not have the same purpose and therefore do not contain the same information. Names in martyrologies were merely meant to be cited on the day of their entry, explaining why a given day in a martyrology may contain dozens and even hundreds of names. The "Corbie abbreviation" of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* is known to have been read aloud at a designated moment in the daily cycle, though not as part of the formal liturgy.[580] There is, however, no evidence for a comparable practice in Iberia. CCT rarely contains more than one saint's name per day and in that sense does not resemble a martyrology.[581] A martyrology is also, by definition, less local than a liturgical calendar, because its aim is to collect saints' names from various regions.[582] Accordingly, the Iberian Martyrology has 248 feasts, whereas CCT versions range from 12 to 166 Christian feasts. It is possible that an Iberian martyrology served as a source for or inspired the *Cordoban Calendar*, but it is not plausible that this source was MS El Escorial I-III-13, because of the fundamental differences between the two sources.

García Rodríguez mentions *passionaria* as an additional possible source of the *Cordoban Calendar*.[583] *Passionaria* are liturgical books that contain the narrative lives and accounts of martyrdom—*vitae* and *passiones*—for a selection of saints, mostly ordered according to the appearance of their feast days within the liturgical year. While Iberian *passionaria* provide extensive biographical information on saints, the biographical details included in CCT are sparse and may have been common knowledge for which one did not have to consult a *passionarium*. Furthermore, as we might expect, the *passionaria* do not mention certain feasts, such as the *temporale* feasts, which are present in CCT. In my view, there is not enough evidence to argue that *passionaria* were used in the compilation of the *Cordoban Calendar*.

What is maybe most likely, as García Rodríguez also argues, is that the liturgical calendar in the *Cordoban Calendar* was created by using different sources. These could have included a version of the Martyrologium Hieronymianum, in conjunction with a local liturgical calendar from Córdoba. García Rodríguez attributes the double occurrence of certain feasts on different dates in the calendar to the use of (these) different sources.[584] I agree that a local liturgical calendar or martyrology may have served as a source for the *Cordoban Calendar*, but it is also important to note the importance of Arabic calendrical sources in the compilation of the *Cordoban Calendar,*

579 Plenkers, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte*, 85–86.
580 Felice Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627–827* (University of Notre Dame, 2006), 84.
581 Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 4.
582 Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 5.
583 Garciá Rodríguez, *El Culto de los Santos*, 91.
584 Garciá Rodríguez, *El Culto de los Santos*, 91.

as I determined in Chapter 2. The *Kitāb al-azmina*, for instance, provided material and may have inspired the author to include Christian liturgical content into the *Cordoban Calendar*. He may also have had other Arabic sources at hand, such as the *Kitāb al-dalā'il*, or an Egyptian almanac. The author may have filled this framework with a local calendar from Córdoba. The distinctive nature of the entries in CCT remains difficult to explain: it not only lists the names of saints or feasts but also includes biographical details and, at times, the location of celebration. I consider it plausible that the author consulted various sources, which could account both for these features and for the double dates assigned to certain Christian feasts. Because of the clear use of eastern sources in the *Cordoban Calendar*'s compilation, it is worth asking whether the Christian feasts found within it should be interpreted as reflecting Iberian traditions. Examining the terminology associated with these feasts will now provide further insight into this question.

The *ʿajam*

The Christian feasts in CCA and CCL can offer insight into the practices of Cordoban Christians in tenth-century Córdoba. One way to test this thesis is to examine the use of the term most frequently associated with Christian feasts in CCT: *ʿajam* (singular: *ʿajamī*).[585] The corpus of CCT shows considerable consistency in using the term *ʿajam* in entries for Christian feasts. The majority of the feasts dedicated to Christian saints follow the same pattern. They are typically introduced with the formula: "on this day, the *ʿajam* [celebrate] the feast of [X]."[586] In many cases, this wording is expanded with additional information about the saint, the location of the saint's martyrdom, or the place where the saint is buried and venerated. Since the *ʿajam* are most often mentioned in CCT in the context of Christian saints' feasts, it is reasonable to contend that the author intended the term to denote Christians. CCL indeed translates this term with *Christianis* and *Latinis*. We are still left, however, with the question of what kind of Christians are implied by the term.

The term *ʿajam* has various definitions in the Andalusi context, ranging from "someone who does not speak Arabic" to "a Christian of indigenous Iberian descent," as well as overlapping combinations of these meanings. As used in CCT, however, *ʿajam* seems to have a distinct link to "Iberian Christian," for two reasons. The first stems from the association of the term *ʿajam* in the text with the era that was in use on the Iberian Peninsula, the Spanish era, which is called *the era of the ʿajam* in CCT. The *ʿajam* thus appear in CCT as the people who use the Spanish era. The Spanish era, beginning 38 BCE, was only in use on the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages.[587] By contrast, Arabic calendars from the Coptic and Syriac contexts used the Diocletian and Alexandrian eras and do not mention the Spanish era. A decisive indicator for understanding *ʿajam*

585 I was unfortunately unaware of Eva Lapiedra Gutiérrez's book *Cómo los musulmanes llamaban a los cristianos hispánicos* (Valencia, Generalitat, 1997). I am grateful to Maribel Fierro for drawing my attention to it, and I would certainly take it into account in any future publication based on this dissertation.

586 *Fihi lil-ʿajam ʿīd [X].*

587 Samsó, *Las Ciencias de los Antiguos*, 38–39; Samsó Moya, *On Both Sides of the Strait of Gibraltar*, 702 and 725.

as applicable specifically to an Iberian context is thus the connection of the text with the Spanish era. The second way in which we encounter the term is in describing geographical locations on the Iberian Peninsula, when CCT mentions the location of the burial or veneration of saints. Most of the feasts that are mentioned are explicitly linked to the Andalusi territory, such as "the ʿ*ajam* celebrate the feast of Eulalia, killed in Barcelona and called martyr. She has a monastery […] in the countryside of Córdoba, where there is a congregation."[588] There is also mention of cults located in the northern kingdoms, with reference to the tombs of the saints venerated in a particular day: the tomb of Facundus and his companions is said to be in León ("the ʿ*ajam* celebrate the feast of Facundus and his companion who are buried in the region of León") and Cucuphas's tomb in Barcelona ("the ʿ*ajam* celebrate the feast of Cucuphas who is buried in the city of Barcelona"), which would be reason to argue that the term does not only apply to Andalusi Christians, but to Iberian Christians more generally.[589] This use of the term ʿ*ajam* in liturgical entries is very specific to CCT. Arabic almanacs from Egypt or the Middle East that record feasts of Eastern Christian communities never refer to feasts celebrated by the ʿ*ajam*.[590] Because of the link with the Spanish era and the frequent mention of Iberian topographical places, it seems safe to claim that ʿ*ajam* is used to refer to Christians on the Iberian Peninsula, whether limited to al-Andalus or applied more broadly.

Having determined that the term ʿ*ajam* refers to Andalusi and possibly Iberian Christians, we may ask if the practice of the ʿ*ajam* described in CCT does in fact correspond to what we know of the Old Hispanic tradition. As described above, the Old Hispanic rite was the rite that was practiced on the Iberian Peninsula between approximately the fifth century and 1080, when it was formally abolished and replaced by the Roman rite. It has been suggested that Christians in al-Andalus continued to practice the Old Hispanic rite after the Muslim conquest (711).[591] Since the Christians in the northern kingdoms shared the same Visigothic roots with the Andalusi Christians, it could thus be assumed that there was a similar liturgical practice in the northern kingdoms and al-Andalus both before and after the Muslim conquest, despite local differences. However, there is only one other Christian liturgical source that is connected to al-Andalus: CEA. Therefore, Old Hispanic sources from before the conquest, as well as from the northern kingdoms after the conquest, will be used here to evaluate the material in CCT. A quick look at the list of feasts in A1, B1, B2 and C1 confirms that many of the saints' feasts indeed correspond to what we know from the Old Hispanic sources. However, there are also important differences. Further, C1

588 Risala: 12 February.

589 Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 116–17 and 170–71.

590 The only instance in which I have found the term ʿ*ajam* is in an Egyptian almanac, the so-called *Short Calendar*. In the *Short Calendar* there is two times a reference to the ʿ*ajamī* names for months. In this case the term ʿ*ajam* could be understood in its wider meaning as "Latin" or "Julian" months. The mention of ʿ*ajamī* names for months in the *Short Calendar* may also reflect an interest in the different calendar systems used in other Arabic almanacs, in this case, an Arabic almanac from al-Andalus. Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 4 and 12.

591 Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 21–22.

contains in addition a whole list of saints who are unknown from the Iberian tradition. There are only a few feasts corresponding to the Old Hispanic rite in C2.

Comparison to Old Hispanic sources

A thorough comparison of CCT with Old Hispanic calendars is not straightforward. What can be compared between CCT and Old Hispanic sources is mainly limited to the structure of the liturgical year and, more precisely, to the feasts celebrated and the dates on which they are celebrated. In this section, I compare CCT in the first place to Old Hispanic calendars because calendars—as compared to other liturgical book and text types—are the most comparable in genre to the *Cordoban Calendar*. In principle, liturgical calendars recorded all the saints that were celebrated at a given time at the institution from which they originated. *Temporale* feasts, however, were consistent across regions and institutions. It is important to note that there is no such thing as a fixed Old Hispanic *sanctorale*, due to differences in celebration of the set of saints across institutions and over time. A calendar from León may contain different saints than a calendar from Silos. At the same time, an eleventh-century calendar contains, on average, more saints than a tenth-century calendar, even if the calendars are from the same place. Other liturgical books often have fewer saints because not all saints have specifically prescribed chants, prayers, or readings, and thus they may not appear in the books for a specific liturgical purpose. Nevertheless, I will use Old Hispanic sources other than calendars for comparison, namely a prayer book, a calendar inscription and a Gospel lectionary.

Comparison to Old Hispanic calendars

There are a variety of calendars that correspond to the Old Hispanic rite preserved from the northern kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula between the tenth and eleventh centuries. These are: L8 (131 feasts), Esc D-I-2 (94 feasts) and Esc D-I-1 (94 feasts) from the tenth century and S3 (101 feasts), S4 (173 feasts), Sant (104 feasts), PB71 (158 saints) and PB69 (156 feasts) from the eleventh century.[592] The manuscripts in which these calendars appear are attributed to monasteries such as San Millán de la Cogolla, San Prudencio de Laturce, San Isidoro de León and Santo Domingo de Silos.[593] Old Hispanic calendars from the northern Iberian Peninsula are often placed at the beginning of liturgical books, where they likely served as chronological guides for their use, indicating which feasts were to be celebrated on which days.[594] It is not always clear, however, whether the entries in calendars were actually celebrated or observed at the time and place of a calendar's initial production. Some entries may have been added later. We know of practices such as "growing calendars," in which blank space was left for each day of the year to

592 See Appendix 3. PB69 has been considered a tenth-century production, but scholars point to the fact that it might have been produced instead in the twelfth to fourteenth century. Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 44 and 55.

593 There are ongoing questions about dating and provenance of Old Hispanic manuscripts. The most recent collation of bibliography is found and discussed in Chapter 3 of Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 43–76.

594 Note that Esc D-I-2, Esc D-I-1 are books containing canon law. i.e., not liturgical books.

be filled in by later scribes.[595] This practice suggests a tendency of calendars developing gradually, with scope for the text to be adapted over time. The possibility for ongoing accretion makes it difficult to deduce what represented actual practice at any given moment. We may thus conclude that not all calendars are reflections of practice at one moment in time, since feasts accumulated over the period of the calendar's ongoing use. Rebecca Rushfort shows several cases in which the presence or omission of a feast in a certain calendar cannot easily be explained by the celebration or awareness of the saint at the place and moment of the production of that calendar. In her study of calendars of Anglo-Saxon England, she is reluctant in asserting that every saint included in a calendar was actually celebrated in the community of the calendars' production or use.[596] This echoes Tuomas Heikkilä and Teemu Roos's description of general trends in medieval liturgical calendars. They suggest that calendrical entries were sometimes traces of an earlier layer of liturgical practice and do not always reflect what was actually celebrated.[597] Scholars thus question whether inclusion in a calendar is actually evidence of a cult at one particular time. With regard to Old Hispanic calendars, we know that L8 (131 feasts) was most certainly enriched with 6 later additions up to the end of the eleventh century.[598] L8 also belonged to multiple institutions, starting with a monastery and ending up in the cathedral of León, which makes it likely that at new locations, feasts were added without older feasts being removed, despite possibly no longer being relevant.[599] Such situations show us that, like other calendars, Old Hispanic calendar entries are not straightforward to interpret as reflections of religious practice.[600]

As will be shown later in this chapter, the saints' feasts in CCT correspond to a considerable extent with those found in Old Hispanic liturgical calendars. CCT has in common with Old Hispanic liturgical calendars that they both contain many saints that were celebrated exclusively in Iberia. There are many saints that are consistently found in the Old Hispanic calendars which are different from those found in Roman or Eastern Christian calendars, although these rites also have many saints in common with what was celebrated on the Iberian Peninsula. Additionally, both CCT and Old Hispanic calendars have certain saints' feasts on dates that are unique to the Old Hispanic rite.

595 Rebecca Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100* (Boydell & Brewer for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 2008), 3.

596 Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars*, 3 and 5–7.

597 Heikkilä and Roos, 'Quantitative Methods', 767.

598 Gervasius and Protasius (18 June), Pelagius (26 June), Juliana (28 June), James the Greater (25 July), Anthony (2 September) and Sylvester (31 December). Thomas Deswarte et al., 'Édition des Folios 1–28', in *Les Folios Introductifs de l'Antiphonaire de León (Archivo de la Catedral de León, Ms. 8, Fol. 1–27)*, Bibliologia 66 (Brepols, 2024), 343–55; Vivancos Gómez mentions only six entries as later interpolations. Miguel Carlos Vivancos Gómez, 'El Calendario y otros Contenidos Litúrgicos en los Folios Introductorios del Antifonario de León', in *Les Folios Introductifs de l'Antiphonaire de León (Archivo de la Catedral de León, Ms. 8, Fol. 1–27)*, ed. Thomas Deswarte (Brepols, 2024), 187–88.

599 On the adding of liturgical material for James the Greater and the transfer of L8 to the monastery of Santiago de León: Carmen Julia Gutiérrez González, 'Librum de Auratum Conspice Pinctum. Sobre la Datación y la Procedencia del Antifonario de León', *Revista de Musicología* 34, no. 1 (2020): 25 and 43–46.

600 "A partir de ahí hay que analizar las entradas que figuran en el calendario para ver si son todas de una misma mano o, por el contrario, hay añadidos posteriores, lo que es práctica habitual en casi todos los calendarios." Vivancos Gómez, 'El Calendario y Otros Contenidos Litúrgicos', 187.

Table 24. Absolute number of recorded Christian feasts in tenth-century Old Hispanic calendars, eleventh-century Old Hispanic calendars and CCT versions.

10th c Old Hispanic calendars	# feasts	11thcOldHispanic calendars	# feasts	CCT branch / text version	# feasts
Esc D-I-1	94	S3	101	A1 (CCA)	90
Esc D.I.2	94	S4	173	A1 (CCL)	123
L8	131	Sant	104	B1 (Risala, K155 & D2197)	77
		PB71	158	B2 (P2521)	83
		PB69	156	C1 (D18945)	166
				C1 (T4624)	163
				C1 (Sbihi 163/9)	165
				C2 (KA)	31
				C2 (Balad.2918)	15
				C2 (Vat.ar.258)	31
				C2 (KH10354)	12

Evidence of the way calendars expand over time can be observed in a comparison between the Old Hispanic calendars and CCT. Table 24 shows that the number of feasts in tenth-century Old Hispanic calendars is—on average—smaller than the number of feasts in eleventh-century Old Hispanic calendars. If we compare CCL and C1 to the numbers of the tenth- and eleventh-century Old Hispanic calendars, we conclude that the absolute numbers in them are relatively high for a tenth-century context. The number of feasts in CCA corresponds best to the calendars of the tenth century, and B1 and B2 have slightly fewer feasts. Branch C2 is not similar to any other calendar in this overview, due to the very low number of Christian feasts it contains. While the general trend in calendars is the accumulation of feasts over time, the number of feasts in C2 suggests that calendars could also omit them.

The comparison that follows will focus on Old Hispanic calendars, this being the closest equivalent to the material found in CCT. Because of the regional and geographical difference between the Old Hispanic calendars, I have selected from their lists of feasts the "most widely celebrated feasts," which means feasts that occur in six or more of the eight Old Hispanic calendars preserved (see Appendix 4). The occurrence in six or more of the eight Old Hispanic calendars, by definition, means that a feast was celebrated in more than one place, because there is evidence for it in calendars from different places, but also that there is some chronological continuity, since the evidence is spread over calendars from both the tenth and the eleventh centuries. The comparison undertaken here allows us to see roughly the extent to which CCT versions correspond to the most widely celebrated feasts in the Old Hispanic calendars.

Although branch C2 contains very low numbers of feasts corresponding to the most widely celebrated feasts in the Old Hispanic calendars, they likely still had a link with the Old Hispanic rite. The few feasts that C2 has in common with the most widely celebrated feasts of the Old Hispanic calendars (ranging from 3 to 9 feasts out of 93) are feasts that are universal in the majority of Christian calendars, such as Circumcision, Epiphany, Holy Cross, John the Baptist, the Beheading of John the Baptist, the Annunciation and the Nativity. Based on these *temporale* feasts, one may not see a clear connection to the Old Hispanic tradition, if it were not for the following three reasons. First, Holy Innocents and the Annunciation appear in KA on 8 January and 18 December respectively, which are typical Old Hispanic dates for these feasts (they diverge from the dates used in other traditions). Second, the few feasts included in C2 versions are introduced as "celebrated by the ʿ*ajam*," which, as we have seen, generally refers to Iberian Christians. Third, Vat.ar.258 starts the calendar with a number of Iberian saints, including Fructuosus, Augurius, and Eulogius, as well as Emeterius and Celedonius. For whatever reason, the copyist seems to have decided to stop copying saints after early March. The inclusion of a list of feasts in the first few months of Vat.ar.258, however, suggests that an ancestor of Vat.ar.258 had a full list of feasts, and that Vat.ar.258, for whatever reason, was not copied in full. For these reasons, it is likely that a list of feasts corresponding to an Old Hispanic calendar was part of an ancestor of the versions in branch C2, and that most feasts were largely omitted in the C2 versions.

Appendix 4 illustrates the overlap between CCT versions and Old Hispanic calendars with regard to the most widely celebrated feasts. With the exception of branch C2, the overlap is substantial. From branch A1, CCL contains 81 out of the 93 most widely celebrated feasts, CCA includes 66 out of 93, and versions from branches B1, B2 and C1 average 53 out of 93. Although the degree of overlap varies among branches, over half of the most widely celebrated feasts in the Old Hispanic calendars (49 out of 93, or 53%) are found in all CCT versions of branches A1, B1, B2 and C1.[601]

601 Or in all but one version (mostly Risala or P2521, see below). These feasts are nevertheless included here, as the omission in a single version—likely due to lacunae or scribal oversight—do not warrant excluding these feasts from the present calculation, and they are therefore treated as attested across the corpus. It concerns the following feasts: Circumcision, Epiphany, Julian and Basilissa, Holy Innocents, 40 Martyrs (except D18945), Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius, Vincent, Babilus, Thyrsus, Agatha, Dorothy, Eulalia of Barcelona (except P2521), Emeterius and Celedonius, Philip, Holy Cross, Adrian and Natalia, Gervasius and Protasius, John Baptist, Peter and Paul, Christopher, Justa and Rufina (except P2521), Speratus (except P2521), Felix of Nola, Felix of Gerona, Justus and Pastor, Mammes, Sixtus, Laurence and Hippolytus, Assumption Mary, Genesius, Cyprian, Eufemia, Matthew, Beheading (Decollatio) of John the Baptist, Faustus, Januaryus and Martial, Cosmas and Damian, Servandus and Germanus, Vincent, Sabina and Cristete, Marcellus (except P2521), Translation Saturninus, Martin, Acisclus (except Risala), Cecilia (except Risala), Clement (except Risala), the Annunciation of Mary, the Nativity, Eugenia (except Risala), James the Lesser, John the Evangelist, Columba (except Risala).

Table 25. Comparison of recorded Christian feasts in CCT versions with most widely celebrated feasts in the Old Hispanic calendars from the northern kingdoms.

Presence of most widely celebrated feasts in CCT versions	Feast
Presence in all CCT versions (49)	Circumcision; Epiphany; Julian and Basilissa; Holy Innocents; 40 Martyrs (except D18945); Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius; Vincent; Babilus; Thyrsus; Agatha; Dorothy; Eulalia of Barcelona (except P2521); Emeterius and Celedonius; Philip; Holy Cross; Adrian and Natalia; Gervasius and Protasius; John Baptist; Peter and Paul; Christopher; Justa and Rufina (except P2521); Speratus (except P2521); Felix of Nola; Felix of Gerona; Justus and Pastor; Mammes; Sixtus, Laurence and Hippolytus; Assumption Mary; Genesius; Cyprian; Eufemia; Matthew; Beheading (*Decollatio*) of John the Baptist; Faustus, Januaryus and Martial; Cosmas and Damian; Servandus and Germanus; Vincent, Sabina and Cristete; Marcellus (except P2521); Translation Saturninus; Martin; Acisclus (except Risala); Cecilia (except Risala); Clement (except Risala); the Annunciation of Mary; the Nativity; Eugenia (except Risala); James the Lesser; John the Evangelist; Columba (except Risala).
Presence in some of CCT versions, but not in all (21)	Sebastian; Agnes and Emerentiana; Cathedra Peter; Theodosia; George; Mark; Simon and Jude; Bartholomew; Cucuphas; Christina; Fabius; Victor and Corona; Michael; Luke; Romanus; Facundus and Primitivus; Saturninus; Andrew; Leocadia; Eulalia of Mérida; Stephen.
Presence in none of the CCT versions (11)	*Deposito* Anthony; Pantaleon; Perpetua and Felicitas; Prudentius; Isidore of Alexandria; Juliana; Lucidia and Aucela; Marina; Consecration Martin; Vincent and Letus; Nunilo and Alodia.
Presence only in CCL (12)	Ildefonsus; Torquatus; Baudalus; Cyricus and Julytta; Pelagius; Zoilus; Gerontius; Augustine; Jerome; Emilian; Thomas; James the Greater.

I consider it safe to propose that the 49 feasts (53%) in the first row in table 25 were a core component of CCT. Among the remaining 44 feasts, 21 feasts (22%) are present in some but not all CCT versions,[602] 11 feasts (12%) are absent from all CCT versions,[603] and 12 feasts (13%) are only found in CCL.[604] Notably, of the 11 feasts that are absent from all CCT versions, none appear in Old Hispanic sources, other than the tenth- and eleventh-century calendars,[605] meaning that there is no ancient or Andalusi source attesting to the celebration of these feasts. This makes it more likely that cults around these saints developed later and were never part of the liturgy in al-Andalus. These 11 feasts may thus have been exclusively celebrated in the northern kingdoms. There are 21 most widely celebrated feasts that are found in some, but not all, versions of branches A1, B1, B2 and C1. The reasons for their presence in certain versions or branches, and their absence in others, are more difficult to ascertain. The same is the case for the 12 saints that are only found in CCL. In the course of what follows, I will attempt to explain why some feasts only appear in some of the versions and why 12 of them are unique to CCL.

Not just the saints or occasions recorded in CCT are relevant for understanding their relation to Old Hispanic sources, but also the dates on which feasts fall. Table 25 highlights that some of the most widely celebrated feasts fall on different dates compared to Old Hispanic calendars or occur twice in CCT. This is the case for Holy Innocents (8 January and 29 December), Victor and Corona (23 April, in Old Hispanic calendars on 26 August), the Annunciation (8 December and between 21 and 30 March), Matthew (21 September and 24 February), George (21, 22 and 24 April and 6 February), James the Greater (only in CCL, on 25 July, in Old Hispanic calendars on 30 December), Torquatus (mentioned in CCL on 27 April, 1 May and 3 May), Simon and Jude (on 1 July and on 29 October), Luke (in CCL on 30 Sept and 6 November, further on 18 and 19 October) and John the Baptist (on 7 January, 18 May, 19, 24 and 25 June and 19 December), together with a different arrangement of the feasts during Christmastide (Eugenia, James the Lesser and John the Evangelist).

There are several reasons why we find multiple dates for some feasts in CCT, or dates that deviate from the Old Hispanic calendars. Some of these feasts are found in the Roman rite on the dates found in CCT (such as the Annunciation on 25 March and James the Greater on 25 July), but which differ from the Old Hispanic tradition. Even more of the "alternative" dates correspond to the East Syrian rite. In that rite, the feast of the apostle Matthew is found on 24 February, the

602 Sebastian; Agnes and Emerentiana; Cathedra Peter; Theodosia; George; Mark; Simon and Jude; Bartholomew; Cucuphas; Christina; Fabius; Victor and Corona; Michael; Luke; Romanus; Facundus and Primitivus; Saturninus; Andrew; Leocadia; Eulalia of Mérida; Stephen.

603 *Deposito* Anthony; Pantaleon; Perpetua and Felicitas; Prudentius; Isidore of Alexandria; Juliana; Lucidia and Aucela; Marina; Consecration Martin; Vincent and Letus; Nunilo and Alodia.

604 Ildefonsus; Torquatus; Baudalus; Cyricus and Julytta; Pelagius; Zoilus; Gerontius; Augustine; Jerome; Emilian; Thomas; James the Greater.

605 The Old Hispanic sources other than calendars are discussed in the section *Comparison to other Old Hispanic sources* of this chapter.

Annunciation on 25 March, George on 23 April, Simon and Jude on 27 October, and James the Greater on 25 July.[606] These instances of the double occurrence of certain feasts in CCT further supports the view that some entries for Christian feasts derive from other calendrical sources. As will be shown below, indeed, the term *ʿajam* is not consistently mentioned in the entries of feasts that appear twice in the CCT versions, suggesting that these feasts were possibly copied from a source which represents practices from outside the Iberian Peninsula.

This overview enables us to conclude that all CCT branches considered here share characteristics with the Old Hispanic calendars. Versions in branch A1 correspond to a large degree with the most widely celebrated feasts extracted from Old Hispanic calendars, with CCL even reaching a correspondence rate of 87% and CCA 71%. Versions of branch B1, B2 and C1 correspond to between 52% and 56% of the most widely celebrated feasts in the Old Hispanic calendars. The versions in these branches, moreover, contain certain feasts on typical Old Hispanic dates such as the Annunciation on 18 December. Even branch C2, in which versions correspond to Old Hispanic sources from only 3% to 10% of cases, has some link to Old Hispanic calendars. The traces in branch C2 of feasts corresponding to the Old Hispanic rite are important for understanding the development of the *Cordoban Calendar*'s transmission. They suggest that an underlying exemplar to C2 most likely contained a list of feasts that was comparable to what is found in the other branches of CCT, which was only later partially removed.

Saints in CCT that appear in less than six Old Hispanic calendars

Appendix 5 summarizes the feasts that are shared between CCT and less than six of the Old Hispanic calendars. Some of the feasts that are found in this appendix are only found in eleventh-century Old Hispanic calendars, namely: Valentinus, Julian (of Toledo), Gregory of Rome, the Deposition of Leander, Mantius, Siriaca and Paula, and Anastasia. Of these saints, Mantius and Anastasia are also found in the eleventh-century *passionaria*. The occurrence of these saints in CCT makes us wonder if those feasts were celebrated in tenth-century Córdoba, i.e., earlier in Córdoba than in the northern kingdoms. If that was the case, these feasts would have moved up northwards from Córdoba to the northern kingdoms. Another possibility is that cults for these saints developed in the eleventh century in the northern kingdoms, and that they somehow appeared in CCT in the eleventh century or later. The second scenario is, in my view, more likely. The observation that most of these feasts are only in CCL (two are also in CCA and only one is in C1), makes it likely that CCL was updated in the eleventh century or later. This hypothesis will now be further elaborated.

606 J. P. M. van der Ploeg, *The Christians of St. Thomas in South India and Their Syriac Manuscripts* (Center for Indian and Inter-religious Studies, 1983), 69–75; Jean-Maurice Fiey, 'Le Sanctoral Syrien Oriental d'après les Évangéliaires et Bréviaires du XIe Au XIIIe Siècles', *L'Orient Syrien* VIII (1963): 21–54.

Passionaria

In addition to calendars, *passionaria* are another type of source that can tell us about the cult of saints in a certain cultural area as described above. There are four *passionaria* preserved from Iberia.[607] PB80 (60 saints) and BL00 (52 saints) are from the tenth century, while PB79 (100 saints) and Esc B-I-4 (109 saints) are from the eleventh century. *Passionaria* are designed as liturgical manuscripts—they are organized according to the liturgical year and contain marginal notations indicating division into readings. From this, we can conclude that they were used in the liturgy of *matutinum* (a public service held every day in the morning) and/or the mass—, but they could also have been used for private reading.[608] As can be seen, the *passionaria* contain relatively fewer saints compared to the Old Hispanic calendars. Although the *passionaria* and liturgical calendars demonstrate a high level of overlap, we have to keep in mind that liturgical calendars—in contrast to *passionaria*—contained saints who did not have a *passio* written for them—for example, biblical saints—in addition to saints who, theoretically, were not being celebrated at all.

The discrepancy between the numbers of feasts in the *passionaria* and calendars presented here could therefore be explained in the following ways: 1) text is missing in the surviving manuscripts of the *passionaria* (PB80 and especially PB79 have missing folios) that would have included more saints; 2) for saints who are not martyrs, their *vitae* (possibly used instead of a *passio*) might be in different manuscripts (*legendaries*), as is the case for confessor saints such as Emilian, Isidore, Ildefonsus, Martin, and possibly many more;[609] 3) there may have been a 'common passio'—a *passio* read out on any saints' feast for which there was no existing proper *passio*. Such a *passio* could be indicated by what has been called the *passio de communi:* a common text that has been argued to have been the basis for the *passiones* of Leocadia, Eulalia of Barcelona, Engratia, Felix, Cucuphas, Justus and Pastor and for Vincent, Sabina and Cristete;[610] 4) certain *temporale* feasts for Christ, Mary or John the Baptist (Epiphany/*Apparitio*, Holy Innocents, Annunciation, the Nativity, Beheading) or feasts such as Cathedra Peter were by definition not included in a *passionarium*, and would have had other kinds of liturgical readings (examples include the treatise *De Virginitate* by Ildefonsus, and the Gospel narrative for John the Baptist); 5) it could be that there were generic sermons (*sermones de sanctis*) that were read out instead of *passiones* for some saints. This is difficult to verify, due to the very few manuscripts containing sermons preserved from early medieval Iberia.[611] However, of the scarce homiliary material, the sermon collection in the so-called Toledan homiliary contains a common sermon for 'a just man' and

607 It should be noted that other manuscripts contain hagiographical material whose liturgical function remains uncertain.
608 Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 72–74.
609 For a description of Spanish legendaries, see Ángel Fábrega Grau, *Pasionario Hispánico*, I (Instituto P. Enrique Florez, 1953), 12–13.
610 Pedro Castillo Maldonado, 'De la Crónica a la Leyenda: El Pasionario Hispánico', in *Contemporaneidad de los Clásicos en el Umbral del Tercer Milenio: Actas del Congreso Internacional de los Clásicos. La Tradición Grecolatina ante el Siglo XXI (La Habana, 1 a 5 de Diciembre de 1998)* (Universidad de Murcia, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1999), 530.
611 The main source is the Toledan homiliary in a manuscript of the 11th century: London, British Library ADD. MS 30853 (see Appendix 3).

one sermon 'for saints', perhaps suggesting a common sermon to be used in the office or the mass instead of a proper *passio*, thus possibly explaining the absence of any given *passio* in the *passionaria*.[612] All the reasons above can cause the discrepancy with regard to particular saints recorded in *passionaria* versus liturgical calendars. This discrepancy complicates a straightforward use of the *passionaria* as evidence of the *sanctorale* of a particular place—in other words: there were most likely more saints celebrated than are included in the *passionaria*. I will thus not use *passionaria* for one-to-one comparison with CCT. I will only include the *passionaria* in some of the tables below, since they sometimes serve as corroborating evidence.

The 30 feasts unique to CCL

Scholars of the Old Hispanic liturgy have long claimed the importance of CCL for studying the saints celebrated in Córdoba. Most notably, Férotin took CCL as his point of comparison with Old Hispanic calendars.[613] Since CCL has had such a prominent position in discussions about the religious practice of tenth-century Christians in al-Andalus, I will provide a short overview of these discussions after providing a list of the unique feasts found in CCL. Importantly for this survey, it should be remembered that until recently, only CCL and CCA were known to scholars, meaning that scholars were mostly seeking to understand the discrepancies between these two versions; the same discrepancies apply, however, to the rest of the CCT corpus.

Table 26. Feasts that are in CCL, but not in CCA. Cordoban martyrs are underlined.

Feast included in CCL, but not in CCA
Agnes and Emerentiana, Ildefonsus, Conversion of Paul, Gregory of Rome, Deposition of Leander, Theodosia, Isidore, Secundinus, Gregory of Elvira, Basil, Perfectus, Trepses, Esperaindeo, Victor and Basilius of Seville, Baudalus, Mantius, Cyricus and Julytta, Pelagius, Zoilus, James the Greater, Christopher, Gerontius, Augustine, Emila, Adulphus and John, Jerome, Alvarus, Emilian, Anastasia, Saturninus, Thomas.

As we can see in table 26, CCL differs from CCA by including a further thirty feasts. In general, CCL is more like an eleventh-century calendar, containing feasts that appear only in later northern sources, such as Gregory of Rome, Isidore of Seville and Mantius of Évora; these are found in Old Hispanic calendars updated in the eleventh century. There are some feasts that CCL shares only with S4, but S4 is an eleventh-century development of the kind of calendar that was used around

612 This was suggested by Réginald Grégoire. The references to a sermon for 'a just man' and the sermon 'for saints' are found in Réginald Grégoire*, Homéliaires Liturgiques Médiévaux: Analyse de Manuscrits* (Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1980), 305.

613 Férotin compares L8, S3, S4, Sant, PB71, PB69 and CCL. Additionally he includes two fragments of calendars, a fragment (Jan-Feb) of a printed calendar from sixteenth-century Toledo and a fragment (Jan-April) from the late eleventh, early twelfth century. Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, 305/52; Férotin adds the Calendar of Carmona and Esc-D-I-1 to his comparison in Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, XLIII–LIV.

San Millán de la Cogolla, which has several feasts not found in earlier calendars of that area (Esc D-I-1 and Esc D-I-2).[614]

The discrepancy of 30 more saints in CCL as compared to other CCT versions as well as Old Hispanic calendars has been explained in several ways. The first is that CCA must have omitted many feasts, supposedly because some of its Christian content was not useful to a Jewish owner.[615] Such an explanation is not satisfactory, however, since there are 90 Christian feasts in CCA, and there are even user notes in Hebrew engaging with these feasts.[616] Only very rarely have scholars raised doubts about whether the copyist of CCL was responsible for adding certain material, including feasts, to the text.[617] Nonetheless, scholars have considered CCL the most "complete" version, compared to CCA, and therefore use CCL for their comparisons with Old Hispanic calendars.[618] Scholars have thus missed a chance to understand what this discrepancy between CCL and CCA could mean, beyond the explanation of the intervention of a Jewish owner.

With regard to the discrepancy between CCL with Old Hispanic calendars, Simonet suggested that CCL reflects feasts that were adopted in the last period of the Visigothic Kingdom, thus implying that there was a continuation of Córdoban practice of feasts that were never adopted in the northern Christian kingdoms.[619] Férotin, in his overview of seven Old Hispanic calendars (in which he uses CCL and ignores CCA altogether) remarks that CCL "completes the other [Old Hispanic] calendars and mentions many feasts that were hitherto unknown."[620] On the basis of feasts in CCL, such as the Conversion of Paul, Gregory the Great, Mary Magdalene, the Nativity of Mary and Peter in Chains (feasts not found in Old Hispanic calendars),[621] Férotin concluded that CCL represents a more recent version of the liturgical calendar than is represented in the Old Hispanic

614 I am grateful to Emma Hornby for sharing her insights on CCL, informed by her extensive experience with cults recorded in Old Hispanic calendars.

615 Fück, 'Zum Kalender von Cordoba', 337.

616 A user note in CCA comments on the date for the Annunciation of Mary on 21 March. The sentence in the margin is in Hebrew (as opposed to the original, which must have been written in Arabic). CCA reads on fol. 18r: "The eid [(i.e., non-Jewish feast) takes place] on the 25th day of March" (האיד ביום כ״ה ממרס). This note derives probably from what the owner or user knew from the Roman rite of the Christians in his fourteenth-century, Aragonese surrounding, but it can also have been added in the period after the book had come to Aleppo. I thank Lukas Mühlethaler for reading the marginal note.

617 Quentin, under 'Kalendaria', 665.

618 "Alles dies weist darauf hin, dass in A [CCA] ein für private Zwecke hergestellter Auszug vorliegt. Damit gewinnt die lateinische Übersetzung trotz aller ihrer Mängel an Bedeutung, zumal da sie möglicherweise von Gerard von Cremona angefertigt ist, unter dessen Übersetzungen ein liber anohe angeführt wird." Fück, 'Zum Kalender von Cordoba', 337; Quentin, under 'Kalendaria', 665; " The longer versions [meaning CCL] contains the more complete liturgical calendar and seems to be intended for Christian use. The shorter edition [meaning CCA] contains less liturgical material, and the manner in which that material is abridged suggests that Recemundus presented this shorter version to the caliph." Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 68.

619 Simonet compares CCL with the *Gothic Breviary*. Simonet, *Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe*, 11.

620 The seven compared calendars are: S3, S4, Sant, L8, PB71, PB69 and CCL. Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, xxxiv.

621 Except for Gregory the Great, who is found in Silos 3 and Silos 4.

calendars of the northern kingdoms.[622] Other deviances were attributed to commemorations of a specifically Andalusi character, such as Victor and Basilius of Seville, Gregory of Elvira and the Translation of Zoilus, all of which, according to Férotin, point to the local Andalusi calendar represented in CCL.[623] Pellat proposes that the differences between CCL and Old Hispanic calendars either reflect the continuity of older customs from the Iberian Peninsula in al-Andalus or a tendency in the same area to adopt the Roman rite.[624] Vives, in contrast, thinks that CCL is the oldest of the Old Hispanic calendars, a thesis he does not further elucidate.[625]

Amongst the 30 saints in CCL but not in CCA are 6 feasts for Cordoban martyrs (indicated by the underlining in table 26). Scholars such as Simonet and Férotin believed that the Cordoban martyrs in CCL were celebrated in Córdoba. These scholars stated that the presence of these Cordoban martyrs in CCL shows the courage of the author (Rabīʿ ibn Zayd) to mention these feasts. The calendar, namely, is traditionally believed to have been dedicated to the Caliph al-Ḥakam II, who was a descendant of the emirs ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II and Muḥammad I, under whom these Cordoban martyrs were put to death in the mid-ninth century.[626] Al-Ḥakam II was also the son of Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, who is credited in legend with the death of Pelagius around 925–6. Some scholars have suggested along similar lines that CCA—where the Cordoban martyrs are absent—was produced in parallel with CCL, but specifically for the caliph. They argue that certain feasts were deliberately omitted so as not to give offense.[627] In any case, the selection of Cordoban martyrs in CCL is very different from the few feasts for Cordoban martyrs present in the Old Hispanic calendars, and they represent an odd selection. Because the discussion around the Cordoban martyrs is complicated and their role in the *Cordoban Calendar* controversial, I will discuss them separately in a case study in this chapter. What I think is clear is that these feasts were added to CCL in a later stage of the textual tradition. I argue that the reason for CCL having 30 more feasts is because of accumulation in a later period and not because they were omitted from CCA.[628]

622 Férotin asserts that the Old Hispanic calendars have their origin in the sixth century, with a few exceptions of later-added feasts. He assumes that there must have been an ancient calendar in Córdoba as well. He bases this assumption on a council in which was stated that the bishop Gregory of Córdoba recited names of martyrs every day. Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, xxxi and xxxiv. Felice Lifshitz states that Gregory of Córdoba was a fictitious figure who functioned as a key figure in the origin myth of the Martyrology of Jerome; Lifshitz, *The Name of the Saint*, 6.

623 Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, xxxiv.

624 Pellat mentions "*rituel occidentale*." From remarks in the footnotes it becomes clear that he means the Roman rite. Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, x.

625 José Vives Gatell, 'Santoral Visigodo en Calendarios e Inscripciones', *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia: Revista de Ciències Historicoeclesiàstiques* 14 (1941): 33.

626 Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, xxxiv; Simonet, *Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe*, 9.

627 Effros, 'Usuard's Journey to Spain', 32; Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 68.

628 Füch, 'Zum Kalender von Cordoba', 336–37.

There is a further reason to imagine that the 30 feasts that differ between CCL and CCA were a later addition to CCL. The argument to support these concerns is the way these 30 CCL feasts are phrased. The entries describing the 30 feasts differ in style from entries shared between CCL and CCA. If these 30 feasts had been copied at the same time as the shared entries, their style would be expected to match. The stylistic divergence therefore suggests that the 30 feasts were added at a later date, as illustrated in the following table:

Table 27. Types of wording for entries that are shared between CCL and CCA and for entries that are exclusively in CCL.

Type of wording for feast entries in CCL	Absolute number and percentage of type of wording for feast entries shared between CCL and CCA	Absolute number and percentage of type of wording for feast entries exclusively in CCL
On this [day], there is the Christian (*Christianis*) feast of ...	43 (56%)	5 (14%)
On this [day], there is the Christian (*Latinis*) feast of ...	19 (25%)	4 (11%)
On this [day], there is the feast of ...	15 (19%)	27 (75%)

As can be seen in table 27, for entries shared between CCL and CCA the formulation "On this [day], there is the Christian (*Christianis*) feast of ..." is used 56% of the time to introduce the daily entry. "On this [day], there is the Christian (*Latinis*) feast of ..." is used 25% of the time and entries with "On this [day], there is the feast of ..." are found 19% of the time. When we look at the wording for entries that are exclusively in CCL, the proportions are rather the other way around. 14% of the time "On this [day], there is the Christian (*Christianis*) feast of ..." is used, in 11% of the cases "On this [day], there is the Christian (*Latinis*) feast of ..." and, in 75% of the time, "On this [day], there is the feast of ..." The latter type of entry is thus by far the most represented for feasts exclusively in CCL. It could have been the case that the shorter wording "On this [day], there is the feast of ..." was chosen when adding a feast to CCL. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that entries starting with "On this [day], there is the feast of ..." are mostly shorter and without biographical information, as can be seen in the examples in the following table:

Table 28. Examples of feast entries with different types of wording in CCL.

Example of a feast entry with the type of wording "On this [day], there is the feast of ..."	**Example of a feast entry with the type of wording "On this [day], there is the Christian (*Christianis*) feast of ..."**
On this day, there is the feast of Emila. (15 Sep)	On this day, there is the Christian feast of Eufemia, the virgin, killed in the city of Chalcedon. (16 Sep)

The example in the first column of table 28 shows that entries with "On this day, there is the feast of ..." are mostly shorter and do not provide additional biographical information on the saints. The difference in the wording of these entries with those in other CCT versions could therefore suggest that these were additions to CCL. This hypothesis may not apply to each individual feast that is exclusively in CCL, but it is conceivable that this pattern explains a trend of adding feasts. The copyist or translator of CCL may have intentionally shortened the formulation, omitting "the Christians celebrate," because he was writing for a Christian audience in a Christian context—unlike the compiler of the *Cordoban Calendar*, who, as I will argue, was Muslim. For a Christian, however, such explicit designations that a feast was Christian was unnecessary. The variation in wording thus seems to reflect a broader distinction that signals an insider versus an outsider perspective. This hypothesis will be examined in greater detail in Chapter 4.

My analysis has shown that there is much to say in support of CCL having been updated in the course of its text transmission, and more specifically, its translation, especially given the number of feasts in CCL that do not fit a tenth-century context and are not found in any of the other CCT versions. Moreover, the fact that most of these 30 entries are found with different wording than we otherwise know from liturgical entries in CCT makes a stronger case for a scenario in which CCL was altered at a later stage of the textual tradition.

Feasts according to the Roman rite in the Cordoban Calendar

Some feasts shared between CCA and CCL could indicate the influence of another calendar entirely: the Roman calendar. These include the feast of Peter in Chains, Mary Magdalene and the Nativity of Mary, none of which are typical of the Old Hispanic rite.[629] These are also all absent from other CCT versions. It is possible that their inclusion in CCA and CCL could reflect the adoption of feasts according to the Roman rite in al-Andalus prior to the whole adoption of the rite in the rest of the peninsula (c. 1080). This would mean that Andalusi Christians adopted some of the Franco-Roman feasts in the tenth- or eleventh century. On the one hand, this scenario is not inconceivable given the contact of clergy and scholars from al-Andalus with the Frankish Empire, where the Franco-Roman rite was being widely implemented. We know, for instance, that there was contact with Frankish clergy, exemplified by the monks Usuard and Odilard who

629 Only the Nativity of Mary is also in Risala. These feasts are in none of the Old Hispanic sources (calendars or otherwise).

came from Saint Germain-des-Prés to Córdoba in 858.[630] The tenth century saw an increase in diplomatic relations with the wider Frankish and Germanic worlds, and with that, scholarly exchange between the Christian regions and al-Andalus. Diplomats such as John of Gorze of the Ottonian court spent time in Córdoba.[631] At the same time, without corroborating sources, and their appearance only in CCA and CCL, it is hard to draw conclusions about a possible adoption of feasts according to the Roman rite in al-Andalus. We might also be facing feasts that were added to branch A2 at a later stage of the text transmission.

Comparison to other Old Hispanic sources

In the previous section, I compared feasts from CCT specifically to feasts in Old Hispanic calendars. In this section I shall undertake another comparison, this time with two Old Hispanic sources that are from the Visigothic period and one from a contemporary Andalusi context. The Visigothic sources are useful in such a comparison in order to determine if there was continuation of practice over the centuries. The other source is interesting because it is the only other liturgical source connected to the Andalusi context. For this section I will therefore look into the early layers of the canon of saints' feasts on the Iberian Peninsula. My aim is to determine how the feasts in CCT relate to the earliest layer of the Old Hispanic liturgy with all the caveats this kind of comparison brings about, based on the different nature of the source types:

a) a prayer book: *Verona Orational* (OV) from late seventh-century Tarragona
b) a partially preserved inscription of a calendar: from late fifth- or early sixth-century Carmona (Carmona)
c) the Gospel lectionary CEA, possibly from tenth-century Seville

Verona Orational

Among all the surviving Old Hispanic liturgical manuscripts, OV is the only one that originated in the Visigothic period (35 feasts). The extant manuscript is dated to before 732 and is a copy of a text produced at some point before the late seventh century in Tarragona.[632] It is believed that a large part of the Old Hispanic liturgy was in place by the beginning of the eighth century, although it is unlikely that there was a completely fixed repertoire (choice of chants, readings, prayers).[633] Due to its early origins, this prayer book is nevertheless an invaluable source for understanding the development of the Old Hispanic rite on the Iberian Peninsula.

630 Effros, 'Usuard's Journey to Spain'.
631 More about the embassy of John of Gorze in: Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus* (chapter 6).
632 Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 20.
633 Rebecca Maloy, *Songs of Sacrifice: Chant, Identity, and Christian Formation in Early Medieval Iberia* (Oxford University Press, 2020), 7–9.

Because OV is the only manuscript from the Visigothic period, it is an unresolved question to what extent it reflects only a local practice of Tarragona or a practice that was shared more broadly across the Peninsula. When comparing OV to CCT, we have to keep in mind that OV *only* includes feasts with an assigned office.[634] The "limited" set of 35 feasts in OV does not mean, therefore, that there were no other feasts celebrated in the time and place of its production. And we can be quite sure that they were not the only saints celebrated as OV does have a bit of material for the *commons of saints*. This commons material was used for saints who did not have assigned liturgical materials for them. Therefore, we have a record that saints were celebrated—or anticipated to be celebrated—who are not otherwise represented in OV. OV cannot be fairly compared to calendars, therefore, because the saints it includes were most probably not the only saints who were celebrated. Since OV represents the oldest layer of the Old Hispanic rite known to us, however, it is an invaluable source for understanding some of the earliest celebrated saints. By putting CCT, CEA and the northern calendars and *passionaria* alongside OV, it becomes apparent that some CCT versions, on average, are as close to OV as Old Hispanic sources are.

The earliest liturgical manuscripts we have—apart from OV—date from more than two centuries later. Despite the chronological gap, we can observe a liturgical continuity: the OV prayers and chant incipits closely match with the chants in the Léon antiphoner from the tenth century.[635] This means that in the liturgy of certain feasts, the same chant texts were sung and same prayers were said in the eighth as well as in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[636] Analyzing the degree to which the feasts of OV are present in later liturgical manuscripts will give an indication as to how continuous and widespread was the celebration of saints on the Iberian Peninsula in the centuries that followed OV (table 29). As we shall see, there are significant differences between the sources produced in the Latin Christian north as compared to CCT in terms of the degree to which they include the OV feasts. This is interesting because it gives insight into the level of correspondence between the few southern sources (CCT and CEA) and OV and whether or not this differs significantly from northern sources. It also gives insight into differences in correspondence between CCT versions and OV that reflects on the possibility of continuity of practice from the Visigothic period to the tenth century in al-Andalus.

634 Not all saints' feasts were liturgically celebrated in the same way and intensity. Depending on the saint, there is more or less liturgical attention, and thus more or less liturgical material for them. There are saints who were celebrated with specific chants, readings and prayers written for them to be used in offices and/or masses and others who "only" had a hymn or a *passio* uniquely composed and assigned for their feast, the latter of which was read out in the dawn office of matutinum and/or the mass. There were even saints in liturgical calendars for whom there is no extant assigned / proper liturgy, but who were still likely celebrated. For these saints, liturgical practitioners would draw from the so-called *commons of saints* material; these were common liturgies used for different kinds of saints. For more on this, see Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 38–39; Emma Hornby et al., 'Creating and Using Liturgies for the Commune Sanctorum in Medieval Iberia', *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 54 (2023): 94–118; Melanie Shaffer, 'A "Proper" Celebration: The Old Hispanic Commune Sanctorum and Its Affordance for Individualised Liturgies', *Journal of Medieval History*, 2026, 1–44, https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2025.2595200.

635 Maloy, *Songs of Sacrifice*, 7.

636 We only know this for the consistency of the text, not for the melody, since OV does not contain musical notation.

Table 29. The percentual degree to which the feasts in OV are present in other (liturgical) sources, ordered by descending percentage and per source category.

Source	% saints' feasts from OV present in the source	Source	% saints' feasts from OV present in the source
Old Hispanic calendars		**CCT versions**	
L8	94 %	**A1 (CCL)**	94%
Silos 4	94 %	**A1 (CCA)**	89 %
Sant	94 %	**B2 (P2521)**	83%
SM	91 %	**C1 (D18945)**	74%
Esc D-I-2	91 %	**B1 (Risala, K155 & D2197)**	71%
Silos 3	91 %	**C1 (T4624)**	68 %
PB71	91 %	**C1 (Sbihi)**	68 %
PB69	91 %	**C2 (KA)**	14 %
Passionaria		**C2 (Balad.2918)**	11 %
Esc B-I-4	74 %	**C2 (Vat.ar.258)**	1%
PB80	71 %	**C2 (KH10354)**	0.5%
BL00	71 %	**Gospel reader**	
PB79	69%	**CEA**	80 %

Note that this is a one-way comparison and does not mean that the calendars of, for instance, OV and L8 coincide to 94%, since the comparison is done only in one direction (percentage of OV present in other calendars). Pink: Old Hispanic calendars, yellow: *Passionaria,* blue: CCT versions, grey: Gospel lectionary.

Overall, the results of the comparison of OV feasts to the feasts in other liturgical sources from the Peninsula show a remarkably stable picture. A close comparison reveals that feasts from the early period of OV were still widely attested in the tenth and the eleventh century elsewhere on the Iberian Peninsula, i.e., the northern kingdoms and al-Andalus. Northern liturgical calendars all contain between 91 to 94% of the OV feasts, which comes down to 32 or 33 out of 35 feasts in common with OV. The *passionaria* show close similarity with OV as well. The absence of certain feasts can be explained by the fact that *passionaria* exclusively contain saints (and generally non-biblical saints), and not *temporale* feasts, such as Epiphany, Christmas, Circumcision, etc., which are found in OV.

When looking at CCT against this background, there are important differences between the separate versions. Branch C2 (KA, Balad.2918, Vat.ar.258 and KH10354) shares virtually nothing with OV (0.5–14%). This is because the branch contains almost no local saints' feasts; the feasts the versions of C2 share with OV are the more universal Christian feasts of Epiphany, the Annunciation, John the Baptist, the Beheading of John the Baptist and the Nativity. In contrast, branch A1 (83–94 %) and B2 (83%) show a relatively high overlap with OV. Somewhere in the

middle we find branch C1 (74%–68%) and branch B1 (71%). In this comparison, CCL resembles the northern calendars in which 94% of the OV feasts occur and lacks the same feasts (Engratia and Hippolytus) as the northern calendars do.

The most significant difference between OV and the other calendars lies in the commemoration of Laurence and Hippolytus as separate feasts (OV assigns a distinct feast to each on different days) and in the absence of Engratia from OV. In other calendars, Laurence and Hippolytus occur together in one feast: that of Laurence, Sixtus and Hippolytus (discussed further below). Engratia is in the calendars L8, Sant and S4. Although she appears in PB80 and BL00 as well, her feast seems not to be as widespread on the Iberian Peninsula as other saints from OV, based on the calendar material.

Interestingly, what CCA shares with OV is that there are two consecutive days on which feasts for one or several of the saints Sixtus, Laurence, and Hippolytus are celebrated (table 30). In CCA, these appear as *Sixtus, Laurence, and Hippolytus* on 9 August and 'Laurence' on 10 August. In OV, they appear as *Laurence* on 10 August and *Hippolytus* on 11 August.[637] The separate mention of Hippolytus in OV indicates that the institution at which OV was used had a separate celebration for Hippolytus.[638] It is intriguing that the Andalusi Gospel lectionary, CEA, like OV, records a feast for Laurence on 10 August and a separate feast on the next day for Hippolytus on 11 August. This practice could therefore have continued in al-Andalus, while it did not in the northern kingdoms. It is hard to conclude with certainty if the feast for Laurence in CEA was a separate feast for Laurence alone or if it was also for Sixtus and Hippolytus because feasts could sometimes be referred to in calendars by recording only one of the names of a group of saints. This partial overlap between CCA, OV and CEA might, in any case, indicate a more extensive celebration, on two consecutive days, for the saints Sixtus, Laurence and Hippolytus in different variations in the Visigothic kingdom and later in al-Andalus.

637 Although the liturgy in OV for Laurence is actually inclusive and mentions Sixtus and Hippolytus as well, Laurence is central in this liturgy.

638 The separate liturgy for Hippolytus in OV has lead scholars to theories that OV was meant for an as-yet unknown church of Hippolytus. Cristina Godoy Fernández and Miquel Dels Sants Gros Pujol, 'L'Oracional Hispànic de Verona i la Topografía Cristiana de Tarraco a l'Antiguitat Tardana: Possiblitats i Límits', *Pyranae* 25 (1994): 248. We know from epistolary sources that Eugenius II of Toledo was commissioned to compose a liturgy for Hippolytus by bishop Protasius of Tarragona, which scholars have identified in the OV prayers. Ibid.

Table 30. Feasts for Sixtus, Laurence and Hippolytus in OV, CCA, CEA and Old Hispanic calendars. Feasts can be either for the three saints together, or for one of them separately.

Date	OV	CCA	CEA	OH calendars
9 Aug		Sixtus, Laurence and Hippolytus		
10 Aug	Laurence	Laurence	Laurence	Sixtus, Laurence and Hippolytus
11 Aug	Hippolytus		Hippolytus	

The comparison with OV reveals that CCL corresponds to OV to the same extent and with the absence of the same feasts as the Old Hispanic calendars do. CCA and P2521 overlap to a significant extent (89% and 83%). Branch C2 has virtually no overlap with OV, as branch C2 includes almost no saints' feasts. The most interesting parallel that can be deduced from this comparison is the possible continuation in al-Andalus of a separate feast for Laurence apart from another feast for Hippolytus or Sixtus, Laurence and Hippolytus. This possible continuation from the Visigothic period is not attested for the northern kingdoms.

Calendar of Carmona

The Calendar of Carmona (Carmona, 10 feasts) is a partially preserved calendar engraved on a stone column adjacent to the church of Sancta María la Mayor de Carmona (close to Seville) and lists the saints that were supposedly celebrated in this church. According to various proposals, Carmona dates to the late fifth or early sixth century, to 525, or to the late sixth or seventh century.[639] The part that is preserved contains the following feasts from 25 December to 24 June:

Table 31. Feasts recorded in Carmona. The preserved part comprises 25 December to 24 June

Date	Feast	Date	Feast
25 Dec	Nativity	**2 May**	Felix
26 Dec	Stephen	**4 May**	Trepses
27 Dec	John the Evangelist	**13 May**	Crispin and Mucian
21 Jan	Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius	**19 Jun**	Gervasius and Protasius
22 Jan	Vincent	**24 Jun**	John the Baptist

Since there are only a few saints in Carmona, and the source is only preserved in part, there are limitations to how we can interpret it. However, as Férotin signaled, there are some interesting aspects, of which the most important is that John the Evangelist is celebrated on 27 December, corresponding to what is found in CCT.[640] This is not the date found in the northern sources nor

639 Fidel Fita, 'Lápidas Visigóticas de Carmona y Gines', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 54 (1909): 34; Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, 131; Garciá Rodríguez, *El Culto de los Santos*, 89.

640 Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, 132.

in OV or the Iberian martyrology, where the feast is found on 29 December. The fact that John the Evangelist is also found in CEA on 27 December strongly suggests that this was the date for the feast of John the Evangelist in al-Andalus.[641] This will be further discussed in the case study of Christmastide, below. Férotin further observes that the celebration of Felix (of Seville), Trepses, and Crispin (of Écija), are indications that Carmona reflects a southern Iberian cult of these saints. This southern cult could have been local to Carmona though. Whereas CCL contains Trepses, and most CCT versions contain Felix of Seville, Crispin of Écija (here recorded as Crispin and Mucian) is absent from all CCT versions. The inclusion of Felix of Seville in most CCT versions might suggest that he was celebrated in Córdoba, but whether Trepses (exclusively in CCL) and Crispin of Écija (entirely absent from CCT versions) were celebrated in Córdoba is less certain.

Capitularium Evangeliorum Arabicum (CEA)

CEA (37 feasts) is a Gospel lectionary found in a collection of Arabic Gospels translated by Isḥāq ibn Balashq (equivalent to Velázquez) al-Qurṭubī in 946, which may have been in use in Seville in the tenth century.[642] CEA is found in a manuscript (Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* Cod. Arab. 238), copied in the fourteenth century, possibly in Fez.[643] Philippe Roisse suggests that the text was translated from Latin to Arabic in the first half of the tenth century.[644] His reason for thinking that CEA derives from a Sevillian original is that CEA has separate feasts on 17 and 18 July for Justa and Rufina, respectively, who were the patron saints of Seville.[645] These saints appear in all other sources together on one day and seem thus to have been celebrated together. The doubling of feasts for these saints is also not reflected in any of the CCT versions, and might have been thus very local to a Sevillian tradition. Despite this difference, if it is true that the exemplar of CEA originates in tenth-century Seville, it makes CEA a very valuable text for understanding Andalusi Christian practice. CEA designates the parts of the Gospels that were read on certain feast days. The reading from the Gospels in the Old Hispanic rite was one of the three readings at mass; the other two were from the Hebrew Bible and the Pauline Epistles. The CEA saints are thus saints with assigned mass readings (additional saints could have been celebrated with readings from the *common of saints*, similar to the OV saints above).[646] For this reason, the CEA saints would likely be fewer than the number of saints you would find in a liturgical calendar.

641 CCA, CCL, P2521, Risala, K155 & D2197 (in Risala, K155 & D2197 on 28 December. In these versions, feasts around these dates all appear one day earlier, including the Nativity, which would be most easily explained by an error of the copyist), T4624 (on 26 December), Sbihi 163/9 (on 26 December) and D18945 (on 26 December). Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 242 (footnote).

642 Roisse, 'Célébrait-on les Offices Liturgiques', 219–20. For the date, see also footnote 834.

643 A note in the text on fol. 90r reads that the text was copied by the deacon Abū ʿUmar ibn Juwān ibn ʿAyshūn in March 1145 in Fez for Ibrāhīm ibn Khayr "son of the servant of the servants of Christ" (this copy is now lost). It reads further on fol. 98r that another, anonymous copyist copied the text in 796 AH, which is 1394 CE (this is the manuscript Cod. Arab. 238). Roisse, 'Célébrait-on les Offices Liturgiques', 217.

644 Roisse, 'Célébrait-on les Offices Liturgiques', 219–20.

645 Ibid.

646 The assigned Gospel readings makes CEA an excellent source for comparison with Toledan sources, as is done in Roisse, 'Célébrait-on les Offices Liturgiques'; Ihnat and Hoijinck, 'Christian Practice under Muslim Rule'.

CEA complies with a few features as we know them from the northern liturgical calendars and OV. CEA has the Annunciation on 18 December and contains many Iberian saints, of which almost all are martyrs (except for Martin of Tours). However, there is one exception: Holy Innocents. Whereas the feast of Holy Innocents in the northern sources and OV is on 8 January, in CEA it is found on 29 December, close to the Roman date (28 December).[647] There is an interesting parallel here with CCT which also has Holy Innocents on 29 December, but, in contrast to CEA, Holy Innocents appears in some versions of CCT a second time on 8 January. The date for Holy Innocents in CEA does not correspond to the northern sources and OV, but does correspond to what is in CCT. This seems to indicate a distinct Andalusi practice and will be further investigated in a case study below.

In this section, I have identified the overlapping and diverging feasts in CCT in comparison to the liturgical content found in Old Hispanic sources, particularly Old Hispanic calendars. Despite differences in the nature of the sources compared and the challenges this poses for drawing conclusions, it was possible to establish the following:

1. CCT bears important markers of Iberian liturgical traditions.
2. There was a degree of continuity of practice on the Peninsula from the Visigothic period onwards—continuity that applied both in al-Andalus and in the northern kingdoms.
3. CCT includes a number of distinctive feasts, or distinctive dates for feasts, as opposed to Old Hispanic sources.
4. The use of the term *ʿajam* is a significant marker for entries concerning Iberian feasts.

In conclusion, comparison with other types of liturgical materials from the Peninsula indicates that the *Cordoban Calendar* is best understood within an Iberian Christian context. The distinctive material in CCT is nevertheless remarkable and will be further explored below.

Distinctive Christian feasts in CCT

In this section, I will explore the references to Christian practice in CCT that are not found in the Old Hispanic sources. I have included entries with saints as well as practices, fasts and commemorations in which Christians (*ʿajam* or otherwise) are explicitly mentioned. I will also discuss the moveable feasts (feasts that fall on different dates each year) in CCT. Some of this content is in CCA and CCL, but a lot of the material is provided by branch B1, B2 and C1. I will discuss the diverging content in order to understand its provenance. I will then assess whether it formed part of the original text and can therefore be used to understand Andalusi Christian practice in the tenth century.

647 "One difference is that the feast of Holy Innocents was observed on 28 December in the Roman liturgy, but on 8 January in the Old Hispanic liturgy." Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 33.

Feasts associated with al-Andalus

As we have seen, some feasts appear in CCT but not in the Old Hispanic calendars, and seem to have a particular link to al-Andalus. It is compelling to assume that these represent Andalusi or Cordoban practices that did not exist in the North but whether this assumption can be made is difficult to determine in the absence of corroborating evidence.

The feast of Victor and Basilius on 12 May only figures in CCL. According to Férotin, this was a local feast for Victor and Basilius of Seville, but in fact there is no other source besides CCL that records this feast.[648] Since the feast figures only in CCL and is amongst the entries with a different type of wording, I think it is plausible that the feast was added to CCL in a later phase of the text transmission and thus does not reflect by definition practice in tenth-century Córdoba.

The other relevant feast is the Translation of Zoilus, patron saint of Córdoba, on 4 November. This feast is represented in seven versions of branches A1, B1, B2 and C1, but not found in any Old Hispanic calendar. The translation of Zoilus within Córdoba (there is another feast for the later translation from Córdoba to Carrión de los Condes in the course of the eleventh century)[649] is only recorded in a *passio*, which is found in an appendix to the tenth-century *passionarium* BL00.[650] This *passio* tells us that Zoilus's body was kept hidden by pagans in an attempt to prevent veneration by Christians. At the end of the sixth century, after receiving divine instructions in his dream, Bishop Agapio of Córdoba found Zoilus's relics buried in a small basilica that was originally built for saint Felix. Agapio founded a monastery with a hundred monks. It was to this place that the body of Zoilus was translated.[651] While CCA reports that Zoilus was killed in Córdoba, that he is called martyr and that he is buried in the Church of the *Ṭirāz*, CCL adds "feast of the translation of Zoilus of his burial in the village of Cris to the burial in the *Ṭirāz* district in Córdoba."[652] The level of topographical precision in this entry provides at least an indication of the location of Zoilus's burial place within Córdoba. Nevertheless, a closer determination of the location of the Church of Felix or the monastery founded by Bishop Agapio has not been possible, archeologically or otherwise. Given the consistent representation of this feast across the CCT versions, it is likely that it formed part of the original text. If so, its inclusion may reflect its liturgical observance in Córdoba, particularly in light of the special significance of Zoilus as a patron saint of the city.[653]

648 Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, xxxiv.

649 About the translation to Carrión de los Condes: José Luis Senra Gabriel y Galán, 'Dos Telas Islámicas Encontradas en el Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión de los Condes', *Goya: Revista de Arte* 303 (2004): 332–40.

650 Fábrega Grau, *Pasionario Hispánico*, I, 298.

651 Pilar Riesco Chueca, *Pasionario Hispánico (Introducción, Edición Crítica y Traducción)* (Universidad de Sevilla, 1995), 245–49.

652 The village of Cris remains unidentified. Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 163. T4624 and Sbihi 163/9 read that Zoilus's grave is in the "Church of the Tower." D18945 mentions the "Church of *Ṭirāz*." *Ṭirāz* refers to linen or silken cloth embroidered with iconography and Arabic calligraphical lettering. The industry of *Ṭirāz* was state-controlled in the Umayyad caliphate. Specially trained weavers were employed in this industry that was concentrated in Málaga, Almería and Córdoba.

653 Jamie Wood, 'Persecution, Past and Present: Memorialising Martyrdom in Late Antique and Early Medieval Córdoba', *Al-Masāq* 27 (2015): 46.

The possibility of this feast being celebrated in tenth-century Córdoba is strengthened especially because of the precise description of the whereabouts of Zoilus's relics. However, the addition of the *passio* to the *passionarium* in an appendix and the inaccuracies in content between the *passio* and CCT impedes a straightforward conclusion about the celebration of the Translation of Zoilus in Córdoba. The absence of a feast for the translation of Zoilus in other Old Hispanic calendars (other than a feast for his death on 27 June) further strengthens the sense that the translation within Córdoba was a special local celebration of Córdoba.

Unidentified saints in branch C1

There is a set of unidentified saints in branch C1 (65, see Appendix 6). Unfortunately, without contextual or corroborating sources, their identities remain a mystery, most likely because their names were corrupted by scribes.[654] The difficulty in identifying these feasts probably stems from the gradual loss, over time, of copyists' familiarity with the names of saints and, potentially, place names. In branch C, it appears that the copyists had no knowledge of the saints whose names they were transcribing. The unfamiliar forms of names, such as Balyānus of Persia (5 December), Malḥajān of Ṭalkama (6 December), Saint Arāna (12 December), Alwaniyya (5 November), Ruksān the Bishop (2 September), Hulīz the Bishop of Rome (4 September), or Kibār the Martyr (6 September), should therefore not discourage us from thinking they once reflected actual known saints.[655] The phenomenon of possibly corrupted names is not unique to branch C: branches A1 and B1 also contain corrupted saint names, which scholars have been able to identify through comparison with other calendars.[656] For example, the entry "the *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of Bashans and Sanīr in Guadalajara" appears on 6 August and is identified as referring to Justus and Pastor—though this cannot be deduced from the form of the names in the text versions.[657] Such erroneous copying was not unusual in almanacs. The methods by which almanacs were copied introduced a "likely potential for error."[658] Whether these entries correspond to genuinely celebrated saints—considering that the names seem strikingly unfamiliar at first glance—should not be judged solely on the legibility of the names in the versions.

A significant number of the unidentified saints are said to be from, killed or buried in Iberia. Another significant number of those saints are from India or killed or buried there. Other saints are linked to the Sinai Peninsula, Italy, Persia, Palestine, Constantinople, etc. Branch C1 contains most of these saints, but KA and Vat.ar.258 of branch C2 also contain some. KH10354 and Balad.2918 do not contain such feasts. We might wonder if these saints have roots in an Andalusi

654 Where the saint could not be identified, the names have been transcribed as they appear in the versions. In cases of variant spellings, a single form has been selected.
655 Examples from T4624. See Appendix 6 for all unidentified saints in the branch C1 and C2.
656 See footnotes for almost all these saints' names in Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*.
657 Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 108.
658 Varisco, *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science*, 8.

tradition that is not shared with the North or if their inclusion has to be explained in some other way.

A series of entries for otherwise unknown but specifically Iberian saints is also found in C1. These include: "the eight (or eighty) bishops from Tarazona," "Leocadia of Cádiz," or "Māmūtīn buried in Seville," are particularly intriguing. A reason for believing that these saints were not simply recorded as the result of interpolation by an imaginative copyist is the inclusion of very specific details, which suggest a detailed exemplar, written by someone with knowledge about the topography of Córdoba and al-Andalus. For example, versions of C1 read that Ashartarnīs was killed in a neighborhood called *al-Burj*, a neighborhood of Córdoba that is also mentioned as the location of the tomb of Faustus, Ianuarius and Martialis.[659] This detail seems too precise to have been invented by a copyist during transcription. This suggests that the liturgical entries in branch C1 warrant serious consideration, even if some feasts cannot be identified at this moment. Further comparison of branch C1's feasts with calendars from rites other than the Old Hispanic would be necessary, but such an analysis falls outside the scope of this study. Since we may argue, based on paleographical and other codicological evidence, that most of the versions of branch C1, if not all, were copied outside of the Iberian Peninsula in later centuries (fifteenth to twentieth), we may wonder if versions of this branch were enriched with new saints at a later stage, either inside or outside of the Peninsula. At present, it seems safer to suggest that these entries were added later to branch C1 and were not part of the original text. It would also be worth considering whether Christians in al-Andalus adopted new cults after the northern kingdoms had already adopted the Roman rite.

Moveable feasts

A curious characteristic in CCT that distinguishes it from liturgical calendars are the moveable feasts. Moveable feasts belong to the category of *temporale* feasts. They are feasts such as Easter/Resurrection, Ascension, and Pentecost, that fall on different dates in different years. Because of their moveable character, such feasts are normally not listed on a fixed day in liturgical calendars. The type of paragraph on the Christian year that we have classified as *practical* in Chapter 1 (occurring in branch A1, B1 and B2) represents an awareness of this incompatibility:

> I have mentioned in this book all the feasts of the ʿ*ajam* (of which the dates and moments in the year do not change and I have mentioned them feast by feast in every month of the months),[660] so that this could be an increase in knowledge and help to understand them. The ʿ*ajam* have the feast of Easter, which they call 'the Resurrection of Christ' and it is preceded by their fast (and some of their feasts and Easter change their dates in the year. They are not fixed to one date. And

659 Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 151.
660 The text between parentheses is not in CCA.

> their dates depend on the date of Easter).[661] The first possible date for Easter is 22 March and it cannot be any day earlier, and the last possible date for Easter is 24 April and it cannot be any day later. Their fast always begins 42 days before Easter. The breaking of the fast is Easter and it is their biggest feast and it has to fall on a Sunday.[662]

Despite the awareness about the moveability of certain ʿ*ajamī* feasts, and the difficulty of fixing them in a calendar, some moveable feasts are recorded in CCT (table 32). Branch A1 does not have moveable feasts. In contrast, branches B1, B2 and C contain moveable feasts from the Christian tradition. The same is the case with IHE and Jewish feasts. Technically, the IHE and Jewish feasts are not moveable feasts, because they fall on a fixed date in their respective calendars (for instance, Purim is always celebrated on 14 Adar). However, since their calendars are shorter than the Julian calendar, IHE and Jewish feasts occurred on different dates in the Julian calendar each year. Therefore, they are fixed in the Islamic calendar and the Jewish calendar but cannot be fixed in the Julian calendar, as we saw in Chapter 2.

Table 32. Christian moveable feasts in CCT.

Date	Feast	MS branch
26 Mar	Easter	B1, C1
14 Apr	Easter	B1, C1, C2
11 May	Ascension	C1, C2
21 May	Ascension	C1, C2
25 May	Pentecost	C1, C2
14 Sep	Resurrection	B2
5 Oct	Resurrection	B2

The curious presence of moveable feasts in branches B and C is not something that is normally found in liturgical calendars or martyrologies. It could be the result of "updating" the calendar in certain years. As I established in Chapter 2, the correspondence of Jewish feasts to the year 973, the possible year of the text's production, makes it very likely that they were part of the original text. I could not determine with certainty whether the IHE were part of the original text, but in any case, their dates do not comply with 973, taking the dates for the same IHE from Islamic calendars as a reference. Comments, such as "and they say there is no cold weather after the Pesach of the Jews" underscore the relevance of feasts for meteorological predictions, and may be another reason to argue that they were included in the original text.[663] However, the fact that none of the Christian moveable feasts corresponds to 973 suggests that they were the result

661 The text between parentheses is not in CCA.
662 This is the paragraph on the Christian year as found in CCA, Risala and P2521.
663 For instance, KA: 22 March.

of later additions. Copyists may have added moveable feasts that corresponded to their year of writing. It is possible that moveable feasts were added in one manuscript in the margins, and in the process of copying, it was included in the running text.

Other practices

In CCT, some practices are described in a bit more detail. For instance, there is a fast of three days mentioned on 1 January in B1, C1 and C2: "On this day, the *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the circumcision of Christ, according to the tradition of the Torah (*bi-sunnat al-tawrāt*). After that they fast for 3 days."[664] This fast might be the same fast as the "Fast in al-Andalus" (3 January) in C1 and C2 (KA), and which may refer to the *Initio Anni*. The *Initio Anni* is attested in the Old Hispanic sources on 2 January and was held for three days.[665] The possibility that this fast in CCT would relate to *Initio Anni* is all the more likely since the entry on the first of January is referred to as a fast of the *ʿajam*.

Another practice that is described in branches B, C1 and C2 (Vat.ar.258 and KA) is that on 20 March, "the *ʿajam* eat *bayṣāra* and they make ointments against the pain." *Bayṣāra* (or *bayṣār*) is a dish found around the Mediterranean Sea. A thirteenth-century cookbook from the Andalusi author Ibn Razīn al-Tujībī (1227–1293) mentions the dish repeatedly, and *bayṣār* was the name in the Muslim West for fava beans, whereas they were more commonly known as *fūl yābis* in the Eastern Mediterranean.[666] In this cookbook, the dish is not connected to a certain feast. The phrase "they make ointments against the pain" (*wa-yaṭlūna bi-l-nūra li-l-wajaʿ*) is Navarro's interpretation.[667] The text in branch C is unclear, and varies considerably across versions, to the extent that it could also be read as "they paint against the mud" (*wa-yaṭlūna bi-l-nūra min ajl al-waḥl*).[668] While the entry of the Andalusi fast is corroborated by the Old Hispanic sources it is uncertain why the *bayṣāra* and the ointments/painting are mentioned in CCT. In any case, the wording of this entry reveals again an outsider perspective on practices of the *ʿajam*, a topic that I will further explore in Chapter 4.

Some new information on places of worship

One of the most striking features of CCT is the fact that it contains remarkable topographical information on medieval al-Andalus. CCL especially has taken on a central importance in identifying places in medieval Córdoba because scholars read CCL as the immediate reflection of

664 Risala, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, Vat.ar.258, KH10354 and KA.
665 Mentioned in L8 (fol. 82r.). See for this penitential day: Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 33.
666 For more on *bayṣār* being the typical term for fava beans in the Muslim West: Nawal Nasrallah, *Best of Delectable Foods and Dishes from al-Andalus and al-Maghrib: A Cookbook by Thirteenth-Century Andalusi Scholar Ibn Razīn al-Tujībī (1227–1293)* (Brill, 2021), 24 and 775–76; and "a dish of boiled and mashed broad beans." Federico Corriente, 'b-y-ṣ-r', in *A Dictionary of Andalusi Arabic*, Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung, Der nahe und mittlere Osten, Band 29 = Handbook of Oriental Studies. The Near and Middle East, Vol. 29 (Brill, 1997), 72.
667 Risala: 20 March. Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 69 and 182.
668 D18945, fol. 12r.

tenth-century Cordoban topography. We do not know if such topographical details originated in a text of the tenth century, but there are other CCT versions that also contain such information, mainly in branches B1 and C1. Although CCL is the most abundant in mentioning places of worship, it is noteworthy that some of the entries in CCT provide 'new' information on the places of worship for certain feasts. Branch B1 has a number of such entries, for instance, on 20 January: "the ʿ*ajam* celebrate Sebastian and his companion Agnes, in Rome. Sebastian has a monastery in a known place called Lisbon."[669] And on 29 November: "the ʿ*ajam* celebrate the feast of the apostle [Andrew], killed on Greek territory, buried in the Church of the Monks (*Kenīsat al-Ruhbān*)."[670] Since the entry reports the saint being killed in Greece, we might assume that the Church of the Monks is in Greece as well. On the other hand, specific places of worship outside the Peninsula are otherwise not mentioned in the CCT versions. The specific places of worship may point to the inclusion of these feasts at the time of the compilation, or otherwise the additions may have been an attempt to imitate other passages referring to places of worship that were part of the original text.

Branch C1 contains additional information on various locations in al-Andalus. It speaks of a monastery dedicated to Eulalia of Barcelona in the plains of Córdoba (7 February) as well as the tomb of Servandus and Germanus in Cádiz (23 October). It also has information not found in other branches, such as in the case of Zoilus (4 November). There, branch C1 reads that "it is the feast of Zoilus, killed in Córdoba and his grave is in the *Church of Ṭirāz*, *next to the gate*."[671] Branch C1 informs us that for the feast of Julian and Basilissa (7 January), "they gather in monastery Balanshīsh, known as the white monastery in the mountains of Córdoba." These specific pieces of information may contribute to a better understanding of the topography of Christian religious life in Córdoba, whether at the time of the initial compilation or at a later stage.[672] CCL has long been used to study the topography of medieval Córdoba, and it is possible that the branch C versions will enrich this picture—once there is greater certainty about the identity of the saints and the timing of their inclusion in the text.

Case studies of feasts in the *Cordoban Calendar*

In the previous section, a general comparison has demonstrated a strong resemblance of many of CCT branches to the Old Hispanic calendars and other Old Hispanic sources. We have therefore established an Iberian context for most of the Christian liturgical content in CCT. However, in the section about distinctive material in CCT, I have also pointed to a few cases which require a closer analysis to understand their inclusion and implications in CCT. I will now explore these on a case-by-case basis. These case studies tell us about which feasts might conceivably have been celebrated in al-Andalus. Since it is not feasible to investigate every individual feast in each

669 Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 50 and 165.
670 Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 136–236.
671 T4624, fol. 46v. The text in italics is only in versions of C1.
672 An attempt to map some of the places of worship included in CCA/CCL was conducted in: Joosten, 'All over Córdoba'.

of the CCT versions, I have selected a few notable case studies. For some of these, scholars have previously assumed that they were celebrated by drawing solely on the mention of the feast in CCA and/or CCL. This section challenges that approach and introduces a methodology for examining individual feasts in CCT. This methodology considers the various types of wording used in different CCT versions and incorporates comparative analysis with sources such as CEA and Eastern Christian sources. As we will see, these comparative sources help refine our understanding, either strengthening or weakening the likelihood that a particular feast was actively celebrated in al-Andalus, whether in general or on a specific date.

Christmastide

One of the more noteworthy characteristics of the Old Hispanic rite as it appears in OV and northern liturgical sources is its Christmas season arrangement (Christmas triduum or Christmastide).[673] In the Old Hispanic rite, the arrangement of the Christmas season is distinctive: Eugenia is celebrated on 27 December, James the Lesser on 28 December, John the Evangelist on 29 December and James the Greater on 30 December. Holy Innocents is not part of the Old Hispanic Christmastide (as opposed to the Roman rite) since it falls on 8 January in the Old Hispanic rite.[674]

CCT aligns to some extent with the Old Hispanic arrangement of Christmastide. However, there are also a few significant differences. Table 33 demonstrates that CCT shares with the Old Hispanic sources the celebration of James the Lesser on 28 December, but not the feasts on 27, 29 and 30 December. This deviation from Old Hispanic calendars includes Holy Innocents which appears on 29 December in CCT.

673 Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 33–34.
674 Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 33.

Table 33. Feasts from 25 December to 31 December in OV, the Northern liturgical calendars, CEA and CCT versions.

Date	OV	Carmona	L8, Esc D-I-1, Esc D-I-2, S3, Sant, S4, PB71, PB69	CEA, B1[675]	A1, B2	C1: T4624 and Sbihi 163/9	C1: D18945
25 Dec	Nativity	Nativity	Nativity	Nativity	Nativity	Nativity	Nativity
26 Dec	Stephen	Stephen	Stephen	Stephen	Stephen	John the Evangelist	
27 Dec	Eugenia	John the Evangelist	Eugenia	John the Evangelist	John the Evangelist	James the Lesser	John the Evangelist
28 Dec			James the Lesser	James the Lesser	James the Lesser	Eugenia	James the Lesser
29 Dec	John the Evangelist		John the Evangelist	Holy Innocents	Holy Innocents	Holy Innocents	Holy Innocents
30 Dec			James the Greater		Eugenia		Eugenia

Christmastide in CCT has elements in common with both the Old Hispanic rite (James the Lesser on 28 December), the rites from the Coptic and East Syrian rites (Holy Innocents on 29 December) and the Roman rite (John the Evangelist on 27 December). The role of CEA is crucial here by way of comparison, since it corresponds to what is found in the CCT versions for the feasts during Christmastide. Carmona also corresponds to CCT with regard to John the Evangelist on 27 December. What could this tell us about Christian practice in al-Andalus? The correspondence between Carmona, CEA and the CCT versions regarding Christmastide strengthens the hypothesis that Christmastide differed in al-Andalus as compared to the northern kingdoms. If this arrangement was influenced by the Roman rite or Eastern rites or both is a complex matter for which there is no answer at the moment. The absence of James the Greater on 30 December in the CCT versions could further indicate a different development of this feast in al-Andalus as opposed to the northern kingdoms.[676] This could be explained by the fact that the legend of the translation of James the Greater's relics to Galicia took root from about 800 CE, i.e., after the Muslim conquest.[677] The commemoration of James the Greater on 30 December developed widely in the North, whereas it might not have taken root in the South. The evidence in CCL for his cult developing on 25 July might point to a different date for this feast in al-Andalus, but it is more likely a later addition to CCL. The celebration of James the Greater is also found on 25 July in L8, possibly because this was the date for the feast in the Roman rite. Indeed, James the

675 In Risala, K155 & D2197, these feasts all appear one day earlier, including the Nativity, which would be most easily explained by an error of the copyist. Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 242 (footnote).

676 James the Greater is mentioned in CCL, Vic167 and PA45 on 25 July. 25 July is the Roman Catholic date for his celebration.

677 Jan van Herwaarden, 'The Origins of the Cult of St James of Compostela', *Journal of Medieval History* 6, no. 1 (1980): I.

Greater is one of the feasts added later to L8, thus possibly indicating later practice.[678] CEA does not corroborate a celebration of James the Greater in al-Andalus either. CCT thus reflects certain particularities of the Old Hispanic Christmastide—for instance, the commemoration of James the Lesser on 28 December—but diverges from it by placing John the Evangelist on 27 December, Holy Innocents on 29 December, and Eugenia on 30 December. The correspondence between CCT, Carmona, and CEA suggests that Christmastide was celebrated differently in al-Andalus than in the North of the Peninsula.

Holy Innocents

As is shown in table 34, Holy Innocents occurs in CCT on 29 December. However, in some of the CCT versions, namely CCL and branch C1, Holy Innocents also occurs on 8 January, the date typical for Holy Innocents in other Old Hispanic sources. I will argue below that the inclusion of this feast on 29 December more likely refers to the practice of Andalusi Christians, and not the entry on 8 January.

Table 34. Holy Innocents in the Old Hispanic sources, CEA and the CCT versions.

Date	OV + all northern calendars	CEA	A1 (CCA), B1, B2, C2	A1 (CCL)	C1
8 Jan	✓			✓	✓
29 Dec		✓	✓	✓	✓

In table 34 we see that 1) all CCT versions which include at least one entry for Holy Innocents include it on 29 December, and 2) the versions of branch C1 (T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945) as well as CCL have a second entry for Holy Innocents on 8 January. The differences in the wording on 8 January and 29 December will help to disentangle the confusion between the two dates for Holy Innocents in CCT (table 35).

678 Vivancos Gómez, 'El Calendario y Otros Contenidos Litúrgicos', 187–88.

Table 35. Exact wording of entries of the feasts of Holy Innocents on two different dates in CCT versions and in Arabic calendrical sources.

Date	Old Hispanic sources (OV, calendars)	CEA	CCT (except CCL)	CCL	Arabic calendrical sources
8 Jan	The Massacre of infants (of Bethlehem).[679]	N/A	This is the feast of the killed Children in Betlehem by Herod. (D18945)[680]	This is the Christian feast of Holy Innocents.[681]	N/A
29 Dec	N/A	The Massacre of the Children of Bethlehem.[682]	The *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the killing of the Children in the city of Bethlehem at the hands of King Herod, when he received the news of the birth of Christ reached him. He killed them all, and Jesus was killed among them, peace be upon him.[683] (CCA, B1, B2, C1)	The Christians celebrate the feast of the killing of the Children in the city of Bethlehem by the hand of King Herod, when the message that Christ was born reached him. He thought he could kill Christ by killing them all.[684]	Commemoration of the Children who were killed in the days of Herod the King, for the Melkites.[685] (Ibn Bahlūl—28 December) King Herod killed the boys of the town of Hebron[686] and the children, seeking out for Christ and intending to kill him. The event, as they reported, is mentioned at the beginning of the Gospel.[687] (al-Bīrūnī on the Melkites, 28 December)

As can be seen in table 35, the feast of Holy Innocents falls on 8 January in the Old Hispanic rite, as attested in OV and in the Old Hispanic calendars. The question, however, is whether Andalusi Christians likewise celebrated this feast on 8 January or instead observed it on 29 December. The CCT versions record the feast on both dates, namely 8 January and 29 December.

679 *Allisio infantum (bethlemeticorum).*
680 *Wa-fīhi ʿīd al-aṭfāl al-maqtūlīn bi-Bayt Laḥm ʿalā yaday Hirudūs.*
681 *In eo est Latinis festum sanctorum infantum*.
682 *Qatl al-aṭfāl bi-Baṭalḥīn.*
683 *Fīhi li-l-ʿajam ʿīd maqtal al-aṭfāl bi-madīnat Bayt Laḥm ʿalā yaddī Hirūdus al-malik, idh balaghahu ʿan [khabr] wilāda al-Masīḥ, fa-arāda qatlahum, qutīla baynahum ʿĪsā ʿalayhi al-salām.*
684 *In ipso est Latinis festum interfectionis infantium in civitate Betleem per manus Herodus regis, cum pervenit ad eum de navitate Christi Domini. Cogitavit ergo per interfectionem eorum interficere eum inter eos.*
685 *Dhikrān al-aṭfāl al-ladhīna qutilū fī ayyām Hīrūdhus al-malik li-l-Malakiyya.*
686 Pellat translates with Betlehem, but *Balad al-Khalīl* is commonly known as Hebron. Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 184.
687 *Qatala Hirūdus al-malik ṣibyān Balad al-Khalīl wa-aṭfālahum mutafaqqidān li-l-Masīḥ wa-qāṣidān li-qatlihi, fa-al-jumla kamā dhakarū fī awwal al-Injīl.*

There is a significant difference in how the feasts are formulated and in how they correspond to other sources. The entry for 8 January is inconsistent in its wording across the text versions. In CCL, we read: "This is the Christian feast of Holy Innocents."[688] Descriptions of feasts are usually not this brief, unless they occur in entries that are exclusively attested in CCL (see tables 27 and 29). The brevity of the entry for 8 January suggests that the reference to Holy Innocents on this date may represent a later addition to CCL. This entry may have been added in order to align CCL with the Old Hispanic customs of the northern kingdoms. Although D18945 also contains an entry on 8 January, it does not correspond to the wording found in CCL and does not mention the *ʿajam*. By contrast, the entry for 29 December is more consistent. On this date, the Latin text of CCL clearly reflects a translation of the wording found in the Arabic versions. This differs from the entry on 8 January, for which no basis can be identified in the Arabic material.[689]

On the basis of the philological arguments outlined above, it is therefore more plausible that the entry for Holy Innocents on 29 December reflects the practice of Andalusi Christians, rather than the entry on 8 January. This would imply a different date from that observed in the northern kingdoms within the Old Hispanic tradition. This interpretation is further supported by CEA, our only other Andalusi source, which likewise includes the feast on 29 December, as well as by the reference to the *ʿajam* on that date. Taken together, the evidence suggests that Holy Innocents was celebrated in al-Andalus on 29 December.

Arabic calendrical sources place the feast on 28 December, as seen in the entries of Ibn Bahlūl and al-Bīrūnī, who report the practice of the Melkites. Contacts between Andalusi Christians and Christians following Eastern rites, or the Roman rite (which places the feast on 29 December), may have contributed to the adoption of 29 December as the date for the celebration of Holy Innocents in al-Andalus.

In any case, the entry for 29 December was most likely copied from an Arabic calendrical source, given the close correspondence in wording between the entries of Ibn Bahlūl and al-Bīrūnī and those found in CCT. It is therefore possible that the compiler of the *Cordoban Calendar* retained the entries for feasts found in an Arabic calendrical model when he knew that these feasts were also celebrated in al-Andalus.

The Annunciation of Mary

The feast of the Annunciation of Mary celebrates the announcement made to Mary by the archangel Gabriel that she would conceive a son, and in the Christian tradition this feast marks the moment of Christ's conception. The feast is therefore sometimes referred to as the Incarnation

688 *In eo est Latinis festum sanctorum infantum.* Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 29.

689 *In ipso est Latinis festum interfectionis infantium in civitate Betleem per manus Herodis regis, cum pervenit ad eum de nativitate Christi Domini. Cogitavit ergo per interfectionem eorum interficere eum inter eos.* Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue,* 185.

of the Word, i.e., the incarnation of Jesus in the virginal womb of his mother Mary. In Visigothic Iberia, the feast of the Annunciation was moved from 25 March to 18 December by a decree at the Tenth Council of Toledo in 656 (can. 1). It was the only Marian feast and the most important amongst the saints' feasts in the seventh-century Old Hispanic rite, evident from the size of its liturgy in OV, our oldest surviving source.[690] The decree sought to correct the feast falling on different dates each year, since it was originally a moveable feast. Because of "ancient rules," the feast could not be celebrated on 25 March (the date of the Annunciation feast in the Roman tradition), since no feasts could be celebrated during Lent.[691] The feast was therefore moved to 18 December to avoid it being moved to different days each year on account of Lent. Accordingly, we find this Old Hispanic date for the Annunciation on 18 December in OV, CEA, and all northern calendars. The feast does not feature in the part of Carmona that has been preserved, which begins with 25 December and ends with 24 June. Because Carmona precedes the legislation of 656, we are not sure if the calendar would have included the feast or not.

The records of the Annunciation in CCT are confusing and resemble the situation of Holy Innocents. In most versions of CCT, the feast is recorded on 18 December and is described as "appearance to Mary, mother of Jesus, peace be upon them."[692] However, table 36 demonstrates that the Annunciation occurs a second or third time in a number of CCT versions: on 21 March, described as "the feasts of the incarnation of the word in the womb,"[693] and on 22 March as "Mary's conception of Jesus."[694] The fact that the feast of the Annunciation is recorded on 21 March and not on 25 March might be the result of the feasts being moved on the basis of Lent in a certain year. It is noteworthy that in branches C1 and C2 there is discussion on the date of 22 March: "The ʿ*ajam* say that on this day Mary conceived Jesus, peace be upon them, and some say it is on 25."[695] This comment could have been the result of copying from an exemplar in which the feast for the Annunciation was placed on 22 March, because it otherwise would have coincided with Good Friday or Easter in one particular year. The copyist could then have added this comment because from what he knew the (official) date for the feast was 25 March, for instance because he was copying in a place where the Roman rite or an Eastern Christian rite was in place. In CCA we find a similar note, but this time in the margin. The main text places the feast on 21 March, but the user notes (in Hebrew) that it should be on 25 March. In the case of CCA,

690 Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 296–300 and 303.
691 Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office,* 31, 33 and 295
692 In A1, B1, B2 C1, C2 (only KA). CCA and CCL: "appearance to Mary, mother of Jesus." Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*; ; p. 181; Risala (19 December): "appearance to Mary, mother of Jesus, peace be upon them." Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 142. P2521 (14 December): "appearance to Mary." Fol. 135v.
693 A1, B1, B2 C1, C2 (Vat.ar.258, KA).
694 C1, C2 (KA, Balad.2918, Vat.ar.258). In most of the versions on 21 March, in P2521 on 20 March, in Risala on 21 and on 23 March, in Vat.ar.258 on 30 March, in T4624 and Sbihi 163/9 on 21 March and on 24 March. Additionally Risala, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945 and KA have on 30 May a "nawʾ of the Annunciation." The context of this phenomenon of connecting a nawʾ' (weather period) to a feasts has not been identified. Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 184.
695 KA, Balad.2918, Vat.ar.258.

any user may have known that the feast fell officially on 25 March, as it did at the time CCA was created (i.e., after the adoption of the Roman rite in Iberia).[696]

696 A user note in CCA comments on the date for the Annunciation of Mary on 21 March. The sentence in the margin is in Hebrew (as opposed to the original, which must have been written in Arabic). CCA reads on fol. 18r: "The eid [(i.e., non-Jewish feast) takes place] on the 25th day of March" (האיד ביום כ״ה ממרס). This note derives probably from what the owner or user knew from the Roman rite of the Christians in his fourteenth-century, Aragonese surrounding, but it can also have been added in the period after the book had come to Aleppo. I thank Lukas Mühlethaler for reading the marginal note.

Table 36. The Annunciation of Mary in Old Hispanic sources, CCT and Arabic calendrical sources on two different dates.

Date	OV, CEA and O-H calendars	A1 (CCA)	A1 (CCL)	B1	B2	C1	C2[697]	C2 (KA)	Arabic calendrical sources
19–25 Mar	**N/A**	The *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the incarnation of the word in Mary's womb.[698]	On this day, there is a Christian feast.[699]	The *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the incarnation of the word in Mary's womb.	The *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of Mary	The *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the incarnation of the word in Mary's womb. The *ʿajam* say that on this day Mary conceived Jesus, peace be upon them (and some say it was on 25).[700]	The *ʿajam* say that on this day Mary conceived Jesus, and some say it was on 25.	The *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the incarnation of the word in Mary's womb. The *ʿajam* say that on this day Mary conceived Jesus, and some say it was on 25.	Mary conceived Jesus, peace be upon them.[701] *(Long Calendar*, 19 March) The Day of the Annunciation to the Virgin of the Miraculous Conception, and it is a feast of the Christians.[702] (Ibn Māsawayh, 25 March) The feast of the Annunciation for the Melkites.[703] (Ibn Bahlūl, 25 March) Feast of the *Subbār*, which is the Appearance of Gabriel (peace be upon him) to Maryam, announcing Christ.[704] (al-Bīrūnī on the Melkites, 25 March) *Subbār*, which is the Annunciation to Maryam about the Conception of Christ.[705] (al-Bīrūnī on the East Syrians, 25 March)

697 Vat.ar.258 and Balad.2918
698 *Wa-fīhi li-l-ʿajam ʿīd iltiḥām al-kalima fī mashīmat Maryam.*
699 *Et in ipso est Christianis festum.*
700 *Wa-fī hādhā al-yawm ḥamalat Maryam bi-ʿĪsā ʿalayhimā al-salām fi-mā qālat al-ʿajam.*
701 *Ḥamalat Maryam bi-ʿĪsā ʿalayhimā al-salām.*
702 *Yawm bishārat al-ʿadhrāʾ bi-l-ḥabl al-ʿajīb wa-huwa ʿīd al-naṣārā.*
703 *ʿīd al-bishāra li-l-malakiyya.*
704 *ʿīd al-subbār wa-huwa dukhūl Jibrīl ʿalayhi al-salām ʿalā Maryam mubashshiran bi-l-Masīḥ.*
705 *ʿīd al-subbār wa-huwa bishārat Maryam bi-ḥaml al-Masīḥ.*

18 Dec	Holy Mary, Virgin and Mother of God.[706]	The *ʿajam* celebrate the appearance to Mary, mother of Jesus.[707]	This is the feast of the appearance to Mary, mother of Jesus. This feast is in Catluira.[708]	The *ʿajam* celebrate the appearance to Mary. (14 Dec)	The *ʿajam* celebrate the appearance to Mary, mother of Jesus.	The *ʿajam* celebrate the appearance to Mary, mother of Jesus.	**N/A**	The *ʿajam* celebrate the appearance to Mary, mother of Jesus.	**N/A**

706 *Sancte Marie, uirginis et genetricis Dei.* Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, 491.

707 *Wa-fīhi li-l-ʿajam ẓuhūr Maryam umm isa alayhima al salam.*

708 *In ipso est festum Apparitionis Marie matris Iesu, super quam sit salus. Et festum eius est in Catluira.*

The feast of the Annunciation was not only celebrated in the Roman calendar but also in Eastern Christian calendars on 25 March. An examination of the corresponding Arabic calendrical sources indicates that the feast is widely attested on 25 March. It is mentioned in several Syriac sources on 25 *Ādhār* (25 March) in Eastern Christian traditions. For instance, the *Āthār al-bāqiya* of al-Bīrūnī, in the chapter *The feasts of the Syriac calendar, celebrated by the Melkite Christians* mentions the feast of the Annunciation, the day on which "Gabriel came to Mary announcing to her the Messiah" on 25 *Ādhār*.[709] The same author mentions the feast in the chapter on the East Syriacs. Ibn Māsawayh mentions the "day of the Annunciation of the Virgin of the miraculous conception, and this is a feast of the *naṣārā*" on 25 *Ādhār*.[710] The wording in the *Long Calendar*, on 19 March even corresponds very closely to what is found in versions of C1 and C2 on 20, 21 and 22 March. Ibn Bahlūl includes the feast as a feast of the Melkites on 25 *Ādhār* as well.

Remarkably, CCL has also an entry on both dates. However, strictly speaking, the entry in March in CCL does not mention the Annunciation. There, the Latin reads "on this day, there is a Christian feast,"[711] which might be interpreted as an attempt to erase the "incarnation of the word in the womb of Mary" when the calendar was translated. It is possible that its twelfth-century translator recognized that this date in March was "incorrect" according to the Old Hispanic customs of the northern kingdoms. The translator, possibly with the help of a Mozarab, may have suggested replacing the entry regarding the incarnation with the more unspecific "Christian feast."[712]

The entry for this feast in CCL in December is longer and provides more information about the celebration of the feast, and is moreover an accurate translation of what is found in the Arabic versions, including the way that Mary is referred to, namely as "the mother of Jesus." Contrary to the other versions, CCL mentions a place of worship: "This feast is celebrated in Catluira."[713] Simonet suggested that Catluira is Cutelobera in the surroundings of Córdoba, where a Church of Our Lady must have been situated.[714] We might expect such specific information rather in cases in which an entry refers to an actually celebrated feast on the Peninsula.

709 Al-Bīrūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 290.

710 Sbath, 'Kitāb al-azmina', 249; This is in contrast to what al-Bīrūnī mentions. He writes that the Nestorians celebrated the feast on the last Sunday of *Tishrīn II* (November) or on the first Sunday of *Kānūn I* (December), under the rubric "Feasts common to both sects [Melkites and Nestorians], but celebrated by the Nestorians at a time and in a manner different from that of the Melkites." Al-Bīrūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 307.

711 *Et in ipso est Christianis festum.*

712 We know that transmission and translation of knowledge in twelfth-century Toledo was not a solitary act but a cross-cultural exchange, especially the practice of Gerard of Cremona and his collaborators. A contemporary source tells us that Gerard of Cremona collaborated with the Mozarab Galippus for the translation of Ptolemy's Almagest. Stefan Zieme, 'Gerard of Cremona's Latin Translation of the Almagest and the Revision of Tables', *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 54, no. 1 (2023): 19.

713 Simonet suggests reading *Catluira* as *Cuteclara*, In Cuteclara, a village west of Córdoba and supposedly near the Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, was a monastery dedicated to Mary. Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue,* 181.

714 Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España*, III, 616.

What can we make of this double and sometimes triple occurrence of the feast of the Annunciation in CCT, especially since all the (Arabic) entries mention the ʿ*ajam*? Based on the double and triple entries in CCT, it is unclear which of them refers to the practice of Andalusi Christians. In all entries, the ʿ*ajam* are mentioned, but the evidence for an Andalusi celebration in December is a bit stronger. Despite the fact that the wording for the Annunciation as it appears in the entry in March is known from Andalusi Christian Arabic texts, and not from the Eastern Christian traditions, this entry might have been a later addition to CCA, in order to bring the text in line with the Roman rite that was in place in Huesca by the time the manuscript was created (around 1351).[715] On the other hand, the appearance of the Annunciation in CEA on 18 December is more convincingly the one that refers to the practice of the Andalusi Christians, because of the correspondence between the Arabic versions and CCL, the fact that the feast was moved by decree in the entire Visigothic kingdom before the Muslim conquest as well as the mention of the location of worship.

The Purification of Mary / The Presentation of Jesus in the Temple

One of the few feasts found in CCT and not in any of the Old Hispanic calendars (except for S4) is the Purification of Mary, a feast also known as the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple on 2 February.[716] It is found as the Purification of Mary in CCA, as it was generally called in the Roman context, and as the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple in B2, C1, C2 (KA), as this feast was referred to in Eastern Christianity (table 37).[717]

This feast commemorates the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple of Jerusalem after Mary was purified. According to Jewish law, boys were presented in the Temple 40 days after birth, the prescribed period for the purification of the mother from the ritual impurity incurred at childbirth (for girls, the prescribed period was 80 days). In the case of Jesus, 2 February was 40 days after his birth on 25 December. This feast developed in Jerusalem in the fourth century and came to Rome, via Byzantium, in the seventh century.[718] Originally, the feast of the Annunciation was the only Marian feast in the Old Hispanic rite.[719] We should thus not be surprised that the Purification of Mary is not found in the early sources OV or Carmona. In the ninth century, a second Marian

715 Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, ed., *Scripta Theologica Arabica Christiana: Andalusi Christian Arabic Fragments Preserved in Ms. 83 (al-Maktabah al Malikiyyah, Rabat). Diplomatic Edition, Critical Apparatus and Indexes* (Edições Húmus, 2016), 22.

716 In the Roman rite, this feast was known as the *Purification of the Virgin Mary* or *Candlemas* whereas the presentation of Jesus in the Temple was emphasized in the Eastern Roman rites. After 1963, the Roman church deemphasized the blessing of candles and the title *Purification of Mary* for this feast and is now generally referred to as the feast of the Presentation of the Lord in the Roman Church as well.

717 "Commemoration of our Lord Christ Presentation the Temple." Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Daláėl*, 125; Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 44–45.

718 Henri Leclercq, 'Présentation de Jésus Au Temple', in *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Tome XIV (Peiresc–Porter), première partie, 1722–1724; And about this feast in Jerusalem: Heinzgerd Brakmann, 'Η Υπαπαντὴ Τοῦ Κυρίου: Christi Lichtmess im frühchristlichen Jerusalem', in *Crossroad of Cultures: Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele Winkler*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Feulner et al. (Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2000).

719 Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 33.

feast, the Assumption, was adopted on the Iberian Peninsula.[720] The Assumption of Mary is indeed found in the later Old Hispanic sources as well as in the CCT versions (15 August). The Purification of Mary, however, is not found in the Old Hispanic sources, except in S4. S4 has some feasts typical of the Roman rite that are exclusively found in S4, which may point to an alternation of this calendar after the implementation of the Roman rite. What should we make of the inclusion of the Purification of Mary in copies of the *Cordoban Calendar*, however? Was this feast possibly celebrated in al-Andalus or is it a mere literary adoption from another calendar without implications relating to actual practice? To answer this question, the entry mentioning the Purification of Mary requires further investigation.

Table 37. Feasts for the Purification of Mary / Presentation of Jesus in the Temple in Old Hispanic sources, CCT and Arabic calendrical sources.

Date	OV/Carmona/ CEA/ O-H calendars[721]	CCA	CCL	P2521, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, KA	Arabic Calendrical sources
2 Feb	N/A	On this day, the *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the Purification of Mary, mother of Jesus, in Jerusalem, and they call it *qandīlīrā* and it is one of their major feasts.[722]	N/A	This is the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple and this is the feast of the Candles.[723]	Commemoration of the Presentation of Christ, Our Lord, in the Temple.[724] (Ibn Bahlūl, 2 Feb) The feast of the Candles, which commemorates Mary's entry into the Temple in Jerusalem with Jesus, forty days after his birth; this is a great feast for the Jacobites.[725] (al-Bīrūnī on the Melkites, 2 Feb)

First, it has to be mentioned that a feast of the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple is also mentioned in the CCT versions on 9 March. However, the entry on 9 March seems to be an erroneous contraction of two feasts, the Coptic seasonal feast of the Red Soil and the (Coptic) feast for the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple. In this entry, the Copts are explicitly mentioned and the feast is situated outside of the Iberian Peninsula: "The Copts celebrate the feast of the Red Soil, on which they paint their doors and the horns of their cows. This feast is called the

720 Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 302.
721 Except for S4.
722 *Wa-fīhi li-l-ʿajam ʿīd burj Maryam Umm ʿĪsā bi-Bayt al-Maqdis wa yusammunahu qandīlīrā wa-huwa min aʿẓam aʿyādihim.*
723 *Wa-fihi dukhūl al-Masīḥ al-haykal wa-huwa ʿīd al-shamʿ.*
724 *Dhikr dukhūl sayyidna al-Masīḥ al-haykal.*
725 *ʿīd al-shamʿ wa-huwa atiyān Maryam haykal bi-Bayt al-Maqdis maʿa ʿĪsā wa-qad maḍā min mīlādihi arbaʿūn yawmān wa-hādhā ʿīd li-l-Yaʿqūbiyya ʿindahum ʿīd ʿaẓīm.*

feast of the Candles and it commemorates the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple."[726] This entry is interesting in itself because of the possible confusion of two celebrations as well as its retention in the translations of CCL and even the Franco-Roman calendar of Vic167.[727] This entry does not, however, constitute evidence for an Andalusi Christian celebration of the Purification or Presentation of Jesus, but should rather be understood as a reference to customs in Egypt. To the best of my knowledge, there is no evidence for the presence of a Coptic community in al-Andalus.

As to the feast of the Purification of Mary / the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple, it appears in the versions A1 (CCA), B2, C1 and C2 (KA) on 2 February. In CCA it reads "On this day, the *ʿajam* celebrate the feast of the Purification of Mary, mother of Jesus, in Jerusalem, and they call it *qandīlīrā* and it is one of their major feasts."[728] *Qandīlīrā* refers to "Candlemas," which later became the English term to designate the Purification of Mary, because of the prominence of candles in the feast's celebration. As CCA is the only version to contain the term *qandīlīrā*, it is possible that this form arose in that version, since the copyist may have known it in this form from his fourteenth-century Roman Christian milieu.

In the other versions (P2521, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, KA), the feast is presented as "on this day, the *ʿajam* celebrate the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple."[729] T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945 add "and this is the feast of the Candles."[730] The feast of the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple is called *ʿīd al-shamʿ* (feast of the Candles) by al-Bīrūnī and is listed as a feast of the East Syrians and the Melkites.[731] Al-Bīrūnī's reference to the candles indicates that candles were also central to the feast of the Presentation in the Temple in the Eastern traditions.[732]

Without further evidence, it is difficult to ascertain if the Purification of Mary / the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple was celebrated by Andalusi Christians. Reason to think that the feast was indeed celebrated is that the entry for the feast is introduced as celebrated by the *ʿajam*. It could have been the case that Andalusi Christians celebrated a feast which they adopted from Rome

726 The Coptic feast mentioned in the entry on 9 March combines the names the feast of the Red Soil (*maghrā*)', the feast of the Wax (*shamʿ*), and the feast of the Entrance of Jesus in the Temple: this entry possibly combines two feasts. The feast of the Entrance of Jesus in the Temple is possibly wrongly recorded on this date. It appears in all the reference calendars on 2 February. The odd link with the Coptic feast of the Red Soil in some versions is possibly the result of an error. It is possible that the Feast of Red Soil concerned a seasonal feast (at the beginning of spring connected to the fertility of the soil) of the Copts.

727 In Vic167, this feast is recorded and described as the "major Egyptian Feast in which they put red soil on their houses and on their ox horns." (*Hic dies est m<a>xima festituitas Egipciorum, in eo ponunt rubrica super domorum suarum et super cornua bouum.*) Martínez Gázquez and Samsó, *Una Nueva Traducción Latina*, 35.

728 It has to be noted that the reading of "Purification" in CCA is uncertain. The editions of Dozy and Pellat present the Purification of Mary in CCA on 2 February, yet the orthographic representation is not very well readable. Pellat reads *burj*, (tower). Although the use of this word cannot be explained, the identification of the feast can be certainly concluded from the rest of the description.

729 For instance, Alkuwaifi Khazʿal, 'El Kitāb al Anwā' [Arabic version]', 158.

730 For instance, D18945, fol. 8r.

731 Al-Bīrūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 289–306.

732 Ibid.

or from Eastern Christian Churches before that was done in the rest of Iberia after 1080. The omission of this feast in CCL may reflect a deliberate choice on the part of the translator—possibly working with a Mozarab—to exclude feasts that were not known to be celebrated according to the Old Hispanic tradition in the northern kingdoms. By omitting this feast, the calendar may have corresponded better to the Old Hispanic rite as practiced by Toledan Mozarabs. This interpretation agrees with the previous suggestion that Holy Innocents might have been added to, and the Annunciation removed from, CCL in order for it to correspond better to the Old Hispanic rite as practiced by Toledan Mozarabs. On the other hand, this feast appears in al-Bīrūnī in connection with the designation of *feast of the Candles*, thus it could also be a mere literary copying of a similar Eastern Christian entry. In that case, the entry in CCA could have been an addition by CCA's copyist. Support for this scenario is that our only other Andalusi source, CEA, does not include the Purification of Mary, nor the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple. We could imagine that a feast for the Purification of Mary / the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple would have received a proper mass reading, which would mean that the feast would have been part of CEA if it was indeed celebrated. The evidence is thus strongest for the scenario in which the entry was the result of copying from an Arabic calendrical source with Eastern Christian content, and that it is disconnected from Iberian practice. A reason for copying an entry with no connection to practice in al-Andalus could be the encyclopedic desire to include content from diverse sources.

Holy Cross

There are two celebrations that commemorate the Holy Cross in the Roman rite. The Invention of the Cross celebrated the finding of the Cross by the Empress Helena, generally celebrated on 3 May, whereas the Exaltation of the Cross was celebrated on 14 September to remember the victory of Emperor Heraclius over the Sassanids in 629. Holy Cross has a distinctive character in the Old Hispanic rite, since it combines Invention and Exaltation of the Cross together on 3 May.

Table 38 below shows that feasts connected to the Cross appear on three different dates in CCT: 6 March, 3 May and 14 September. Branch C1 includes the "Uncovering of the Cross" on 6 March. This may result from the incorporation of a source with Eastern Christian content, as suggested by its presence in, for instance, the *Long Calendar*. Although the feast is recorded in the *Long Calendar* on 26 February, the Copts are known to have celebrated it on 6 March; in certain years, however, the date may have been shifted due to Lent.[733] The wording, however, differs ("uncovering" versus "apparition").[734] Additionally, P2521 and the versions of branch C1 and some of the versions of C2 also include the Exaltation of the Cross on 14 September, corresponding to the Roman and Eastern Christian rites. The Arabic calendrical sources attest indeed widely the feast of the Cross in September.

733 The change of date because of Lent is suggested by Pellat. Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 216.
734 "Apparition de la Croix": 26 February. Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, 54–55.

Table 38. Various feasts regarding the Holy Cross in Old Hispanic sources, CCT and Arabic calendrical sources.

Date	Old Hispanic sources (OV, CEA, calendars)	CCT (except CCL)	CCL	Arabic calendrical sources
6 Mar	N/A	On this day, it is the Uncovering of the Cross.[735] (C1)	N/A	Apparition of the Cross.[736] (*Long Calendar*, 26 Feb)
3 May	The Finding of the Holy Cross.[737]	The ʿ*ajam* celebrate the feast of the Cross and they claim to have found the discarded cross of Christ in Jerusalem.[738] (A1, B1, B2, C1, C2 (KH10354))	The Christians celebrate the feast of the Cross, because on this day, the Cross of Christ buried in Jerusalem was found. This feast is in the monastery of Pinnamellar and the monastery of Catinas.[739]	Feast of the Apparition of the Cross in Heaven.[740] (al-Bīrūnī on the East Syrians, 7 May)
14 Sep	N/A	The ʿajam celebrate the Exaltation of the Cross.[741] (B2) This is the feast of the Cross.[742] (C1, C2 (Vat.ar.258, KA, KH10354)) [Poems of Aḥmadān ibn Maymūn and Qays ibn Maʿqil al-ʿIjlī about the feast of the Cross and the coincidence with change of the weather and the consumption of medicine] (C2 (Vat.ar.258, KA, KH10354))	N/A	Feast of the Venerable Cross.[743] (Ibn Māsawayh, 11 Sep) Feast of the Cross for the East Syrians.[744] (Ibn Bahlūl, 13 Sep) Feast of the Cross.[745] (*Long Calendar*, 14 Sep) Feast of the Cross […] Helena found it on this day.[746] (al-Bīrūnī on the East Syrians, 13 Sep)

735 *Ikhrāj al-ṣalīb*.
736 *Wa-fīhi ẓahara al-ṣalīb*.
737 *Inuentio Sancte Crucis (Iherosolimam)*.
738 *Wa-fīhi li-l-ʿajam ʿīd al-ṣalīb wa-yusammūnahu Shant Qrūs wa-yazʿumūna annahum wajadū ṣalīb al-Masīḥ marmiyyan bi-Bayt al-Maqdis.*
739 *Et in ipso est Christianis festum crucis, quia in ipso fuit inventa crux Christi sepulta Ierusalem. Et festum eius est in monasterio Pinnamellar et Monasterio Catinas.*
740 *ʿīd ẓuhūr al-ṣalīb ʿalā al-samāʾ.*
741 *Rafaʿ al-ṣalīb*.
742 *ʿīd al-ṣalīb.*
743 *ʿīd al-ṣalīb al-karīm.*
744 *ʿīd al-ṣalīb li-l-nasṭūr.*
745 *ʿīd al-ṣalīb*.
746 *ʿīd al-ṣalīb […] Hīlanī istakhrajathu fī hādhā al-yawm.*

The feast of the Holy Cross appears on 3 May in most manuscripts.[747] There, it stands out that it is introduced with the ʿ*ajam*: "The ʿ*ajam* celebrate the feast of the Cross."[748] CCA adds "which they [the ʿ*ajam*] call *shanta qrūs*."[749] The Romance-sounding Santa Cruz ties the feast geographically to Iberia, but it is not unlikely that this is a later addition, since this term only appears in CCA (just as *qandīlīrā*, as we have seen in the previous case study).[750] The term Santa Cruz may have been known to the copyists, due to his fourteenth-century Iberian context in which the Roman rite was already being practiced. The wording of the entry in 3 May in the Arabic versions corresponds largely with what is found in CCL. This fact together with the mention of the ʿ*ajam*, makes it most likely that the feast of the Holy Cross was celebrated in al-Andalus on 3 May.

The description for 14 September has a different character and make only mention of the ʿ*ajam* in one version ("The ʿ*ajam* celebrate the Exaltation of the Cross."—P2521).[751] This is noteworthy, as Chapter 2 has already shown the distinctly Eastern Christian character of B2, hence we would not expect the ʿ*ajam* in this entry. In all other versions, the entry for 14 September reads: "This is the feast of the Cross."[752] The branch C2 versions additionally refer to the feast of the Cross on 14 September in two poems. The first is a poem by Qays ibn Maʿqil al-ʿIjlī, in which it is said that on the day of this feast, medicine should be consumed in the morning because of the change of the weather and the length of the day and night.[753] In another poem, this time by Aḥmadān ibn Maymūn, the feast of the Cross is said to fall synchronically with the feast of the Equinox and the feast of the New Year.[754] The mention of the feast of the Cross—both in relation to other chronological markers and to the activities recommended or prohibited at that time of year—raises the question of whether the author intended to provide accurate information about contemporary local practice, or whether he simply aimed to gather everything associated with a particular date. The latter seems more plausible, given the nature of almanacs, which typically compile information in an encyclopedic fashion about what is recommended or avoided on specific days.

747 Not all versions record the feast on 3 May. Risala has it on 2 May, KH10354 has it on 4 May and T4624, Sbihi 163/9 and D18945 have it on 5 and 6 May.

748 A1, B1, B2, C1, C2 (KH10354).

749 Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 80.

750 This term is found in the dictionary of Andalusi Arabic by Frederico Corriente, but the only mentioned source for this definition in the dictionary is CCA. Federico Corriente, 'š-n-t', in *A Dictionary of Andalusi Arabic*, Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung, Der nahe und mittlere Osten, Band 29 = Handbook of Oriental Studies. The Near and Middle East, Vol. 29 (Brill, 1997), 292.

751 P2521, fol. 134r.

752 For instance, T4624: fols. 18r and 40v.

753 "The day of the feast of the Cross is a day to drink early/The medicines that were in Noah's treasure/Give me to drink a morning drink and forget all/Reproach from censor or counsellor friend/The stars of summer are gone, and there appeared for thee/The sky of real winter/Days and nights were equalized/And time proclaimed the season of early drink." Alkuwaifi Khazʿal, 'El Kitāb al Anwā' [Arabic version]', 236.

754 "You have the feast of the Cross in which you enjoy/And we have the feast of the Equinox and the feast of the New Year/We have the daffodils that blossom abundantly/And the Christians have the saint (*Mar*) Maḥuz." It probably concerns a saint from the Syriac tradition, because of the title *Mar*. Alkuwaifi Khazʿal, 'El Kitāb al Anwā' [Arabic version]', 236.

The available evidence for actual practice appears to indicate that Andalusi Christians celebrated the feast of the Cross on 3 May, presented as the *Finding of the Cross*. The entry on 6 March is only found in C1, and in the absence of corroborating evidence, this entry may not reflect local Andalusi practice but may instead have been copied from an Arabic calendrical source outside the Iberian Peninsula, possibly from an ancestor of the *Long Calendar*. The other feast of the Cross, on 14 September, may likewise have been derived from an Eastern Christian calendar, although in that case the reference to the *ʿajam* would remain unexplained. In branch C2, the focus of the entry is not on the celebration itself, but rather on the time of year, including changes in weather and in the length of day and night, which makes it also less likely an entry to practice on the Iberian Peninsula. Despite the uncertainties surrounding the reference to the *ʿajam* in P2521, and the poetic passages in connection to the feast of the Cross, it appears that only the feast of 3 May can be regarded with a greater degree of certainty as reflecting Andalusi practice.

Torquatus or the Seven Apostolic Men

According to the Iberian *passio*, the Seven Apostolic Men were consecrated by the apostles Peter and Paul and were sent to evangelize the Roman provinces of Hispania.[755] Each apostle founded a see and became bishop in a different city in the south of the Peninsula. As a result, the feast could be seen as important for marking the Christianization of the Peninsula. The feast of Torquatus and his companions is found in all of the Old Hispanic calendars and *passionaria* on 1 May. This feast is not attested in Carmona, however. In OV, there is a lacuna where the feast would fall, meaning we do not know whether it was included or not.

Torquatus or the Seven Apostolic Men appear in several CCT versions, but the word *feast* is only mentioned in CCL. In CCL, Torquatus is mentioned three times in a sequence of seven days (27 April, 1 May and 3 May). Based on the triple entry in CCL, Simonet suggested that Andalusi Christians celebrated Torquatus for seven days.[756] He based his argument on the following entries:

755 Riesco Chueca, *Pasionario Hispánico (Introducción, Edición Crítica y Traducción)*, 131–33.

756 Simonet, *Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe*, 11–12; A prominence of this feast in al-Andalus is also suggested by, *Die karolingische Kalenderreform*, 346.

Table 39. The entries for Torquatus in CCL and in Old Hispanic sources.

Date	Feast	CCL entry	Old Hispanic sources
27 Apr	Torquatus	This is the beginning of the *Nīsān* rains, which is said to cause the dough to ferment without leaven. The Christians (Christiani) call this day and the six following days the 'Seven Messengers', that is to say, Torquatus and his companions. It is said that they were seven apostles.	/
1 May	Torquatus	The Christians celebrate the feast of Torquatus and his companions, who are the Seven Messengers. Their feast is celebrated in the monastery of Gerisset, where is Keburiene.	Esc D-I-2, Esc D-I-1, L8, PB80, PB79, BL00, Esc b-I-4, S3, S4, Sant, PB71, PB69, Iberian Martyrology
3 May	Torquatus	End of the *Nīsān* rains, which the Christians call the 'Seven Messengers'.	/

In the entry on 27 April, it is unclear if the *Nīsān* (April) rains are connected to the Seven Messengers, or if these are two different phenomena falling on the same day. In my view, this is clearer in the entry on 3 May, which does connect the *Nīsān* rains to the Seven Messengers.[757] Whatever the case, only the entry on 1 May mentions a feast and a place of worship connected to the celebration: the unidentified monastery of Gerisset.[758] Simonet focused on the period of seven days but ignored that there is no mention of an actual celebration in CCL on days other than 1 May, which weakens his claim. There are two further reasons to suspect that the entries on 27 April and 3 May do not point to a feast. The first reason is that only 27 April is retained in Vic167 and there are no entries on 1 and 3 May. We know that Vic167 replaced or augmented the liturgical content of their exemplars with Franco-Roman *sanctorales,* which seems to have resulted in the removal of feasts corresponding to the Old Hispanic rite.[759] If 27 April is retained in Vic167, it means that it was not considered a feast from the Old Hispanic rite, otherwise it

757 Pellat suggests these are two separate "periods": a period of rain around 3 May, and another period "which the Christians call the Seven Messengers." Pellat therefore adds the underlined sentence in his translation: "Fin de la pluie de *Nīsān*, et de la période que les Chrétiens appellent les sept envoyés." Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 80.

758 Gerisset is an unidentified place. Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 80.

759 Martínez Gázquez, 'Un Nuevo Manuscrito', 293.

would have been removed. Even Lat.qu.198 (A2) has this entry on 27 April, while omitting any other information relating to feasts, which is another reason to argue that the information on the weather period called the seven messengers was not associated by copyists or readers with a feast. The second reason is that there are other occasions in the CCT versions in which feasts are connected to meteorological periods. On these occasions, a *nawʾ* (a term that is sometimes used to refer to a 14-day period, and sometimes to a shorter period of rain within the 14-day period), is connected to a feast, e.g., the *nawʾ of the Cross* (Risala; 26 September), *nawʾ of Basil* (KA; 10 January), *nawʾ of the 40 martyrs* (Risala, KA; 10 March), *nawʾ of the Annunciation* (Risala, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, KA; 30 March) and the *nawʾ of the Monks* (KA; 11 September). The connection of the name of a feast to a period with certain meteorological features is characteristic of an almanac, as we can also conclude from the poetic example regarding Holy Cross, explained above. These *nawʾ* periods were thus not feasts in themselves, but weather periods that coincided with certain feasts. Following these examples, 27 April and 3 May can be considered not as separate saints' feasts but as meteorological markings in relation to the 1 May feast. There is thus no indication in CCT that Torquatus was celebrated by Andalusi Christians, except on 1 May.

Cordoban martyrs

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, only CCL contains entries for the so-called Cordoban martyrs (6 entries). Before looking more closely at the entries in CCL, I will provide a brief overview of the Cordoban martyrs and their biographers, Eulogius and Paul Alvarus. According to the Cordoban priest Eulogius (d. 859) and his layman friend Alvarus (d. 861), around 50 individuals lost their lives under the emirates of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II and Muḥammad I between 850 and 859. These individuals were allegedly condemned for voluntary acts ranging from apostasy to blasphemy and proselytization, for which they consciously knew they were going to be punished by death. Their *vitae* were written by Eulogius, seemingly out of a desire to instigate or promote their liturgical veneration. Alvarus mentions some of these events and individuals in his writings, and after Eulogius's death, Alvarus wrote the *Vita Eulogii* in Eulogius's honor. In their writings, Eulogius and Alvarus strategically promoted the veneration of the Cordoban martyrs by equating their martyrdom to the classical, Roman-era martyrs thereby making them (more) recognizable as martyrs to their audience. Eulogius reports the burial of several martyrs in churches in Córdoba and elsewhere, among them the notable case of George, Aurelius, and Natalia, whose relics were translated to Saint Germain-des-Prés by the monks Usuard and Odilard in 848.[760] This raises an initial question about the plausibility of the cult of Cordoban martyrs within Córdoba itself, since one would expect veneration above all for martyrs whose remains were actually interred there.

760 Effros, 'Usuard's Journey to Spain', 26.

The appearance of Cordoban martyrs in CCL is often referred to in order to demonstrate that their feasts were celebrated in Córdoba. Simonet considers the inclusion of Cordoban martyrs in CCL as proof of the courage of its author (Recemund). It must have been brave, Simonet reasons, for the author to include these Cordoban martyrs in a text dedicated to the caliph, while the Cordoban martyrs were killed by his Muslim ancestors.[761] Others argue, in line with this argument, that precisely the absence of Cordoban martyrs in CCA is because of the problematic historical link of these Cordoban martyrs with the ancestors of the caliph, but that these individuals in reality would have been commemorated as saints as reflected in CCL.[762] In other words, there would have been a separate version of the text for the caliph, one that omitted the Cordoban martyrs. Bonnie Effros suggests that the inclusion of entries for feasts for Esperaindeo and Alvarus "perhaps stemmed from a desire to honor the Cordovan martyrs in an inconspicuous manner" and that the veneration of the Cordoban martyrs in Córdoba "remained secretive and indirect."[763] However, it remains unclear how Effros's argument can be reconciled with the inclusion of Pelagius in the calendar, given that he was executed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, the father of Caliph al-Ḥakam II. Moreover, Effros and other scholars seem to overlook that, apart from their inclusion in CCL, there is no other source (the *Cordoban Calendar* or otherwise) that suggests these Cordoban martyrs were actually venerated. It is moreover suspect that none of the saints for whom Eulogius suggested burials in Córdoba are mentioned in CCT.[764]

761 Simonet, *Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe*, 9; Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España*, III, 601–18.

762 Effros, 'Usuard's Journey to Spain', 28 and 32 (Bonnie Effros erroneously refers to the emir instead of the caliph); and "Recemundus also removed any mention of a later martyr, Pelagius, who was executed in 925, allegedly for refusing the sexual advances of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. There is some question as to the exact provenance of the two versions, but the evidence suggests that Recemundus intended one version for Christian consumption and the other as a gift for the caliph." Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 68.

763 Effros, 'Usuard's Journey to Spain', 28 and 32.

764 Wood, 'Persecution, Past and Present', 53–55.

Table 40. Overview of entries in CCL with Cordoban martyrs and references to these Cordoban martyrs in other sources.

Date	Martyrs	CCL entry	Other sources
27 Sep	Adulphus and John	On this day, it is the feast of Adulphus and John in Córdoba.	A *passio* by Esperaindeo (not extant)
30 Apr	Perfectus	On this day, it is the feast of St Perfectus, whose tomb is in the city of Córdoba.	*Passio* by Eulogius
15 Sep	Emila	On this day, it is the feast of Emila.	*Passio* by Eulogius
7 May	Esperaindeo	On this day, the Christians celebrate the feast of Esperaindeo, who was killed in Córdoba. His tomb is in the neighborhood of *Ṭirāz*.	
7 Nov	Alvarus	On this day, it is the feast of Alvarus in Córdoba.	
26 Jun	Pelagius	On this day, it is the feast of Pelagius, his tomb is in the Church of *Tarsīl*.	Entries in the following calendars: L8, PB71, PB69, S3, Esc D-I-1, Esc D-I-2, S4, Sant, and in the *passionaria*: PB79, Esc B-I-4. Further: a mass and three offices.[765]

I argue, contrary to the scholars cited above, that the entries in CCL do not reflect the Andalusi veneration of martyrs, and were perhaps added at a later stage, based on several grounds. To clarify my arguments, I will provide some background on the way the Cordoban martyrs appear in CCL and in Eulogius and Alvarus's writings. We will see that, at the very least, the comparison suggests that Eulogius's works had limited success in establishing the sanctity of the Cordoban martyrs.

Adulphus and John were executed for apostasy around thirty years before Eulogius's writings. Eulogius notes that Esperaindeo, an abbot of the monastery of Santa Clara to the north of Córdoba and teacher of Eulogius and Alvarus, had written a *passio* for Adulphus and John already

765 Kati Ihnat, 'Beyond Hagiography: Gender and Violence in the Earliest Liturgy for Pelagius', *Medieval Encounters* 30, no. 4 (2024): 383–84.

in the 820s.[766] Remarkably, Esperaindeo is himself recorded in CCL as having been killed, which is very unlikely. We know that Esperaindeo died during Eulogius's and Alvarus's lifetime, since Eulogius refers to him as being of "blessed memory."[767] Neither Eulogius nor Alvarus refers to his killing, and there is no *passio* for him, indicating that he must have died a natural death; with Eulogius's zeal to promote and write *passiones* for martyrs, it is inconceivable that he would not have highlighted Esperaindeo's killing, especially given the abbot's high profile.[768] Equally curious is the entry for Alvarus in CCL. Alvarus was a layman and possibly from a noble family.[769] There are no sources stating that he was killed, and the scholarly interpretation is that he died of natural causes.[770] Although Alvarus was a fierce polemicist, he also expressed that he could not see himself following the path of voluntary martyrdom.[771] It is hard to imagine that a layman, who was not killed, would have been elevated to the status of saint or martyr.

Some of the CCL martyrs are known to have been martyrs from other sources. Emila was a deacon and, with his brother Hieremias, was supposedly decapitated and suspended on racks in 852 for the crime of blaspheming against the Prophet in Arabic. Eulogius writes a brief *passio* about them.[772] The other Cordoban martyrs in table 40, however, do not fit the definition of voluntary martyr. Perfectus, for example, was killed 14 months before Eulogius started to write down the martyr acts that he personally witnessed, and Eulogius was most probably not in Córdoba during Perfectus's execution.[773] Perfectus did not voluntarily seek out martyrdom. Eulogius writes a *passio* for Perfectus, whom he considers a "proto-martyr," but he does not grant Perfectus the same status as the voluntary martyrs who came after him. Eulogius himself argues that the martyrdom of Perfectus is of a different nature than that of the other Cordoban martyrs, because Perfectus was "forcefully dragged to his passion" and "did not die in the same manner as they [the other Cordoban martyrs] did," "while the others were coming forth of their own free will."[774] Alvarus follows this storyline and comments that Perfectus was "truly added to the number of the chosen," meaning that he had to argue for Perfectus being sanctified on the same level as the other martyrs.[775] Perfectus's exceptional status as an involuntary martyr, as well as one of the first to be executed in this way under the Umayyad emirate, could mean that he was accepted as a martyr by at least some of the clergy at the time of Eulogius and Alvarus. As for Pelagius—who died around 75 years later—he was allegedly sent from the northern kingdoms as a young boy to the court of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in Córdoba. There, he was supposedly killed in 925

766 This *passio* is not preserved. This *passio* may have served as a model for Eulogius's passiones. Wolf, *The Eulogius Corpus,* 41.
767 Wolf, *The Eulogius Corpus*, 125.
768 Wolf, *The Indiculus Luminosus of Paul Alvarus*, 21–22.
769 Wolf, *The Indiculus Luminosus of Paul Alvarus*, 22.
770 Wolf, *The Indiculus Luminosus of Paul Alvarus*, 21–22.
771 Wolf, *The Indiculus Luminosus of Paul Alvarus*, 42.
772 Wolf, *The Eulogius Corpus*, 256–57.
773 Wolf, *The Eulogius Corpus*, 44.
774 Wolf, *The Eulogius Corpus*, 157–58.
775 Wolf, *The Indiculus Luminosus of Paul Alvarus*, 115.

/ 926 for refusing ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's sexual advances.[776] Of all Cordoban martyrs in CCL, none have extensive *passiones* written about them by Eulogius. The deaths of some precede the start of his written work (Adulphus and John, Perfectus), and the death of others postdate Eulogius (Alvarus, Pelagius).[777]

All of this means that any possible veneration of the Cordoban martyrs as suggested by CCL may have had nothing to do with Eulogius, and he need not be credited with spreading their cults. Indeed, Eulogius does not write anything about several of them, and for those he does, they are less typical of the martyrs who are otherwise the focus of his writings, namely the voluntary martyrs.[778] Interestingly, Eulogius's *Memoriale Sanctorum* is not the only source of information about any of these martyrs, except Emila, meaning that whoever included them in CCL could have learned about them from other sources. Most of them are mentioned in Alvarus's works and, supposedly, in the case of Adulphus and John, by Esperaindeo.[779] Perfectus and his date of martyrdom are mentioned in a letter from Eulogius to Bishop Wiliesindus of Pamplona.[780] Esperaindeo and Alvarus are not in the martyrologies of Eulogius because they most likely died a natural death after Eulogius's own execution.[781] Pelagius is a martyr from almost a century later.

Of course, the entries could reflect Andalusi celebrations that were independent from Eulogius's campaign. For Adulphus and John, as well as for Perfectus, this could the case because they were not so-called voluntary martyrs, and therefore had been accepted by the clergy before Eulogius started his writings. Esperaindeo and Alvarus, in turn, could have been accepted by the clergy as well—as opposed to all the voluntary martyrs Eulogius writes about. Emila would be difficult to explain in this scenario. The case of Pelagius is disconnected from Eulogius writings anyway, since he died almost 75 years later. If it is true that these Cordoban martyrs were indeed celebrated, it is possible that there was one version for the caliph that did not record the martyrs. At the same time, the type of entries in CCL are generally not similar to entries CCL has in common with other CCT versions.

The six entries for Cordoban martyrs are amongst the 30 feasts exclusive to CCL whose wording deviates mostly from other CCT versions. Table 41 shows the entries for the Cordoban martyrs in CCL. On a few occasions, the entries in CCL provide us with some information about the whereabouts of the celebrations of these feasts. The entries for Emila, Adulphus and John,

776 See for more on his cult: Ihnat, 'Beyond Hagiography'.
777 See for more on his cult: Ihnat, 'Beyond Hagiography'.
778 This is actually also the case for the three feasts in other liturgical calendars and passionaria: the martyrology of Eulogius and Leocretia is written by Paul Alvarus, the *passio* for Nunilo and Alodia was probably written by Bishop Venerius of Alcalá, or he provided Eulogius with biographical details. Rudericus and Salomon, like Perfectus, were "reluctant martyrs," as opposed to "voluntary martyrs." Wolf, *The Eulogius Corpus*, 216 and 342.
779 A *passio* for Adulphus and John written by Esperaindeo is mentioned by Eulogius. Wolf, *The Eulogius Corpus,* 226.
780 Wolf, *The Eulogius Corpus*, 147.
781 Wolf, *The Eulogius Corpus*, 40.

Perfectus, Esperaindeo and Alvarus mention Córdoba as the city in which their feast was celebrated. In relation to Perfectus, there is mention that his burial was in the city of Córdoba. Feasts for Adulphus and John and Alvarus are mentioned as taking place in Córdoba, without further specifications about their burial. The only martyr about which CCL is more precise is Esperaindeo: his burial was in the church of the neighborhood of the *Ṭirāz* (embroiderers). The *Ṭirāz* quarter is identified as a suburb located to the (north)east of the medina, outside the city walls.[782] Although this last description is fairly specific, the other descriptions are not, and they use the type of wording that is used for other feasts that are found exclusively in CCL (table 41). The use of this type of wording for the Cordoban martyrs in CCL increases the possibility that we are dealing here too with added entries.

Table 41. Types of wording for entries for Cordoban martyrs in CCL, compared to types of wording for other entries that are exclusively in CCL and to types of wording of entries that are shared between CCL and CCA.

Types of wording for entries for neomartys in CCL			Types of wording for entries that are exclusively in CCL			Types of wording for entries that are shared between CCL and CCA		
In eo/ipso est Christianis festum	0	0%	In eo/ipso est Christianis festum	5	14%	In eo/ipso est Christianis festum	43	56%
In eo/ipso est Latinis festum	1	17%	In eo/ipso est Latinis festum	4	11%	In eo/ipso est Latinis festum	19	25%
In eo/ipso est festum	5	83%	In eo/ipso est festum	27	75%	In eo/ipso est festum	15	19%

Table 41 shows that the types of wording used for Cordoban martyrs in CCL (column 1), is similar to the wording used for feasts that are exclusive to CCL (column 2). This differs from the wording used for feasts that are both in CCL and in CCA (column 3). Instead of introducing the entry with "in eo/ipso est Christianis festum" or "in eo/ipso est Latinis festum," which is mostly the case in entries that are shared between CCL and CCA (column 3), the entries for Cordoban martyrs, apart from Esperaindeo, are introduced by 'in eo/ipso est festum' (column 1). This type of formulation is mostly used for entries that are present in CCL, but not in CCA (column 2). In itself, this might not be evidence for the *in eo/ipso est festum* entries being added later to CCL, but together with the biographical inaccuracies outlined above, we may doubt whether or not the feasts for the Cordoban martyrs in CCL were found in the original text. Esperaindeo stands out a bit because of the different wording and inclusion of a place of worship in his entry. However, even if he were venerated in Córdoba, it is very unlikely that this was for having been killed. Esperaindeo was thus not technically speaking a martyr even if later generations could have remembered him as one.

782 Christys, 'The Meaning of Topography', 110. *Ṭirāz* refers to linen or silken cloth embroidered with iconography and Arabic calligraphical lettering. The industry of *Ṭirāz* was state-controlled in the Umayyad caliphate. Specially trained weavers were employed in this industry that was concentrated in Málaga, Almería and Córdoba.

There are other reasons to claim that CCL does not reflect the veneration of Cordoban martyrs in tenth-century Córdoba. First, there are many inconsistencies in the biographical details CCL provides, regarding the names, the dates, family members and cause of death, when compared to the writings of Eulogius and Alvarus. An example of this is the death of Perfectus, which is given in Eulogius on 18 April and in CCL on 30 April. Further, Emilian is killed together with his brother Hieremias in Eulogius's writings, but Hieremias is not mentioned in CCL. Moreover, CCL suggests that Esperaindeo and Alvarus were killed, which is not attested by Eulogius. The inconsistencies point to an ignorance regarding the Cordoban martyrs by whoever included them in the calendar. This ignorance or conscious interpolation into the calendar, which was not present in the exemplar, could be more easily explained by a cultural memory and mythification of something in the past rather than a faithful reflection of tenth-century practice. I will return to this hypothesis below.

If CCL reflects the celebration of Cordoban martyrs in Cordoba, it was quite different from the veneration of Cordoban martyrs in the northern kingdoms, except for Pelagius. A comparison between the Cordoban martyrs listed in CCL and those mentioned in Old Hispanic sources reveals minimal overlap. As is demonstrated in table 42, the only Cordoban martyr CCL has in common with Old Hispanic sources is Pelagius, whose cult was probably established in the fifty years after his death (925 or 926) in the northern kingdoms.[783] Pelagius is the only Cordoban martyr in the North whose veneration is supported clearly by the liturgical evidence in multiple liturgical texts; the material preserved for him consists of a *passio*, a mass, and no less than three offices. Although his veneration is well-attested in the northern kingdoms, nothing indicates a cult of Pelagius in Córdoba, beyond a mention in the *passio* of his burial in two Córdoban churches (Genesius and Cyprian).[784] The other Cordoban martyr entries in CCL (Emila, Adulphus and John, Perfectus, Esperaindeo and Alvarus) are not found in any of the Old Hispanic sources. Conversely, the Cordoban martyrs in other Old Hispanic calendars and *passionaria* (Eulogius and Leocretia, Rudericus and Salomon, Nunilo and Alodia) are in turn not found in CCL. This means that whatever the entries in CCL imply, they do not point to feasts shared with the North, except, possibly, for Pelagius.

783 Ihnat, 'Beyond Hagiography', 382 and 384.

784 Ihnat, 'Beyond Hagiography', 383–84; The identification of Raguel as a priest in Córdoba was first questioned by Christys, who also argued that he was not necessarily the author of the text, nor even of Cordoban origin. Christys, 'The Meaning of Topography', 89–91.

Table 42. Cordoban martyrs in CCL, Old Hispanic calendars and *passionaria*.

Martyr	Date	CCL	L8	PB71	PB69	S3	Esc D-I-1	Esc D-I-2	S4	Sant	PB79	Esc B-I-4
Emila	15 Sep	✓										
Adulphus and John	27 Sep	✓										
Perfectus	30 Apr	✓										
Esperaindeo	7 May	✓										
Alvarus	7 Nov	✓										
Pelagius	26 Jun	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Eulogius and Leocretia	1 Jun			✓	✓	✓						
Rudericus and Salomon	12 Mar				✓	✓						
Nunilo and Alodia	21 Oct			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓[785]	✓

785 Unclear in the manuscript if this entry is missing or not.

Even though liturgical evidence for Cordoban martyrs in the North is scarce compared to the evidence for Córdoba, there is more tangible evidence that they were actually commemorated, especially when it exists in conjunction with an entry in a calendar. Besides the entries in liturgical calendars, there is, for example, a hymn written for Nunilo and Alodia, which could have been sung at either vespers or matutinum, as well as a *passio*.[786] For Eulogius and Leocretia there is the *passio* written by Alvarus, although there is no further liturgical evidence to corroborate it being part of a liturgical service, and a hymn for Eulogius, again by Alvarus. Rudericus and Salomon appear in some northern calendars, but since there is no extant liturgical material for them, we do not know if and how they were possibly celebrated.[787] For the Cordoban martyrs in CCL, however, there is no corroborating evidence for their liturgical celebration elsewhere.

In summary, I argue here that there are several indications for a later addition of the entries on Cordoban martyrs in CCL. As a result, we cannot assume that these entries belonged to the original text, and they thus cannot be taken as evidence for tenth-century practice. First, a comparison earlier in this chapter, with calendars from the North has shown that CCL includes some saints which we know were actively promoted in the northern kingdoms only from the second half of the eleventh century onwards. Second, the entries for Cordoban martyrs in CCL are, on average, shorter and structured differently to other entries for Christians feasts that are shared more widely among the CCT versions. Moreover, they always appear at the end of an entry for a certain day if they are not the only information mentioned that day. The Cordoban martyrs' position in the ordering of an entry could be a coincidence, but it provides additional reason to think that these entries were added at a later stage. I hypothesize that the entries for Cordoban martyrs in CCL stem from the cultural memory of a community separated from the martyr events in space and time, which could have been the Mozarabic community of Toledo. This scenario is supported by the fact that CCL contains many mistakes with regard to the topography of Córdoba.[788]

In this scenario, CCT may have traveled to Toledo with (descendants of) Andalusi emigrants following the Christian conquest of Toledo in 1085, who settled in Toledo after the Almohad conquest.[789] In Toledo, the text may have been 'enriched'—either before, during, or after its translation—with elements common to the Christian tradition from Andalusi Toledo or to the northern kingdoms. The fact that the total number of feasts in CCL aligns more closely with eleventh-century Old Hispanic calendars, rather than earlier Old Hispanic calendars, may be

786 The hymn is in the Hymnorium, BL51, 149v. Often attributed to the abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos, but origin is unknown. The *passio* is in the *Passionaria* of Silos and Cardeña of the eleventh century.

787 Possibly with a "liturgy created from the *Commune sanctorum*." See for this: Shaffer, 'A "Proper" Celebration'.

788 "Although it based on a text which has many references to the churches and cults of Cordoba, the manuscript cannot have been copied in Córdoba because the scribe made many mistakes with the topography of the area, giving meaningless transliterations of the Arabic names of the districts of Cordoba. Since it appears that the writer did not understand either the *Calendar* or the Arabic language very well, the balance of evidence favours a late translation or a very bad copy by a scribe who had lost contact with the Arabic past of Hispania." Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 126.

789 Rojo Carrillo, 'Old Hispanic Chant Manuscripts of Toledo', 122.

attributable to CCL being rather a reflection of Mozarabic practice in Toledo than of Andalusi immigrants. CCL could have evolved over time, which would also explain the wording *in eo festo*, which seems to suggest an insider perspective of the community. The intervention in the text by the translator in the twelfth century could therefore possibly reflect the cultural memory or the commemoration of a Mozarab community in Toledo. We know that transmission and translation of knowledge in twelfth-century Toledo was not a solitary act but a cross-cultural exchange, especially the practice of Gerard of Cremona and his collaborators. A contemporary source tells us that Gerard of Cremona collaborated with the Mozarab Galippus for the translation of Ptolemy's Almagest.[790] For the translation of the *Cordoban Calendar*, Gerard of Cremona might likewise have collaborated with someone from the Mozarab community. This community in Toledo might have had their own reasons for reconstructing a Cordoban past in which the commemoration of certain saints was added to the *sanctorale*. In this context, CCL may also have incorporated some Cordoban martyrs.

Production in such a context helps to explain some of the incongruities in CCL with respect to the celebration of the Cordoban Martyrs. The community would not necessarily have needed to possess any writings of Eulogius, since most of the information on the Cordoban martyrs preserved in CCL is basic in nature and also attested in other sources. This would imply that the Mozarab community was disconnected from Eulogius's works—an interpretation made all the more intriguing by the dubious discovery of the purported autograph of Eulogius's *Memoriale sanctorum* by Pedro Ponce de León and its subsequent edition by Ambrosio de Morales in the sixteenth century, followed by its disappearance.[791] It therefore remains questionable to what extent the text edited by Morales actually derived from a manuscript written by Eulogius, or whether it was instead invented or at least substantially manipulated by Morales.[792] If Eulogius never authored the text now attributed to him, the Mozarab community may have based its knowledge of the Cordoban martyrs on sources other than those associated with Eulogius. In any case, it seems unlikely that the entries in CCL reflect an active tenth-century veneration of these individuals, given the absence of liturgical material or other evidence supporting the existence of their cults.

790 We know that transmission and translation of knowledge in twelfth-century Toledo was not a solitary act but a cross-cultural exchange, especially the practice of Gerard of Cremona and his collaborators. A contemporary source tells us that Gerard of Cremona collaborated with the Mozarab Galippus for the translation of Ptolemy's Almagest. Stefan Zieme, 'Gerard of Cremona's Latin Translation of the Almagest and the Revision of Tables', *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 54, no. 1 (2023): 19.

791 Scholars have expressed their caution with regard to the historicity of this "discovery." Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 54; Echevarría Arsuaga, 'Retelling Interreligious Marriage' , 64–65.

792 Echevarría Arsuaga, 'Retelling Interreligious Marriage' , 72.

Summary of case studies

This discussion of several case studies of feasts in CCT has generated hypotheses about what the complex and unique information in the CCT entries represents. I have asked, on the back of this analysis, whether we can conclude that certain feasts were celebrated in al-Andalus and on which specific dates. The evidence varies on this point. Based on CCT, partially corroborated by CEA and Carmona, it appears that Christmastide in Córdoba was structured differently from its arrangement in the northern kingdoms. In Córdoba, John the Evangelist seems to have been celebrated on 27 December, James the Lesser on 28 December, Holy Innocents on 29 December, and Eugenia on 30 December. The absence of a feast for James the Greater may be attributed to the later development of this feast—even in the North, and possibly not at all in al-Andalus. With regard to the Annunciation, the evidence is not unambiguous, but it seems to suggest that the feast was celebrated in al-Andalus on 18 December, in accordance with the Old Hispanic rite. With regard to the Purification of Mary / the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple, the evidence is insufficient to allow for definitive conclusions. Nevertheless, the available evidence suggests that this feast was more likely not celebrated in al-Andalus, just as it was not celebrated in the northern kingdoms. Although CCT lists three different feasts for the Holy Cross, the lack of corroborating evidence only provides certainty about a feast on 3 May celebrated in al-Andalus. The suggestion by some scholars that a seven-day celebration for Torquatus existed in al-Andalus is doubtful. The wording related to Torquatus in CCT appears to refer rather to a meteorological period than to an actual liturgical celebration, leaving 1 May as the most plausible date of celebration. And finally, CCT does not provide convincing evidence for the celebration of Cordoban martyrs in al-Andalus.

While these case studies do not yield definitive conclusions, they challenge certain longstanding assumptions about the feasts allegedly celebrated in al-Andalus and the use of the *Cordoban Calendar* as a source for understanding the religious life of Andalusi Christians. The findings underscore that the *Cordoban Calendar* can be a valuable source for investigating Andalusi Christian religious practices, but only with a clear understanding of the variations within the corpus and the potential for feasts to appear in the calendar without being linked to actual liturgical practice.

Concluding remarks

An important outcome of this chapter is the reinforcement of a finding already introduced in Chapter 1: that feasts corresponding to the Old Hispanic rite were most likely an integral part of the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*. Even the versions belonging to branch C2—despite their near-total lack of saints' feasts—can be linked both to the Old Hispanic rite and to the Iberian context more broadly. This connection is particularly significant, as it challenges a previous scholarly assumption that the C2 versions (including KA and Balad.2918) most closely reflect the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*, in which feasts corresponding to the Old Hispanic rite

were absent.[793] A closer analysis of branch C2 demonstrates that this view is untenable; Iberian Christian liturgical content must already have been present in an ancestor to this branch. I argue that C2 represents a transmission line of CCT in which an Old Hispanic list of feasts was omitted. This suggests that the list of feasts shared across branches A1, B1, B2, and C1—which shows considerable overlap with Old Hispanic calendars—must also have been part of an ancestor of branch C2.

This recognition also prompts a shift in focus toward the CCT corpus as a whole, rather than concentrating solely on CCA and CCL. There have been a few studies in the past, most notably that of Férotin, in which the liturgical material of CCT was analyzed and compared to Old Hispanic sources. However, these studies were based on questionable premises. For instance, CCL was treated as the 'complete' calendar, while CCA was entirely excluded from comparison. Moreover, the material in CCL was taken as a direct reflection of the practices of Andalusi Christians in tenth-century Córdoba. This was done despite CCL being contained in a thirteenth-century manuscript, and being a copy of a twelfth-century translation from Toledo, which could thus have been altered in various stages of its text transmission. Taking CCL as the original liturgical calendar also ignored the peculiar features of that text version, such as the double occurrence of certain feasts and the inclusion of saints that are otherwise only known from an eleventh-century context. Furthermore, CCL was used as evidence for the celebration of Cordoban martyrs in Córdoba, despite its manuscript's later date and the lack of corroborating evidence for the celebration of these saints. Taking CCL as an accurate witness to tenth-century practice in the city of Córdoba appears much less justified after close analysis, and we should be cautious about treating any of its information in this way, particularly as some of its content could have been introduced in a very different context, such as that of twelfth-century Toledo.

The analysis conducted revealed that the liturgical material in CCT is most likely derived from a variety of sources. While one source may have been a local liturgical calendar from Córdoba, there were likely other non-liturgical and non-Iberian sources as well. This diverse source corpus for the compilation of CCT was considered when comparing CCT to Old Hispanic calendars, which are predominantly practical texts and often found in liturgical books. The chapter also emphasized the tendency of calendars to accumulate saints' names, a phenomenon that played a role in the transmission of the *Cordoban Calendar*. Additionally, the interpretation of the various terms used to describe Christian communities in CCT provided further insight into the provenance of certain liturgical entries. In general, the term *ʿajam* has a strong connection to the Andalusi context and was most probably deployed by the author to describe the liturgical practice of the Christians from his surroundings, whether Cordoban, Andalusi or Iberian Christians, although the term in a few entries cannot be easily explained, as these entries seem to be connected rather to an Eastern Christian context. It remains unclear whether this knowledge was acquired through personal

793 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 245 and 248.

experience, observation, or derived from literary or oral sources, but the richness of detail rather suggests a literary origin. The use of *ʿajam* and its narrative function will be examined in greater depth in Chapter 4.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the term *naṣārā*—although also in use in al-Andalus in order to refer generally to Christians—is found in similar and sometimes identical entries in Arabic calendrical sources from Egypt and Baghdad that refer to Eastern Christian feasts and commemorations. We may therefore conclude that *ʿajam* is connected to Christians in Iberia and *naṣārā* derives from sources that used the term to refer to Eastern Christian communities. The adoption of entries with *naṣārā* seems to have been a selective process. There are no saints connected to *naṣārā*, and instead, entries with *naṣārā* always concern universal Christian feasts. The author of the *Cordoban Calendar* may have incorporated these entries without realizing that this incorporation occasionally resulted in the duplication of certain feasts in CCT or in descriptions of feasts that did not align with the traditions of the Christians in al-Andalus. It may be that the encyclopedic aim of recording information from diverse sources mattered more to the author than describing contemporary practice. Consequently, the terms *ʿajam* and *naṣārā* both occur in the text, without their difference in meaning being made explicit—though readers may have associated *ʿajam* with Iberia and *naṣārā* with regions beyond. This possibility, however, cannot be confirmed. The usage of *ʿajam* and *naṣārā* does not consistently map onto a simple binary distinction between Iberian and Eastern Christian feasts and commemorations. For this reason, several feasts recorded twice—once with *ʿajam* and once with *naṣārā*—were examined in greater detail in the case studies.

Existing studies have largely focused on CCL because it overlaps more with the Old Hispanic calendars than CCA. This has reinforced pre-existing assumptions about CCL. Approximately 30 feasts that are exclusively in CCL have been regarded as typical for southern Iberia, as adoptions from the Roman rite or as older customs that were preserved in al-Andalus but not on the rest of the Peninsula. However, several factors challenge the interpretation that these 30 feasts were in the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*. I argue that this overlap between CCL and Old Hispanic sources may have resulted from the incorporation of feasts from the Old Hispanic rite into CCL during its textual transmission, a kind of hypercorrection—adding feasts thought to have been celebrated in al-Andalus—to make the translation more "authentic." Although the addition of the 30 feasts at a later stage in the text's development cannot be proven for every feast, it is noteworthy that 75% of these feasts use a specific type of wording found in only 19% of the feasts shared between CCL and other CCT versions. Additionally, these feasts tend to feature shorter entries than the average in other entries, increasing the likelihood that they were later additions.

One of the central questions for scholars examining the Christian feasts in the *Cordoban Calendar* has concerned whether Andalusi practice diverged from that of the northern kingdoms. A notable

finding in this chapter is that CCA and versions of B1, B2, and C1 exhibit the strongest overlap with tenth-century Old Hispanic calendars. This overlap may indicate that Christian practice in al-Andalus and in the northern kingdoms remained broadly aligned during the tenth century, with divergence emerging only later as al-Andalus ceased to incorporate additional feasts while the northern tradition continued to expand. In contrast, CCL corresponds more closely to eleventh-century calendars, which may suggest that CCL underwent updates from the eleventh century onward—perhaps in a context such as twelfth-century Toledo, which was by then incorporated into the Kingdom of Castile. It is worth considering whether this lesser degree of overlap of CCA, B1, B2 and C1 with eleventh-century calendars reflects the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*. In fact, a lesser degree of correspondence in practice may be precisely what one would expect from the Andalusi community, which was geographically and administratively removed from the northern kingdoms, and thus not subject to the same ecclesiastical rule or legal tradition. The Andalusi Christians became increasingly isolated following the Muslim crackdown associated with the onset of the martyr movement in 851.[794] This shift may have led to a divergence in liturgical development from that moment onward.

The number of feasts in CCA, B1, B2 and C1, in particular, aligns more closely with that found in tenth-century Old Hispanic calendars.[795] While the limited availability of only three tenth-century and five eleventh-century calendars makes it difficult to establish firm conclusions, the accumulation of feasts in calendars appears to be a general trend.[796] It is therefore plausible that CCL underwent a similar process of expansion, incorporating additional feasts in later stages of the text transmission. The discrepancy in the number of feasts among the various CCT versions might be explained by the updating of the text during the course of textual transmission. Under this hypothesis, CCL may be understood as a later and expanded version of the *Cordoban Calendar*, whereas other manuscripts appear to preserve entries with Iberian Christian feasts closer to the original. This conclusion regarding the original text does not extend to the unidentified saints, whose entries could not be examined in detail within the scope of this study. Moreover, the evidence of additional feasts in CCL underscores the need for caution when employing this version as a source for reconstructing Cordoban liturgical practice.

The conclusions of this chapter regarding the Iberian Christian liturgical content embedded in the core of CCT allow us to shift our focus to questions of actual religious practice. In-depth studies of selected feasts—examined in parallel with Old Hispanic and Eastern Christian sources—have contributed to a deeper understanding of the *Cordoban Calendar*'s significance for liturgical life. One example is the possibility of a separate feast for Laurence in Córdoba, corresponding to ancient liturgical traditions, as suggested by OV. Similarly, the inclusion of Felix of Seville in CCT

794 Effros, 'Usuard's Journey to Spain', 23.
795 In the case of C1 after the deduction of the approximately 65 unidentified saints.
796 Heikkilä and Roos, 'Quantitative Methods', 767.

may imply that his cult was localized in southern al-Andalus. CCT does provide evidence for a feast celebrating the translation of Zoilus—which we can reasonably suppose, given his role as a patron saint of Córdoba. Another significant observation is the entry for *Initio Anni*, a three-day fast following the feast of the Circumcision, which strongly suggests that the fast was observed not only in the northern Christian kingdoms but also in al-Andalus.

I have shown that detailed case studies are essential for addressing the question of actual religious practice. By analyzing the phrasing of entries and comparing them with parallel sources, it was possible to distinguish between the original text and later additions, as well as between borrowings from sources outside the Peninsula and material that reflected actual Cordoban Christian practices. These case studies yielded some insights into distinctive features of Cordoban practice, while also revealing substantial overlap: between CCT and the northern calendars, and between CCT, OV, and Carmona (see *Summary of case studies* in this chapter). This overlap allows us to speak of a certain continuity of the Old Hispanic rite, extending from the Visigothic kingdom to the practices of Christians both in the northern kingdoms and in al-Andalus. CEA, the only surviving Christian liturgical source from al-Andalus, provided an essential point of reference for interpreting the implications of feast entries in these case studies. The case studies underscore the importance of such detailed, critical work.

In summary, this chapter aimed to revisit earlier claims and propose a new methodology for comparing CCT with Old Hispanic sources. The new approach included all text CCT versions, except for branch A2, since versions in A2 replaced the list of Iberian feasts by feasts from a Franco-Roman tradition. Consequently, a corpus of eleven CCT versions was analyzed. Given the sheer volume of data generated by such a comparison, it was not feasible to scrutinize every individual feast in each text version. Nevertheless, the chapter yielded significant findings, both in terms of general patterns and through seven detailed case studies, showing the diversity of sources that might have informed the compiler (both literary and through observation). It remains now to further examine the author's perspective on these feasts, looking more closely at the way in which they are formulated at a philological level. Only by doing this close analysis can we come to understand more about the position and identity of the author.


4

Chapter 4

Focusing the lens:
A philological analysis of the author's religious identity

The previous two chapters established that the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar* contains substantial liturgical information relevant to multiple religious communities, some of which may reflect actual religious practice in the author's time of writing. Given the diversity of this content, we might well ask as to the identity of the author who put together this information in one text: was he really a Christian, as suggested by much of the scholarship? The identity of the author has been such a central part of the scholarship on the *Cordoban Calendar*, and the assumptions so widespread and entrenched, that an entire chapter is required to interrogate whether or not this assessment is correct. The findings of the earlier chapters provide the foundation for the philological analysis presented here, which aims to shed light on the religious affiliation of the author as well as his attitude towards the content of the text. Contrary to the prevailing view, I argue that the *Cordoban Calendar* was compiled by a single author and that this individual was a Muslim. Other scholars who likewise concluded that a Muslim (ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd) stood behind the *Cordoban Calendar* did so based on external evidence and not on text-internal evidence, which is the core evidence of this chapter. My text-internal analysis adds extra support, but also nuances other scholars' conclusions, namely that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd, who appears to have been a Muslim, must have been the author of the *Cordoban Calendar*. The analysis in this chapter leads to the conclusion that the *Cordoban Calendar* is authored by a Muslim, and that he could have been ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd. Before engaging with existing scholarly interpretations, I will first reiterate the key findings from chapters 2 and 3 that sought to establish core components as a reminder of what this text must have included.

Rather than consisting solely of feasts corresponding to the Old Hispanic rite and select Eastern Christian material—as suggested by CCA and CCL—the original text most likely comprised a broader range of liturgical content. While Forcada, based on external sources, convincingly argued that a *kitāb al-anwāʾ* (as reflected in KA) must have been authored by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd prior to the production of an abridged version (as found in CCA), he did not undertake a detailed analysis of KA's liturgical content. A detailed analysis of KA's liturgical content suggests that the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar* included Jewish, Persian, and Coptic feasts, alongside entries concerning prophets and scriptures. As opposed to what was previously argued, also feasts corresponding to the Old Hispanic rite must have been in the original text.[797] My thesis refines the hypothesis that KA entirely reflects the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*, while nevertheless agreeing that the liturgical content of the original text was more diverse than CCA suggests. Traces of entries concerning prophets and scriptures can still be discerned in branches that at first sight seem to lack them—strongly suggesting that such material was originally part of the original text but was subsequently omitted. Yet, the precise scope of this material, and the exact entries it comprised, cannot be determined with certainty. This is particularly the case for entries concerning prophets and scriptures, which vary substantially across the corpus. The complete absence of traces of IHE in several branches or other indications make it difficult to argue that IHE were part of the

797 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 245.

original text. I have therefore chosen to exclude IHE from the analysis in this chapter, despite the possibility that they were included in the original text. It is worth noting that incorporating the IHE material into the analysis would have further supported the argument for a Muslim author; however, they have been excluded to preserve methodological caution. As a result of this analysis, we are now safe to imagine that whatever form the *Cordoban Calendar* took at its origins, it very likely included liturgical information pertaining to several religious communities, of which some of them were known to have lived and worshiped in al-Andalus.

The variety of the liturgical information brings us to the question of who would have been interested and capable of bringing together such information. In the introduction to this study, I provided a detailed overview of the complex scholarly debate surrounding the historical author of the *Cordoban Calendar*. Some scholars attribute its authorship to the Muslim physician, chronicler, and poet ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd, who served in the Umayyad administration—first as governor of Osuna during the reign of Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, and later as a secretary (kātib) at the court of Caliph al-Ḥakam II. Others suggest that the author was a bishop of Elvira, Rabīʿ ibn Zayd, who is generally identified with the Bishop Recemund. Scholars who argue that the author was Christian do so on the basis of the name Harib ibn Zeid in CCL and the mention of Ibn Zayd the Bishop by Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (as cited in the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* by al-Maqqarī) as the author of the *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān*.[798] Another group puts forward the possibility that it was a collaborative work by ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd and Rabīʿ ibn Zayd. This chapter is not aimed at determining the historical identity of the author of the *Cordoban Calendar*, but this scholarly division plays a role in raising the question whether the author was Christian or Muslim. While the available historical clues regarding the author's identity are valuable, my focus lies on the text's language and internal features to explore the author's likely religious affiliation. By closely analyzing the textual—sometimes even lexical—level, I aim to understand the author's attitude vis-a-vis his material, rather than to definitively identify the historical figure behind the text. This approach offers a richer, more dynamic perspective on authorship and allows for a broader understanding of the *Cordoban Calendar*'s nature than an exclusive focus on historical attribution would permit.

The first scholarly position I will explore is the widely held assumption that the *Cordoban Calendar* was authored by a Christian author. The *Cordoban Calendar* is frequently described

798 "Concerning astrology, Ibn Zaid the Bishop, the Cordoban, wrote on this subject. He was the favorite of al-Mustansir ibn an-Nasir the Marwanid [al-Ḥakam II] for whom he composed the *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān* in which he indicated the stations of the moon and how these matters were related, and their approximate significance." English translation by Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 108; Arabic in Aḥmad al-Maqqarī, *Analectes sur l'Histoire et la Littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*, ed. Reinhart Dozy et al. (Oriental Press, 1967), 125.

or classified as a Christian text, or as a text produced in the milieu of the "Mozarabs."[799] Even when Islamic features within the *Cordoban Calendar* have been acknowledged, scholars such as Dozy have maintained that "the author seems not to have been a Muslim."[800] In this chapter, however, I argue that there are compelling reasons to question the assumption of a Christian author and to consider instead the possibility that he was a Muslim. The central difficulty with the argument for Christian authorship is its reliance on the assumption that the presence of a Christian list of feasts necessarily indicates a Christian author. The persistent assumption of Christian authorship has even given rise to misconceptions, such as the belief that the text was originally composed in Latin or was "bilingual," although Simonet demonstrated long ago that the text underlying the Latin translation (CCL) must originally have been written in Arabic.[801] In any case, for many scholars, the presence of the Christian list of feasts appears to outweigh other elements in determining the religious identity of the text. But does the presence of a Christian list of feasts alone suffice classifying the *Cordoban Calendar* as a Christian text? And does its inclusion necessarily imply that the author must have been a Christian? There are many other ways to interpret the inclusion of a Christian calendar. In studies of Hebrew manuscripts, for instance, the inclusion of Christian calendars is often interpreted as a lens through which to examine Jewish attitudes toward Christianity.[802] In contrast, in the case of the *Cordoban Calendar*, the inclusion of a Christian calendar seems to have led to the frequent conclusion that the entire text must be the product of a Christian project or mindset.[803] Although the context of the *Cordoban Calendar* differs significantly from that of most Hebrew manuscripts—many of which originate in thirteenth- to fifteenth-century Northern Europe—assumptions about the *Cordoban Calendar*'s nature and authorship often seem hasty and one-sided.

Second, I tackle the argument for dual authorship shared between a Muslim and Christian writer. The prevailing theory that two authors collaborated rests on the assumption that no single writer

799 Among scholars who hold this view: Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 68; Monferrer-Sala, 'The Arabicized Christians in Cordoba', 363–64; Marie-Thérèse Urvoy, ed., *Le Psautier Mozarabe de Hafs Le Goth* (Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1994), I–II; Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 46 and 48; Burman, *Religious Polemic*, 17; Van Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature', 214ff.; Van Koningsveld, 'Christian-Arabic Manuscripts', 425 and 441; Burnett, 'Traditions and Practices', 495; Gil Fernández, *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum,* II, 1268–1269: Scriptoris Muzarabici Saeculi VIII–XI; Wolf, *The Indiculus Luminosus of Paul Alvarus*, 21; Colbert, *The Martyrs of Córdoba (850–859)*, 385.

800 "L'auteur ne semble pas avoir été un musulman, mais un chrétien, car il mentionne les fêtes des saints et nulle part il n'indique un jour important dans l'histoire de l'islamisme, comme cela a lieu dans les calendriers musulmans." Dozy, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'Année 961*, iv–v.

801 Some scholars seem to assume that the *Cordoban Calendar* was originally a "bilingual calendar." For instance, Wolf, *The Indiculus Luminosus of Paul Alvarus*, 21–22 ("At least one of the versions of this bilingual calendar was prepared by Bishop Recemundus of Elvira (a.k.a. Rabi ibn Zayd "al-Usquf") for Caliph Hakam II (961–976)."; Effros, 'Usuard's Journey to Spain', 28 ("Recemund, bishop of Cordova, probably composed the Latin portion of this manuscript dedicated to the emir (sic) al-Hakam II and focusing on liturgical observances. 'Arib b. Sa'd al-Katib wrote the Arabic half of the text which consists primarily of an almanac."); Simonet, *Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe*, 15–16.

802 These Hebrew manuscripts included Christian festivals, saints' days and other elements of the Christian liturgical year. Sacha Stern, 'Christian Calendars in Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts', *Medieval Encounters* 22, nos 1–3 (2016): 236–65; Elisheva Baumgarten, 'Shared and Contested Time: Jews and the Christian Ritual Calendar in the Late Thirteenth Century', *Viator* 46, no. 2 (2015): 253–76.

803 See footnote 799.

could have been simultaneously interested in, committed to, or knowledgeable about both religions. The confusion surrounding the authors' names, as discussed in the introduction, has been interpreted by scholars as evidence for dual authorship.[804] Neither of these arguments is convincing and there is stronger evidence that the *Cordoban Calendar* is the product of a single author. I have further argued in Chapter 3, that the Christian list of feasts is an integral component of the text. There, I demonstrate that even the versions KA and Vat.ar.258 preserve a small number of typical Old Hispanic elements. It seems thus not to hold true, as some scholars have argued, that the Old Hispanic list of feasts was added to an already existing text.[805] The presence of Iberian Christian feasts in the original text indicates that no earlier textual stage lacking such references existed which was later revised after collaboration with a second, Christian author. Moreover, and crucially, the author reflects on the Christian content of his text in his introduction, and treats its various components as a coherent work.

In this chapter, I will demonstrate that much of the liturgical content, including the Christian list of feasts, bears subtle indications of having been shaped by a Muslim perspective. This argument remains persuasive even if the IHE are excluded from the supporting material. I think it is most likely that a Christian calendar, possibly provided by a Christian, was integrated into a broader compilation by a Muslim compiler.[806] But instead of a literal copy from such a calendar, it seems more likely that the content of the Christian calendar underwent adaptation from the outset, in order to fit the rationale and intentions of a Muslim writer. This is a crucial distinction, because it implies one creative mind who deliberately chose to integrate a Christian calendar into his text, and not, as is often suggested, a Muslim who was responsible for the *anwāʾ* content, and a Christian responsible for the Christian liturgical content. Even if the list of feasts was originally authored by a Christian, it would have been adapted by the compiler of the *Cordoban Calendar* to align with the broader aims and character of the treatise. In other words, the Christian material was not merely copied, but amended and integrated in such a way that it reflects the rationale and worldview of a single, intentional author.

The existence of a single author with a Muslim background is supported by four types of evidence. The first consists of references in the text to a specific Islamic science, i.e., the calculation of prayer times (*mīqāt*). The second is the Islamic view on prophets and stories from the Bible and the Qurʾan. Although these events are sometimes framed as feasts—occasionally even as Christian feasts—the author's attitude toward the material reveals an Islamic understanding of the events.

804 Cerrato Casado, 'El Calendario de Córdoba como Fuente para la Reconstrucción de la Topografía Eclesiástica', 49 (footnote 85).

805 Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 245.

806 The scholarly consensus holds that the Christian calendar was composed by a Christian author and integrated into an separate text. Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 123–24; Samsó Moya, 'Cordoba as a Scientific Center', 443 and 447; Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus*, 89; Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 46 and 48; Forcada, 'Books of anwāʾ', 312; Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 248; Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes de España*, III, 613; López y López, 'Vida y Obra', 341 ff.; Castilla Brazales, *Crónica de ʿArīb sobre al-Andalus*, 46.

The third type of evidence focuses on the use of the word *ʿajam* and the outsider view that is created by the consistent use of this term and related phrasings. The fourth centers on the use of specific names in CCT, i.e., the city of Jerusalem and figures who appear in both the Bible and the Qurʾan: Jesus, Mary, and John the Baptist. Given that these figures are shared across different religious traditions, they offer the most insightful points of comparison between Islamic and Christian sources, because despite being shared figures, their names are used differently in the Christian Arabic and Islamic traditions and sometimes carry specific theological or ideological implications. This is especially true for figures from the New Testament whose designations differ significantly across traditions. While not every piece of evidence may be convincing on its own, taken together, the weight of this cumulative evidence strongly suggests that the *Cordoban Calendar* is a text deeply rooted in an Islamic intellectual and cultural context. Such close analysis of textual elements, terminology, and names is largely absent from studies that make assumptions about the religious identity of the *Cordoban Calendar* 's author. Yet this kind of detailed examination, underpinned by rigorous textual scrutiny, is essential for establishing a firmer identification of the author.

Before I discuss my arguments in more detail, I will start by discussing the complexity of religious identity in a context in which religion and language were not strictly divided: tenth-century Córdoba. We find both Islamic and Christian treatises written in Arabic from this time period. In order to address this complexity, I will begin with an example—from CCT—that seems an obvious indication for the religious background of the author, namely the citation of a qurʾanic verse. There is a need to address from the outset a potential challenge that scholars of Christian culture in al-Andalus might raise when confronted with the material I present. There is considerable evidence, namely, that Christians absorbed Islamic formulations into their translations of Latin Christian texts into Arabic. This is especially evident in the citations from the Qurʾan found in Christian Arabic literature from al-Andalus. As a result, it could be argued that any "Islamic formulation" might in fact have been produced by a Christian who saw no potential friction with the Christian tradition. Many scholars have classified the qurʾanic verse, specifically, as a textual feature fully compatible with a Christian author—a possibility I do not reject in principle. The frequent presence of Islamic terminology in Christian Arabic literature has likewise led scholars to classify the *Cordoban Calendar* within that tradition. Yet it is worth asking whether the *Cordoban Calendar* should be situated within what is typically designated as *Christian Arabic literature*. On the basis of detailed philological analysis, I will ultimately argue that CCT was composed by an author with an Islamic identity who was receptive to, and not dismissive of, ideas and practices prevailing in other religions, as evidenced by the considerable textual material supporting this hypothesis throughout the *Cordoban Calendar*.

The qurʾanic verse is but one example of a textual feature whose meaning proves less self-evident than might first appear. I will therefore provide background and examples with regard

to Arabization and Islamization of Andalusi society and the use of Islamic vocabulary in Andalusi Christian Arabic literature. Opening the discussion with this example will reveal the complexity of religious identity, which will contribute to understanding the complex process of identifying the religious attitude of the author in the text. Despite such ambiguity, it will become clear in the course of this chapter that the critical mass of evidence points convincingly to a Muslim author.

A qurʾanic verse and the role of Arabic in religious identity

Scholars who regard the *Cordoban Calendar* as a Christian text place it in the tradition of Andalusi Christian Arabic literature. However, if we examine the language use and the theological concepts conveyed through it in this literary tradition, would we still attribute the same religious background to the author of the *Cordoban Calendar*? This question ties into the broader scholarly discourse on religiously ambiguous language on the Iberian Peninsula, and its significance therefore extends beyond debates surrounding the *Cordoban Calendar* alone.

A qurʾanic verse appears in the introduction of all Arabic versions of CCT, with the exception of P2521 and those that contain no introduction or only a very brief one (KH10354 and Balad.2918). Notably, this qurʾanic citation does not appear in the Latin versions, which is perhaps unsurprising given the historical contexts in which they were translated and copied—namely, in the Christian kingdoms of the northern part of the Peninsula, Catalonia and France. The verse in question is Q 28:76: "We had granted him such treasures that even their keys would burden a group of strong men."[807] This quote serves to exemplify the semantics of the verb *na'a* (here translated with "to burden"), and does not serve a theological or ideological purpose. It has nevertheless—or perhaps precisely for that reason—played a role in the debate about the author of the *Cordoban Calendar*, and serves as an ideal entry point for discussing the complexities of identifying the religious identity of Arabic Andalusi texts.

Pellat cited the inclusion of this qurʾanic verse as reason to assume a Muslim author, although he does not elaborate further.[808] Van Koningsveld, however, emphasizes that such a quotation would not be unexpected from a Christian writer in tenth-century Córdoba. He argues:

We should not in the least feel surprised at a Bishop of Córdoba quoting a verse from the Koran, for one thing, only to explain the meaning of an Arabic word. The language of the Koran occupies a prominent position within the grammatical and lexicographical tradition of the study of Arabic, and we must assume that Christians in al-Andalus, when studying Arabic, complied with this tradition.[809]

807 Translation from quran.com.
808 Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, ix.
809 Van Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature', 216.

In addition, Van Koningsveld points to the presence of considerable use of Islamic terminology in Christian Arabic literature in tenth-century al-Andalus.[810] He underscores the various examples of Islamic idiomatic language in Andalusi Christian Arabic texts, such as the *basmala* (the standard Islamic opening formula: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate") in the Gospels and qurʾanic expressions in the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* (*Book of Orosius*).[811] On the basis of such Islamic terminology in Andalusi Christian Arabic texts, Van Koningsveld argues that it is not justifiable to regard the qurʾanic reference in CCT as sufficient grounds for assuming a Muslim author.

Other scholars have also drawn attention to Islamic features in Andalusi Christian Arabic texts, the result of which is described as "Arabization and Islamization" with regard to the Arabic Gospels;[812] as "linguistic hybridism," "Islamic influence" and "shared vocabulary" with regard to the Arabic psalter;[813] as "linguistic Islamization" with regard to the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*;[814] and a "cultural symbiosis," and "hybrid" with regard to the Arabic Canon Law Collection (hereafter CCAEA).[815] These terms instead point to a broader linguistic and cultural process identified by scholars, whereby Christians in early medieval al-Andalus adopted what might be termed "Islamic" language in the religious literary tradition they were developing.

I concur with Van Koningsveld and the other scholars cited here that a qurʾanic verse, in itself, does not provide conclusive evidence of a Muslim author. The example of the qurʾanic verse instead illustrates the difficulty of determining an author's religious affiliation solely on the basis of religious terminology. Although a Christian author could have employed Islamic terminology—even citing a qurʾanic verse—I argue in this chapter that the *Cordoban Calendar* was in fact composed by a Muslim author. The decisive factor lies not in the mere inclusion of certain content, such as a qurʾanic verse, or Christian feasts for that matter, but in the manner in which such material is framed and presented.

The use of Islamic vocabulary in Christian Arabic texts

In surveys of Christian Arabic literature produced in al-Andalus, the *Cordoban Calendar* is frequently mentioned alongside Arabic translations of the ninth and tenth centuries of the Gospels, the Psalms, the Pauline Epistles (of which only fragments are found), the *Kitāb*

810 Ibid.

811 Van Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature', 216–17.

812 Hanna E. Kassis, 'The Arabicization and Islamization of the Christians of al-Andalus: Evidence of Their Scriptures', in *Languages of Power in Islamic Spain*, ed. Ross Brann (CDL Press, 1997), 149.

813 Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, 'Translating in Ninth-Century Cordoba. Notes on the Urjūzah of Ḥafs Ibn Albar al-Qūṭī to His Arabic Poetic Version of Sifr al-Zubūr', *Transletters. International Journal of Translation and Interpreting*, no. 1 (2018): 82; Marie-Thérèse Urvoy, 'Influence Islamique sur Le Vocabulaire d'un Psautier Arabe d'al-Andalus', *Al-Qanṭara* 15, no. 2 (1994): 509; Martin, 'An Anonymous Mozarab Translator', 149.

814 Penelas, 'Linguistic Islamization'.

815 Jareer Abu-Haidar, 'A Document of Cultural Symbiosis: Arabic MS. 1623 of the Escorial Library', *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2 (1987): 226; Monferrer-Sala, 'Notes on the Lexicon', 198; CCAEA is the abbreviation of *Collectio Canonum Arabicorum Ecclesiae Andalusiae*. Matthias Maser et al., eds, *Canon Law and Christian Societies between Christianity and Islam* (Brepols, 2024), 11.

Hurūshiyūsh, and the CCAEA.[816] These are the only extant Christian Arabic texts from that period and thus the only material against which we can compare CCT. According to Van Koningsveld, Andalusi Christians began translating biblical texts in the ninth century but expanded their translation activities in the tenth century to include more literary works, such as the *Cordoban Calendar*. But is it justified to place the *Cordoban Calendar* with literature that is typically classified as *Christian Arabic literature*? What about its doctrinal content and religious language? Do these correspond closely to what is found in Christian Arabic literature? The issue at stake is that if the *Cordoban Calendar* does not resemble Christian Arabic literature, its authorship need not be attributed to a Christian.

I will now demonstrate in more detail and per translation how Andalusi Arabic translations of Christian texts incorporated Islamic vocabulary and how this has been interpreted by scholars. While CCAEA and the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* have survived in only one Arabic translation each, there are two known translations of the Psalter and three of the Gospels. These multiple versions make it possible to compare different approaches to translating these texts from Latin into Arabic.

The Arabic psalter is preserved in three manuscripts.[817] The Arabic Psalter is an Arabic translation of the Latin Psalms, themselves translated from Hebrew by Jerome, and preceded by an introduction. Two versions can be distinguished: the verse psalter (1 manuscript) and the prose psalter (2 manuscripts). The earliest extant Arabic verse translation dates from 889,[818] though it refers to an even earlier (prose) version, possibly reflected in the Vatican manuscript.[819] The prose Psalter is thought to reflect the work of another translator operating in the mid to late ninth century.[820] The 889 version is a rhymed translation in *rajaz* meter, produced by Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī (active before 889 until after 961).[821] The 889 translation by Ḥafṣ ibn Albar was carried out under the auspices of Valentius, bishop of Córdoba. Van Koningsveld observes that Ḥafṣ ibn Albar's translation employs vocabulary imbued with Islamic connotations when referring to Christian figures. For example, the Islamic term *mahdī* (a messianic figure which is expected to appear in the end of the world) is used for Christ, although the *mahdī* is not explicitly identified in the Islamic tradition. Likewise, the term *al-dayyān* (the Judge on Judgement Day)—an attribute

816 For instance, Urvoy, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, I–II; Van Koningsveld, 'Christian-Arabic Manuscripts', 425; Van Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature', 217; Hanna E. Kassis, 'The Mozarabs', in *The Literature of al-Andalus*, ed. María Rosa Menocal et al., The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature (Cambridge University Press;, 2000), 421–22.

817 MS Biblioteca Ambrosiana of Milan codex & 120 sup., MS Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Arab.5 and MS British Library Add 9060. Another manuscript existed in El Escorial, but is now lost. Urvoy, 'Influence Islamique', 509; Pieter S. van Koningsveld, 'The Date of al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas: The Lisbon Fragments and the Islamic Sources', in *Canon Law and Christian Societies between Christianity and Islam: An Arabic Canon Collection from al-Andalus and Its Transcultural Contexts*, ed. Matthias Maser et al. (Brepols, 2024), 71.

818 Or 989? This is argued by D. M. Dunlop, 'Hafs b. Albar- the Last of the Goths?', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 86, nos 3–4 (1954): 147.

819 Van Koningsveld, 'The Date of al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas', 71.

820 MS Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Arab.5 and MS British Library Add 9060. Martin, 'An Anonymous Mozarab Translator', 125.

821 MS Biblioteca Ambrosiana of Milan codex & 120 sup.

of God in Islam—is applied to Christ, alluding to the Christian belief in his divine nature. Other terms used in the Psalter by Ḥafṣ ibn Albar include *tanzīl* (revelation, a term typically reserved for the Qurʾan), *sharīʿa* (used here in the sense of *prescription*, e.g., the prescription of baptism, though in the Qurʾan it refers specifically to Islamic law), and occasional references to a surah (chapter in the Qurʾan) when naming the Psalms.[822] In the Milan manuscript, the phrase *al-Masīḥ ibn Maryam* (Christ, son of Mary) appears, which is characteristic of Islamic belief, although it is used side by side with *Ibn Allāh* (Son of God). Similar Islamic vocabulary appears in the prose Psalter, though the degree of use of Islamic terms varies in this case. One of the prose Psalter manuscripts (Vatican MS) opens with the *basmala* ("In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate")—while the other prose Psalter (British Library MS) begins with the Trinitarian formula. Unfortunately, the opening of the Ḥafṣ Psalter in the Milan manuscript is missing, hence we do not know which formula it originally contained. Additional signs of Islamization include an explanation in the London manuscript that the Hebrew term *hallelujah* means *lā ilāha illā Allāh (there is no god but God)*—the first part of the Islamic *shahāda* (creed).[823]

There are various ways to interpret the Islamic vocabulary in the Psalter translations. Van Koningsveld argues that the Trinitarian opening may be regarded as a sign of Christian confidence and pride, whereas he regards the use of Islamic vocabulary as a form of appeasement or submission—but not doctrinal assimilation.[824] Charles Tieszen also suggests that the Islamic vocabulary is employed precisely to state Christian dogmas.[825] On the other hand, Van Koningsveld also suggests (like Hjälm, when speaking of the Eastern Christian context), that the Islamic language could reflect a Christian apologetic and polemical strategy, intended not only to defend the Christian faith in a politically dominant Islamic environment and to ease interreligious tensions, but also to dissuade Christians from converting to Islam or to persuade recent converts to return to their former faith.[826] About the use of names for Jesus (Christ, the son of Mary, and Son of God) Van Koningsveld notes: "the author seems to have wished to maintain both expressions discretely co-existing side by side. He was apparently attempting to maintain a subtle balance between Christian and Islamic sensibilities."[827] This interpretation implies that the audience of the Arabic Psalter may have included not only Christians but also Muslims. Indeed, Van Koningsveld suggests that the dedicatee of the Psalter may have been a high-ranking Muslim authority.[828] This could have been al-Ḥakam II, because an Arabic version of the Psalter was most likely part of his library.[829] Contrary to this, Marie-Thérèse Urvoy interprets the Islamic elements

822 Pieter S. van Koningsveld, *The Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ Ibn Albar al-Qūṭī: Prolegomena for a Critical Edition* (Aurora, 2016), 29–37.
823 Van Koningsveld, *The Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ Ibn Albar al-Qūṭī*, 44.
824 Van Koningsveld, *The Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ Ibn Albar al-Qūṭī*, 31.
825 Tieszen, *Christian Identity*, 227–29.
826 Van Koningsveld, *The Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ Ibn Albar al-Qūṭī*, 36.
827 Van Koningsveld, *The Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ Ibn Albar al-Qūṭī*, 45.
828 Van Koningsveld, *The Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ Ibn Albar al-Qūṭī*, 42.
829 Wasserstein, 'The Library of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir', 564.

in the Ḥafṣ Psalter as an Islamization of the Christian religion and she even proposes the idea that Muslims were consulted for the translation.[830] Martin argues that the presence of qurʾanic phrases, such as *wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāh rabb al-ʿālamīn* (*praise be to God, Lord of the worlds*), in the anonymous prose translation does not indicate Muslim involvement, rather that the author deployed Islamic language to mask "subtle polemic and Latin theology underneath overt Islamic praise."[831] According to Martin, the Christian author-translator consciously manipulated qurʾanic language "so that it could fit the Mozarabs' liturgical needs," with which Martin means the possible use of Arabic in the Mozarabic liturgy.[832] Regardless of the intentions of the author and the purpose of the Arabic Psalter, all this evidence shows that Christians were not opposed to using Islamic formulations in their translations of the most foundational of their religious texts, as the Psalms were.

Andalusi Arabic translations of the Gospels have been preserved in several manuscripts, representing three distinct translations.[833] The earlier mentioned translation (see *Capitularium Evangeliorum Arabicum*) preserved in the Munich manuscript, produced by Isḥāq ibn Balashq al-Qurṭubī in 946, displays a notable degree of Islamization in its use of language.[834] Because of the general use of the Spanish era in al-Andalus, the date could also have been 908 CE, corresponding to 946 in the Spanish Era.[835] The *basmala* appears as the opening formula for both the general introduction and each of the four Gospels. Other Islamic expressions are also present, such as surah (chapter), *Isrāʾīl ummatī* (the people of Israel), *Yaḥyā* (John) as it appears in the Qurʾan, instead of the more classically Christian *Yūḥannā*; and *ḥawārī* (which is used for the disciples of Christ in the Qurʾan) instead of *rasūl* (apostle). The translation also includes the word *baraqlīṭ* (Paraclete), a term that was often interpreted by Muslims as a reference to the prophecy of Muhammad.[836] Hanna Kassis interprets the Munich translation as evidence of a community "very much at home in its Muslim environment, fully arabicized and not uncomfortable with being Islamized."[837] Kassis adds the hypothesis that the use of Islamic vocabulary by Andalusi Christians—based also on evidence from CCAEA and the Vatican Psalter—reflects not only a natural consequence of the Christian community's political and social disempowerment, but also suggests that Arabic was employed as a liturgical language—like Martin above.[838] If Kassis is right, this would imply that Islamic formulations were even incorporated into the rituals of the church.

830 Urvoy, 'Influence Islamique', 517.
831 Martin, 'An Anonymous Mozarab Translator', 128–30.
832 Martin, 'An Anonymous Mozarab Translator', 129.
833 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München Cod. Arab. 238; Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid MS Árab. 4971; Qarawiyin Library in Fez, al-ʿĀbid al-Fāsī, no. 730. Hanna Kassis notes that the manuscripts of Archives of the Cathedral of León and the British Library are duplicates. Kassis, 'The Arabicization and Islamization', 149; Van Koningsveld, 'Christian-Arabic Manuscripts', 428; García-Arenal, 'The Religious Identity', 519.
834 At the beginning of Luke. Van Koningsveld, 'The Date of al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas', 70–71.
835 The date 908 is suggested by Van Koningsveld, 'The Date of al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas', 71.
836 Examples mentioned, for instance, by Van Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature', 216–17.
837 Kassis, 'The Arabicization and Islamization', 155.
838 Kassis, 'The Arabicization and Islamization', 147 and 149–150.

Regarding the Gospels preserved in the Madrid manuscript, although the manuscript is incomplete and appears to be a composite of different parts from varying periods—thus complicating its dating and classification—Kassis observes a comparatively lower degree of Islamization in its language.[839] If even the Gospels—the foundational text of the Christian tradition—contain Islamic language, as at least some surviving manuscripts attest, this would suggest that such language was not perceived as incompatible with the Christian message.

The *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* also displays a significant degree of acculturation, according to Mayte Penelas.[840] The *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* is an adaptation of the *Historiae adversus paganos* by the fifth-century presbyter Orosius (c. 375/385–c. 420 CE).[841] Some scholars date the Arabic translation to the late ninth or early tenth century in al-Andalus, while others associate it with the reign of al-Ḥakam II (r. 961–976).[842] The text is not solely based on Orosius's works but also includes material such as the history of the Arab conquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Penelas identifies numerous parallels between the linguistic Islamization in the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* and other examples of Andalusi Christian Arabic literature, such as CCAEA, the Gospels, and the Psalms.[843] Among the markers of Islamization that she identifies are the association of the biblical Mount Ararat with the qurʾanic Mount al-Jūdī; the qurʾanic versions of biblical names—*Ṭālūt* for Saul, *ʿUzayr* for Ezra, *Ibrāhīm Khalīl Allāh* (Abraham, friend of God); the inclusion of the *basmala*; the formula *ʿazza wa-jall* (the Mighty and the Exalted) as a honorific for God; the term *muṣḥaf* for books of religious or legal significance (normally reserved in Islam for the Qurʾan); the use of *Yaḥyā* (John); the qurʾanic term *ḥawārī* (apostle); *zabūr* (Psalter); *imāma* (sacerdotal office); *sharīʿa* (religious law—whether Christian or pagan); the formula *wa-l-ḥamdu li-llāh* (praise be to God); *sunna* as a term for rule or tradition; and words such as *miḥrāb* for altar and temple, and *maqṣūra* and *madhbaḥ* for objects and places within the temple. The verb *nazala* is used to denote divine revelation and is the root of the noun *tanzīl*—a qurʾanic expression used to refer to the revelation of the Qurʾan.[844] Christys further identifies the use of Arabic patronyms—for instance, *Yashbushāṭ ibn Ṭālūt* (Hisboseth filius Saul)—as "the clearest example of Arabicization" in the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*.[845]

839 Kassis, 'The Arabicization and Islamization', 155.

840 Penelas, 'Linguistic Islamization'.

841 Preserved in MS Columbia University of New York, X, 893.712 H.

842 Late ninth or early tenth century: Penelas, 'Linguistic Islamization', 105; Reign of al-Ḥakam II: Van Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature', 217; Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 136–37.

843 Penelas, 'Linguistic Islamization', 107.

844 The example of *tanzīl* is mentioned by Penelas, 'Linguistic Islamization', 112; and Van Koningsveld, *The Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ Ibn Albar al-Qūṭī*, 34.

845 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 149; For the example, see Mayte Penelas, ed., *Kitāb Hurūšiyūš (Traducción Árabe de las Historiae Adversus Paganos de Orosio)*, vol. 26, Fuentes Arábico-Hispanas (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001), 414. The index shows that this way of rendering names is applied to almost all names included in the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*.

The religious identity of the translator(s) of the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* and the intended audience remains a matter of debate. Giorgio Levi della Vida suggested that a Muslim scholar, Qāsim ibn Aṣbagh, may have participated in the translation, although he also questioned whether the Islamic traits of the text could instead be attributed to the linguistic acculturation of Christian translators.[846] Penelas states that at least one of the translators was Christian (she argues that this could have been Ḥafṣ ibn Albar) and that the intended audience was likewise Christian.[847] She bases this on the translator's use of Orosius's arguments in defense of Christianity, his references to the Bible, and his reliance on other Christian sources. Van Koningsveld argues for a Christian translator as well, namely Aṣbagh ibn Nabīl. He suggests that the reference to a surah indicates that the translator took into account a potential Muslim readership.[848] Christys adds that the translation may have been commissioned by al-Ḥakam II, and while the intended audience could have been either Muslim or Christian, she finds it more plausible that the work was aimed at Christians.[849] The academic discourse surrounding the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* highlights the contested interpretations of the religious identity of its translator, commissioner, and intended readership, largely due to the use of Arabic and the presence of allegedly "Islamic" features within the text. Interestingly, there are Arabic glosses found on two folios of the extant manuscript—criticizing Trinitarian belief—indicating that the manuscript was, at a later point, used by a Muslim reader.[850] Although it is noteworthy that this manuscript was annotated by a Muslim reader, the manner of its use does not necessarily disclose the purpose for which it was originally intended. I nevertheless mention it here, since it provides relevant evidence for the discussion, particularly concerning the complexity of identifying an author and discerning his intentions.

A further example of the incorporation of Islamic language into a Christian text is found in the *Kitāb al-qawānīn al-muqaddasa* (CCAEA), which is the Arabic translation of the *Canon Law Collection* (Royal Library of the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS 1623).[851] The collection is divided up into ten books. The text—or the copying of the text—was completed on 17 October 1049, and it was dedicated to a bishop named ʿAbd al-Malik.[852] The compiler or copyist introduces himself as Vicentius, "the sinful priest" in book VIII.[853] Since it remains unclear whether this date refers to the initial translation or to a subsequent act of copying, the possibility that an earlier Arabic version of CCAEA existed in al-Andalus cannot be excluded. Scholars have

846 Penelas, 'Linguistic Islamization', 106.
847 Mayte Penelas, 'A Possible Author of the Arabic Translation of Orosius' Historiae', *Al-Masāq* 13 (2001): 113–35.
848 Van Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature', 217.
849 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 137 and 157.
850 Van Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature', 206; Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 153.
851 According to van Koningsveld, there may have been another branch of the CCAEA, reflected in the so-called "Lisbon fragments." "The Lisbon fragments, on the other hand, form part of a *separate branch*." Van Koningsveld, 'The Date of al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas', 70.
852 Abu-Haidar, 'A Document of Cultural Symbiosis', 225–26.
853 Hanna Kassis argues that Vicentius was the compiler, but it is unclear if Kassis also suggests Vicentius was the translator of CCAEA. Kassis, 'The Arabicization and Islamization', 148; Abu-Haidar argues that Vicentius is a copyist of CCAEA. Abu-Haidar, 'A Document of Cultural Symbiosis', 226.

argued that an Arabic translation of CCAEA may already have been produced in the first half of the tenth or late ninth century.[854] There are diverging theories regarding the origin of CCAEA translation. Some scholars argue that the translation was carried out in a profoundly Arabized environment.[855] Jareer Abu-Haidar, in particular, supports the latter view, pointing to the use of recognizably Islamic vocabulary throughout the text. Examples include the opening *basmala*, the use of *muṣḥaf* to refer to individual books within CCAEA, and notably, the use of *Muslimūn* for Christians.[856] According to Abu-Haidar, this linguistic adoption suggests more than superficial influence. Abu-Haidar writes that "the clergy of the Spanish Church were ready to adopt Islamic religious terminology so willingly and eagerly," in which he sees a confirmation of historians' conclusions about the relative religious tolerance under the Taifa kings, the nature of their rule, and that of their predecessors.[857] Furthermore, he argues that the adoption of Islamic religious terminology was not only pragmatic, but also perceived as "ennobling," offering more expressive and elevated ways to articulate Christian concepts.[858] Kassis's interpretation suggests a receptive or accommodating attitude among Christians toward assimilation into Arabic and Islamic culture.

This survey shows that understanding the processes of Arabization and Islamization is essential for analyzing the use of Arabic among Christians in al-Andalus. Arabic was not a language reserved exclusively for Muslims, and even terms that appear distinctly Islamic or qurʾanic are not always reliable indicators of Islamic authorship or meaning. This is because Arabic terminology was not inherently "Islamic," nor was it necessarily perceived as such by translators or readers. It is plausible that these terms were regarded simply as part of the Arabic linguistic and cultural repertoire, without explicit doctrinal associations. In this sense, the adoption of such expressions was less about incorporating Islamic concepts than about employing Arabic forms of expression, some of which happened to be qurʾanic. Their use may therefore reflect the broader acculturation of Andalusi Christian culture, rather than the ideological intent ascribed to them by some modern scholars. The Arabic translation of biblical texts even prompted scholarly speculation about the possible use of Arabic in liturgical practice.[859] Consequently, the translation of Latin concepts into Arabic—even when qurʾanic terminology was employed—need not be understood as explicitly "Islamic."

Compared to the Christian Arabic texts discussed above, however, CCT presents a distinctive case. At first, this appears not to be so. Several of the "Islamic" elements observed in Christian

854 Matthias Maser, 'Whens and Whereabouts — Old and New Lights on the Genesis of al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas (El Escorial, RBME Ms. Árabe 1623)', in *Canon Law and Christian Societies between Christianity and Islam*, ed. Matthias Maser et al. (Brepols, 2024), 28 and 51; Van Koningsveld, 'The Date of al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas', 70-71.
855 Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 145.
856 For more examples, see Abu-Haidar, 'A Document of Cultural Symbiosis'.
857 Abu-Haidar, 'A Document of Cultural Symbiosis', 231.
858 Abu-Haidar, 'A Document of Cultural Symbiosis', 227 and 231.
859 For instance, Roisse, 'Célébrait-on les Offices Liturgiques'; Kassis, 'The Arabicization and Islamization', 147 and 149–50; Martin, 'An Anonymous Mozarab Translator', 129.

Arabic texts—such as the *basmala*, *tanzīl*, *Yaḥyā*, *ḥawārī*, *sunnat al-tawrāt*, *Ibrāhīm Khalīl Allāh*, and *ʿazza wa-jall* ('the Mighty and the Exalted')—also appear in versions of CCT. We can further detect terms and formulae used throughout CCT that are typical of the language found in the Qurʾan and hadith. Examples are the *bushrā* (good news, Q7:57); *ḥamīm* for rains in the summer (very hot / boiling, for instance Q 10:4, 38:57 or 55:44); and formulae such as *lā ilāha illā al-wāḥid al-qahhār* (there is no God except for the Only One, the Almighty).[860] Complete hadiths appear in versions of branch C, but because of the limitation of their presence in this branch, we do not know if they were integral to the *Cordoban Calendar*.[861] Additionally, some versions (Risala, KH10354, Balad.2918, T4624, Sbihi, D18945, KA) include an entry on 26 August about the Torah being revealed (*unzilat*, from the verb *nazala*), "as the people of history say."[862] In the line of argumentation presented above, these "Islamic" traits in CCT should not prevent us from understanding the *Cordoban Calendar* as a Christian text. While CCT shares certain features of Arabic language usage with Christian Arabic literature, CCT also diverges from it in crucial ways. As I shall now explore, there is a critical mass of evidence that strengthens the argument that the *Cordoban Calendar* should not merely be viewed as a Christian Arabic text with Islamic influences, but rather as a work produced within an Islamic intellectual and cultural framework.

1. Islamic science—*mīqāt*

The first type of evidence supporting the view that the *Cordoban Calendar* was compiled from an Islamic perspective is the presence of *mīqāt*.[863] *Mīqāt* refers to the practice or science of calculating prayer times in the Islamic tradition and determining the direction of prayer (qibla). Elements of *mīqāt* are integral to all versions of CCT, including the Latin versions. CCT contains various astronomical data central to *mīqāt* practice, including the meridian height of the Sun, the length of day and night, shadow lengths corresponding to meridian heights (calculated with a gnomon), and the duration of twilight.[864] A notable detail is the mention of the perpendicular position of the Sun above the well of Zamzam in Mecca on 17 May and 15 July. This information, related to the location of Mecca, was used to determine the direction of the qibla.[865] The details regarding the well of Zamzam are also preserved in the Latin versions (Vic167, PA45, Reg.lat.596, Lat.qu.198, and ÖNB2462). These versions offer further explanation that this is "the well of Abraham, from which Hagar and his son Ishmael drank, and this place is called Mecca by the Muslims."[866] The reference to "the Muslims" and a place they call Mecca reveals a Christian perspective on the Muslim community, but this perspective is exclusive to branch A2 (the

860 Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 8 and 10–12.

861 For example, one such hadith is found on 14 May in D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, KH10354, KA, and Balad.2918: *"The Prophet said, may the blessings of God be upon him as well as peace: 'If the star [Pleiades] rises, there are no more mutilations'"* (D18945, fol. 32). Other hadiths are referenced in the explanation of *anwāʾ* in the introduction (D18945, KA, T4624, Sbihi 163/9).

862 Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 111 and 217.

863 Samsó, *Las Ciencias de los Antiguos*, 71–75.

864 Samsó, *Las Ciencias de los Antiguos*, 73–75.

865 Samsó, *Las Ciencias de los Antiguos*, 63–65.

866 16 May.

Catalonian translation into Latin) and therefore most probably a later addition. The *Cordoban Calendar* is the first and one of the few treatises with content related to *mīqāt* in al-Andalus.[867] Additional early evidence of the practice of *mīqāt* in al-Andalus in the tenth century is found in other types of sources. Two sundials (solar quadrants) discovered at the court of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ (which existed from ca. 936 to 1010) confirm the application of astronomy to religious needs, such as calculating prayer times and the qibla.[868] The *mīqāt* data in the *Cordoban Calendar* constitutes a central component of the text, reflecting an underlying astronomical framework that would have been especially relevant and functional within a Muslim context. The inclusion of the *mīqāt* material is the first piece of evidence that points to a Muslim author.

2. The narrative function of the term *ʿajam*

As was established in previous chapters, one integral und unique aspect to the *Cordoban Calendar* is the reference to practices of the *ʿajam*. In Chapter 3, I demonstrated that this term is closely connected to Iberia, and in the case of the *Cordoban Calendar* seems specifically to refer to Iberian Christians. However, this term is used in different ways in Andalusi sources, and its definition depends on the context and the user. It is therefore worth further exploring the ways the term was deployed in Andalusi sources to better understand its use in the *Cordoban Calendar* and to evaluate whether it can shed further light on the identity and intentions of its author.

Historically, the term *ʿajam* is known from the first centuries of Islam in the Middle East. In its early meaning, the term referred to *barbarians*, i.e., non-Arabs. In practice, however, it was mostly used to refer specifically to the Persians. The term bore a pejorative connotation and was used to distinguish between Arabs and non-Arabs, and this distinction reflected the perceived superiority of the Arabs with regard to non-Arabs. The use of the term is inextricably linked to the privileged position of the Arabs in the newly conquered Islamicate lands.[869] In the Islamic East, the pejorative meaning of the term was gradually neutralized and it is in this more neutral way that the term *al-ʿajam* should be interpreted also in the Andalusi context.[870]

It is clear that in Andalusi primary sources the term *ʿajam* does not refer to Persians. Modern interpretations of the term as it appears in this context range from non-Arabs, non-Arabic speakers and Romance-speakers, to foreigners, Christians, indigenous Christians or indigenous

867 Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina*, 42.
868 Joan Carandell, 'Dos Cuadrantes Solares Andalusíes de Medina Azara', *al-Qanṭara* 10, no. 2 (1989): 329–42; On the scarcity of treatises on *mīqāt* in al-Andalus, see Samsó, *Las Ciencias de los Antiguos*, 75.
869 Ignác Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, (Max Niemeyer, 1889), 101–46.
870 Travis Zadeh, *The Vernacular Qur'an: Translation and the Rise of Persian Exegesis* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 74.

non-Arabs.[871] It appears thus that ethnic, linguistic and religious aspects all intersect in the definition of ʿ*ajam* as it was used in al-Andalus.[872] In practice, we find different applications of the term ʿ*ajam*, with a range of overlapping meanings. The fact that there are different, intertwined aspects that define the term ʿ*ajam* is captured by Safran's definition that "the term was used in al-Andalus as an ethnic designation for the local Romance-speaking population."[873] This is only one definition, however, that bears both linguistic and ethnic markers, but it ignores aspects of religious affiliation. Indeed, there are examples in which ʿ*ajam* points to the language of a certain person, independent of their religion. In those cases, the term refers to both Christians and Muslims and is a religiously-neutral term. This happens, for instance, in Andalusi Muslim legal sources. There, ʿ*ajam* is mostly used as a term to talk about someone who does not speak Arabic, regardless of their religion.[874] In the case that a Muslim jurist wanted to emphasize the Christian religion of the person in question, he would use the word *naṣrānī* (singular of *naṣārā*). Accordingly, there are cases in which the descendant of a local convert to Islam (a muwallad) is referred to as ʿ*ajamī*, because he did not speak Arabic.[875]

There are also instances in which ʿ*ajam* seems to be used to primarily emphasize the Christian religion of a person. For instance, in some of the Muslim historiographical sources, such as the chronicles of Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī (d. 1495) or Ibn Ḥayyān (987–1075), the term ʿ*ajam* does imply "of Christian religion." Ibn Ḥayyān refers to "the muwallads and the ʿ*ajam*," two social groups that were not per se different in language, nor ethnicity, but they were in religion. What Ibn Ḥayyān implies here is a difference in religion, namely: Muslims (of indigenous Iberian descent) and Christians (of indigenous Iberian descent).[876] Although often not the case, there are also instances in Andalusi legal sources, where ʿ*ajam* is used to refer to *Christian*. This is the case when Andalusi and Maghrebi jurists, such as al-Ṭurṭūshī (d. 1126) and al-Wansharīsī (1430–1508), condemn the participation of Muslims in Christian feasts.[877]

871 For instance, Federico Corriente, ''-j-m', in *A Dictionary of Andalusi Arabic*, Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung, Der nahe und mittlere Osten, Band 29 = Handbook of Oriental Studies. The Near and Middle East, Vol. 29 (Brill, 1997), 345 ("to speak Romance"); Reinhart Dozy, ''-j-m', in *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, II (E. J. Brill, 1927), 98 ("c'est par ce terme que les Arabes d'Espagne désignaient la langue espagnole"); Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 112 ("les chrétiens indigenes"); Van Koningsveld, *The Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ Ibn Albar al-Qūṭī*, 39 ("the [original] non-Arab inhabitants [of the Iberian Peninsula]"); Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus*, 57 and 142–43 ("might be translated as "foreign"; the term was used in al-Andalus as an ethnic designation for the local Romance-speaking population").

872 For a discussion of the criteria by which individuals were considered "Arab," see Jessica A. Coope, 'Arabs, Berbers, and Local Converts', in *The Routledge Handbook of Muslim Iberia*, ed. Maribel Fierro (Routledge, 2020), 189–195.

873 Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus*, 57.

874 Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 37.

875 Richard Hitchcock provides examples from al-Khushanī's *History of the Judges of Córdoba* of people referred to as ʿ*ajam*, regardless of their religion. Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*, 34.

876 Aillet, *Les Mozarabes*, 110.

877 Kentaro Sato, 'Yannayr and al-ʿAnṣara: Seasonal Festivals in the Medieval Muslim West', *The Journal of Sophia Asian Studies* 30 (2012): 3 and 8; Fernando de la Granja, 'Fiestas Cristianas en al-Andalus (Materiales para su Estudio). II: Textos de Ṭurṭūšī, El Cadí 'Iyāḍ y Wanšarīsī', *Al-Andalus: Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada* 35 (1970): 122, 131 and 139.

The above examples all stem from Muslim authors. However, there is also an early Andalusi instance of the term *ʿajam* being employed in the introduction to the Arabic psalter.[878] In that introduction, it is mentioned that the people "believed and prayed to their God in the language they knew. The Greeks in Greek, the Syrians in Syriac and the *ʿajam* in Latin."[879] In another passage of the introduction, Christians are referred to with the more general term *naṣārā* (*ṣalāt al-naṣārā fī mashāriq al-arḍ wa maghāribihā*—"the prayer of the Christians of both the eastern and the western parts of the world").[880] The distinction that is made here seems to be between the Christians from Iberia (*ʿajam*) and the Christians more generally (*naṣārā*). The *ʿajam*, the non-Arabic speaking Christians, may have been viewed as distinct from the socio-linguistic group to which the author-translator of this introduction belonged as an Arabized Christian, as Martin suggests.[881] However, the fact that, for instance, Ḥafṣ ibn Albar—who uses the same introduction for his verse translation of the Psalms—was referred to by the historian Ibn al-Qūṭiyya (d. 977) as *qāḍī al-ʿajam* (judge of the *ʿajam*) indicates otherwise.[882] The title implies that, despite his command of Arabic, his contemporaries regarded him as belonging to the *ʿajam* community—and even as one of its leading figures.

The way the term *ʿajam* is used in the introduction to the Psalter is thus more likely to emphasize that they were Christians from Iberia. The prevailing scholarly interpretation has been that, although Andalusi Christians had adopted Arabic in their daily language use, at least the majority of their liturgy continued to be conducted in Latin.[883] This interpretation would mean that by *ʿajam*, the introduction refers to all Andalusi Christians (Arabic and non-Arabic-speaking) who performed their liturgy in Latin. It is even possible that all western Christians are meant, since these Christians also performed their liturgy in Latin (for instance, in the Frankish Empire and Rome). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the introduction does not mention Western Christians separately, whereas he refers specifically to the Greeks and Syrians. This broader definition would affect our understanding of the use of *ʿajam* in CCT, were it not for

878 Jason Busic, 'Between Latin Theology and Arabic Kalām: Samson's Apologeticus Contra Perfidos (864 CE) and Ḥafṣ b. Albar al-Qūṭī's Extant Works (Fl. Late Ninth/Early Tenth Centuries)', *Medieval Encounters* 25 (2019): 555 and 575–76.

879 Marie-Thérèse Urvoy translates ʿajam here as *le Perse*, a rendering that appears out of context. Urvoy, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 3; Pieter van Koningsveld translates *ʿajam* in this passage with "the [original] non-Arab inhabitants [of the Iberian Peninsula]." Van Koningsveld, *The Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ Ibn Albar al-Qūṭī*, 39 and 100–1.

880 Van Koningsveld, *The Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ Ibn Albar al-Qūṭī*, 39 and 101.

881 Geoffrey Martin suggests that in the ninth century, in which not every Christian was arabized, it might have been important for Christians such as Ḥafṣ ibn Albar to distinguish between "Arabic" and "Latin" Christians without implying that one was superior to the other. Martin comes thus to the interesting conclusion that the meaning of the term depends on its user. "In Iberian sources, the *ʿajam* are either Mozarabs–Muslims called them *ʿajam*–or Latin Christians," i.e., Muslims used the term to mean arabicized Christians, while Christians used to the term to mean Latin Christians. Martin, 'An Anonymous Mozarab Translator', 132–33.

882 In Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's chronicle *Kitāb iftitāḥ al-Andalus* (Book of the Conquest of al-Andalus). Van Koningsveld, *The Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ Ibn Albar al-Qūṭī*, 78–79; Van Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature', 207; Wolf, *The Indiculus Luminosus of Paul Alvarus*, 24.

883 Roisse, 'Célébrait-on les Offices Liturgiques'; Kassis, 'The Arabicization and Islamization', 147 and 149–50; Martin, 'An Anonymous Mozarab Translator', 129.

the correspondence between the feasts of the ʿ*ajam* and those of the Old Hispanic rite, as demonstrated in Chapter 3, which confines the meaning of ʿ*ajam* to "Iberian Christians."

Overall, the term ʿ*ajam* seems to appear more frequently in sources written by Muslims than by Christians, a difference that may simply reflect the limited survival of Andalusi Christian Arabic texts. Consequently, we cannot determine how common the term actually was among Christian authors; it may have been more widespread than the extant sources suggest. Nonetheless, I argue that the use of the term ʿ*ajam* in CCT provides additional support for a Muslim authorship, based on the frequency and the manner in which it is employed and the narrative distance it creates. As shown in Chapter 3, celebrations associated with the ʿ*ajam* are typically introduced with formulations such as "the ʿ*ajam* celebrate the feast of [X]," often accompanied by phrases like "this is a major feast for them," "this is their most important feast," or "they call him/her a martyr." Sbihi 163/9 adds at one instance, that a Mérida is "one of their dioceses."[884] Certain places of worship are described with phrases such as "they [the ʿ*ajam*] gather at [X]."[885] Additionally, when the Spanish era is mentioned, it is framed as follows: "The first [month] of the ʿ*ajamī* year of the ʿ*ajam* is January, and *they* reckon time according to the Spanish era (*taʾrīkh al-ṣufr*)."[886] In another instance related to time reckoning on 22 March, CCT reports: "The ʿ*ajam* celebrate the feast of the beginning of the solar era; for *them*, it marks the beginning of time."[887] This external perspective—framing the ʿ*ajam* as a distinct community, consistently referred to through the impersonal "they"—pervades CCT. Crucially, there are no moments in which the viewpoint shifts to an internal perspective or suggests identification with the community in question. Even if the author drew upon a local Christian liturgical calendar as a source of information on Iberian Christian practice (as proposed in Chapter 3), the data was nonetheless shaped within a rhetorical framework that communicates distance and, in most cases, a neutral, yet external stance toward ʿ*ajamī* practices.

The evidence for shared feasts amongst communities brings additional perspective on the use of the term ʿ*ajam*. In some CCT entries, the ʿ*ajam* are not explicitly mentioned. This is the case, for example, for the feasts of the Nativity of John the Baptist (24 June) and the Nativity of Jesus (25 December). The entry for the Nativity of Jesus reads: "This is the feast of the *milād* of ʿĪsā al-Masīḥ, peace be upon him, and it is one of their greatest feasts." This entry reflects, on the one hand, an internal Islamic perspective, evident in the use of Jesus's qurʾanic name, as I will discuss further below. On the other hand, it conveys an external perspective on Christian practice by

884 *Wa-huwa min asāqifatihim* (23 May).
885 7 January, 12 February.
886 In the introduction of KA, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, CCA, Risala, K155 & D2197, P2521 and CCL.
887 22 March (*wa-huwa ibtidāʾ al-zamān ʿindahum*): KA, D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, Vat.ar.258, CCA, Risala, K155 & D2197, P2521 and CCL. For instance, Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 58–59.

noting that it is "one of *their* greatest feasts." The wording conveys both a certain proximity and a certain distance from this practice.[888]

Interestingly, the two feasts of the Nativity of John the Baptist and the Nativity of Jesus are extensively discussed in Andalusi legal sources as Christian celebrations from which Muslims were instructed to abstain—for instance, by refraining from taking part in particular traditions.[889] In these legal texts, the feasts are referred to as *ʿanṣara* and *milād* (the Nativity of Jesus). Given the detailed nature of the legal prohibitions, it is reasonable to conclude that Muslim participation in these feasts was already a reality on the Peninsula at the time. The absence of the term *ʿajam* in CCT entries for precisely these two feasts may be coincidental, but it may also support the hypothesis that these celebrations were attended by a mixed audience and not exclusively by the *ʿajam*. This interpretation aligns with the broader argument that the *Cordoban Calendar* reflects a Muslim perspective on *ʿajamī* practice. From the viewpoint of a Muslim author, feasts like *ʿanṣara* and *milād*, since they were dedicated to venerable prophets in Islam—unlike celebrations devoted to Christian saints—might have been seen as events in which Muslims did, or could, participate, thereby meriting a different treatment in the text.[890]

There is one further use of the term *ʿajam* which complicates our understanding of how it was used, at least in certain branches of CCT. Certain events concerning prophets and scriptures are presented as feasts of the *ʿajam* (table 13 in Chapter 2), particularly in branches B and C. One illustrative example is the entry for 15 January: "The *ʿajam* celebrate a feast because Jesus revived Shem, the son of Noah, when the Children of Israel asked him to do so."[891] Interestingly, in nearly all instances where events concerning prophets and scriptures are described as feasts of the *ʿajam* in branch B and C, the content corresponds to narratives known from the Islamic tradition, except for the story of Shem's revival. Other events align closely with qurʾanic accounts, including Zechariah becoming Mary's guardian (Q 3:32–44), the transformation of children into monkeys (Q 2:61–62; 5:65; 7:166), the descent of the table to Jesus (Q 5:112–114), and the tale of the People of the Cave (Q 18). Whether or not these entries belonged to the original text remains uncertain, but their classification as *ʿajamī* feasts in branches B and C raises important questions. One possible explanation is that these classifications as feasts of the *ʿajam* resulted from unintentional errors by inattentive or uninformed copyists. Alternatively, the attribution may have been deliberate—intended to establish a link between Christian communities and events

888 This double indication in the wording of the entry was noted by Martijn de Koning during a workshop at Radboud University on 14 April 2025, to whom I am grateful for this suggestion.

889 Fernando de la Granja, 'Fiestas Cristianas en al-Andalus (Materiales para su Estudio). I: "Al-Durr al-Munaẓẓam" de al-ʿAzafī', *Al-Andalus: Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada* 34 (1969): 1–53; De la Granja, 'Fiestas Cristianas en al-Andalus II'.

890 The two other entries on John, son of Zechariah (*Inventio* on 26 October in C1 and C2 and an undefined feast for John, son of Zechariah on 19 December in B1, C1 and C2) are not accompanied by the word "*ʿajam*" either. On the engagement of the religious scholars with the feasts for Jesus and John the Baptist and their status in Islam, see De la Granja, 'Fiestas Cristianas en al-Andalus I', 5.

891 KH10354, Balad.2918, T4624, KA.

rooted in the Qurʾan, perhaps as a means of blending traditions, appealing to a broader audience, or even creating ambiguity. While different scenarios are plausible, the generally ambiguous religious tone of the *Cordoban Calendar* lends credibility to the hypothesis of blending traditions. Because these entries are limited to these branches and cannot with certainty be attributed to the author, however, they can only serve as additional evidence in this analysis.

3. Perspective on figures and stories from the scriptures

The way figures and stories from the scriptures appear in different types of liturgical entries in CCT provides considerable insight into the perspective of the author. The entries in question are tied to figures—primarily prophets—and stories from the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, and the Qurʾan (see *Entries concerning prophets and scriptures* in Chapter 2). An example is: "On this day, David built Jerusalem, peace be upon him, and Joseph was taken from the well by the Children of Israel."[892] I will demonstrate—using four arguments—that these figures and stories, despite their belonging to a shared tradition among the three Abrahamic religions, are presented in CCT from an Islamic perspective. This perspective is not always straightforward. For instance, the example of Joseph found by the Children of Israel (in the epilogue of February) does not precisely match either the Hebrew Bible or the Qurʾan: in the Hebrew Bible, Joseph is found by a caravan of Midianites (Gen. 37:25–28), while in the Qurʾan, he is discovered by travelers (Q12:10 and 12:19). Although this passage cannot be attributed to one single tradition with certainty, there are many other entries in which the Islamic perspective is clearer. In cases of theological divergence, the text consistently privileges the Islamic version of the story.

First, the Islamic perspective is evident in the kind of framing used to present biblical events, which often serves to create a distance between the author and the community in question. A comparison with CEA, the Gospel lectionary that precedes the Gospels, is helpful here. While the biblical events are presented as historical truths in CEA, the authorial voice in CCT, in some cases, distances itself from the described practices. This is particularly clear in the case of "the finding of the cross" (*wujūd al-ṣalīb*) in CEA, versus "The ʿ*ajam* celebrate the feast of the Cross. On this day, the Christians claim [*yazʿamūna*] to have found the abandoned cross of Jesus in Jerusalem" in the Arabic versions of CCT.[893] This authorial distance may be explained by the fact that, in the Qurʾan, Jesus was not crucified; rather, God raised him up to heaven, and someone who resembled him was crucified in his place [Q 4:157–158]. T4624 even comments with disapproval: “and they prostrate to it [the Cross] instead of God,” but I consider this an addition exclusive to T4624, not relevant to our understanding of the attitude of the *Cordoban Calendar*’s author.[894] Another example appears on 15 August, when the "Christians celebrate the feast of which they say [*yaqulūna*] it is Mary’s Assumption" in CCT. In contrast, in CEA, this event is simply referred

892 This entry is found in the epilogue of February in Vat.ar.258, KA and Balad.2918.
893 CCA, CCL, P2521, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, D18945, KH10354: 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 May.
894 Fol. 25r: *wa yusajjidūna la-hu min dūni Allāh.*

to as "Assumption of Mary." In the Islamic tradition, there is no story of Mary's Assumption into heaven, either in body or in spirit. These differences suggest that the perspectives expressed in CEA and the *Cordoban Calendar* arise from distinct religious backgrounds, as there are different Christian and Islamic traditions surrounding Jesus and Mary. The linguistic and theological discrepancies in how feasts and figures are named and described in these sources offer insights into the community that produced and used the source, indicating that the compiler of CCA, unlike the translator of CEA, was likely not Christian.

A second indication of a Muslim perspective in this category of evidence is the notable consistency in the use of honorifics for all prophets and other sacred figures, which is a common feature in Islamic literary traditions. These honorifics are also found in Christian Arabic texts, but to a lesser degree.[895] Islamic honorifics are suffix phrases attached to the names of honored or revered figures, such as God, Muhammad, Muhammad's close companions, prophets, and other revered men and women. These honorifics vary according to the status of the figure being mentioned. Some examples of Islamic honorifics, which appear in CCT, are: "the Mighty and the Exalted" (for God), "may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace" (for Muhammad) and "may God be pleased with him" (for companions of the Prophet). These honorifics occur with such frequency in Islamic texts that they are often abbreviated. Based on CCA, Christys argues that the frequency of these honorifics would have been striking to a Christian author, although it is known that Christians also employed such honorifics.[896] Their occurrence is even more frequent and consistent in branches B1, C1, and C2, particularly in entries concerning prophets and scriptures, as well as in combination with the *ʿajam*. The pervasive use of honorifics strongly suggests a Muslim perspective. However, since it remains uncertain to what extent these types of entries belonged to the original text, it is unclear whether the high frequency of honorifics in these branches reflects the work of the original author or later copyists. Nevertheless, even the lower frequency in branches A1 and B2 is sufficient to support the hypothesis of a Muslim author.

A third consideration is provided by the way traditions that were shared are treated. Although many of the figures and stories mentioned exist in some form or another in all three Abrahamic traditions, the qurʾanic versions of stories prevail in CCT. For instance, a group of individuals sometimes associated with the seven sleepers of Ephesus is described in CCT on 17 May in qurʾanic terms, namely: "this is the feast of the People of the Cave" (*aṣḥāb al-kahf*, Q18:9).[897] A gloss in the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* makes the connection, by explaining that the People of the Cave are the seven sleepers of Ephesus, the legendary saints who hid in a cave to escape Roman persecution only to emerge years later. According to Van Koningsveld, the Christian translator of this text may have added this explanation with an Islamic audience in mind.[898] However, the

895 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 122.
896 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 122.
897 Some versions read "pilgrimage" (*hajj*) instead of feast.
898 Van Koningsveld, 'Christian Arabic Literature', 217.

qurʾanic People of the Cave have their own tradition in Islam in which they are not specified by number, nor is there mention of Ephesus, and there is even a surah named after them (surah 18—*al-kahf*). CCT corresponds to this Islamic tradition, since no mention is made of the number nor of Ephesus. A comparison with parallel sources is instructive: the chapter about Melkites in al-Bīrūnī's *Āthār al-bāqiya* mentions the "commemoration of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus" (5 *Tishrīn al-awwal*, which equals 5 October).[899] Al-Bīrūnī, moreover, dedicates an extensive paragraph to the differences in the Christian and in the Islamic tradition.[900] However, Ibn Bahlūl, in his chapter on the Syriac calendar, reports about a "commemoration of the People of the Cave" (*dhikrān ahl al-kahf*, 4 *Tishrīn al-awwal*, which equals 4 October). Although this entry appears in the chapter on the Syriac calendar—suggesting an Eastern Christian practice—it in fact evokes the Islamic tradition.[901] This complicates the argument advanced above that an entry concerning the *aṣḥāb* or *ahl al-kahf* necessarily reflects an Islamic perspective and we cannot draw firm conclusions without further comparative research on Eastern Christian practices and sources.

While the religious association of the People of the Cave might therefore seem unclear, there are many other, similar formulations in CCT that privilege the qurʾanic version of an event or figure. The qurʾanic character is evident in the entry about manna and quails in all versions of C1 and C2: "they say that on this day was the descent of manna and quails" (4 November). In the Qurʾan, God fed the Children of Israel with manna (a bread-like substance) and quails to provide them with their basic needs, while wandering in the desert after their escape from the Pharaoh. Manna is always mentioned in conjunction with quails (*salwā*) in the Qurʾan (Q 2:57; 7:160; 20:80, always: "manna and quails"). In contrast, manna and quails are mentioned separately in the Bible (manna in Exod. 16:31–35 and Num. 11:1–9, and quails in Num. 11:31–32, Exodus 16:13, and Psalms 78:27). This contrast means that CCT entry conforms more to a qurʾanic description of this event than to the biblical description.

Another example is the entry on Joshua on 24 June ("On this day, the Sun was stopped in the time of Joshua, son of Nun, peace be upon him"), which figures in all CCT versions (see *Entries concerning prophets and scriptures* in Chapter 2).[902] While this event is recorded in the Bible (Joshua 10:13), the Qurʾan does mention a prophet, but not explicitly Joshua. However, in Islamic tradition, such as hadith, the prophet in this story is identified with Joshua.[903] Hence, in both biblical and Islamic tradition, God causes the Sun to stand still for Joshua, in order for him to complete a battle and to achieve victory. An entry about this event also appears in Ibn Bahlūl's

899 Al-Bīrūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 285.
900 Al-Bīrūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 285–86.
901 Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl, *Kitab al Daláėl*, 94.
902 Except Lat.qu.198.
903 For instance, in Ibn Kathīr, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥay al-Farmāwī (Dār al-Ṭibāʿa wa al-Nashr al-Islāmiyya, 1997), 540. There, a hadith reports: "The sun has never been withheld from setting for any human being except for Joshua on the evening he set out toward Jerusalem." (*inna al-shams lam tuḥbas li-bashar illā li-Yūshaʿ layālī sāra ilā Bayt al-Maqdis*).

chapter on the Syriac year on 27 August (see *Entries concerning prophets and scriptures* in Chapter 2), and it may have thus been a commemoration in Eastern Christian traditions. The way it is presented in CCT closely aligns with Islamic narrative conventions, however, notably through the use of honorifics and patronyms. The presence of this event in a source concerned with Eastern Christian practice (Ibn Bahlūl's *Kitāb al-dalā'il*) may indicate that the author of the *Cordoban Calendar* was inspired by the inclusion or commemoration of such events within the Eastern Christian tradition. Yet, in integrating them into the *Cordoban Calendar*, he reframed them from a Muslim perspective and possibly supplemented them with additional events known from the Islamic tradition. The *Cordoban Calendar*'s author thus consistently refers to the qurʾanic version of scriptural events even when these events are present in multiple religious traditions.

Another point of interest along these lines is the entry about Isaac, a figure shared across traditions but viewed differently in each. The entry for 8 October reads "It is the sacrifice of Isaac," referring to the day on which Abraham was demanded by God to sacrifice his son as an ultimate test of his faith. The identification of Isaac as the son Abraham was ordered to sacrifice is significant, particularly given the controversy that existed within different Islamic traditions. Since the Qurʾan does not specify which son of Abraham was to be sacrificed (Q 37:102–107), various opinions existed within the Islamic tradition for centuries, and the identity of Abraham's son remained open in Islamic universal histories, *Stories of the Prophets*, and *tafsīr* (qurʾanic exegesis).[904] Initially, some Muslim scholars believed the son to be Isaac, including Ibn Qutayba and al-Ṭabarī.[905] Al-Bīrūnī, on the other hand, supported the view that it was Ishmael.[906] This controversy evolved over time and, eventually, in the fourteenth century the undisputed Islamic position became that the son in question was Ishmael, as represented in *tafsīr* by al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1319), Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328) and Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373).[907] It should be noted that the works in which Ibn Qutayba and al-Ṭabarī defend their views on the sacrifice of Abraham's son Isaac (the *Maʿārif* of Ibn Qutayba and the *Tafsīr* of al-Ṭabarī) were well-known in al-Andalus.[908] We cannot therefore say for certain that the entry in the *Cordoban Calendar* was written by a non-Muslim author, because it mentions Isaac. The example of the sacrifice of Abraham's son in CCT demonstrates that passages with seemingly Christian content or perspective did not necessarily conflict with the Muslim doctrine of the time. Some CCT versions (e.g., Balad.2918, T4624, Sbihi 163/9) seem to have taken the discrepancy of existing opinions into account by adding phrases like "according to some" and/or "God agrees with what is correct" to this entry.[909] These additions

904 Rudi Paret, 'Ismāʿīl', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, IV, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill, 1960–2005), 184–85.

905 W. Montgomery Watt, 'Isḥāḳ', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, IV, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill, 1960–2005), 109–10.

906 Al-Bīrūnī, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, 268.

907 Montgomery Watt, under 'Isḥāḳ', 109–10; Roberto Tottoli, 'Isaac', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam Three*, ed. K. Fleet et al. (Brill, 2017), https://doi.org/https://doi-org.ru.idm.oclc.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_32535.

908 Ibn Qutayba's *Maʿārif* was transmitted in al-Andalus by Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ǧamīl Abū Isḥāq al-Tudmīrī al-Andalusī (d. 912). Likewise, al-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr* circulated there from as early as the tenth century, according to the HATA (Historia de los Autores y Transmisores de al-Andalus) database, last visited on 15 May 2026: and

909 *ʿalā qawl baʿḍihim* (Balad.2918), *ʿalā qawl baʿḍihim […] wa-Allāh al-muwaffiq li-l-ṣawāb* (T4624 and Sbihi 163/9).

suggest that the copyists sought to express their reservations about the content or to maintain neutrality, which would make sense since, by the time of copying several centuries after the compilation of the *Cordoban Calendar*, the issue was likely resolved in Ishmael's favor.

A fourth reason to argue that the *Cordoban Calendar* was originally written by a Muslim concerns figures or narratives in entries that are found exclusively in the Qurʾan and Islamic tradition. It should be noted that these entries differ from the IHE, which refer to historical and political events during or shortly after Muhammad's lifetime. Examples of this former type of entry are the descent of the table to Jesus on 26 March (Q 5:112–114); the day on which Jesus spoke in the cradle on 10 April, one of the six miracles attributed to Jesus in the Qurʾan (Q 5:110, 19:33); Zechariah becoming Mary's guardian on 6 March (Q 3:32–44); and the children who were turned into monkeys as a punishment on 12 March (Q 2:65, 5:60, 7:166).[910] Another example is the entry on the Abyssinians who were destined to destroy the Kaaba on 12 February, with the addition that "the Arabs call this the Year of the Elephant, in which the Prophet was born, may blessings of God be upon him as well as peace" (Q 105:1–5).[911] Similarly, the Islamic tradition is evident in entries about prophets who figure in the Qurʾan but not in the Bible, such as Hūd on 25 February (Q 7:72, 11:58) and the death of Shuʿayb on 7 May (Q 7, 11, 26, and 29).

One of the key observations that results from this analysis is that the way entries about scriptural stories and figures are formulated in CCT reveals traces of a Muslim author. The use of distancing language, such as "they claim X" or "they celebrate X," with reference to uniquely Christian events suggests a Muslim perspective. So too does the use of honorifics, even if these were sometimes used by Christians in their own writings. The choice to present the qurʾanic version of a story that is shared across traditions is also a strong indicator that the starting point was the Islamic tradition. Likewise, there is the inclusion of stories that are strictly qurʾanic about figures who are otherwise shared across traditions. The presentation of this perspective is achieved subtly, with little polemical content, yet the Islamic version of events takes precedence in the text. Thus, regardless of whether all the material concerning stories and prophets from the scriptures stems directly from the author, there is sufficient material that is essential to the established core components that still points to an underlying Islamic worldview.

4. Names in the Christian and Islamic tradition

In addition to the framing of scriptural events, the very naming of scriptural figures in CCT is useful for understanding the perspective of the author. The names used for Jerusalem, Jesus, Mary, and John the Baptist show that CCT differs from what is found in Andalusi Christian Arabic sources, which is a reason to question the classification of the *Cordoban Calendar* as *Christian*

910 The latter narrative concerns the "Children" (in this case Israelites) being punished for violating God's law. In the Qurʾan, however, this episode is associated not with Jesus but with Moses. This apparent confusion in CCT may be explained by the close similarity of the Arabic orthography of the names ʿĪsā (Jesus- عيسى) and Mūsā (Moses- موسى).

911 Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 85 and 172.

Arabic literature. Due to the special status of these places and figures in the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, and the Qurʾan, they are ideal candidates for a philological comparison with Andalusi Christian Arabic sources in which these figures also appear. Table 43 below presents how these places and figures are referred to in the Arabic rhymed psalter translation (by Ḥafṣ ibn Albar), the Arabic Gospels, the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, the Arabic CCAEA, and CCT. The key difference between these sources is that the first four are Arabic translations of Latin originals, whereas, as has been established, the *Cordoban Calendar* was originally written in Arabic.[912]

Table 43. Names as they occur in the Ḥafṣ Psalter, the Arabic Gospels, the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, CCAEA and CCT. The instances where the names in CCT differ from those in all other sources, or in the case of Jerusalem, from all other sources but one, are underlined.

Name	Ḥafṣ Psalter	Gospels Isḥāq ibn Balashq	*Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*	CCAEA	CCT
Jerusalem	*Yarushālim, Ūrishalim, Ūrishalam, Ūrashalam/ Ūrashalim*[913]	*Yarushālim*[914]	*Yarūshālim, bayt al-maqdis*	*Yarshuyalimah*,[915] *Yarshūlimah*[916]	*Bayt al-maqdis*
Jesus	*Ibn Allāh* (son of God)[917] *al-Masīḥ ibn Maryam* (Christ, son of Mary)[918] *al-Masīḥ* (Christ) *al-Masīḥ al-sayyid* (Christ, the Lord)	*Yasūʿ* (Jesus), *al-Masīḥ* (Christ) *Yasūʿ al-Masīḥ* (Jesus Christ) *al-Masīḥ al-sayyid* (Christ, the Lord) *al-sayyid* (the Lord) *al-Masīḥ al-musallim* (Christ, the Saviour)	*al-Masīḥ* (Christ) *al-Masīḥ al-sayyid* (Christ, the Lord)	*Rabbunā Yasūʿ* al-*Masīḥ* (our Lord Jesus Christ)[919] *Sayyidunā al-Masīḥ* (our Lord, Christ)[920] *Yasūʿ* (Jesus) *Yasūʿ al-Masīḥ* (Jesus Christ) *al-rabb al-muqaddis* (the Holy Lord) *al-rabb Yasūʿ* (the Lord Jesus) *al-Masīḥ sayyid* (Christ, the Lord)	*ʿĪsā* (Jesus) *al-Masīḥ* (Christ) *ʿĪsā ibn Maryam* (Jesus, son of Mary)

912 Simonet, *Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe*, 15–16.
913 Van Koningsveld, *The Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ Ibn Albar al-Qūṭī*, 21–22; Urvoy, *Le Psautier Mozarabe*, 82 and 198.
914 MS München Cod.Arab.238: fol. 48v. and 49r.
915 Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, *Los Cánones Árabes de la Iglesia Andalusí. al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas X Ms. Árabe 1623 de la Biblioteca Real de El Escorial* (Editorial Sindéresis, 2020), 91.
916 Monferrer-Sala, *Los Cánones Árabes de la Iglesia Andalusí*, 92.
917 Psalm 109 and 8.
918 Psalm 109 (Milan manuscript).
919 Monferrer-Sala, *Los Cánones Árabes de la Iglesia Andalusí*, 91.
920 Monferrer-Sala, *Los Cánones Árabes de la Iglesia Andalusí*, 92.

Mary	*Maryam*	*Mariya* *Mariya al-batūl* (Mary the Heroine) *Umm sayyid* (Mother of the Lord)	/	*Maryam al-ʿadhrāʾ* (Virgin Mary) *Maryam al-muqaddasa* (Holy Mary)[921] *Maryam al-sayyida* (Lady Mary) *al-batūl* (the Heroine)	*Maryam umm ʿĪsā* (Mary, mother of Jesus) *Maryam bint Amram* (Mary, daughter of Amram)
John the Baptist / John, son of Zechariah	/	*Yaḥyā al-muʿammad* (John, the Baptist),[922] *Yaḥyā* (John)	/	*Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā* (John, son of Zechariah),[923] *al-maʿmadān* (the Baptist)	*Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā al-nabī* (John, son of Zechariah, the Prophet)

What emerges from table 43 is that the names of Jerusalem, Jesus, Mary, and John the Baptist appear in various forms across the different sources. There is notably more consistency between the first four sources than between these four sources and CCT. In the last column of table 43, the instances where the names in CCT differ from those in all other sources, or in the case of Jerusalem, from all other sources but one, are underlined. Generally, the names in CCT follow their qurʾanic equivalents, often tied to specific Islamic doctrinal ideas.

Jerusalem

Jerusalem holds a sacred place in the Islamic tradition, just as it does in Judaism and Christianity. The ancient Temple of Jerusalem was initially chosen as the qibla (direction of prayer) for Muhammad and his community while they were still in Mecca, before it was replaced by Mecca itself as the focal point for prayer. By assigning Jerusalem such a central role in the Muslim rite, Muhammad and his community affirmed their connection to the biblical tradition, in which Jerusalem was not only the center of the world but also the ideal place for prayer.[924] According to Islamic tradition—briefly alluded to in the Qurʾan and expanded upon in hadith literature—Muhammad made a night journey in 621 CE to Jerusalem, from where he then temporarily ascended to heaven on the back of a supernatural creature, Burāq. Even if Mecca replaced Jerusalem as the qibla during the Medinan period, Jerusalem was still regarded as *thānī al-masjidayn* (the second of the places of worship).[925] In the Qurʾan, Jerusalem is commonly referred to as *al-masjid al-aqṣā* (the farthest place of worship), and it was only in early Islamic sources that Jerusalem became known as *bayt al-maqdis* (the sacred house). It is with the term *bayt al-maqdis* that Jerusalem is referred to in CCT. In contrast, in none of the Christian Arabic sources,

921 Monferrer-Sala, *Los Cánones Árabes de la Iglesia Andalusí*, 91.
922 Roisse, 'Célébrait-on les Offices Liturgiques', 241, 242, 247 and 248.
923 Monferrer-Sala, *Los Cánones Árabes de la Iglesia Andalusí*, 104.
924 Angelika Neuwirth, *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike: Ein europäischer Zugang* (Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2010), 468.
925 Neuwirth, *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike*, 548.

except for the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, is Jerusalem called *bayt al-maqdis*. Instead, it appears in various Latinized forms of the Hebrew word *Yerushalayim*, such as *Yarushālim, Ūrishalim, Ūrishalam, Ūrashalam/im, Yarshuyalimah*, and *Yarshūlimah*. It is remarkable that the two Latin translations of the *Cordoban Calendar* dealt with *bayt al-maqdis* in different ways. In *CCL*, for example, it is explained as "*in domo almegdis id est Ierusalem*" ("in house *al-maqdis*, that is Jerusalem").[926] In Vic167, it is simply translated as *Iherusalem*. The universal use of *bayt al-maqdis* in CCT indicates that the Islamic perspective predominates.

Jesus

Jesus is considered an important prophet in Islam, yet he remains a secondary figure when first introduced in the Qurʾan. His story is closely tied to that of his mother, Mary, in a surah named after her (surah 19, *Maryam*), and his narrative remains largely intertwined with hers in other qurʾanic passages as well.[927] The qurʾanic Jesus is referred to by the matronym *ʿĪsā ibn Maryam* (Jesus, son of Mary), a title common in Islamic writings. Angelika Neuwirth interprets this formulation as "a clearly polemically motivated 'overwriting' of his Christian title 'Son of God', which signals his exclusively worldly role in the Qurʾan."[928] Sometimes, Jesus is simply called *Mary's son* (Q 43:57). The Qurʾan contains several passages condemning the belief that God could have a child, including Q 19:34–40, Q 19:88–91, Q 9:30, and Q 43:81. In the Qurʾan, Jesus is destined to be a prophet, and even as an infant, he speaks to the people: "He (Jesus) declared, 'I am truly a servant of God. He has destined me to be given the Scripture and to be a prophet. He has made me a blessing wherever I go, and bid me to establish prayer and give alms-tax as long as I live, and to be kind to my mother. He has not made me arrogant or defiant. Peace be upon me the day I was born, the day I die, and the day I will be raised back to life!'" (Q19:30–33). According to Neuwirth, with these passages in the Qurʾan—in which Jesus declares to be but a humble man who will be resurrected at some point in the future, along with the rest of humanity—Jesus is taken out of the mythical discourse.[929] Given the polemical nature of the title *Jesus, son of Mary*, by which Jesus was introduced to Muhammad's community, it is noteworthy that Jesus is mostly referred to in CCT by his qurʾanic name *ʿĪsā* and *ʿĪsā ibn Maryam* (Jesus, son of Mary), with occasional references to *al-Masīḥ* (Christ), which also appears in the Qurʾan in relation to Jesus.

The same matronym *ibn Maryam* is mentioned only once in Andalusi Christian Arabic texts, namely in the Ḥafṣ Psalter. It is absent from all the other sources in this comparison, which employ various names and titles for Jesus, such as the Latinized *Yasūʿ*, *al-Masīḥ* (Christ), or typical Christian attributions like *al-Sayyid* (the Lord) or *Sayyidunā* (our Lord), and combinations thereof. Interestingly, the Ḥafṣ Psalter refers to Jesus as *Ibn Allāh* (Son of God) in one instance, but uses

926 Vic167 reads "Iherusalem." Martínez Gázquez and Samsó, *Una Nueva Traducción Latina*, 41.
927 Neuwirth, *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike*, 472.
928 Neuwirth, *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike*, 472,73.
929 Neuwirth, *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike*, 490.

al-Masīḥ ibn Maryam (Christ, the son of Mary) in another.[930] This variation is significant in light of the Qurʾan's clear condemnation of those who claim that God has a child: "The Jews said, 'Ezra is the son of God (*Ibn Allāh*),' and the Christians said, 'Christ is the son of God (*Ibn Allāh*)': they said this with their own mouths, repeating what earlier disbelievers had said. May God confound them! How far astray they have been led!" (Q 9:30). These differing ways of referring to Jesus underscore the theological debates surrounding his nature. The variations in the names and titles used in the sources support the thesis that Christian Arabic translations were predominantly shaped by Christian theological perspectives, while CCT reflects an Islamic worldview.

Mary

Mary occupies a prominent position in both the Qurʾan and the broader Islamic tradition, underscored by the fact that a surah (surah 19, *Maryam*) bears her name. The qurʾanic narrative about Mary focuses on the annunciation of her motherhood, the birth of Jesus, and her own birth and dedication to the Temple by her mother. In the Islamic tradition, Mary's father, Amram, passed away before her birth, and she was raised by her maternal uncle, Zechariah, who is also the father of John (John the Baptist in the Christian tradition). Mary being called *the daughter of Amram* in CCT is a notable biographical detail that deviates from the biblical account, where Amram is actually the father of a different Miriam, namely the sister of Moses. In all the qurʾanic stories about Mary, the emphasis is placed on her dignity as the mother of a prophet, with ritual and sexual purity being central themes.[931] Even though, as in the biblical tradition, Mary conceived without a male partner, the Qurʾan underscores the human nature of Jesus, affirming that he is not the son of God. The relation between parent and child is a recurrent motive, as to emphasize once again that Jesus was born from a human and is not the son of God. The repeated references to Mary as *Maryam umm Isa* (Mary, mother of Jesus) and *Maryam bint Amram* (Mary, the daughter of Amram) in CCT thus aligns closely with her depiction in the Qurʾan.

In contrast, in the Christian Arabic translations, Mary is referred to by a number of different epithets, none of which are found in the Qur'an. While in the Gospels, she is once called *Umm Sayyid* (mother of the Lord), she is never called *Mary, mother of Jesus*. Instead, she is referred to with titles such as *al-ʿadhrāʾ* (the Virgin), *al-batūl* (the Heroine), *al-muqaddasa* (the Holy), and *al-sayyida* (the Lady). None of the names used in the Christian Arabic translations overlap with those in CCT, except for the common reference to her by her Arabic/qurʾanic name *Maryam*, which has no further significance, since Maryam was simply the Arabic form of the name of Mary. In the Gospels of Isḥāq ibn Balashq, however, she is referred to as Mariya, which may reflect a deliberate attempt to diverge from Islamic naming conventions.

930 In the Vatican and British Library manuscripts we encounter in both instances *ibn Allah* (son of God).
931 Neuwirth, *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike,* 473.

John (the Prophet / the Baptist)

Unlike in the Gospel tradition, John's story in the Qurʾan is not directly connected to that of Jesus. However, their narratives in the Qurʾan exhibit several striking parallels: both are born under miraculous circumstances, both their parents—Mary and Zechariah—experience a temporary period of silence, and both are divinely chosen to become prophets, granted access to scripture, and described as gentle and respectful toward their parents.[932] John is introduced in the Qurʾan (19:1–15), but unlike in the Gospels, the Qurʾan does not associate him with the act of baptism—in fact, baptism is absent from the Qurʾan altogether. While the Ḥafṣ Psalter and the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* contain no reference to John, the other Andalusi Christian Arabic translations refer to him as *John the Baptist* or simply *the Baptist* or *John*, although in CCAEA, he is also referred to as *John, son of Zechariah*. In contrast, CCT never refers to John by the epithet *the Baptist*. Instead, he appears exclusively under his qurʾanic name, John, son of Zechariah (*Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā*), and occasionally as John, son of Zechariah, the Prophet (*Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā al-nabī*). This terminology emphasizes his status as a prophet rather than his role as a baptizer, in keeping with his characterization in the Qurʾan.

Other names and terms

A series of other biblical and qurʾanic figures in CCT equally reflect Islamic naming traditions. In CCT, prophets and other biblical and qurʾanic figures are generally rendered with their patronyms. For instance, Joshua, son of Nun; Mariam, daughter of Amram; Moses, son of Amram; Shem, son of Noah; Solomon, son of David; and John, son of Zechariah. References to such figures using patronyms can occasionally be found in Christian Arabic sources as well—for instance, John the Baptist is—besides references to him as *the Baptist*—referred to as *John, son of Zechariah* in CCAEA. Although it concerns a typical Arabic onomastic system, the construction of proper names according to this system appear in Andalusi Christian Arabic sources as well.[933]

Another observation in CCT, particularly in comparison with Christian Arabic translations, stems from the specific choices for ecclesiastical terminology. Whereas the Christian Arabic texts often preserve Arabicized forms of Latin ecclesiastical terms (e.g., *šantūrum* for the plural of *saint*, *diyāqan* and *arḥdiyāqan* for *deacon* and *archdeacon*), the Arabic versions of CCT tend to employ native Arabic equivalents (e.g., *shammās* for *deacon*) and omit honorifics such as *saint* altogether.[934] As a result, Christian modes of referring to ecclesiastical offices or to the status of revered figures as saints are absent from CCT, aligning the text more closely with Islamic conceptions.[935]

932 Neuwirth, *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike*, 478–79.
933 Penelas, 'Linguistic Islamization', 106.
934 I am grateful to Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala for kindly sharing the terms used in CCAEA and providing some insights into the use of language in that source.
935 See for more on ecclesiastical titles in tenth book of CCAEA. Monferrer-Sala, 'Notes on the Lexicon', 186.

Surveying the naming practices in CCT and other texts has revealed considerable differences that have important implications. The divergence in naming conventions between the Christian Arabic translations and CCT is not merely a matter of linguistic variation or coincidence. Rather, it reflects deeper theological distinctions—particularly with regard to Christology and Mariology—and further reinforces the Islamic orientation of the author of the *Cordoban Calendar*. Although there is some overlap between names in Christian Arabic sources and CCT, such as *bayt al-maqdis* in the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh* or *Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā* in CCAEA, the majority of the data provides a clear distinction between how Christian Arabic sources and CCT render certain names. The absence of a singular "Christian" or "Islamic" approach to this phenomenon reflects the adaptation of terms from the Islamic tradition in Christian Arabic sources and the use of religiously ambiguous language, which stems from the contact and exchange between scholars and authors of both religions. The few instances where Christian and Islamic traditions are difficult to distinguish derive from shared customs and overlapping terminology surrounding figures central to both traditions. However, there is also a notable overall divergence. This divergence in naming conventions mirrors broader differences in terminology and theological emphasis that appear throughout the entries—not only in the names themselves. Taken together, the names found in CCT serve to embed the text—and its author—in an Islamic tradition.

Concluding remarks

This chapter set out to question the frequent assumption that the *Cordoban Calendar* was authored by a Christian. This assumption is based on the presence of Christian feasts in the text and, as discussed in the introduction, on the attribution of the *Liber Anoe* to a bishop—Harib ibn Zeid—in CCL, as well as on al-Maqqarī's mention of Bishop Ibn Zayd as the author of a *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān*. Rather than relying on these potentially ambiguous historical references, this chapter has focused on philological evidence found in the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*, which points not to a Christian, but rather to a Muslim author. This conclusion is based on a substantial body of textual evidence. The evidence was examined in four parts, each highlighting a different aspect of the text that reflects Islamic interests, beliefs, or perspectives.

Whereas the inclusion of data related to *mīqāt*—the Islamic science of calculating prayer times—serves as a relatively straightforward indication of Islamic interest, the use of the term *ʿajam* requires a more nuanced analysis of its range of meanings in Andalusi sources. This examination reveals that in the *Cordoban Calendar*, *ʿajam* is used to describe the beliefs and practices of Iberian Christians. Notably, *ʿajam* is frequently substituted with the impersonal pronoun "they" when used in relative clauses, thereby producing a narrative effect that signals an outsider's perspective on an observed community. Crucially, this perspective remains consistent throughout the text and never shifts to an insider point of view. This consistency, together with the observation that the term *ʿajam* appears more frequently in sources authored by Muslims, strengthens the argument for a Muslim author. In fact, the absence of the *ʿajam* in the entries

for the feasts of the Nativity of John the Baptist and the Nativity of Jesus provides supporting evidence for this outsider perspective. For these two feasts, we have indications that they were celebrated not only by Christians but also by Muslims. These two feasts in particular may not have been regarded—by the author or by other Muslims—as belonging to the religious "other," given the importance of Jesus and John as prophets in Islam.

A close reading of specific sentences and word choices allows a clear perspective on figures and narratives from the scriptures that emerge in CCT. This detailed analysis revealed a pattern in which the author subtly expressed his views on certain biblical and qurʾanic events. In instances where scriptural narratives conflicted with Islamic beliefs, the author often conveyed a sense of distance or implicit critique. When events were presented in both the Bible and the Qurʾan, the version from the Qurʾan was consistently preferred. Additionally, the text includes entries concerning figures exclusive to the Qurʾan, such as the prophets Hūd and Shuʿayb. The frequent use of honorifics for prophets and other scriptural figures further contributes to the text's Islamic character—although it must be noted that Christians also occasionally employed such honorifics. While it remains uncertain whether all of this material containing honorifics was part of the *Cordoban Calendar*'s original core, similar patterns can be observed in passages that can more confidently be attributed to the original text. In the analysis of the names used for figures from the Christian and Islamic traditions, a clear distinction emerges between the conventions in CCT and those found in Andalusi Christian Arabic sources. The Andalusi Christian Arabic sources tend to use Arabicized forms of Latin or biblical names, whereas CCT consistently employs qurʾanic names and terminology.

Before dismissing the theory of a Christian author altogether, however, it was necessary to consider the broader societal development that serves as a historical context for this analysis: the Arabization of the population in al-Andalus. This process affected both spoken and written language across all communities, regardless of ethnicity or religion. From the ninth century onwards, Christians began to write in Arabic, and by the tenth century—at least according to extant sources—we have almost no evidence of Latin writing.[936] Alongside these linguistic developments, a broader cultural adaptation to Islam can be observed, manifesting in areas such as dress, diet, and hygiene, as well as in literary practices, which did not necessarily imply conversion to Islam. This process of Arabization can be studied through Andalusi Christian Arabic texts—such as the Arabic translations of the Psalter, the Gospels, the CCAEA, and the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*. These works serve as valuable sources for understanding the beliefs and perspectives of both the translators and the broader Christian community in al-Andalus between the ninth and eleventh centuries. Accordingly, they have received considerable scholarly attention. In this context, the *Cordoban Calendar* has often been considered among their number.

936 However, some bilingual tombstones are attested. López Martínez de Marigorta, 'La Colaboración entre las Instituciones', 13–14.

One striking characteristic of these Andalusi Christian Arabic texts are their "Islamic" features. Vocabulary drawn from qurʾanic discourse and use of the *basmala* as an opening phrase have raised questions regarding why Andalusi Christians began to adopt linguistic features—and potentially conceptual frameworks—common to the Islamic tradition. Scholars have debated whether this shift was conscious or unconscious, and whether it reflects an actual impact on Christian ideas or, for instance, a conscious strategy to restrain people from converting. While it is true that CCT contains several characteristic features also found in Andalusi Christian Arabic texts, these are not the only textual elements available for distinguishing between a "Christian" and an "Islamic" text. CCT also includes other features that shed light on the attitude and perspective of its author. An important example is the author's stance on Christology, expressed through a subtle undermining of the Christian belief of Jesus as son of God. Taken together with the references to Mary and John (the Prophet/the Baptist), these elements point to a doctrinal distinction between CCT and Christian Arabic literature. The analysis I have conducted thus serves to remove the *Cordoban Calendar* from the literary context of Christian Arabic literature from al-Andalus, even if it cannot be denied that certain features are shared among them.

There are broader consequences for attributing the *Cordoban Calendar* to a Muslim instead of a Christian author. It is conceivable that scholars have been reluctant to abandon the idea of a Christian author because the *Cordoban Calendar* provides a valuable glimpse into Christian culture in al-Andalus, an area for which surviving sources are limited. Moreover, the information about Christian practices may appear more authoritative when presumed to come from a Christian author—whereas the same content might be regarded with greater suspicion if it were attributed to a Muslim. A Muslim scholar, however, could be well informed and genuinely interested in Christian practices and beliefs, since educated Muslims would have been aware of the concept that all sacred texts were revealed by the same God, and that the Torah, Psalms, Gospels, and Qurʾan are regarded in Islam as the four holy books, forming a continuous chain of revelation throughout history. The author may have employed a strategy of incorporating material concerning other religious communities while, through seemingly minor details, privileging Islamic versions of certain narratives. In doing so, he created an inclusive historiographical framework to which the various religious communities could relate. This hypothesis will be explored further in the conclusion of this dissertation.

Although this chapter is not concerned with the question of a historical author, it is worthwhile mentioning here that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd would be a good candidate for several reasons. He was not only known as the author of a *Kitāb al-anwāʾ*,[937] he was also most probably familiar with the *Kitāb al-azmina* by Ibn Māsawayh, since he cites Ibn Māsawayh in his medical works.[938] As Castilla Brazales points out, an author in tenth-century Córdoba may have been familiar with the works of

937 See "D" under *Authorship* in the Introduction of this dissertation.
938 López y López, 'Vida y Obra', 336.

Ibn Ḥabīb, who emphasizes the chain of revelations and recounts the stories of the prophets.[939] Furthermore, ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd is known to have authored a compendium of the *Taʾrīkh* by al-Ṭabarī, which covers similar material to that present in CCT's entries regarding prophets and scriptures.[940] Most importantly, this chapter has demonstrated that even if the knowledge of Christian practices in the *Cordoban Calendar* was derived from textual sources provided to the author by Christian communities, the material was nonetheless adapted in a manner that produced a coherent work with a distinctly Islamic character.

While the identification of a historical author was not the aim of this chapter, its findings nevertheless contribute to a revised picture of the *Cordoban Calendar*. Long-standing interpretations of the text as the work of a Christian author, or its classification as a Christian Arabic text, are shown to rest on insufficient grounds. These findings, taken together with other reassessments in this examination concerning textual transmission, the corpus, and the original text, demand that we reconsider the author's purposes in compiling the *Cordoban Calendar*. It is to these issues that I shall now turn.

939 Castilla Brazales, *La Crónica de ʿArīb sobre al-Andalus*, 70-71; Juan Castilla Brazales, 'Ibn Saʿīd, ʿArīb', in *Biblioteca de Al-Andalus*, V, ed. Jorge Lirola Delgado and José Miguel Puerta Vílchez (Fundación Ibn Tufayl de Estudios Árabes, 2004), 123.

940 Castilla Brazales, *La Crónica de ʿArīb sobre al-Andalus*, 25–26.



Conclusion

This study has redefined what has thus far been referred to as the *Cordoban Calendar* and has reconsidered how it can be used to address questions of religious life and religious identity in medieval al-Andalus. To this end, I have revisited the corpus, the textual transmission, and the context of production of the *Cordoban Calendar*. I demonstrate that the text appears in a much broader corpus than the two well-known versions, CCA and CCL, suggesting that further manuscripts may yet be discovered in currently unexplored or uncatalogued collections.[941] As such, this study marks the beginning of a conceptual shift: the *Cordoban Calendar* should be understood as a textual tradition represented across a wide range of manuscripts, languages, regions, and centuries, of which the original form is unknown. When referring to the material available to as a whole, it is therefore more appropriate to speak of a *Cordoban Calendar Tradition*, comprising multiple text versions, none of which preserves the original text in its entirety. While some of these text versions had previously been linked to the *Cordoban Calendar*, most remained unexamined or even unknown to the wider scholarly public, including seven versions I discovered in the course of this research. The expansion of the corpus suggests the need for a new edition of the *Cordoban Calendar*, though such an undertaking lies beyond the scope of this project.

These shifts in our understanding of the *Cordoban Calendar* allow us to revisit the initial research questions with a richer corpus and an alternative set of analytical tools: What is the *Cordoban Calendar*? What type of liturgical material does its textual tradition contain? Which elements of this material may be regarded as core components of the text? Does the liturgical content correspond to actual religious practice in al-Andalus? What was the religious identity of the author? This conclusion summarizes the answers presented in the preceding chapters. Revisiting the *Cordoban Calendar* also paves the way for new explorations regarding the purpose of the *Cordoban Calendar* and discussing the findings within the broader debate concerning religious identity in al-Andalus.

Definition and dating of the *Cordoban Calendar*

Recognizing the wider manuscript base of the *Cordoban Calendar* significantly influences our understanding of what the *Cordoban Calendar* is. In the case of the *Cordoban Calendar*, viewing the material through the lens of *living literature*—which emphasizes scribal agency, the historical and cultural contexts of manuscript production, and the influence on the text by various actors—helped counteract biases that prioritize certain text versions as being closer to an original simply because they were discovered earlier, were edited or contain more text than other versions. Accordingly, CCA and CCL can no longer be treated as central authorities when analyzed alongside the broader corpus of text versions. Here, all text versions have been considered as part of the *Cordoban Calendar Tradition*, with some elements judged representative of the original text and others not.

941 Varisco, *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science*, 7. Daniel Varisco assumes that of unstudied Arabic almanacs "hundreds of manuscripts exists, perhaps well over a thousand."

The definition of the *Cordoban Calendar* that emerges from the corpus used in this dissertation is an Arabic almanac, of which we do not know the exact original text. The evidence suggests, and the newly discovered versions K155 & D2197 have contributed to this argument, that the text was known from the outset under two titles: the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* and the *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān.* Its structure consists of six building blocks that are characteristic of the text: An extensive introduction mentioning the title(s), two rubrics, and a paragraph on the Christian year. Each month contains a prologue and an epilogue and daily entries for each day. It further contains several passages that are connected to the Cordoban context. The combination of these building blocks distinguishes the *Cordoban Calendar* from other Arabic almanacs.

As opposed to what is generally found in the literature, the *Cordoban Calendar* was most probably not compiled in 961, but in 973, a hypothesize that was first brought up by Forcada. This study has produced new evidence that strengthens Forcada's hypothesis in two respects. First, the date 973 appears not only in KA, but also in the newly identified manuscripts D18945, T4624, Sbihi 163/9, and Vat.ar.258. Second, I have demonstrated that the Jewish feasts included in branches B and C correspond to the year 973 when converted from the Jewish calendar to the Julian calendar. The facts that there is no other year mentioned in any of the versions, that 973 aligns with the recorded dates of the Jewish feasts, and that it falls within the reign of al-Ḥakam II—to whom the text was probably dedicated—provides strong grounds for concluding that 973 was the year in which the *Cordoban Calendar* was composed.

Liturgical material and core components

Since the scientific content of the *Cordoban Calendar* has been discussed extensively by other scholars, my aim was to examine the liturgical material of CCT and to determine if it was part of the original text. This was not an easy endeavor, especially as this material exhibits significant variation across the corpus. A comparative analysis and categorization of the liturgical entries in CCT have provided a clearer view of which liturgical categories were widely shared across the corpus, allowing for a more precise identification of core components. This does not imply the establishment of an *Urtext*—not even for the liturgical portions—but it does allow for the identification of certain types of liturgical material as core components. Establishing the core components makes it possible to argue what types of liturgical content were incorporated into the original text, without being able to determine with certainty their exact wording or extent. The notion of "core components" likewise leaves room for the possibility that all surviving copies derive from an intermediary ancestor that differed substantially from the original text, for example through the incorporation of liturgical content not present in the original.

The identification of an expanded corpus has shifted our understanding of the liturgical material contained in the original text also in another way. In Chapter 2, I have suggested that Coptic and Jewish feasts, as well as entries concerning prophets and scriptures, most likely constituted core

components of the *Cordoban Calendar*. It is also quite probable that the *Cordoban Calendar* contained a number of Persian feasts. It is not straightforward to determine whether IHE should be regarded as core components. These elements appear only in a subset of the text versions (branch B1 and C) and are entirely absent in others, whereas the other liturgical categories are more widely attested across the corpus, whether in complete entries or in partial traces. Nevertheless, the inclusion of IHE would make good sense given the overlap with contemporaneous and later sources—such as the *Āthār al-bāqiya* by al-Bīrūnī and the anonymous *Long Calendar*—as well as with works known to have drawn on the *Cordoban Calendar*, including the *Risāla fī al-anwāʾ* by Ibn al-Bannāʾ and the *Tanbīh al-anām* by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jādirī. The extent to which the various liturgical categories are represented in the versions differs considerably, and it remains difficult to determine with precision which entries within each category belonged to the original text, since copyists may have expanded, reduced and modified them for a variety of reasons. Nevertheless, recognizing the diversity of the material likely included in the original text challenges the idea of the *Cordoban Calendar* as a "Christian calendar." Instead, it points to a composite liturgical text reflecting multiple religious traditions and suggests a deliberate effort on the part of the compiler to integrate this diverse material—an aspect that has important implications for understanding both the compiler's perspective and his religious identity.

One important outcome of the method applied here is the realization that the liturgical core of the *Cordoban Calendar* included a list of Iberian Christian feasts which was not added in a later phase, as many scholars argue or reiterate. This is opposed to the traditional view that the *Cordoban Calendar* derived from a *kitāb al-anwāʾ* into which a Christian calendar was inserted. This interpretation presupposes the existence of two distinct texts: an already existing Christian calendar and a secular *kitāb al-anwāʾ*. Although the compiler of the *Cordoban Calendar* may have made use of a text containing information on the Iberian Christian feasts, I do not support the hypothesis that there first existed a compilation without such feasts. I have shown that the Iberian Christian content is also attested in versions which *seem* to lack it—albeit only in textual traces. The widespread presence of these textual traces of Iberian Christian feasts across the corpus is what led me to reject the idea of a pre-existing *kitāb al-anwāʾ* to which a calendar was subsequently added to form a new text. Moreover, I have shown that the hypothesis that these two supposed treatises were known under different Arabic titles is not supported by the Arabic versions, since both titles occur in both textual traditions, both with and without the list of Iberian feasts.

This observation regarding the original inclusion of Iberian Christian feasts implies that the compiler of the text must have possessed, or at least had access to, knowledge of the practices of Andalusi Christians, which may have been derived from existing sources. It nevertheless remains uncertain from what type of source this knowledge originated, and it is not in itself convincing that this source was a liturgical calendar, as has commonly been argued. The entries in CCT do

not correspond to those typically found in a liturgical calendar, nor do they resemble the format usually encountered in a martyrology. However, there are strong parallels between CCT and the *Kitāb al-azmina* by Ibn Māsawayh, a work that may well have served as a model for the *Cordoban Calendar*. It may be that the compiler of the *Cordoban Calendar* was inspired by the manner in which Ibn Māsawayh discussed Christian feasts and chose to incorporate liturgical material in a similar way. The close resemblance of the liturgical entries—despite their being far fewer in the *Kitāb al-azmina*—suggests that the compiler of the *Cordoban Calendar* conceived of the work from the outset as a text incorporating liturgical elements. Whatever the source of the Iberian Christian feasts may have been, the compiler appears to have adapted it extensively, possibly in order to make it conform to a particular model and to fit the rationale underlying the composition. This reinterpretation supports the view that the *Cordoban Calendar* was the product of a single compiler who possessed a coherent vision for integrating diverse elements—both scientific and liturgical—within a unified text.

Text transmission and original text

This study was built upon Forcada's observation that CCA and KA are textually too closely to one another to represent two separately composed texts.[942] This premise led me to collect all text versions identified in the scholarship, as well as by me, as connected to CCA/CCL and KA. It soon became apparent that no clear dichotomy could be discerned between CCA/CCL (and the closely corresponding text versions) on the one hand, and KA (and its closely corresponding text versions) on the other. Instead, text versions such as Risala and P2521 proved to occupy an intermediate position, each sharing different elements with both CCA/CCL and KA. This led me to regard them all as versions belonging to a single textual tradition—the *Cordoban Calendar Tradition*—the original form of which remains unknown.

Close consideration of all text versions and comparison between them has allowed for significant new insights into the textual transmission of the *Cordoban Calendar*. The discovery of additional text versions not only demonstrates that neither CCA nor CCL represents the original text, it has further clarified that neither can KA be considered an accurate reflection of the tenth-century text, as has been suggested.[943] Beyond the copyist's explicit remark in KA that he relied on multiple exemplars, this examination has uncovered additional evidence that KA does not represent the text version closest to the original text. In particular, KA preserves traces of Iberian Christian feasts, a fact that argues against its proximity to the original, given that such feasts constitute core components of the work.[944] I demonstrated that KA, together with other manuscripts of branch C2, preserves some Iberian liturgical traces—most notably the typically Iberian Annunciation on

942 Forcada, 'The Kitāb Al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd'.

943 The claim that KA is closest to the original compilation, in part *because* it lacks the list of Christian feasts, cannot be maintained in light of the findings of this study. Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 249.

944 KA reads: *hakadhā fī nuskha ukhrā wa-qāla fī al-aṣl* ("This is how it appears in another version; the original text reads"). Alkuwaifi Khazʿal, 'El Kitāb al Anwā' [Arabic version]', 244.

18 December—which suggest that a more extensive list of Iberian feasts—may once have been part of the original text. The copyist of KA appears to have deliberately omitted saints' feasts while retaining what he considered universal Christian commemorations without noticing that the Annunciation on 18 December was only typical for Iberia. Precisely the attempt to erase the Iberian liturgical content, suggests that they were in the original text, and not added in a later stage. This finding suggests that another version than KA may better represent the original text, or, which is even more likely, that no one version does.

Without implying that any surviving version represents the original *Cordoban Calendar*, the findings of this thesis make it possible to reconstruct a set of core components on the basis of the analysis of the liturgical material and to identify the version that most closely corresponds to this reconstruction. The core components that were established are: Iberian Christian feasts (or feasts of the *ʿajam*), Coptic feasts, Jewish feasts, Persian feasts and entries concerning prophets and scriptures. These are found in B1 and C1. C2 contains these components as well, but to a very limited extent, which rules this branch out from being close to the original, for reasons argued above. Due to the large number of unidentified feasts in branch C1, and the unresolved question of their inclusion, it cannot presently be argued that this branch more faithfully reflects the original text. This leaves branch B1 (Risala, K155, and D2197) as the most plausible candidate for preserving a text closer to the original. Since Risala is found in a neater manuscript, and K155 and D2197 are duplicates, it is more likely that K155 and D2197 were copied from Risala, than the other way around. Although Navarro considered Risala a thirteenth-century synthesis of CCA/CCL and KA,[945] it is more convincing that CCA/CCL and KA derive from Risala. This hypothesis is not in line with Navarro, who argued that Risala incorporated the prayer times of al-Umawī and must therefore have been compiled after his death (1206).[946] Yet, even if this were the case, the prayer times may have been added to Risala in a later stage, while still preserving a version closer to the original text than the other surviving versions. The possibility that Risala approaches the original text best is also supported by the fact that it has a few passages in common with CCL (and C1), [947] suggesting that the exemplar for the Latin translation of which CCL is a copy, contained these passages as well. These passages are not found in CCA (traditionally considered close to the original), nor KA (considered close to the original by Forcada). Despite my arguments, this hypothesis cannot account for every uncertainty surrounding the transmission of the text, as too many pieces of evidence are missing. We cannot explain, for instance, why Risala does not preserve the author's name, a title, or the passage mentioning the year 973, whereas these are preserved in other versions.

945 Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 29; Navarro's thesis is followed by Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 47.
946 Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 26.
947 This was already observed by Navarro, *Risāla Fī Awqāt Al-Sana*, 28.

These substantial contributions to the current understanding of the nature and transmission of the *Cordoban Calendar* pave the way for further research, which could be significantly advanced through the use of digital humanities tools. In this project, much of the transcription work was carried out manually, which limited the scope for comparison across larger quantities of text. Moreover, the scale of the project did not permit full transcriptions of all versions, and only a small number had been previously edited. Nonetheless, I transcribed the introductions of all the Arabic versions, which offered valuable insight into the differences between what I describe as the longer and the shorter introduction, the practical and the scientific paragraph on the Christian year, as well as variations in textual elements that appeared in some versions but not in others.[948] The advantage of a transcribed text and computerized tools for comparison, is that such observations regarding relationships between text versions can be confirmed or refuted by putting the data side by side, with easy browsing capabilities. This is especially valuable in cases in which there is a broad corpus with long texts that differ significantly from each other. Future research, particularly studies employing large-scale data analysis and text-recognition tools, may shed new light on the relationship between the text versions by enabling a more precise mapping of textual dependencies.[949]

Parallel sources and the Mediterranean connection

Besides the analysis of texts previously demonstrated to be connected to the *Cordoban Calendar*, I have uncovered a range of parallels with sources that had previously gone undetected. While some parallels with other Arabic calendrical works were already known, such as the link between the *Cordoban Calendar* and the *Long Calendar* first observed by Pellat, this examination has revealed even broader correspondences to other Arabic calendrical sources.[950] These include parallels between CCT and the *Long Calendar* with respect to IHE, which Pellat could not have

948 Because of its scope, this dissertation has not sought to resolve the problem of why certain versions contain a practical introduction while others preserve a more scientific one. In any case, there is no clear distinction whereby versions with the practical paragraph incorporate feasts of the *ʿajam* while those with the scientific paragraph do not. This is because nearly all versions include a list of feasts of the *ʿajam*. For example, branch C1 and branch B1 both include many feasts of the *ʿajam*, yet branch C1 employs the scientific paragraph, while branch B1 features the practical paragraph. The practical paragraph being present in B1, which also contains a diverse set of other liturgical entries, shows moreover that the practical paragraph is not exclusive to the versions which contain almost only feasts of the *ʿajam* (branch A1 and B2). Consequently, the hypothesis that a list of Iberian Christian feasts was added secondarily to an earlier version of the text that lacked such material becomes difficult to sustain. This is suggested, first, by the presence of the scientific paragraph in versions that already include feasts of the *ʿajam*, and second, by the occurrence of the practical paragraph in versions that contain a broader range of liturgical material rather than exclusively feasts of the *ʿajam*.

949 I experimented with HTR for automatic transcription, for which some models have made significant progress—also for Maghrebi script. However, since the handwriting in the manuscript corpus differed significantly from one manuscript to another, it was not feasible within the scope of this project to develop a reliable language model. Training such a model requires large quantities of text in the same handwriting. A computer-based comparison of the manuscripts was therefore not possible due to the volume of material and the variation in handwriting between individual manuscripts. Text recognition models are only effective when trained on large datasets with consistent or similar scripts. See Chahan Vidal-Gorène et al., 'RASAM - A Dataset for the Recognition and Analysis of Scripts in Arabic Maghrebi', *Lecture Notes in Computer Science: International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition*, 2021, 265–81.

950 Pellat, *Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*, ix.

observed, as the manuscripts known to him did not contain IHE. A re-evaluation has brought forward further clarifications regarding the relationship between CCT and the works of Ibn Māsawayh, al-Bīrūnī, al-Umawī, al-Jādirī, Ibn al-Bannāʾ and the *Long Calendar*. In addition, I have identified previously unnoticed correspondences with texts such as Ibn Bahlūl's *Kitāb al-dalāʾil* and al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*, and an anonymous calendar in the El Escorial manuscript 924. Thanks to the expanded CCT corpus, it has become possible to establish new connections and to deepen our understanding of existing ones. Insights into these corresponding sources reveal, for instance, that brontology was an important part of the *Kitāb al-dalāʾil*, which was written between 942 and 968. This early attestation of brontology in an Arabic calendrical source suggests that it is entirely plausible that brontology was included in a text by the time of the compilation of the *Cordoban Calendar*. The brontological passages preserved in branches B and C may therefore have formed part of the original text of CCT, contrary to what has previously been suggested.[951] This constitutes further evidence that the brontological material in the B and C versions should not be regarded as later additions to the *Cordoban Calendar*, but rather as parts that could have been included in a tenth-century compilation.

Like the other parallels I have identified between CCT and Arabic almanacs, the incorporation of brontological material provides further evidence that al-Andalus was deeply embedded in broader networks of knowledge production and circulation. Comparison with parallel texts has therefore not only made it possible to assess more accurately whether and when certain elements were incorporated into CCT, but has also shown that much of the content of the *Cordoban Calendar* was widely attested in Arabic almanacs across the Mediterranean region. Illustrative of this broad network is the textual connection between a calendar text preserved in MS El Escorial 924, the *Long Calendar*, and CCT, a connection too extensive to be regarded as coincidental. These texts share corresponding content and structure, yet each is organized according to a different calendrical system: a Syrian calendar in MS El Escorial 924, a Coptic calendar in the *Long Calendar*, and a Julian calendar in CCT. An Egyptian parchment fragment provides further evidence for the interconnectedness of these calendrical texts, since it is arranged according to the Syrian calendar, but overlaps with the *Long Calendar* and CCT.[952] A particularly remarkable aspect of this widespread transmission of content is that it was not confined to any single religious tradition, including in the case of liturgical material. Although the connections between these sources occasionally point to specific pathways of transmission, or common ancestors and archetypes, they above all demonstrate the extent to which the tradition of the Arabic almanac flourished and circulated among scholars across political and religious boundaries.

951 H.P.J. Renaud links the brontology content in Risala to the *Urjūza fī dalīl al-raʿd* by the astrologer Ibn al-Rijāl al-Shaybānī al-Andalusī. Renaud suggests this content was added in the thirteenth century. Navarro, *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana*, 23.

952 Levi della Vida, *Arabic Papyri*.

Religious life

In response to earlier scholarship on the Christian content, a broader examination of the CCT corpus, alongside a critical approach to textual transmission, offers a more nuanced view of the *Cordoban Calendar*'s relevance to tenth-century Cordoban practice. The analysis has demonstrated that the Iberian Christian content must be considered a core component of CCT. A comparison with Old Hispanic calendars further reveals that a substantial portion of the Iberian Christian feasts in CCT corresponds to the Old Hispanic tradition as reflected in sources from the Visigothic period as well as in tenth- and eleventh-century northern calendars, suggesting a certain degree of liturgical uniformity across the Peninsula across different regions and periods. At the same time, the agreement of CCL with eleventh-century calendars should rather be understood as the result of a later updating of CCL than as evidence for an alignment of practice between Córdoba and the northern kingdoms in the tenth century. This is indicated by the presence of thirty feasts exclusive to CCL, which are absent from all other CCT versions.

There are also a number of noteworthy deviations that point to local Cordoban particularities, which correspond to other local features elsewhere in the text, such as local agricultural practices and state administrative procedures. This concerns, for instance, the Cordoban celebration (and possibly also in other places in al-Andalus) of Felix of Seville, the translation of Zoilus, and a separate celebration for Lawrence. The close reading of the text versions also reveals that there could have been a three-day fast after the feast of Circumcision (called *Initio Anni*) in Córdoba, in line with the practices of the North.

It was not possible in the scope of this dissertation to examine every feast in detail with a view to understanding if they reflect actual practice or not. That being said, this study proposes and puts into practice a more refined method for analyzing the Christian feast entries as exemplified with the seven case studies. By examining variations in phrasing and comparing them with parallel sources, it becomes evident that not all entries can be interpreted as direct reflections of local religious practice. Instead, some are literal copies from other sources with Eastern Christian content and some were likely added later and/or representing later traditions, such as cults that came into being in the eleventh century. The case studies revealed certain Cordoban particularities, such as the arrangement of Christmastide (with Córdoba celebrating John the Evangelist on 27 December, James the Lesser on 28 December, Holy Innocents on 29 December and Eugenia on 30 December). Results of other case studies showed rather an alignment between Córdoba and the northern traditions, such as the celebration of the Annunciation on 18 December, Holy Cross on 3 May and Torquatus on 1 May. Other feasts in CCT most likely did not refer to celebrations in Córdoba, including the Purification of Mary / the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple, feasts for the Holy Cross on 6 March and 14 September, and an alleged seven-day celebration associated with Torquatus.

It has been established that the double occurrence of certain feasts in the case studies resulted from the copying of sources containing references to Eastern Christian feasts and commemorations. It cannot be ruled out, however, that practices from Eastern Christian traditions found their way into the lived reality of Cordoban Christians. This may have occurred through the influence of Byzantine liturgical practices in the southern part of the Peninsula during the period of Byzantine rule, if the Byzantine rite was practiced at all, in the second half of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century.[953] Another possibility is the presence of East Syrians in Córdoba, perhaps in the tenth century, as suggested by Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala.[954] In the latter case, however, the entries in CCT may simply reflect the practices of this East Syrian community and do not necessarily imply that Andalusi Christians themselves adopted these feasts.

A striking outcome of the case studies concerns the inclusion of entries for Cordoban martyrs in CCL as a result of imagined practices of the past. The supposed celebration of these figures in the late tenth century—over a century after the martyrdoms of the 850s and only shortly after the death of Pelagius (d. 925–6)—has led some scholars to argue that Eulogius, as well as Pelagius's hagiographer—sometimes referred to as Raguel—were at least partially successful in their efforts to promote these Christians as martyr saints in Córdoba.[955] Scholars have further suggested that the author of the *Cordoban Calendar* must have been a courageous Christian to include commemorations of martyrs executed by Islamic rulers—rulers who were direct ancestors of al-Ḥakam II, to whom the *Cordoban Calendar* was supposedly dedicated.[956] Another view holds that a special version was produced for al-Ḥakam II in which the Cordoban martyrs were omitted, which ultimately amounts to the same assumption: namely, that these martyrs were in fact commemorated.[957] The philological evidence presented in Chapter 3, however, points in a different direction. The Cordoban martyrs appear to have been incorporated only at a later stage of the textual transmission, since they occur exclusively in CCL, itself a copy of Gerard of Cremona's translation. This possibility gains plausibility from the fact that Gerard of Cremona was assisted by a Mozarab in the translation of Ptolemy.[958] The finding that the Cordoban martyrs were added to CCL significantly undermines the assumption that these individuals were ever commemorated by a Christian community in Córdoba; at the very least, such a conclusion cannot be drawn from the entries preserved in CCL. The more pressing question, then, is whether historiography on this topic has, in some cases, been overly shaped by nationalistic or religious

953 Some Greek features were identified in the Old Hispanic rite. Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, 7 and 9.
954 Monferrer-Sala, 'The Arabicized Christians in Cordoba', 364-65.
955 Ihnat, 'Beyond Hagiography', 383.
956 Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, xxxiv; Simonet, *Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe*, 9.
957 Effros, 'Usuard's Journey to Spain', 28 and 32 (Bonnie Effros erroneously refers to the emir instead of the caliph); and "Recemundus also removed any mention of a later martyr, Pelagius, who was executed in 925, allegedly for refusing the sexual advances of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. There is some question as to the exact provenance of the two versions, but the evidence suggests that Recemundus intended one version for Christian consumption and the other as a gift for the caliph." Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 68.
958 Zieme, 'Gerard of Cremona's Latin Translation', 19.

agendas. At the same time, it illustrates the difficulty of treating CCL too readily as a faithful representation of tenth-century Cordoban practice.

In light of the politically-inflected approaches to the history of al-Andalus, the case study of the Cordoban martyrs is particularly significant. Instead of confirming that the texts of Eulogius and Alvarus reflected wider Christian attitudes in al-Andalus, it questions this very thing. I agree therefore with Safran, in stating that the polemical texts of Eulogius and Alvarus tend to dominate in studies of intercommunal contact in Umayyad al-Andalus and are sometimes not brought into relation with other accounts of social life.[959] The practice of an uncritical reading of the Córdoban martyrologies—texts that are mostly "single-source records"—prevents the reader from distinguishing historical information from the ideals that motivated these texts.[960] Although scholars generally recognize that these texts cannot be taken as fully reliable reflections of historical circumstances, their content is still often treated as representative of Christian attitudes in the ninth century and is not always approached with sufficient caution. The *Cordoban Calendar* is one of the sources that can be read alongside the accounts of Eulogius and Alvarus in order to contextualize the Cordoban martyrs. Such a comparison leads to the conclusion that we almost entirely lack evidence for their veneration.

As for the Coptic and Persian feasts, there is no indication that these were celebrated by Andalusi Christians, nor is there evidence for the presence of Coptic or Persian communities in al-Andalus. The entries concerning Jewish feasts, by contrast, may reflect practices observed in Córdoba, especially since they correspond to the year 973, the most plausible date for the composition of the *Cordoban Calendar*. The entries relating to prophets and scriptures, as well as the IHE, do not appear to refer to liturgical practices, although the *ʿajam* are occasionally mentioned in the former category. Several of the entries concerning prophets and scriptures correspond to commemorations attested among Eastern Christians in Arabic calendrical sources. These may therefore have been incorporated into the *Cordoban Calendar* through the use of such sources, without necessarily reflecting local practice. A different hypothesis concerning these entries, as well as the IHE, will be proposed below in the section *Organization of Islamic sermons*.

Authorship and religious identity

The re-evaluation of the CCT corpus and the definition of its core components have yielded a new understanding of the nature of the original text of the *Cordoban Calendar*, namely as a text that incorporated entries drawn from a diverse liturgical repertoire, sometimes not clearly aligned with any single religious tradition. On the basis of these newly established core components, I have attempted to arrive at a more precise assessment of the author's identity. A close reading of

959 Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus*, 4–5.

960 Sarah Stroumsa, 'Single-Source Records in the Intercommunal Life of al-Andalus: The Cases of Ibn al-Naghrīla and the Cordoban Martyrs', *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 6, nos 1–2 (2018): 217–41.

the narrative function of key terms, the use of names, and the doctrinal perspective embedded in the language all point to a Muslim viewpoint, despite the difficulty of attributing certain terms as specifically "Islamic," since they were also appropriated in Christian Arabic texts. I further argue that there is no basis for assuming co-authorship by a Christian and a Muslim, since the perspective throughout reflects the consistent rationale of a single author. Although some scholars have previously attributed the *Cordoban Calendar* to a Muslim author (i.e., ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd) they did not do so on philological grounds or on the basis of text-internal contents. Close philological analysis of the text supports the argument of a Muslim author and constitutes one of the major contributions of this study to the existing scholarship.

One of the most striking conclusions when considering how the *Cordoban Calendar* reflects on religious practice is the lack of polemical engagement with traditions that are not those of the author. The use of the term *ʿajam* attests to an outsider's perspective on Christian practice, as was also the case in entries about Jews, Copts, Persians and Eastern Christians (in CCT, whether intended or unintended, referred to as *naṣārā*). The Islamic affiliation of the author, however, becomes visible primarily in cases where Jewish, Christian, and Muslim perspectives diverge—for example, in the account of the crucifixion of Jesus. Even then, the affiliation is expressed so subtly that it is difficult to determine the author's religious background without close familiarity with the nuanced theological differences among the three traditions. It could have been the case that the author did not perceive these "different" traditions as cultural expressions that were not his own, but rather as part of a shared culture. Rather than taking issue with the traditions of religious communities that are not the author's, the perspective on religious practice in CCT is characterized by a generous attitude towards practices of other communities. Some of the descriptions of practice, for instance in the frequently occurring sentence "they call her/him a martyr" are relatively neutral, and the public commemoration of saints (a concept theoretically disputed in Islam) is nowhere condemned. The perspective of the *Cordoban Calendar*'s author is ultimately inclusive, even when he describes Christian feasts with a certain distance (e.g., "they/the *ʿajam* celebrate X" or "they claim Y"). Notably, the authorial stance toward Christian content never criticizes Christian practices, nor does it portray them as irrational. The same is the case for the practices of Copts, Persians, Eastern Christians and Jews. Their practices are always mentioned as factual events, without commentary as to the validity of these practices. While this study concludes that the author of the *Cordoban Calendar* was of Muslim affiliation, it also highlights the difficulties of interpreting its "religious" vocabulary and the ambiguities generated by its inclusive perspective.

This ambiguity is illustrated by the entries on prophets and scriptures. However, a closer look revealed that there is a clear parallel between the way these entries are presented and the Islamic literary tradition of the *Stories of the Prophets*. Within this tradition, Muslim scholars recognized a chain of earlier biblical revelations, while the Qurʾanic revelation was regarded as

the uncorrupted and most authoritative.[961] For a Muslim author, there would therefore have been little need to engage in explicit criticism of other religious traditions or to articulate an Islamic worldview in overtly polemical terms. Significantly, I find no evidence of polemical intent in CCT, which at the very least excludes an antagonistic authorial perspective.

Although it was not the aim of this study to determine the historical identity of the author of the *Cordoban Calendar*, it should be noted that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd would be a suitable candidate. ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd's education and the rich scientific environment in which he lived, along with the materials at his disposal, make it, in my view, entirely plausible that he could have compiled the *Cordoban Calendar*.[962] His other activities and literary efforts provide more evidence for his interest in learning from different traditions. There is evidence of his treatise on obstetrics in al-Ḥakam II's library, one of the few such works known from this collection.[963] Not only was this text likewise dedicated to al-Ḥakam II, ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd also cites the East Syrian physician Ibn Māsawayh.[964] It is therefore likely that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd was familiar not only with Ibn Māsawayh's medical writings, but also with the putative model for the *Cordoban Calendar*, Ibn Māsawayh's *Kitāb al-azmina*. This, in turn, further strengthens the possibility that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd was the author of the *Cordoban Calendar*. Moreover, the fact that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd wrote a compendium of al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*, an extensive Islamic history, could have provided him with the material that is presented in the entries concerning prophets and scriptures. The dating of the compilation of the compendium of al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh* between 967 and 976 would also correspond well with the composition of the *Cordoban Calendar* in 973.[965] Coming from a family of converts—or perhaps being a recent convert himself—the author most likely received both a Christian and an Islamic education, which suggests that he may have had full access to, and knowledge of, the customs and traditions of both religious communities.[966] Further research comparing the (linguistic) features of the Chronicle of ʿArīb, his treatise on obstetrics, and the *Cordoban Calendar* could provide additional evidence for determining the authorship of the *Cordoban Calendar*.

Not only does ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd seem to be a good candidate for the writing of the *Cordoban Calendar*, the authorship of Rabīʿ ibn Zayd, or a co-authorship between them, was never convincing. The similarity between the names of ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd and Harib ibn Zayd, as the latter appears in CCL, still appears too much of a coincidence for them to refer to different individuals. That "Ibn Zayd the Bishop" is also mentioned by Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī (in the *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* by al-Maqqarī) as the author of the *Tafṣīl* may be explained by an error in the dictation or translation

961 Ibn Kathīr, *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*, 180.
962 On the rich scientific environment, see Castilla Brazales, *La Crónica de ʿArīb sobre al-Andalus*, 38.
963 Wasserstein, 'The Library of al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir', 564.
964 López y López, 'Vida y Obra', 334.
965 Juan Castilla Brazales, 'Ibn Saʿīd, ʿArīb', in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, V, ed. Jorge Lirola Delgado and José Miguel Puerta Vílchez (Fundación Ibn Tufayl de Estudios Árabes, 2004), 123.
966 On the Christian and Islamic education, see Castilla Brazales, under 'Ibn Saʿīd, ʿArīb', 120.

process. Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī, in turn, may have copied the garbled name from CCL.[967] Although there is evidence for the historicity of a bishop named ibn Zeid in this period, there is no reason to argue for significant involvement of such an individual in the making of the *Cordoban Calendar*. At most, we might imagine that a Christian bishop could have provided a list of Christian feasts. Instead of these feasts being added to an existing text, they would rather have been used by the author of the *Cordoban Calendar* who integrated them into his rationale for the text, as can be deduced from the consistent outsider perspective in the description of Christian practice and the entanglement of entries of Christian practice with entries with other liturgical information.

Purpose of the *Cordoban Calendar*

What sets the *Cordoban Calendar* apart from other Arabic almanacs is the inclusion of an introduction where the author reflects extensively on the content of the text. He hints at his intended purpose—even if without explicit detail in both types of the introduction (the scientific and practical one). Whatever the explanation for the existence of two types of introductory sections concerning the Christian year, the author's intention expressed in the introduction appears to have been to clarify both what he was writing and why.

One of the questions emerging from this study of the *Cordoban Calendar* concerns: the purpose of its composition. Identifying the author's intentions is far from straightforward. Beyond the dedication to al-Ḥakam II, there is no direct evidence concerning its intended audience. Since al-Ḥakam II commissioned more books than any earlier Umayyad ruler in al-Andalus, it is hardly surprising that the *Cordoban Calendar* was dedicated to him; this fact alone, however, does not reveal the intentions of either the author or the commissioner.[968] The only contemporary indications regarding the work's reception stem from external sources that mention the *Cordoban Calendar*. These state that the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* of ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd was "used by people" and considered "useful, widely used, and reliable."[969] While such remarks are neither specific nor directly informative about the author's intentions or the audience's reception of the *Cordoban Calendar*, they nonetheless provide an important contextual backdrop.

References to the text's broad use resonate with the author's own assertions regarding its value for a wide readership. Hence, the author states that his aim is to present a range of information (the length of days and their corresponding indications, zodiac signs, lunar mansions, the hours of the month and their divisions, their *anwāʾ*, the risings and settings of stars, etc.) "together with all the information and dates that every man should know with regard to his wellbeing, for

967 *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min ghuṣn al-Andalus al-raṭīb (Sweet Fragrance from the Verdant Branch of al-Andalus)* by al-Maqqarī (1578/9–1632), reports that Ibn Zeid the Bishop, the Cordoban, authored a work dedicated to Caliph al-Ḥakam II, titled *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa maṣāliḥ al-abdān*. See "D" under *Authorship* in the Introduction of this dissertation.

968 Ávila and Fierro, 'Do Caliphs Write?', 222.

969 *Kitāb al-Takmila li-kitāb al-ṣila* (Supplement to a biographical dictionary by Ibn al-Faraḍī (962–1013)) by Ibn al-Abbār (1199–1260) and in the *Kitāb al-Ḍayl wa-l-takmila* ("Appendix and Supplement" – a biographical dictionary) by al-ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī (1237–1303). Forcada, 'The Kitāb al-anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd', 248–49.

his body, nourishment, agriculture and other things that relate to wellbeing."[970] The calendar's organization—structured by month and day—was also a deliberate choice: "I have gathered for every day of the month everything that is related to that day, and connected to them what I have gathered, and I have indicated them at their date, so that it will be easy to find them in their place."[971] Only in the practical introduction is there a specific reference to feasts of the *ʿajam* (see *Paragraph on the Christian year* in Chapter 1). This practical introduction implies that the author included the *ʿajamī* feasts because it was useful to know when they are and understood when they fall on certain days, most notably Easter. Why that was useful to know and understand is not mentioned by the author.

Scholars remain divided regarding the practical function of the work. Could we indeed, as has been argued, conclude that the *Cordoban Calendar* is "an important document for understanding daily life in the tenth century and a comprehensive compendium of technical and practical knowledge with concrete applications in the lives of the people of Córdoba"?[972] Contrary to the supposed practical implication of the *Cordoban Calendar*, Varisco emphasizes that "there is practically no information known today as to how and why almanacs were compiled in Arabic during the medieval period."[973] He believes it is more likely that the Arabic almanac was primarily intended for a scholarly audience, rather than for farmers, doctors or other professionals.[974] Indeed, it seems evident that farmers, for example, would not have required a written text to determine the appropriate times for sowing or harvesting. A scholarly readership becomes more plausible when we consider that books were, in any case, predominantly used by secretaries and scholars at court. Given the courtly milieu in which the *Cordoban Calendar* was possibly composed, what purpose might it have served for secretaries and scholars? What follows are several hypotheses—many of which may be simultaneously compatible—concerning the intention for the composition of the *Cordoban Calendar*. Some pertain to the work as a whole, while others relate specifically to its liturgical content.

Collection of taxes

Knowledge of when and where Christians gathered for feasts and the commemoration of saints may have been relevant in connection with the collection of taxes. Eduardo Manzano Moreno argues that the *Cordoban Calendar* was "an official document intended to be used as an almanac for administrative purposes related to the Christian community."[975] Manzano Moreno

970 The quote is from the scientific introduction. The practical introduction reads "together with all the information and dates that every man should know with regard to the wellbeing, for his body and alimentation."
971 Both in the scientific and the practical introduction.
972 José Martínez Gázquez, 'Dicunt Experimentatores / Dicunt Qui Experimento Locuti Sunt: L'Expérience dans les Indications du Calendrier de Cordoue (10 Siècle)', in *Expertus Sum: L'Expérience par les Sens dans la Philosophie Naturelle Médiévale*, ed. Thomas Bénatouïl and Isabelle Draelants (Sismel Edizioni del Galluzo, 2011), 240.
973 Varisco, *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science*, 8.
974 Varisco, *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science*, 8.
975 Manzano Moreno, *The Court of the Caliphate of al-Andalus*, 34.

draws attention to references in the *Cordoban Calendar* to harvests and tithes being estimated, calculated and levied. According to CCT, the levy of tithes involved a preliminary assessment of the harvest in spring, followed by a calculation at the time of threshing in mid-June.[976] Fiscal assessments were carried out for vines in mid-July and for olive trees in October.[977]

It is indeed well established that Christians were employed by the Muslim administration in tax collection.[978] A *qūmis* (count) was appointed by the emir to collect taxes in collaboration with the bishops of the various dioceses. This *qūmis*, who acted as the *zaʿīm* (chief) of the Andalusi Christians, also functioned as the *mustakhrij kharājihim* (collector of their land tax—*kharāj*).[979] The appointment of Christians to these posts was convenient, given that a substantial portion of the population—especially in the ninth century—remained Christian.[980] The fact that Christians were active in collecting taxes provoked, at that time, outrage among their co-religionists. The ninth-century sources attest to abbot Samson (who became an abbot of the monastery Pinna Mellaria in 858) criticizing Bishop Ostegesis for conducting a census of Christian inhabitants and handing it over to the Muslim authorities. Although other sources indicate that Bishop Ostegesis did not exact more than what was customary under Visigothic rule, it was a move that ultimately increased the tax burden on Christians while enriching himself in the process.[981] Eulogius rages against such Christians—"if they can even be called Christians"—for "oppressing the necks of the wretched with the burden of an unbearable tax, inflicting harm on the Lord's people on a daily basis."[982] Some monasteries even retreated into the mountains to escape this fiscal oppression.[983] Christians also rebelled against such practices, as when the Christian *qūmis* Rabīʿ ibn Tudulf sparked a revolt during the reign of al-Ḥakam I (r. 796–822) by increasing the tax burden on Christians.[984] While such revolts may have stemmed from multiple factors, these accounts nevertheless shed light on the role of Christians in tax collection and the censuses carried out in churches under the Umayyads.[985]

The collection of taxes from the Christian community of al-Andalus, and specifically Córdoba, could potentially explain the inclusion of certain information on Christian practice in the *Cordoban Calendar*. The Visigothic canon law sources contain references to the collection of offerings from

976 Manzano Moreno, *The Court of the Caliphate of al-Andalus*, 46.
977 López y López, 'Estudio Particular de las Especies Botánicas', 45; Manzano Moreno, *The Court of the Caliphate of al-Andalus*, 47; Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 118–19 and 158–59.
978 This cooperation explains to a certain extent the survival of episcopal sees. López Martínez de Marigorta, 'La Colaboración entre las Instituciones', 2, 4–9; Wolf argues that the Muslim authorities appointed Christians to divert some of the animosity that would otherwise have been directed toward the Muslim government. Wolf, *The Eulogius Corpus,* 272.
979 López Martínez de Marigorta, 'La Colaboración entre las Instituciones', 4.
980 López Martínez de Marigorta, 'La Colaboración entre las Instituciones', 7.
981 Samson wrote this in his *Apologeticus*. López Martínez de Marigorta, 'La Colaboración entre las Instituciones', 7.
982 Wolf, *The Eulogius Corpus,* 272.
983 López Martínez de Marigorta, 'La Colaboración entre las Instituciones', 9.
984 Molina, under 'Umayyads', 849; López Martínez de Marigorta, 'La Colaboración entre las Instituciones', 5.
985 Molina, under 'Umayyads', 850; López Martínez de Marigorta, 'La Colaboración entre las Instituciones', 6.

the Christian community on specific feast days. Three passages, in the sections from the councils of Valencia, Mérida, and Braga, concern the collection of offerings in churches during the feasts of martyrs or the commemoration of the dead.[986] We know that the Visigothic council decrees continued to have significance in al-Andalus, and were even translated into Arabic (CCAEA). This suggests the decrees may still have shaped the governance of the Christian churches when the *Cordoban Calendar* was composed. In this context, it could have been particularly useful for administrators, especially those responsible for tax collection, to know the days on which Christians gathered and collected their offerings. Most important is that the *Cordoban Calendar* sometimes specifies the locations (specific churches) where particular celebrations were held, suggesting Christians gathered at different churches on different feasts and made their offerings there. The *Cordoban Calendar* may therefore have been of practical value to authorities, allowing them to identify where and when offerings were being made in the Christian community.

Control over religious minorities

Knowledge of the timing and locations of Christian gatherings may also have been useful for the purposes of crowd control from the perspective of the Muslim administration. Certain state officials may have been tasked with overseeing subordinate religious groups. Ibn ʿĀṣim, for example, who composed a *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina*, which was partly based on the *Cordoban Calendar*, served at the court of al-Ḥakam II as the head of the police (*ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*).[987] This might suggest that knowledge about liturgical practices could be relevant for his administrative duties, e.g. providing sufficient police to surveil a gathering, block off relevant roads, or simply be aware that Christians were grouping together at a particular place. Against this interpretation, however, one may note that Ibn ʿĀṣim's *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina*, as known to us, contains very little liturgical material, apart from references to *ʿanṣara* and the Coptic *Nawrūz* (New Year).[988] At the same time, the fact that he drew on the *Cordoban Calendar* for his work shows that he was familiar with its contents and may, at least indirectly, have used this information in his capacity as *ṣāḥib al-shurṭa*.

Economy and trade

The *Cordoban Calendar* may also have served a broader economic function. By the tenth century, al-Andalus had developed a flourishing exchange economy based on agricultural and pastoral

986 These passages may be included in the CCAEA as well, but within the scope of this study, I was not able to check that. Valencia (549), can. 1; Braga 1 (561), can. 21—offerings of faithful made on feasts of martyrs or commemoration of dead kept by one of clerics and redistributed between them; Braga 2 (572), can. 48—cannot celebrate feasts of martyrs during Lent, only offer offering Saturdays and Sundays in their commemoration; Mérida (666), can. 14—it is customary to offer money at church after communion on feast days and this is when clerics get paid from these offerings (the offerings should be divided into thirds, for payment of bishop, priests, deacons and subdeacons and other clerics). José Vives, ed., *Concilios Visigóticos*, I, España Cristiana (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1963).

987 Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina*, 34 and 43–44.

988 Ibn ʿĀṣim, *Kitāb al-anwāʾ wa-l-azmina*, 177.

products.[989] CCT provides detailed information about the crops cultivated in al-Andalus and the timing of their harvests.[990] The products mentioned in CCT corresponds closely to what we find in the *ḥisba* manual of the tenth-century Cordoban jurist Ibn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, which outlines market regulations and the responsibilities of the *muḥtasib* (market inspector).[991] Knowledge of feast days would have been of interest to the *muḥtasib* as well as to merchants, since festivals brought together large numbers of people and generated increased demand for goods.[992] Certain merchants, such as those dealing in textiles, foodstuffs, or items for (bodily) adornment, would have benefited from anticipating these occasions.

Administrators may have had several reasons for recording information on consumption linked to specific feast days. The *Cordoban Calendar* includes passages describing what certain communities consumed on particular (feast) days—for example, the Jews prepare fish brine on Pesach and the Christians eat *bayṣār* (see Chapter 3)—as well as implicit references to specific products required for celebrations, such as candles for Candlemas. Mention of periods during which Christians or Jews abstained from eating meat or observed fasts may also have been relevant for commercial reasons. Muslim jurists who warn against Muslim participation in Christian celebrations, inform us about the particular foods and sweets that were common at certain celebrations.[993] Some versions even mention the seasonal transition in clothing in the epilogue for October: "People change their white clothes for high-quality silk and wool and the like." The *Cordoban Calendar* provides this and other information linked to particular seasons or feasts celebrated in specific places, for which certain goods would have been required, possibly revealing an economic interest.[994]

Organization of Islamic sermons

As an additional hypothesis for the purpose of the *Cordoban Calendar*, the presence of entries in the *Cordoban Calendar* concerning prophets and scriptures and IHE—the latter in case they were part of the original text—may be linked to the organization of Islamic sermons (*khuṭab*) throughout the year.

989 Pierre Guichard, 'Traders and Peasants', in *The Routledge Handbook of Muslim Iberia*, ed. Maribel Fierro (Routledge, 2020), 254.

990 Guichard, 'Traders and Peasants', 254; Manzano Moreno, *The Court of the Caliphate of al-Andalus*, 43–44.

991 Guichard, 'Traders and Peasants', 254.

992 Brian M. Fagan, *Fish on Friday: Feasting, Fasting, and the Discovery of the New World* (Basic Books, 2006); Baumgarten, 'Shared and Contested Time', 261.

993 De la Granja, 'Fiestas Cristianas en al-Andalus I'; De la Granja, 'Fiestas Cristianas en al-Andalus II'.

994 This argument is similar to what Philipp Nothaft states with regard to information about the Jewish calendar in Christian Latin texts. ("Whether or not this laughter was an acute reality, it is undeniable that a working knowledge of the ecclesiastical calendar, whose numerous saint's days and major feasts governed the rhythms of public life, would have been indispensable for Jews living as a minority within a Christian society. On this knowledge depended the ability to interact with Christians on an economic and mercantile plain—to negotiate and observe contracts, to pay back or receive loans, or to find buyers for one's goods at markets and fairs, which usually took place on fixed dates"). Nothaft, *Medieval Latin Christian Texts on the Jewish Calendar*, 11.

In al-Andalus, sermons generally fell into two categories. The first consisted of canonical sermons, regarded as part of normative practice (*sunna*), which were delivered during the weekly Friday prayer, at the two major feasts (*ʿīd al-fiṭr* and *ʿīd al-aḍḥā*), and during the rogation prayer for rain.[995] In addition, sermons were also held on non-liturgical occasions such as the Prophet's birthday, devotional practices of Sufi mystics, and the commemorations of local saints. While certain aspects of the aims and rhetorical strategies of sermons are known, the reconstruction of the Andalusi liturgical cycle is hindered by the absence of surviving Islamic calendars from medieval Iberia. What we do have are collections of Friday sermons arranged according to the Islamic calendar, but no calendars themselves with entries on (Islamic liturgical) events throughout the year.[996] In the absence of a central institutional authority prescribing sermon content across the Muslim community, it is plausible that each community with a congregational mosque (or Friday Mosque) developed its own calendrical arrangement of sermons, emphasizing particular historical events in a liturgical context. What they likely shared, however, was a central component in which the preacher (*khaṭīb*) conveyed knowledge of Islamic history.[997] Linda Jones emphasizes that the role of the preacher was to "remind the audience of the mythic events being commemorated, explain why the past has meaning, and articulate how mythic models and lessons may be applied in the lives of their contemporary congregations."[998] Storytelling about scriptural prophets—such as that reflected in CCT entries concerning prophets and scriptures—was integral to Islamic preaching and the inclusion of *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* in preaching was particularly significant in the early centuries of Islam's expansion, serving to teach qurʾanic history to non-Arabic ethnic groups.[999] Through such sermons, not only the educated elite but also broader audiences were introduced to stories of the prophets and the history of the world. Part of the function of Islamic preaching was thus to engage the community and foster a sense of belonging within Islamic history.

How could the *Cordoban Calendar*, a solar calendar, then have something to do with Islamic sermons, which arrangement followed the Islamic, lunar calendar?[1000] Despite this contradiction, it is worth considering the possibility that the information preserved in these entries once derived from a text arranged according to the Islamic year. Since the Islamic sermons throughout the liturgical year were interwoven with accounts of historical events that operated as commemorative rituals and significant moments in Islamic history, this text could have been

995 Jones, *The Power of Oratory*, 24 and 52.
996 Jones, *The Power of Oratory*, 35.
997 Jones, *The Power of Oratory*, 80 and 106.
998 Jones, *The Power of Oratory*, 14.
999 One of the Andalusi works of this genre is the *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ* of Ibn Muṭarrif al-Ṭarafī (d. 1062), who was an Imam in Córdoba. Although the role of Imam and *khaṭīb* were often but not always performed by the same person, it is conceivable that a man like Ibn Muṭarrif al-Ṭarafī would have adapted the stories of prophets that he wrote into his sermons. Roberto Tottoli, 'The Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyā' of Ibn Muṭarrif al-Ṭarafī (d. 454/1062): Stories of the Prophets from al-Andalus', *Al-Qanṭara* 19, no. 1 (1998): 135.
1000 The communal religious life of Muslims in medieval al-Andalus was structured around the Islamic calendar. Jones, *The Power of Oratory*, 52.

arranged according to the Islamic year, serving as a guideline for the composition of sermons. The information could have been extracted from that source text and fitted into the solar calendar structure of the *Cordoban Calendar*, to complement the other liturgical content with Islamic material. So possibly, the *Cordoban Calendar* drew on a source organized according to the Islamic calendar that may once have been connected to the structuring of Islamic sermons, especially since some of the content in CCT is particularly close to the tradition of *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*. The rationale for incorporating sermon material into a solar calendar remains unclear; its presence nevertheless calls for explanation and this scenario may tentatively be considered.

Education of the secretary

Another possible way to understand the *Cordoban Calendar* is through its link with the broader framework of the education of secretaries (*kātib*, pl. *kuttāb*). In this context, the study of works such as the *Cordoban Calendar* could have been part of a scholarly and literary pursuit. Some scholars suggest that the *Cordoban Calendar* and its contents can be interpreted as an encyclopedic endeavor. As Christys formulates it, "from a brief analysis of the material in the *Calendar of Cordoba* and Ibn ʿĀṣim's *Book of anwāʾ and Time*, we might conclude that they were written to be read as a sort of encyclopedia rather than to be used as manuals. Their content was affected as much by the sources which an author had to hand as by its value to a local audience."[1001] I have reiterated similar arguments throughout this study regarding the encyclopedic interests of the author of the *Cordoban Calendar*, who drew on a variety of sources containing information about the practices of different communities and places. It is known that Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī brought from Baghdad significant *adab al-kātib*-works (guides for the education of secretaries and other intellectuals), such as the *Adab al-kātib* by Ibn Qutayba—which was one of the most renowned works of its kind—, the *Kitāb al-bayān wa-l-tabyīn* (*Elegance of Expression and Clarity of Exposition*) by al-Jāḥiẓ (776–868/869), the *Kitāb al-kāmil* (*The Complete Book*) by al-Mubarrad (c. 826–c. 898), and the *Kitāb al-nawādir* (*The Book of Rarities*) by al-Qālī himself.[1002] The presence of such works in al-Andalus, together with the "deep and lasting influence on the development of the Andalusi *kitāba* [secretary]" exerted by the teachings of al-Qālī shortly before the composition of the *Cordoban Calendar*, raises the possibility that the *Cordoban Calendar* itself was written in the spirit of this literary tradition.[1003]

Communal attitudes and identities

Another possible purpose of the *Cordoban Calendar*, and more specifically of its liturgical material, can be illuminated by considering the broader role of calendars in shaping communal identities. Comparative studies of Jewish communities and their engagement with Christian calendars, as

1001 Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus*, 121.
1002 Soravia, 'Secretaries and the Running of Government', 273.
1003 Ibid.

well as Christian reflection on Jewish calendars, are instructive here.[1004] In Christian calendars found in Hebrew manuscripts, Jewish attitudes toward Christianity can be discerned, "ranging from explicit anti-Christian invective […] to nearly complete neutrality."[1005] To give an example, Elisheva Baumgarten elaborates on the inclusion of a Christian saints' calendar in a thirteenth-century Hebrew manuscript from Metz and Paris through the lens of social interaction. This calendar provided Jews living in proximity to Christians with information about the Christian ritual cycle, which could help them determine how to engage with the practices of their neighbors.[1006] The latter manuscript reflects additionally a derogatory stance toward Christian ritual life—for instance by calling Peter *hamor* (Ass) and Mary *Haria* (from the Hebrew: *hara*, feces).[1007] Christian engagement with Jewish calendars was also often polemical, despite the range of different motivations for studying the Jewish calendar, amongst which was intellectual curiosity.[1008] A calendar's polemical stance (which varied from text to text) can have different explanations, such as to missionize, or to refute Judaism.[1009]

We find similar polemic attitudes in Islamic texts which integrate Christian calendars from centuries later. A calendar entitled the *Tanbīh al-anām* was compiled in Fez in 1399 by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jādirī.[1010] Al-Jādirī based this text on Ibn al-Bannāʾ's *Risāla fī l-anwāʾ* and, importantly, the *Cordoban Calendar* (he cites ʿArīb).[1011] In his work, al-Jādirī expresses a clear scorn for Christian practice.[1012] Emilia Calvo and Montse Díaz-Fajardo attribute this attitude to the stance of al-Jādirī, who rejected anything that might challenge religious orthodoxy.[1013] As opposed to al-Jādirī's calendar, however, the *Cordoban Calendar* does not exhibit a disapproving stance toward Christian or other ritual practices. Both its tone and potential rationale therefore differ from what scholars have argued with regard to the examples of the integration of Jewish calendars into Christian texts, Christian calendars into Jewish texts, and Christian calendars into Islamic texts. This suggests that the social environment in which the *Cordoban Calendar* was produced was not defined by the urgent need to draw sharp theological boundaries, something much more prevalent between Jewish and Christian communities in Northern Europe. It could even be argued that the *Cordoban Calendar* implicitly advanced a notion of fluid religious boundaries.

1004 Stern, 'Christian Calendars'; Baumgarten, 'Shared and Contested Time'; Nothaft, *Medieval Latin Christian Texts on the Jewish Calendar*.
1005 Stern, 'Christian Calendars', 262.
1006 Baumgarten, 'Shared and Contested Time', 261–62 and 269–71.
1007 Baumgarten, 'Shared and Contested Time', 259.
1008 Nothaft, *Medieval Latin Christian Texts on the Jewish Calendar*, specifically 7.
1009 Stern, 'Christian Calendars', 238; Nothaft, *Medieval Latin Christian Texts on the Jewish Calendar*, 9.
1010 Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām'.
1011 In the entry of 7 February: "One of the three *jamarāt* occurs, although ʿArīb [ibn Saʿīd] said that it happens on the eighth day." Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 56, 88 and 120.
1012 Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 57, 99 and 104.
1013 Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 57.

Triumph of the caliph over a diverse domain

Finally, the purpose of the *Cordoban Calendar* may be considered from a broader, more ideological perspective, one potentially shaped by its commissioner—if indeed it had one, whether al-Ḥakam II or another patron. This last interpretation connects several aspects listed above, from educating the *kuttāb*, to the importance of calendars for communities, the social interaction between these communities and the absence of sharp theological boundaries. According to this view, the *Cordoban Calendar* can best be described as an expression of triumph of the caliph over a diverse domain, in light of his rivalry with the Fatimids, and to a lesser extent, the Abbasids.[1014] Such an intention was also suggested by Safran, who argues that the inclusion of Christian feasts are a conscious part of a strategy: "The commissioning of the calendar of Cordoba, with its focus on cycles of agriculture, revenues, and provisions, reflects the ruler's will to assert authority over his domain; his interest in the Christian festival cycle reflects his interest in extending authority over all his dominion."[1015] If the *Cordoban Calendar* was commissioned by al-Ḥakam II, one might indeed imagine such a caliphal agenda influenced the choices made in its composition, knowing his openness to sciences and to religious diversity. The choice to incorporate this religious diversity in the text reflects an attempt to create an historiographical framework with which the various communities living in al-Andalus could identify. Not only their religious practice was incorporated, but also important events from history. This historiographical framework enabled the caliph to insert himself into a long historical chain by claiming dominion over each community and their respective histories.

Such a claim to universal dominion not only involves exerting ownership over the diverse religious communities in the caliph's realm, as reflected in the liturgical entries. It also has to do with expressing awareness of different (liturgical) cycles in use by different religious groups. For astronomical, as well as agricultural purposes, it was necessary to calculate time according to the Julian year. The fiscal calendar was also adapted to the agricultural cycles, since it was, at least for a great part, based on the harvest.[1016] The awareness authorities possessed of different annual cycles according to which communities understood time and organized social life, is illustrated by the fact that documents or historiographical texts happened often record both the date according to the Julian and to the Islamic calendar.[1017] Each of the different types of information in the *Cordoban Calendar*—practical and theoretical, agricultural, astronomical and liturgical—could have been intended for a variety of purposes, but taken as a whole it was a powerful statement of the caliph's domination over every aspect of his society.

1014 About this rivalry more generally, see Safran, 'The Command of the Faithful in al-Andalus'.
1015 Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus*, 89.
1016 Manzano Moreno, *The Court of the Caliphate of al-Andalus*, 42; Baumgarten, 'Shared and Contested Time', 261.
1017 Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus*, 89; Cyrille Aillet, 'Recherches sur Le Christianisme Arabisé (IXe–XIIe Siècles): Les Manuscrits Hispaniques Annotés en Arabe', in *¿Existe una Identidad Mozárabe?: Historia, Lengua y Cultura de los Cristianos de al-Andalus (Siglos IX–XII).*, ed. Cyrille Aillet et al. (Casa de Velázquez, 2008), 102. Christians used the lunar calendar in colophons in texts written in the ninth and tenth century.

Given the established richness and diversity of its core components, it is challenging to draw firm conclusions about the author's purpose in composing the *Cordoban Calendar*. I have outlined several potential motivations for the compilation and commissioning of the *Cordoban Calendar*, particularly the inclusion of diverse liturgical content. Some of the possible purposes suggested here have been noted previously by scholars or align with the broader historical circumstances in which the *Cordoban Calendar* may have been compiled. Others are proposed here for the first time and should be regarded as exploratory, open to further development, adaptation, or refutation in future research. Indeed, I argue that the most plausible explanation lies in a combination of several purposes. Among these possible motivations, the education of the secretary appears to have been fundamental, or at least the primary motivation underlying the composition of the text. I argue this on the grounds that the *Cordoban Calendar* builds on an older tradition of books of *anwāʾ*, more specifically on the fourth category in Forcada's typology: Arabic almanacs.[1018] The political and intellectual context of a Umayyad state—particularly under al-Ḥakam II, whose reign was marked by scientific and religious curiosity—provides a context in which the collection of different kinds of knowledge would make sense. Additionally, it is possible that secretaries used the *Cordoban Calendar* as a practical reference, consulting liturgical entries when needed for administrative matters such as taxation or for economic activities such as organizing trade and fairs. Yet this function may have been secondary. The sometimes rather scattered information on courtly administration in the *Cordoban Calendar* suggests that, once annual routines had been established, the text was more likely intended to loosely record existing administrative practices rather than to function as a normative guide for future secretaries.

The inclusion of such diverse religious information makes it conceivable that the *Cordoban Calendar* also played a role in monitoring or exerting control over religious minorities, although Córdoba in this period was not marked by uprisings or revolts. Remarkably, the text does record the names and locations of some remote places of worship, which may point to a wider concern with religious topography. Whether the *Cordoban Calendar* had any role in the organization of Islamic sermons is more difficult to establish. The secretarial milieu may have been too far removed from the religious authorities responsible for sermon planning. Still, it is possible that a guiding text used for the organization of sermons influenced the liturgical entries of the *Cordoban Calendar*, especially those concerning prophets, scriptures, and—if they were part of the original text—the IHE. Finally, the text may have come to reflect an ideological stance representative of the caliph who reigned, and to whom it moreover may have been dedicated. The text may have been intended to symbolize Umayyad triumph over a diverse state while at the same time offering a framework of universal history relevant to multiple communities. Unlike other sources incorporating the calendars of "others," the *Cordoban Calendar* does not appear to be polemically motivated. Rather, it constructs a shared historical framework that acknowledges and

1018 This almanac is, according to Forcada, strongly indebted to the Greek tradition of *parapegmata* (a classical instrument to keep track of cyclical phenomena). Forcada, 'Astrology and Folk Astronomy', 108.

to accommodate various religious traditions. Given the central role of calendars in structuring communal rhythms in a plural society, the synchronic calendars woven through the *Cordoban Calendar* may be taken to reflect this plurality.

Broader discussion

Attention now shifts to the contribution of this study to the scholarly debate on religious identity in medieval al-Andalus. The conclusion that the *Cordoban Calendar* was composed by a Muslim author with a coherent rationale carries significant implications for our understanding of cultural and religious life in medieval Córdoba. The incorporation of the beliefs and practices of other religious communities into the *Cordoban Calendar* reflects a profound engagement with the ritual life of diverse groups within the Andalusi realm. Al-Ḥakam II's wide-ranging interest in religion and scholarly inquiry may have encouraged the author's creativity and freedom in incorporating diverse traditions.

A theory presented by Peter Burke provides a useful lens for understanding the *Cordoban Calendar* in its historical context.[1019] Following postcolonial writers, Burke applied the concept of cultural hybridity to the premodern period. Although Burke does not focus his study on cultural hybridity on al-Andalus alone, he does provide many examples from the Andalusi context to exemplify his theory, albeit most of them from later centuries. In brief, Burke emphasizes that there are favorable and unfavorable moments for cultural exchange, and that there are a variety of possible responses to it (such as acceptance, resistance, cultural purification, cultural segregation and adaptation, etc.).[1020] Burke presents a variety of objects of cultural exchange, of which the *hybrid text* is the most interesting for this research.[1021] In terms of hybrid texts, Burke distinguishes literal translations, in which equivalents are sought between the culture of the original language and the culture of the language to which the text is translated, and cultural translations, which are hybrid literary productions at the cross-roads of genres. This involves a combination of techniques, often a combination of local culture and techniques originally foreign to that culture. The *Cordoban Calendar* fits the definition of hybrid text very well: parts of it are embedded in the tradition of Arabic almanacs which occur all around the Mediterranean, and parts are rooted in the local context, such as liturgical and agricultural passages relevant to Córdoba or al-Andalus.

Connected to the notion of a *hybrid text* are *hybrid people*, who, according to Burke, are involved in all processes of producing hybrid objects. Hybrid people may refer to societal groups that made the transition to another culture, because of conversion or acculturation. However, the concept of hybrid people is not confined to groups of people, but may also include individuals "who were born into this situation because their mothers and fathers came from different cultures, or entered

1019 Peter Burke mentions a group of theorists of hybridity, such as Homi Bhabha, Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy, Edward Said and Jawaharlal Nehru. Peter Burke, *Cultural Hybridity* (Polity Press, 2009), 3.
1020 Chapter 4: "variety of responses." Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*.
1021 Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, 17 ff. and p. 30 ff. Other objects are "hybrid artefacts" and "hybrid practices."

it later, willingly or unwillingly, because they were, for example, converted or captured."[1022] Burke mentions the Jews and Muslims in Iberia after the fall of Granada (1492), and specifically the case of Ḥasan al-Wazzān (or "Leo the African," c. 1494–c. 1554). He was born in Granada, expelled to Fez in 1492, was captured and taken to Rome, where he converted to Christianity and was baptized by the pope. Burke uses W.E.B. Du Bois's term "double consciousness," for people "in between different cultures."[1023] Considered to be a "cultural mediator," as many translators were, Ḥasan al-Wazzān was "in between cultures."[1024]

In a certain respect, the author of the *Cordoban Calendar* fulfills the definition of a hybrid person, because his works attests to his knowledge of, engagement with and interest in different practices and traditions. If he was from a family of converts (as is commonly asserted with regard to ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd),[1025] we could explain his knowledge of or "allegiance" to different cultures by his diverse religious education and "double consciousness."[1026] In this case, the *Cordoban Calendar* would actually reflect the confluence of the diverse educational background of a convert, rather than point away from the possibility of a convert as the author, as scholars have argued.[1027]

The circumstances of conversion or of being part of a family of converts could explain why people had access to knowledge and writings about various religions in more ways than one. Although some of the cases of Cordoban martyrs attest to tensions resulting from situations of conversions within families, the many interfaith marriages and mixed families in al-Andalus also caused intensified interaction between communities in al-Andalus.[1028] There are cases known from individuals from interreligious families for whom this rootedness in various traditions led to "religious code-switching," i.e. "enacting one religious identity or another as is socially

1022 Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, 31.
1023 Ibid.
1024 Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, 32.
1025 Having a converted father may have meant that ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd first enjoyed a Christian education, and later acquired the fundamentals of the Muslim religion. "Nada sabemos de sus posibles maestros y discípulos, hecho extremadamente curioso que quizá venga a corroborar su origen cristiano. Según eso, es muy posible que tuviese una primera formación cristiana, tanto en letras como en la rama científica, y que, posteriormente, tras la conversión de su padre, aprendiera los fundamentos religiosos de la fe musulmana." Castilla Brazales, *La Crónica de ʿArīb sobre al-Andalus*, 37.
1026 "Su padre Saʿīd fue probablemente un cristiano converso que tomó el nombre de alguno de los patronos de esta casa en al que era frecuente este apelativo, pues en ningún sitio hemos encontrado que su genealogía se remonte antes de él, lo que es indicativo de su origen cristiano." López y López, 'Vida y Obra', 319; and Castilla Brazales: "No es el caso de ʿArīb, en quien encontramos como pariente directo y último el nombre de su padre, Saʿīd o Saʿd, una persona de la que no tenemos referencias y sobre la que no sería demasiado arriesgado aventurar, por tanto, que tal vez no hubiese existido en realidad y que el término obedeciese a un invento del propio ʿArīb, en su deseo de crearse un ascendiente musulmán por su posible condición de cristiano. De cualquier modo, suponiende que sí existiese, el hecho de que este Saʿīd aparezca como último y único elemento de la cadena onomástica de un personaje del siglo IV/X, hace pensar que, con mucha probabilidad, se tratase de un cristiano convertido al Islam pocos años antes del nacimiento de ʿArīb, o, más probablemente cuando éste fuera aún un niño." Castilla Brazales, *La Crónica de ʿArīb sobre al-Andalus*, 31.
1027 Dozy, 'Die Cordovaner 'Arîb Ibn Sa'd', 609.
1028 Safran, *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus*, 91.

expedient."[1029] By crossing thresholds, people in these families had access to considerable religious knowledge about the religious "other." Although the sources about the Cordoban martyrs inform us about the situation in the mid ninth century, it is worth questioning more generally the assumption that individuals could be loyal to only one religion.[1030] The tolerance or respect towards family members adhering to a different religion is reason enough to wonder if religious loyalty is the right lens with which to look at the community boundaries and religious identity in tenth-century al-Andalus. Our knowledge of people working at the court having a distinct private and public religious identity—a "double consciousness"—challenges this assumption.[1031]

Court scholars and secretaries may have been rooted in a particular religious tradition, whether Jewish, Christian, or Muslim, but they were nonetheless well-informed about and often interested in traditions beyond their own. Such openness could have resulted from contexts of conversion, but other factors likely played a role as well. The intense intellectual exchange fostered in and around the court—especially during the Umayyad caliphate and most notably under al-Ḥakam II—both required and encouraged dialogue among scholars and authors of different religious backgrounds. Al-Ḥakam II himself showed a keen interest in religious matters and owned Arabic translations of the Old and New Testaments, the Talmud, and works from various Islamic legal schools.[1032] This interest was certainly not confined to the caliph himself. Scholars must have been engaged in discussions of various theological matters, not solely for the purpose of identifying doctrinal differences or delineating community boundaries. The openness may also reflect a degree of pragmatism: in a context where religious diversity was studied and valued, it was prudent to adopt the prevailing approach to such topics in order to maintain security and influence within the administration.

We can read the *Cordoban Calendar* as further evidence of a reality of hybridity and mixing. Conversion to Islam and Arabization seems to have been growing in ninth-century al-Andalus, and these developments accelerated in the tenth century.[1033] There are several indications that the understanding of religious identity changed over the course of the tenth century, as compared to the ninth. Without going in too much detail, tensions between the Christian and Muslim communities appear to have diminished, as suggested by the account of Abbot John

1029 A term coined by Anna Chrysostomides. Interreligious marriage would have been a social situation involving ample opportunities for religious code-switching. Anna Chrysostomides, '"There Is No God But God": Islamisation and Religious Code-Switching, Eighth to Tenth Centuries', in *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History*, ed. Andrew C. S. Peacock (Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 121–28.

1030 For instance, expressed by Eduardo Cerrato Casado: "Las constantes alusiones a iglesias, santos y festividades cristianas sugieren la condición mozárabe del autor, al mismo tiempo que se hace gala de un profundo conocimiento del Corán y el ritual mahometano sólo posible para un escritor firmemente comprometido con el islam." Cerrato Casado, 'El Calendario de Córdoba como Fuente para la Reconstrucción de la Topografía Eclesiástica', 49.

1031 Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 81–83.

1032 The work of al-Shāfiʿī, representing the foundations of one of the four legal schools of Sunni Islam, is significant in al-Andalus, in which the Maliki school was the official legal school.

1033 Richard Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Harvard University Press, 1979), 124.

of Gorze, who noted Christian "submission" to Islam during his visit to Córdoba, describing what he considered resignation on their part.[1034] Tithes (*ʿushr*), paid in coin or in kind, met with considerable resistance in the ninth century, but were widely accepted during the tenth century.[1035] Proficiency in Arabic increasingly became a prerequisite for attaining high status at court—a shift that transcended religious and ethnic boundaries, since mastery of the language could secure prominence without being Arab.[1036] Even external distinctions between Muslims and Christians—such as differences in clothing or hairstyle—appear to have faded.[1037] By the late ninth century, conversion to Islam and increasing Arabization may have rendered such differences virtually invisible, and by the tenth century, they were likely even harder to detect.[1038] Community boundaries based on religion may have thus been more blurred in the tenth century and religious identities more fluid than some (polemical) sources of the ninth century suggest.

With regard to religious communities, the entries concerning prophets and scriptures in the *Cordoban Calendar* are remarkable. No communities are mentioned in entries for prophets and scriptures (with only rare exceptions), as opposed to entries of other liturgical categories. Moreover, the mentioned figures and events seem to be perceived as universally relevant within the diverse liturgical landscape of tenth-century Córdoba. The general impression provided by the terminology used leads us to the hypothesis that the author was deliberately engaged in creating an inclusive and non-polemical text, containing entries relating to various religious practices. This hypothesis is further confirmed by the entries of shared practices in which mention of a community is entirely omitted, for example in the entries for the Nativity of John the Baptist and the Nativity of Jesus. The participation of Muslims in Christian feasts, highlighted in Chapter 4, points to a fluidity of practice that is contrary to our modern tendency to understand religious practices within the siloed framework of isolated communities. This tendency is also exemplified in this thesis in the difficulty of categorizing liturgical content found in CCT (which I nevertheless considered necessary for the systematic analysis of the text).[1039]

As we have seen, the dynamic linguistic environment and the use of "hybrid language" in Andalusi Arabic texts do not allow for a straightforward division into Christian and Muslim compositions. This is why some scholars have speculated about diverse readership with regard to the Christian Arabic texts: biblical texts, the *Kitāb Hurūshiyūsh*, or CCAEA and even suggested Muslim involvement in their translations. The difficulty in determining the religious identity of

1034 Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 66–67.
1035 Responsible for the collection of tithes were the *ṣāḥib al-madīna* in the city and the governors in the provinces. Manzano Moreno, *The Court of the Caliphate of al-Andalus*, 46–47.
1036 Coope, *The Martyrs of Córdoba*, 84–85.
1037 Tieszen, *Christian Identity*, 29.
1038 Ibid.
1039 Calvo and Díaz Fajardo, for instance, suggest different categorization for the entries in the *Tanbīh al-anām*. They distinguish between Christian and Islamic ephemerides, but this categorization is problematic in my view. Calvo and Diaz-Fajardo, 'The Tanbīh al-Anām', 81–84.

the author of the *Cordoban Calendar* mirrors the challenges posed by these other Andalusi Arabic texts. All of these works serve as vivid illustrations of the cultural hybridity of the period, in which boundaries were blurred and identities could be multilayered. Despite the subtle presence of Islam as the prevailing framework—both in its understanding of the historical sequence of revelation and in shaping the author's historiographical outlook—the *Cordoban Calendar* should be seen as the testimony of an individual who did not primarily define himself through religion, but who instead sought to highlight the diversity of the realm in which he lived.

Throughout this study, I have demonstrated how a textual tradition with a complex transmission history—particularly one lacking an autograph—can be approached more critically by incorporating all identified text versions and analyzing the text on a philological level. Such an approach has the potential to challenge deeply entrenched assumptions about both the nature of the text and the context of its production. Among these assumptions is the tendency to imagine siloed religious communities and identities. This perspective is problematic not only for scholarship—shaping how we read texts—but also for contemporary cultural discourses and applications, including television series, films, music, novels, games, and public events. In this respect, the present study contributes to problematizing notions of static, monolithic identities, represented in theoretical models like the "clash of civilizations." The cultural and religious hybridity I have identified in the author of the *Cordoban Calendar* complicates not only our understanding of this text, but also broader conceptions of identity itself.

The nuance and corrective offered in this dissertation are especially important in light of prevailing representations of al-Andalus, which continue to inform political rhetoric and public discourse. Representations of the past are often selectively shaped to align with contemporary interests or ideological investments.[1040] In particular, (the memory of) al-Andalus is used in debates about migration, ethnicity, race, and interfaith coexistence. Today, al-Andalus serves as a focal point for a wide range of political projects and constructions of cultural and religious identity.[1041] Hence, more than many other historical topics, al-Andalus functions not only as a place and period in history but also as a powerful site of imagination that transcends chronological and geographical boundaries. In both academic research and online discourse, the "spirit" of al-Andalus is frequently invoked to advance socio-political ideologies in response to contemporary societal dynamics. These dynamics often revolve around questions of whether Arabs and Muslims, and the Arabic language, constitute an integral part of Spanish, but also European history and

1040 Maribel Fierro notes that studies of al-Andalus often foster the emergence of myth, fantasy, or propaganda: "Creo que es importante de hablar sobre al-Andalus porque es un ejemplo que ilustra bien cómo los seres humanos tendemos a focalizar en personas, lugares o épocas las cuestiones que nos importan y al hacerlo así, la historia queda relegada para dar lugar al mito, al ensueño o a la propaganda." Maribel Fierro, *Al-Andalus* (Libros de la Catarata; CSIC, 2024), 11.

1041 For case studies, see Eric Calderwood, *On Earth or in Poems: The Many Lives of al-Andalus* (Harvard University Press, 2023).

identity.[1042] Similarly, in the Islamicate and Arabic world, al-Andalus is employed as a framework for discussions of heritage, race, and ethnicity.[1043] Such discourse unfolds not only in scholarship but also in heated exchanges on digital and social media, where imaginings of the past are often infused with nostalgia. The fact that these discourses can generate new social realities—and in extreme cases provide legitimizations for violence—underscores the urgency of a critical and nuanced study of al-Andalus.

1042 For these questions within a Spanish context, see García-Sanjuán, 'Rejecting al-Andalus'; and for these questions with regard to European identity: Calderwood, *On Earth or in Poems*.

1043 One example is the discussion over the Amazigh identity of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, the main protagonist in the TV series Fatḥ al-Andalus (2023). These debates are less well-known but not less relevant than, for instance, the one on the representation of Cleopatra as a black woman in the TV series Queen Cleopatra (2023). In both cases, efforts of appropriating the past and creating a collective memory are clearly evident from the deployed rhetoric of belonging in both the series and the related debates. In the case of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād in Fatḥ al-Andalus, these efforts show the meaning that is given to al-Andalus by different social groups, in Morocco and beyond. The debate did not only involve Amazigh activists, MP's of the Moroccan government and people from the media industry in Morocco, Syria and Kuwait; it also took place between Algerian and Moroccan Amazigh representatives who could not agree on the question whether the tribe of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād was Moroccan or Algerian.



Appendices

Appendix 1:
al-Bīrūnī's chapter on the Islamic calendar

Appendix 2:
al-Qazwīnī's chapter on the Islamic calendar

Appendix 3:
Table of Old Hispanic sources

Appendix 4:
Most widely celebrated feasts in the Old Hispanic calendars

Appendix 5:
Feasts in CCT

Appendix 7:
Folio 92r of Vat.ar.258

APPENDIX 1: AL-BĪRŪNĪ'S CHAPTER ON THE ISLAMIC CALENDAR

Chapter *On what the Muslims do in the months of the Arabs* in the *Āthār al-bāqiya ʿan al-qurūn al-khāliya* by al-Bīrūnī (973–ca. 1048). Based on the English edition of Edward Sachau. P. 325–34.

Hijri month and day	**Entry**
Muharram	
1	The beginning of the year
9	*Tasūʿā*, a word like *ʿāshūrāʾ*, on which Shiites say prayers
10	*ʿāshūrāʾ*, killing of Ḥusayn Ibrahim al-Ashtar, a helper of the Prophet's family was killed God had mercy on Adam, the ark of Noah stood still, Jesus was born, Moses was saved, and Abraham too. Jacob regained his eyesight, Joseph was drawn out of the ditch, Solomon was invested with the royal power, the punishment was taken away from the people of Jonah, Hiob was freed from his plague, the prayer of Zechariah was granted and John was given to him. God had drowned Pharaoh and his people and had saved Moses and the Israelites.
16	Jerusalem was made the qibla for the Muslims
17	People of the Elephant (Ethiopians from the South of Arabia) arrived before Mecca
Safar	
1	Head of Ḥusayn brought to Damascus, Imam Zayd ibn ʿAlī was killed.
16	First appearance of illness in the Prophet, of which he died
20	Head of Ḥusayn was added to the body and buried together; pilgrimage of 40 men
23	Al-Maʾmūn [Abbasid caliph] gave up the green dress and adopted the black dress, the color of the Abbasids
24	Muhammad left Mecca and concealed himself in a cave with Abū Bakr
Rabiʿ al-awwal	
1	Death of the Prophet
8	Prophet arrives to Medina on the flight
12	The Prophet is born on a Monday in the Year of the Elephants
Rabiʿ al-thani	
3	The Kaʿba was burned
15	Birth of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib
Jumada al-awwal	
3	Battle of the Camel in Basra with ʿAʾisha, Ṭalḥa and al-Zubayr
8	Death of virgin Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter
Jumada al-akhira	
2	Death of Abū Bakr
4	Fāṭima was born

Rajab	
4	ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya meet at Siffin (the Battle of Siffin)
26	God made Muhammad his Prophet for all mankind
27	Night of Ascension and night-journey to Jerusalem
Shaʿban	
3	Birth of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī
15	Great liberation night, also called *Laylat as-ṣakk*; the Kaʿba was made the qibla instead of Jerusalem
Ramadan	
1	The month of the obligatory fasting The scrolls were revealed to Abraham
6	Birth of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī The Torah was revealed to Moses
7	Al-Maʾmūn adopted the green colors
10	Death of Khadīja
12	The Psalms were revealed to David
17	The Battle of Badr The killing of ʿAlī Revelation of the Qurʾan
18	The Gospels were revealed to Jesus
19	Mecca was conquered
21	Death of the commander of the Faithful, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib
22	Birth of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib
24	The *Furqān* (Qurʾan) was revealed to Muhammad
25	Abū Muslim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muslim raised the standard of the Abbasids in Khurasan
26	Revolt of al-Burquʿī in Basra
27	Night of Power (*Laylat al-qadr*)
Shawwal	
1	Feast of Fast-breaking, God selected Gabriel as the bearer of his revelation God created Paradise
2	Beginning of voluntary fasting for six consecutive days
4	Muhammad and the Christians of Najran argued with each other Muhammad installed Ḥasan and Ḥusayn in the right of his sons, and Fāṭima in the right of his wives, and made ʿAlī his intimate friend
17	Battle of Uhud, in which Ḥamza was killed
19	Death of Abū Ṭālib
28	Jonah was devoured by the fish
Dhu al-Qaʿda	
5	The Kaʿba was sent down. God took compassion on Adam. Abraham and Ishmael raised the bases of the Temple of Mecca
14	Jonah came forth from the belly of the fish

29	The tree *Yaqṭīn* grew over Jonah
Dhu al-Hijja	
1	The Prophet of God married his daughter Fāṭima to his cousin, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib The first ten days of this month are the last ten days of the thirty days God promised to Moses
8	*Al-tarwiya* (four different explanations as to what happened on this day)
9	The great pilgrimage to Arafat God selected Abraham as his friend, this is also called the *day of forgiving*
10	The *day of the victims*, last days of the pilgrimage. Isaak was ransomed with the ram The road to the last judgment is said to have been created
11	The *day of sojourning*, because people sojourn in Mina
12	The *day of going away*, because people go away from the Holy District
11-13	*Days of tashrīq*, the meat of the sacrificed animals was cut into pieces
17	ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān the Caliph was killed
18	*Ghadīr Khumm*
24	ʿAlī gave away his seal ring as alms, in praying
25	ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was killed and the surah *hal atā* [*surāt al-insān*] was revealed
26	David was inspired to ask for pardon
29	Battle of al-Harra, in which the *Banū Umayya* killed the people of Medina (may God curse all who rebelled in Medina against the Law of God)

APPENDIX 2: AL-QAZWĪNĪ'S CHAPTER ON THE ISLAMIC CALENDAR

Chapter *The Arabic months* in the *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharāʾib al-mawjūdāt* by al-Qazwīnī (1203–1283). Based on the German translation of Hermann Ethé. P. 138–49.

Hijri month and day	Entry
Muharram	
1	First day of the year
7	Jonah comes out of the belly of the whale (some say it is on 14 Dhu al-Qaʿda)
10	*ʿāshūrāʾ* God had mercy on Adam, the ark of Noah stood still on mountain Ararat, Abraham, Moses and Jesus were born, the fire cooled down on Abraham, Jacob regained his eyesight, Joseph was drawn out of the ditch, Solomon was invested with the royal power, the punishment was taken away from the people of Jonah, Hiob was freed from his plague, the prayer of Zechariah was granted and John was given to him. God had drowned Pharaoh and his people and had saved Moses and the Israelites. Killing of Ḥusayn
16	Jerusalem was made the qibla
17	People of the Elephant (Ethiopians from the South of Arabia) arrived and God sent birds in big quantities
Safar	
1	Feast of the Umayyads. Head of Ḥusayn brought to Damascus, and placed in front of Yazīd.
20	Head of Ḥusayn was placed back to where he was beheaded. Al-Maʾmūn [Abbasid caliph] quit wearing the green dress and started wearing the black dress again.
23	The Hashemites [the Abbasids] came to power, and al-Saffāḥ became caliph.
24	Muhammad concealed himself in a cave with Abū Bakr
Rabiʿ al-awwal	
8	Prophet arrives to Medina
10	Prophet married Khadīja
12	The Prophet's birthday
13	Revenge on the murderers of Ḥusayn at Kufa
20	Mu'awiya started to rule

Rabiʿ al-thani	
3	Ka'ba was burned
8	Birthday of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib
14	The instructions for prayer were established
21	The Prophet went out for war
Jumada al-awwal	
9	Birthday of Jaʿfar aṭ-Ṭayyār
3	Battle of the Camel
Jumada al-akhira	
3	The angel came down to the Prophet
6	ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb became caliph
9	Birthday of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq
14	Birthday of Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar
15	Ibn al-Zubayr destroyed the Kaʿba
4	Birthday of Fāṭima, daughter of the Prophet
Rajab	
1	Noah embarked the ark
4	Battle at Siffin
12	Birthday of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq
15	Day of the prayers of the mother of David, which were heard
27	Night of Ascension and night-journey to Jerusalem
28	The Prophet was sent
Shaʿban	
3	Birthday of Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī
3	Birthday of Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī
15	*Laylat al-ṣakk*
16	The Kaʿba was made the qibla
20	al-Muʿtaḍid bi-llāh's New Year
Ramadan	
3	The scrolls were revealed from heaven to Abraham
4	The Qurʾan was sent down to the Prophet
7	The Torah was revealed to Moses Al-Maʾmūn adopted the green colors
18	The Gospels were revealed to Jesus
19	Mecca was conquered
21	Night of Power (some say it is on 23 Ramadan)
25	Abū Muslim facilitated the rule of the Abbasids in Khurasan

27	Battle of Badr and the descent of angels (some say it is the *Night of Power*)
29/30	God will release as many from hellfire as during the entire month of Ramadan
Shawwal	
1	Feast of Fast-breaking, God selected Gabriel as the bearer of his revelation. God created bees and inspired them to make honey
4	Muhammad cursed the Christians of Najran
17	Battle of Uhud, in which Ḥamza was killed
20	Jonah was devoured by the fish
25	Harmful days until the end of the month, also called ayyām al-ʿajūz
Dhu al-Qaʿda	
1	God promised Moses thirty days
4	Day of the People of the Cave
5	Abraham and Ishmael raised the bases of the Temple of Mecca
14	Jonah came forth from the belly of the fish
19	God let a pumpkin tree grow over Jonah. Gabriel sent to Muhammad a revelation
Dhu al-Hijja	
1	Marriage of Fāṭima to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib
8	*Yawm al-tarwiya* (the day of satisfying thirst)
9	*Yawm ʿarafa* (the day of recognition)
10	*Yawm al-naḥr* (the day of the victims), on which the one that was destined to be sacrificed was ransomed with the ram
11–13	*Days of Tashrīq*, the meat of the sacrificed animals was cut into pieces
18	*Ghadīr Khumm*, the day that Muhammad befriended ʿAlī
24	ʿAlī gave away his seal ring as alms, in praying
26	David was inspired to ask for pardon
27	Battle of al-Harra
28	ʿAlī, Commander of the Faithful, became caliph

APPENDIX 3: TABLE OF OLD HISPANIC SOURCES

Siglum[1044]	Shelf number	Reference In Férotin[1045]	Dating	Provenance
Carmona	(inscription)		Late 5th, early 6th century,[1046] 525[1047]	Carmona
OV	Verona, Cathedral, Biblioteca Capit. Cod. LXXXIX		ca. 700; before 734	Tarragona
Iberian Martyrology	Escorial I-III-13		early 9th, or at least the first half of the 9th century	uncertain
Esc D-I-2	Escorial D.I.2		976	Albelda
Esc D-I-1	Escorial D.I.1		994	San Millán de la Cogolla
L8	León, Biblioteca de la Catedral, Cod.8	D	Mid-10th century	'East of León' or the monastery of San Isidoro in León
PB80	BnF n.a.l. 2180		992	
PB79	BnF n.a.l. 2179		11th century	
BL00	BL Add. 25600		919	Written for San Pedro de Cardeña, at the behest of Abbat Damian, by 'Gomes dictus Peccator'
Esc B-I-4	Escorial b.I.4		11th century	San Pedro de Cardeña
S3	Santo Domingo de Silos, Biblioteca de la Abadia, MS 3	A	Calendar dated before 1064	unknown
S4	Santo Domingo de Silos, Biblioteca de la Abadia, MS 4	B	1052	copied at San Prudencio de Laturce

1044 Sigla, dating and provenance largely copied from Hornby et al., *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office*, xvii–xxix.
1045 Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum*, 449–96.
1046 Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, 131.
1047 Fidel Fita, 'Lápidas Visigóticas de Carmona y Gines', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 54 (1909): 34.

Sant	Santiago de Compostela, Biblioteca de la Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, MS 609	C	1055	copied by Pedro, illuminator Fructuoso, for King Ferdinand I of Leon at the instigation of his wife Sancha
PB71	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2171	E	before 1067	Santo Domingo de Silos
PB69	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2169	F	8th–9th century, or (more likely) 12th–14th century	Uncertain
CEA	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München Cod. Arab. 238		1394	Fez, Morocco
Toledo Homiliary	London, British Library ADD. MS 30853		11th century	Silos

APPENDIX 4: MOST WIDELY CELEBRATED FEASTS IN THE OLD HISPANIC CALENDARS

Most widely celebrated feasts (93) in the Old Hispanic calendars from the northern kingdoms (appearing in six or more than six out of eight Old Hispanic calendars); in the passionaria, in CEA; and in CCT versions.

Date	**Saint**				**Branch A1**		**Branch B1**	**Branch B2**	**Branch C1**			**Branch C2**			
		In tenth-century *passionaria* PB80 and/or BL00	In eleventh-century *passionaria* PB79 and/or Esc b-I-4	CEA	CCA	CCL	Risala, K155 & D2197	P2521	T4624	Sbihi 163/9	D18945	Vat. ar.258	KH10354	KA	Balad.2918
1 Jan	Circumcision			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
6 Jan	Epiphany			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
7 Jan	Julian and Basilissa	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
8 Jan	Holy Innocents			✓ (on 29 Dec)	✓ (on 29 Dec)	✓ (double- also on 29 Dec)	✓ (on 30 Dec)	✓ (on 29 Dec)	✓ (double - also on 29 Dec)	✓ (double - also on 29 Dec)	✓ (double - also on 29 Dec)				
9 Jan	40 Martyrs	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					
17 Jan	*Deposito* Anthony														
19 Jan	Sebastian	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓							
20 Jan	Agnes and Emerentiana	✓	✓			✓	✓								
21 Jan	Fructuosus, Augurius and Eulogius	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
22 Jan	Vincent	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
23 Jan	Ildefonsus					✓									

24 Jan	Babilus	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
28 Jan	Thyrsus	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
5 Feb	Agatha	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
7 Feb	Dorothy	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
12 Feb	Eulalia of Barcelona	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓			
19 Feb	Pantaleon	✓	✓											
22 Feb	Cathedra Peter			✓	✓	✓			✓?	✓?	✓?			
2 or 3 Mar	Emeterius and Celedonius	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
7 Mar	Perpetua and Felicitas													
3 Apr	Theodosia	✓	✓			✓			✓	✓	✓			
22 Apr or 2 May	Philip		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
24 Apr	George		✓		✓ (on 22 Apr)	✓ (on 22 Apr)			✓ (also on 6 Feb and 21 Apr)	✓ (also on 6 Feb and 21 Apr)	✓ (also on 6 Feb and 21 Apr)	✓ (also on 24 Apr)		✓ (on 21 Apr)
25 Apr	Mark				✓	✓								
28 Apr	Prudentius													
1 May	Torquatus	✓	✓			✓ (also on 27 Apr and 3 May)								
3 May	Holy Cross	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	

14 May	Isidore of Alexandria		✓												
19 or 20 May	Baudalus		✓			✓									
13 Jun	Cyricus and Julytta					✓									
16 Jun	Adrian and Natalia	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓?	✓?	✓?				
19 Jun	Gervasius and Protasius	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓?	✓?	✓?				
24 Jun	John Baptist			✓	✓	✓	✓ (and on 18 May and 20 Dec)	✓ (and on 7 Jan and on 19 Jun)	✓ (on 25 Jun and on 18 May and 19 Dec)	✓ (on 25 Jun and on 18 May and 19 Dec)	✓ (on 25 Jun and on 18 May and 19 Dec)	✓ (on 25 Jun and on 18 May and 19 Dec)	✓ (on 18 May and 19 Dec)	✓ (on 18 May and 19 Dec)	✓ (on 25 Jun and on 18 May and 19 Dec)
26 Jun	Pelagius		✓			✓									
27 Jun	Zoilus					✓									
28 Jun	Juliana		✓												
29 Jun	Peter and Paul	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
30 Jun	Lucidia and Aucela		✓												
1 Jul	Simon and Jude	✓	✓		✓ (also on 29 Oct)	✓ (also on 29 Oct)	✓								
10 Jul	Christopher	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓?	✓?	✓?				
17 Jul	Justa and Rufina	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓				

18 Jul	Speratus	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
18 Jul	Marina	✓	✓								
24 Jul	Bartholomew	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓				
25 Jul	Cucuphas	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓			
26 Jul	Christina	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓			
27 Jul	Feli✓ of Nola	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
31 Jul	Fabius		✓		✓[1048]	✓	✓	✓			✓
1 Aug	Feli✓ of Gerona	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
6 Aug	Justus and Pastor	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
7 Aug	Mammes		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
10 Aug	Sixtus, Laurence and Hippolytus	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
11 Aug	Consecration Martin										
15 Aug	Assumption Mary				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
25 Aug	Genesius	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
26 Aug	Victor and Corona		✓						✓ (on 23 Apr)	✓ (on 23 Apr)	✓ (on 23 Apr)
26 Aug	Gerontius			✓		✓					
28 Aug	Augustine		✓			✓					
1 Sep	Vincent and Letus										
14 Sep	Cyprian	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

1048 James in the Judeo-Arabic text. Pellat, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, 116.

16 Sep	Eufemia	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
21 Sep	Matthew		✓		✓ (also on 24 Feb)	✓ (also on 24 Feb)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
24 Sep	Decollatio John Baptist			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
29 Sep	Michael	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓								
30 Sep	Jerome					✓								
1 or 18 Oct	Luke				✓	✓ (on 30 Sep and 6 Nov)					✓			
13 Oct	Faustus, Januaryus and Martial	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
21 Oct	Nunilo and Alodia		✓											
22 Oct	Cosmas and Damian	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓?	✓?	✓?			
23 Oct	Servandus and Germanus	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
28 Oct	Vincent, Sabina and Cristete	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
29, 30 or 31 Oct	Marcellus	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓?	✓?	✓?			

1 Nov	Translation Saturninus	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓[1049]	✓	✓?	✓?	✓?				
11 Nov	Martin			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
12 Nov	Emilian					✓									
17 Nov	Acisclus	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓				
18 Nov	Romanus	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓			✓				
22 Nov	Cecilia	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓				
23 Nov	Clement	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓				
27 Nov	Facundus and Primitivus	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓							
29 Nov	Saturninus	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓			✓				
30 Nov	Andrew	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓							
9 Dec	Leocadia	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓							
10 Dec	Eulalia of Mérida	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓				
18 Dec	Annunciation Mary			✓	✓ (also on 21 Mar)	✓ (also on 21 Mar?)	✓ (also on 21 and 23 Mar)	✓ (also on 20 Mar)	✓ (also on 21, 22 and 24 Mar)	✓ (also on 21, 22 and 24 Mar)	✓ (also on 21 and 22 Mar)	✓ (on 22 and 30 Mar)		✓ (also on 21 and 22 Mar)	
21 Dec	Thomas	✓	✓			✓									
25 Dec	Nativity			✓	✓	✓	✓[1050]	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
26 Dec	Stephen	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓							
27 Dec	Eugenia	✓	✓		✓ (on 30 Dec)	✓ (on 30 Dec)		✓ (on 30 Dec)	✓ (on 28 Dec)	✓ (on 28 Dec)	✓ (on 30 Dec)				

1049 3 November: death of Saturninus.

1050 I adjusted the dates of Risala, based on the fact that the feasts in Risala around Christmastide were clearly (erroneously) shifted by one day in this version (see footnote 641).

28 Dec	James the Lesser	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓ (on 27 Dec)	✓ (on 27 Dec)	✓ (on 27 Dec)				
29 Dec	John Evangelist	✓	✓	✓ (on 27 Dec)	✓ (on 27 Dec)	✓ (on 27 Dec)	✓ (on 27 Dec)	✓ (on 27 Dec)	✓ (on 8 Jun, 12 Jun and 26 Dec)	✓ (on 8 Jun, 12 Jun and 26 Dec)	✓ (on 8 Jun, 12 Jun and 26 Dec)				
30 Dec	James the Greater	✓	✓			✓ (25 Jul)									
31 Dec	Columba	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓				
Total nr.	**93/93**	**57/93**	**69/93**	**34/93**	**66/93**	**81/93**	**54/93**	**55/93**	**52/93**	**52/93**	**56/93**	**9/93**	**3/93**	**6/93**	**5/93**
Total %	**100%**	**62 %**	**74%**	**37%**	**71%**	**87%**	**58%**	**59%**	**56%**	**56%**	**60%**	**10%**	**3%**	**6%**	**5%**

APPENDIX 5: FEASTS IN CCT

Feasts in CCT that appear in less than six of the Old Hispanic calendars.

Date	Feast	CCT versions/branches	Old Hispanic calendar
14 Feb	Valentinus	A1 (CCA)	S4
8 Mar	Julian (of Toledo)	D1	S4, Sant, PB71, PB69 (on 14 Jan and 6 Mar)
12 Mar	Gregory of Rome	A1 (CCL)	S4
13 Mar	*Depositio* Leander	A1 (CCL)	S4, PB71, PB69
4 Apr	Isidore	A1 (CCL), D1	Esc D-I-1, Esc D.I.2, S4, PB71
24 Apr	Gregory of Elvira	A1 (CCL)	Esc D-I-1
1, 2, and 12 May	Felix of Seville	A1 (CCA, CCL), B, C, D1	Carmona, S3, S4, PB71, PB69 (on 2 May and 30 Aug)
4 May	Trepses	A1 (CCL)	Carmona, L8 and S4
21 May	Mantius	A1 (CCL)	S3, S4, PB71, PB69
17 Jun & 19 Jun	Siriaca and Paula	A1 (CCA, CCL), D1	S3, S4, PB71, PB69
11 Jul	Marciana	A1 (CCA, CCL), B, C, D1	L8, PB71, PB69
1 and 3 Oct	Verissimus, Maxima and Julia	A1 (CCA, CCL), B, C, D1	L8, S4, PB71, PB69
26 Oct	Inventio John Baptist	D1, D2	S4 (on 24 Feb)
20 Nov	Crispin	A1 (CCA, CCL), B	L8, S3, S4, PB71, PB69
25 Nov	Anastasia	A1 (CCL)	S4, PB71, PB69
14 Dec	Justus and Habundus	A1 (CCA, CCL), D1	Esc b.I.4 and CEA

APPENDIX 6: UNIDENTIFIED SAINTS IN BRANCH C

Date	Feast	CCT versions/branches
3 Jan	Three martyrs Alexander, Marcus and Philip[1051]	C1, C2
9/11 Jan	Feast of Mount Sinai	C1
18 Jan	Shīshā of Rome[1052]	C2
26 Jan	Māla killed in the ocean[1053]	C1, C2
1 Feb	Simeon the Great	C1
3 Feb	John the Monk	C1, C2
7 Feb	Sāliya and Rawḍa	C1, C2
10 Feb	Yūmāniya	C1
11 Feb	Martyr of Martyrs	C1
20 Feb	Ṣubāṭ of Rome	C1, C2?
24 Feb	The three messengers	C1, C2
8 Mar	Feast of the Dead	C1
10 Mar	The Three Bishops	C1
31 Mar	Arsṭāṭālīs of Mérida	C1
5 Apr	Ḥāladīrīq	C1
6 Apr	Mary killed by the sword	C1
8 Apr	Eight/Eighty bishops killed in Tarazona	C1
25 Apr	Qarsūtʿa	C1
26/27 Apr	Shafshāsh	C1
4 May	Leocadia of Cádiz	C1
8 May	Peter and the Deacon	C1
11 May	Māḥūs the Doctor	C1
22 May	Simeon	C1
23 May	Ḥamāsān of Mérida	C1
24 May	Ashartarnīs killed in the neighborhood of the Tower[1054]	C1
26 May	ʿAtārs and Sabāh[1055]	C1
29 May	Simeon the Sailor	C1
30 May	Sāmānīn	C1
21 Jun	Paul	C1
22 Jun	Arṭabas	C1
27 Jun	Lūmā of Barcelona	C1
28 Jun	Māmūtīn buried in Seville	C1

1051 Spelling of names is based on T4624. There are differences in spelling between versions, unless otherwise indicated.
1052 As in Vat.ar.258.
1053 As in D18945.
1054 As in Sbihi 163/9. This part is unreadable in T4624 because of water damage.
1055 As in D18945.

3 Jul	Mantūn and Tūmar	C1
12 Jul	Raḥba killed in Qūsra	C1
14 Jul	Qarṭ and Ṭiyālis[1056]	C1
15 Jul	Cartagena	C1, C2
16 Jul	Hermes the King, the Evangelist	C1
26 Jul	Barshīsha buried in Sur[1057]	C1
26/27 Jul	Julia and Hārūsh killed in Córdoba	C1
27/28 Jul	Sirṭāṭ of Constantinople	C1
10 Aug	Abrāṭ of Chalcedon	C1
12 Aug	Raḥṭānia and Iʿdāliya the worshipers of Sinai	C1
19 Aug	Ibn Ḥabalūn of Genua[1058]	C1
2 Sep	Ruksān the Bishop	C1
4 Sep	Hulīz the Bishop of Rome	C1
6 Sep	Kibār the Martyr	C1
7 Sep	Simeon of Ceuta	C1
11 Sep	Ṭālīs and Mākīn of Narbonne	C1
30 Sep	Leocadia of Cádiz	C1
4 Oct	Julia of Qula	C1
9 Oct	Denis (of Paris?)	C1
10 Oct	Fūlāliya and Yūlāna of Zamora	C1
26 Oct	Deacon and Baryālis[1059]	C1
27 Oct	Raṭās and Jaldiyās of Sinai	C1
29 Oct	Marciana of Toledo/Marcellus?	C1
2 Nov	Martin (of Tour?)	C1
3 Nov	Sergius in Palestine	C1, C2
5 Nov	Alwaniyya	C1
5 Nov	Mar Ḥāmūs and ʿAṭās of India	C1
6 Nov	Leocadia of Rome	C1
9 Nov	Haṭāris of India	C1
1 Dec	Apostles in Damascus	C1, C2
5 Dec	Balyānus of Persia	C1
6 Dec	Malḥajān of Ṭalkama	C1
12 Dec	Saint Arāna	C1

1056 As in D18945 and Sbihi 163/9.
1057 As in D18945.
1058 As in Sbihi 163/9.
1059 As in D18945.

APPENDIX 7: FOLIO 92R OF VAT.AR.258





Bibliography

Primary Sources

ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb. *Kitāb al-Ta'rīj (La Historia)*. Edited by Jorge Aguadé. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1991.

ʿArīb Ibn Saʿīd al-Kātib al-Qurṭubī. *Kitāb Khalq al-Janīn wa Tadbīr al-Ḥabālā wa'l-Mawlūdīn. Le Livre de La Génération du Fœtus et le Traitement des Femmes Enceintes et des Nouveau-Nés*. Edited by Henri Jahier and Noureddine Abdelkader. Faculté Mixte de Médecine et de Pharmacie d´Alger, 1956.

Al-Bīrūnī. *The Chronology of Ancient Nations. An English Version of the Arabic Text of the Athār al-Bākiya of Albīrūnī*. Edited by Edward Sachau. W.H. Allen & Co., 1879.

Al-Hasan ibn al-Bahlūl. *Kitab al Daláël (IV H./X A.D. Century)*. Edited by Joseph Habbi. Institute of Arab Manuscripts, Arab League Educational Cultural & Scientific Organization, 1987.

Al-Maqqarī, Aḥmad. *Analectes sur l'Histoire et la Littérature des Arabes d'Espagne*. Edited by Reinhart Dozy, Gustave Dugat, Theodor Krehl, and William Wright. Oriental Press, 1967.

Al-Qazwīnī, Zakarīyā b. Muḥammad. *Zakarija ben Muhammed ben Mahmūd El-Kazwīni's Kosmographie. Die Wunder der Schöpfung*. Vol. 1, edited by Dr. Fleischer, translated by Hermann Ethé. Fues's Verlag, 1868.

Alkuwaifi Khazʿal, Ahmad. 'El Kitāb al Anwā' del Kātib ʿArīb Ibn Saʿīd [Arabic and Spanish version]'. Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Universitat de Barcelona, 2022.

Dozy, Reinhart, ed. *Le Calendrier de Cordoue de l'Année 961*. E.J. Brill, 1873.

Fábrega Grau, Ángel, ed. *Pasionario Hispánico*. I. Instituto P. Enrique Florez, 1953.

Férotin, Marius, ed. *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les Manuscrits Mozarabes*. Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica, VI. Firmin-Didot, 1912.

—*Le Liber Ordinum en Usage dans l'Église Wisigothique et Mozarabe d'Espagne du Cinquième au Onzième Siècle avec une Introduction, des Notes, une Étude sur Neuf Calendriers Mozarabes*. Firmin-Didot, 1904.

Gil Fernández, Juan, ed. *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum*. II: Scriptoris Muzarabici Saeculi VIII-XI. Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1973.

Ibn ʿĀṣim. *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ wa-l-Azmina – al-Qawl fī l-Šuhur (Tratado sobre los Anwāʾ y los Tiempos - Capítulo Sobre los Meses)*. Edited by Miquel Forcada Nogués. Fuentes Arábico-Hispanas. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993.

Ibn Bannāʾ. *Le Calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannâʾ de Marrakech (1256-1321 J.C.)*. Edited by H. P. J. Rénaud. Larose Éditeurs, 1948.

Ibn Kathīr. *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyāʾ*. Edited by ʿAbd al-Ḥay al-Farmāwī. Dār al-Ṭibāʿa wa al-Nashr al-Islāmiyya, 1997.

Ibn Qutayba. *Kitāb al-Anwāʾ fī Mawāsim al-ʿArab*. Dāʾirat al-maʿārif al-ʿUṯmānīya, 1956.

Martínez Gázquez, José. 'Santoral del Calendario del s. XIII Contenido en el Liber Regius del Museo Episcopal de Vic'. *Revista Catalana de Teología* 6, no. 1 (1981): 161–74.

Martínez Gázquez, José, and Julio Samsó. *Una Nueva Traducción Latina del Calendario de Córdoba (Siglo XIII)*. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1981.

Monferrer-Sala, Juan Pedro. *Los Cánones Árabes de La Iglesia Andalusí. Al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas X Ms. Árabe 1623 de la Biblioteca Real de El Escorial*. Editorial Sindéresis, 2020.

—*Scripta Theologica Arabica Christiana: Andalusi Christian Arabic Fragments Preserved in Ms. 83 (al-Maktabah al Malikiyyah, Rabat). Diplomatic Edition, Critical Apparatus and Indexes*. Edições Húmus, 2016.

Nasrallah, Nawal. *Best of Delectable Foods and Dishes from al-Andalus and al-Maghrib: A Cookbook by Thirteenth-Century Andalusi Scholar Ibn Razīn al-Tujībī (1227-1293)*. Brill, 2021.

Navarro, M. Ángeles, ed. *Risāla fī Awqāt al-Sana. Un Calendario Anónimo Andalusí*. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990.

Pellat, Charles, ed. *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*. E.J. Brill, 1961.

—*Cinq Calendriers Égyptiene*. Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire, 1986.

Penelas, Mayte, ed. *Kitāb Hurūšiyūš (Traducción Árabe de las Historiae Adversus Paganos de Orosio)*. Vol. 26. Fuentes Arábico-Hispanas. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001.

Riesco Chueca, Pilar, ed. *Pasionario Hispánico (Introducción, Edición Crítica y Traducción)*. Universidad de Sevilla, 1995.

Sbath, Paul. 'Kitāb al-Azmina: Le Livre des Temps d'Ibn Massawaïh, Médecin Chrétien Célèbre Décédé en 857'. *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 15 (1932): 235–57.

Troupeau, Gérard. 'Le Livre des Temps de Jean Ibn Masawayh'. *Arabica: Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 15 (1968): 113–42.

Urvoy, Marie-Thérèse, ed. *Le Psautier Mozarabe de Hafs le Goth*. Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1994.

Vives, José, ed. *Concilios Visigóticos*. I. España Cristiana. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1963.

Wolf, Kenneth Baxter. *The Eulogius Corpus*. Translated Texts for Historians 71. Liverpool University Press, 2019.

—*The Indiculus Luminosus of Paul Alvarus*. Translated Texts for Historians 84. Liverpool University Press, 2023.

Secondary Literature

Abu-Haidar, Jareer. 'A Document of Cultural Symbiosis: Arabic MS. 1623 of the Escorial Library'. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 2 (1987): 223–35.

Aillet, Cyrille. *Les Mozarabes: Christianisme, Islamisation et Arabisation en Péninsule Ibérique (IXe-XIIe Siècle)*. Casa de Velázquez, 2010.

—'Recherches sur Le Christianisme Arabisé (IXe - XIIe Siècles): Les Manuscrits Hispaniques Annotés en Arabe'. In *¿Existe una Identidad Mozárabe?: Historia, Lengua y Cultura de Los Cristianos de al-Andalus (Siglos IX-XII)*, edited by Cyrille Aillet, Mayte Penelas, and Philippe Roisse. Casa de Velázquez, 2008.

Arazi, A., and H. Ben Ṣḥammai. 'Mukḫtaṣar'. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, VII, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs. Brill, 1960–2005.

Assis, Yom Tov. 'The Judeo-Arabic Tradition in Christian Spain'. In *The Jews of Medieval Islam: Community, Society, and Identity*, edited by Daniel Frank. Brill, 1995.

Atiya, A. S. 'Ibn Mammātī'. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, III, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs. Brill, 1960–2005.

Ávila, Mariá Luisa, and Maribel Fierro. 'Do Caliphs Write? The View from the Islamic West'. In *Rulers as Authors in the Islamic World*, edited by Sonja Brentjes, Maribel Fierro, and Tilman Seidensticker. Brill, 2024.

Baumgarten, Elisheva. 'Shared and Contested Time: Jews and the Christian Ritual Calendar in the Late Thirteenth Century'. *Viator* 46, no. 2 (2015): 253–76.

Bausi, Alessandro, Pier Giorgio Borbone, Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, et al., eds. *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies: An Introduction*. COMSt, 2015.

Benedicto Gracia, Eugenio. 'Los Médicos Judíos de Huesca, según los Protocolos Notariales del Siglo XV'. *Sefarad: Revista de Estudios Hebraicos y Sefardíes* 68, no. 1 (2008): 55–87.

Borrut, Antoine. 'La Memoria Omeyyade: Les Omeyyades entre Souvenir et Oubli dans les Sources Narratives Islamiques'. In *Umayyad Legacies. Medieval Memories from Syria to Spain*, edited by Antoine Borrut and Paul M. Cobb. Brill, 2010.

Borst, Arno. *Die karolingische Kalenderreform*. Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998.

Bradshaw, Paul F. 'Liturgy and "Living Literature"'. In *Liturgy in Dialogue: Essays in Memory of Ronald Jasper*, edited by Paul F. Bradshaw and Bryan D. Spinks. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1993.

Brakmann, Heinzgerd. 'Η Υπαπαντὴ Τοῦ Κυρίου: Christi Lichtmess im frühchristlichen Jerusalem'. In *Crossroad of Cultures: Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele Winkler*, edited by Hans-Jürgen Feulner, Elena Velkovska, and Robert F. Taft. Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2000.

Buhl, F., and A. T. Welch. 'Muḥammad'. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, VII, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs. Brill, 1960–2005.

Bulliet, Richard. *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History*. Harvard University Press, 1979.

Burke, Peter. *Cultural Hybridity*. Polity Press, 2009.

Burman, Thomas E. *Religious Polemic and the Intellectual History of the Mozarabs, c. 1050-1200*. Brill, 1994.

Burnett, Charles. 'Traditions and Practices in the Medieval Western Christian World'. In *Prognostication in the Medieval World: A Handbook*, edited by Matthias Heiduk, Klaus Herbers, and Hans-Christian Lehner. De Gruyter, 2021.

Busic, Jason. 'Between Latin Theology and Arabic Kalām: Samson's Apologeticus Contra Perfidos (864 CE) and Ḥafṣ b. Albar al-Qūṭī's Extant Works (Fl. Late Ninth/Early Tenth Centuries)'. *Medieval Encounters* 25 (2019): 553–80.

Calderwood, Eric. *On Earth or in Poems: The Many Lives of al-Andalus*. Harvard University Press, 2023.

Calvo, Emilia, and Montse Diaz-Fajardo. 'The Tanbīh al-Anām ʿalā Mā Yaḥduthu fī Ayyām al-ʿĀm (Warning to Humanity about What Happens during the Days of the Year) by "Abdu" l-Raḥmān al-Jādirī (777/1375–818/1416)'. *Suhayl* 20 (2023): 43–141.

Campo, Juan Eduardo, and Richard C. Martin. 'Ahl al-Bayt'. In *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, I. Macmillan Reference USA, 2004.

Carandell, Joan. 'Dos Cuadrantes Solares Andalusíes de Medina Azara'. *Al-Qanṭara* 10, no. 2 (1989): 329–42.

Cardoner Planas, Antonio, and Francisca Vendrell Gallostra. 'Aportaciones al Estudio de la Familia Abenardut, Médicos Reales'. *Sefarad: Revista de Estudios Hebraicos y Sefardíes* 7, no. 2 (1947): 303–48.

Castilla Brazales, Juan. 'Ibn Saʿīd, ʿArīb'. In *Biblioteca de Al-Andalus*, V, edited by Jorge Lirola Delgado and José Miguel Puerta Vílchez. Fundación Ibn Tufayl de Estudios Árabes, 2004.

—*La Crónica de ʿArīb sobre al-Andalus*. Impredisur S.L., 1992.

Castillo Maldonado, Pedro. 'De la Crónica a la Leyenda: El Pasionario Hispánico'. In *Contemporaneidad de Los Clásicos en el Umbral del Tercer Milenio: Actas del Congreso Internacional de los Clásicos. La Tradición Grecolatina ante el Siglo XXI (La Habana, 1 a 5 de Diciembre de 1998)*. Universidad de Murcia, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1999.

Cerrato Casado, Eduardo. 'El Calendario de Córdoba como Fuente para la Reconstrucción de la Topografía Eclesiástica de la Córdoba Altomedieval'. In *Nasara, Extranjeros En Su Tierra: Estudios Sobre Cultura Mozárabe*

y Catálogo de La Exposición, edited by Eduardo Cerrato Casado and Diego Asensio Garcia. Cabildo de la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Córdoba, 2018.

Christys, Ann. *Christians in al-Andalus*. Routledge, 2002.

—'The Meaning of Topography in Umayyad Córdoba'. In *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400-1500. Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space*, edited by Caroline Goodson, Anne E. Lester, and Carol Symes. Routledge, 2010.

Chrysostomides, Anna. '"There Is No God But God": Islamisation and Religious Code-Switching, Eighth to Tenth Centuries'. In *Islamisation: Comparative Perspectives from History*, edited by Andrew C. S. Peacock. Edinburgh University Press, 2017.

Cody, Aelred. 'Calendar, Coptic'. In *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, edited by Aziz S. Atiya. Macmillan, New York, 1991.

Colbert, Edward P. *The Martyrs of Córdoba (850-859): A Study of the Sources*. Catholic University of America Press, 1962.

Coope, Jessica A. 'Arabs, Berbers, and Local Converts'. In *The Routledge Handbook of Muslim Iberia*, edited by Maribel Fierro. Routledge, 2020.

—*The Martyrs of Córdoba: Community and Family Conflict in an Age of Mass Conversion*. University of Nebraska Press, 1995.

Corriente, Federico. *A Dictionary of Andalusi Arabic*. Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung, Der nahe und mittlere Osten, Band 29 = Handbook of Oriental Studies. The Near and Middle East, Vol. 29. Brill, 1997.

Cuffel, Alexandra. *Shared Saints and Festivals among Jews, Christians, and Muslims in the Medieval Mediterranean*. ARC Humanities Press, 2024.

De Epalza, Mikel. 'Les Mozarabes: État de la Question'. *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 63–64 (1992): 39–50.

De la Granja, Fernando. 'Fiestas Cristianas en al-Andalus (Materiales para su Estudio). I: "Al-Durr al-Munaẓẓam" de al-ʿAzafī'. *Al-Andalus: Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada* 34 (1969): 1–53.

—'Fiestas Cristianas en al-Andalus (Materiales para su Estudio). II: Textos de Ṭurṭūšī, El Cadí 'Iyāḍ y Wanšarīsī'. *Al-Andalus: Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Arabes de Madrid y Granada* 35 (1970): 119–42.

Delisle, Léopold. *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de La Bibliothèque Impériale*. Institut Bibliothécaire au Départment des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale, 1768.

Deswarte, Thomas, Immo Warntjes, and Alfred Lohr. 'Édition des Folios 1-28'. In *Les Folios Introductifs de l'Antiphonaire de León (Archivo de la Catedral de León, Ms. 8, Fol. 1-27)*. Bibliologia 66. Brepols, 2024.

Dozy, Reinhart. 'Die Cordovaner ʿArîb Ibn Saʿd der Secretär und Rabîʾ Ibn Zeid der Bischof: Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte Spaniens im X. Jahrhundert'. *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 20, no. 4 (1866): 595–609.

—*Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, II. E. J. Brill, 1927.

Dunlop, D. M. 'Hafs b. Albar- the Last of the Goths?' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 86, nos 3–4 (1954): 137–51.

Echevarría Arsuaga, Ana María. 'Retelling Interreligious Marriage, from Andalusi Christians to Moriscos'. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 35, no. 1 (2020): 63–78.

Effros, Bonnie. 'Usuard's Journey to Spain and Its Influence on the Dissemination of the Cult of the Cordovan Martyrs'. *Comitatus* 21, no. 1 (1990): 21–37.

Fagan, Brian M. *Fish on Friday: Feasting, Fasting, and the Discovery of the New World*. Basic Books, 2006.

Fierro, Maribel. *Al-Andalus*. Libros de la Catarata; CSIC, 2024.

—'Mawālī and Muwalladūn in al-Andalus (Second/Eighth-Fourth/Tenth Centuries)'. In *Patronate and Patronage in Early and Classical Islam*, edited by Monique Bernards and John Nawas. Brill, 2005.

—'Religious Beliefs and Practices in al-Andalus in the Third/Ninth Century'. *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 66, no. 1/2 (1992): 15–33.

—ʿ*Abd Al-Rahman III : The First Cordoban Caliph*. Oneworld Publications, 2013.

Fiey, Jean-Maurice. 'Le Sanctoral Syrien Oriental d'après les Évangéliaires et Bréviaires du XIe Au XIIIe Siècles'. *L'Orient Syrien* VIII (1963): 21–54.

—'Sur le Calendrier Syriaque Oriental Arabe de Bar Bahlūl (942/968 A. D.)'. *Analecta Bollandiana* 106 (1988): 259–71.

Fita, Fidel. 'Lápidas Visigóticas de Carmona y Gines'. *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 54 (1909): 34–45.

Fitzwilliam Hall, Simon. *An Introductory Survey of the Arabic Books of Filāḥa and Farming Almanacs*. October 2010 (unpublished).

Forcada, Miquel. 'Astrology and Folk Astronomy: The Mukhtaṣar min al-Anwāʾ of Aḥmad b. Fāris'. *Suhayl* 1 (2000): 107–206.

—'Books of anwāʾ in al-Andalus'. In *The Formation of al-Andalus. Part 2: Language, Religion, Culture and the Sciences*, edited by Julio Samsó and Maribel Fierro. Ashgate, 1998.

—'Les Sources Andalouses du Calendrier d'Ibn al-Bannāʾ'. In *Actas Del II Coloquio Hispano-Marroquí des Ciencias Históricas 'Historia, Ciencia y Sociedad'. Granada, 6-10 Noviembre de 1989*. Instituto de Cooperación con el Mundo Arabe, 1992.

—'Mīqāt en los Calendarios Andalusíes'. *Al-Qanṭara* 11 (1990): 59–70.

—The Kitāb al-Anwāʾ of ʿArīb b. Saʿīd and the Calendar of Cordova'. In *Sic Itur Ad Astra. Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften. Festschrift für den Arabisten Paul Künitzsch zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by M. Folkerts and R. Lorch. Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000.

—'Umawī: Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAlī Ibn Khalaf al-Umawī'. In *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers (Springer Reference)*, edited by Thomas Hockey et al. Springer, 2007. https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-30400-7_1402.

Fradejas Rueda, José Manuel. 'Shadhāniqāt al-Balansiyya or Shadhāniqāt al-Baḥriyya: On the Arabic Text and the Latin Translations of the Calendar of Cordova'. In *Science Translated. Latin and Vernacular Translations of Scientific Treatises in Medieval Europe*, edited by Michèle Goyens, Pieter de Leemans, and An Smets. Leuven University Press, 2008.

Füeck, Johann. 'Zum Kalender von Cordoba vom Jahre 961'. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 60, nos 1–6 (1965): 333–37.

Gabrieli, F. 'Adab'. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, I, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs. Brill, 1960–2005.

Gacek, Adam. *Arabic Manuscripts: A Vademecum for Readers*. Brill, 2009.

Garciá Rodríguez, Carmen. *El Culto de los Santos en la España Romana y Visigoda*. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1966.

García Sánchez, Expiración, and Julia María Carabaza Bravo. 'Un Breve Calendario de Origen Andalusí'. *Revista de Filología de La Universidad de La Laguna* 17 (1999): 233–44.

García-Arenal, Mercedes. 'The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada'. *Arabica: Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 56, no. 6 (2009): 495–528.

García-Sanjuán, Alejandro. 'Rejecting al-Andalus, Exalting the Reconquista: Historical Memory in Contemporary Spain'. *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 10, no. 1 (2018): 127–45.

Godoy Fernández, Cristina, and Miquel dels Sants Gros Pujol. 'L'Oracional Hispànic de Verona i la Topografía Cristiana de Tarraco a l'Antiguitat Tardana: Possiblitats i Límits'. *Pyranae* 25 (1994): 245–58.

Goldziher, Ignác. *Muhammedanische Studien*. Max Niemeyer, 1889.

Goussen, Heinrich G. *Die christlich-arabische Literatur der Mozaraber*. Otto Harrassowitz, 1909.

Grégoire, Réginald. *Homéliaires Liturgiques Médiévaux: Analyse de Manuscrits*. Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1980.

Guichard, Pierre. 'Traders and Peasants'. In *The Routledge Handbook of Muslim Iberia*, edited by Maribel Fierro. Routledge, 2020.

Gutiérrez González, Carmen Julia. 'Librum de Auratum Conspice Pinctum. Sobre la Datación y la Procedencia del Antifonario de León'. *Revista de Musicología* 34, no. 1 (2020): 19–76.

Habbi, Joseph. 'Le Livre des Signes de al-Ḥasan b. Bahlūl'. In *Oriens Christianus. Hefte für die Kunde des christlichen Orient*, vol. 68, edited by Julius Assfalg. Otto Harrassowitz, 1984.

Heikkilä, Tuomas, and Teemu Roos. 'Quantitative Methods for the Analysis of Medieval Calendars'. *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 33, no. 4 (2018): 766–87.

Hitchcock, Richard. *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Identities and Influences*. Ashgate, 2008.

Hjälm, Miriam L. 'Scriptures beyond Words: "Islamic" Vocabulary in Early Christian Arabic Bible Translations'. *Collectanae Christiana Orientala* 15 (2018): 49–69.

Holt, P. M. 'Ḵẖalīfa'. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, IV, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs. Brill, 1960–2005.

Hornby, Emma, Kati Ihnat, Rebecca Maloy, and Raquel Rojo Carrillo. *Understanding the Old Hispanic Office. Texts Melodies and Devotion in Early Medieval Iberia*. Cambridge University Press, 2022.

Hornby, Emma, Marcus Jones, and Melanie Shaffer. 'Creating and Using Liturgies for the Commune Sanctorum in Medieval Iberia'. *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 54 (2023): 94–118.

Ihnat, Kati. 'Beyond Hagiography: Gender and Violence in the Earliest Liturgy for Pelagius'. *Medieval Encounters* 30, no. 4 (2024): 379–431.

—'The Martyrs of Córdoba: Debates around a Curious Case of Medieval Martyrdom'. *History Compass* 18, no. 1 (2020).

Ihnat, Kati, and Cathrien Hoijinck. 'Christian Practice under Muslim Rule: New Insights into the Christian Rite Celebrated in al-Andalus'. *Hispania Sacra* 76, no. 154 (2024).

Jeffery, Peter. '"Living Literature" in Three Dimensions: The Ordines Romani of the Mass'. In *On the Typology of Liturgical Books from the Western Middle Ages. Zur Typologie liturgischer Bücher des westlichen Mittelalters*, edited by Andrew J. M. Irving and Harald Buchinger. Aschendorff Verlag, 2023.

Jones, Linda. *The Power of Oratory in the Medieval Muslim World*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Joosten, Ellen. 'All over Córdoba, They Run to Celebrate! An Exploration of Stational Liturgy and Stational Movement in Medieval Córdoba (Ninth-Tenth Centuries)'. Master thesis, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, 2023.

Kaptein, N. J. G. *Muhammad's Birthday Festival: Early History in the Central Muslim Lands and Development in the Muslim West until the 10th/16th Century*. Brill, 1993.

Kassis, Hanna E. 'The Arabicization and Islamization of the Christians of al-Andalus: Evidence of Their Scriptures'. In *Languages of Power in Islamic Spain*, edited by Ross Brann. CDL Press, 1997.

—'The Mozarabs'. In *The Literature of al-Andalus*, edited by María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, and Michael Sells. The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature. Cambridge University Press;, 2000.

Kohlberg, E. 'Waṣī'. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, XI, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs. Brill, 1960–2005.

Kosack, Wolfgang. *Der koptische Heiligenkalender: Deutsch-Koptisch-Arabisch*. Verlag Christoph Brunner, 2012.

Kunitzsch, Paul. *Über eine Anwā'-Tradition mit bisher unbekannten Sternnamen*. Beitrage zur Lexikographie des klassischen Arabisch 4. Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1983.

—'ʿAbd Al-Malik Ibn Ḥabīb's Book on the Stars'. In *The Formation of Al-Andalus. Part 2: Language, Religion, Culture and the Sciences*, edited by Julio Samsó and Maribel Fierro. Ashgate, 1998.

Leclercq, Henri. 'Épiphanie'. In *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, V (Encaustique–Fustel de Coulanges), première partie.

—'Présentation de Jésus Au Temple'. In *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Tome XIV (Peiresc–Porter), première partie.

Levi della Vida, Giorgio. *Arabic Papyri in the University Museum in Philadelphia (Pennsylvania)*. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1981.

—*Elenco dei Manoscritti Arabi Islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana: Vaticani, Barberiniani, Borgiani, Rossiani*. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1935.

Libri, Guillaume. *Histoire des Sciences Mathématiques en Italie: Depuis la Renaissance des Lettres jusqu'à la Fin du XVIIe Siècle*. Vol. 1. J. Renouard, 1838.

Lifshitz, Felice. *The Name of the Saint: The Martyrology of Jerome and Access to the Sacred in Francia, 627-827*. University of Notre Dame, 2006.

López Martínez de Marigorta, Eneko. 'La Colaboración entre las Instituciones Cristianas y el Poder Omeya desde la Óptica de Eliberri y Urci'. *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies* 41 (2019): 1–18.

López y López, Ángel C. 'Estudio Particular de las Especies Botánicas Que se Citan en el Calendario de Córdoba de ʿArīb Ibn Saʿīd'. *Ciencias de la Naturaleza en al-Andalus* 3 (1994): 43–78.

—'Vida y Obra del Famoso Polígrafo Cordobés del s. X ʿArīb Ibn Saʿīd'. *Ciencias de la Naturaleza en al-Andalus*, 1990, 317–47.

Lorenzo Jiménez, Jesús. 'When God Does Not Rule the City of God: Bishops and Episcopal Sees in al-Andalus (711-1147 Ce)'. In *Canon Law and Christian Societies between Christianity and Islam: An Arabic Canon Collection*

from al-Andalus and Its Transcultural Contexts, edited by Matthias Maser, Jesús Lorenzo Jiménez, and Geoffrey K. Martin. Brepols, 2024.

Maloy, Rebecca. *Songs of Sacrifice: Chant, Identity, and Christian Formation in Early Medieval Iberia*. Oxford University Press, 2020.

Manzano Moreno, Eduardo. *The Court of the Caliphate of al-Andalus: Four Years in Umayyad Córdoba*. Translated by Jeremy Roe. Edinburgh Studies in Classical Islamic History and Culture, edited by Carole Hillenbrand. Edinburgh University Press, 2023.

Martin, Geoffrey K. 'An Anonymous Mozarab Translator at Work'. In *Senses of Scripture, Treasures of Tradition: The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims*, edited by Miriam L. Hjälm. Biblia Arabica 5. Brill, 2017.

Martínez Gázquez, José. 'Dicunt Experimentatores / Dicunt Qui Experimento Locuti Sunt: L'Expérience dans les Indications du Calendrier de Cordoue (10 Siècle)'. In *Expertus Sum: L'Expérience par les Sens dans la Philosophie Naturelle Médiévale*, edited by Thomas Bénatouïl and Isabelle Draelants. Sismel Edizioni del Galluzo, 2011.

—'El Texto del Calendario de Córdoba en el Manuscrito Berlín Lat. Qu. 198'. In *Studia in Honorem Prof. M. de Riquer*, vol. 4. Quaderns Crema, 1991.

—'Un Nuevo Manuscrito de la Traducción del Calendario de Córdoba'. *Actas del I Congreso Andaluz de Estudios Clásicos*, 9 December 1982, 290–93.

Maser, Matthias. 'Whens and Whereabouts — Old and New Lights on the Genesis of al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas (El Escorial, RBME Ms. Árabe 1623)'. In *Canon Law and Christian Societies between Christianity and Islam*, edited by Matthias Maser, Jesús Lorenzo Jiménez, and Geoffrey K. Martin. Brepols, 2024.

Maser, Matthias, Jesús Lorenzo Jiménez, and Geoffrey K. Martin, eds. *Canon Law and Christian Societies between Christianity and Islam*. Brepols, 2024.

Micheau, Françoise. 'Eastern Christianities (Eleventh to Fourteenth Century): Copts, Melkites, Nestorians and Jacobites'. In *Eastern Christianity*, edited by Angold Michael. The Cambridge History of Christianity 5. Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Molina, L. 'Umayyads'. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, X, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs. Brill, 1960–2005.

Monferrer-Sala, Juan Pedro. '¿Circularon Textos Cristianos Orientales en al-Andalus?' In *¿Existe una Identidad Mozárabe?: Historia, Lengua y Cultura de los Cristianos de al-Andalus (Siglos IX - XII)*, edited by Cyrille Aillet, Mayte Penelas, and Philippe Roisse. Casa de Velázquez, 2008.

—'Mitografía Hagiomartirial: De Nuevo sobre los Supuestos Mártires Cordobeses del Siglo IX'. In *De Muerte Violenta. Política, Religión y Violencia en al-Andalus*, edited by Maribel Fierro. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2004.

—'Notes on the Lexicon of the Tenth Book of al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas (Mid-11th Century CE)'. In *Canon Law and Christian Societies between Christianity and Islam: An Arabic Canon Collection from al-Andalus and Its Transcultural Contexts*, edited by Matthias Maser, Jesús Lorenzo Jiménez, and Geoffrey K. Martin. Brepols, 2024.

—'Rabīʿ Ibn Zayd'. In *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, 2: 900-1050, edited by David Thomas and Alexander Mallet. Brill, 2012.

—'The Arabicized Christians in Cordoba: Social Context and Literary Production'. In *A Companion to Late Antique and Medieval Islamic Cordoba: Capital of Roman Baetica and Caliphate of al-Andalus*, edited by Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala and Antonio J. Monterroso Checa. Brill, 2023.

—'Translating in Ninth-Century Cordoba. Notes on the Urjūzah of Ḥafs Ibn Albar al-Qūṭī to His Arabic Poetic Version of Sifr al-Zubūr'. *Transletters. International Journal of Translation and Interpreting*, no. 1 (2018): 79–92.

Montgomery Watt, W. 'Isḥāḳ'. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, IV, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs. Brill, 1960–2005.

Neugebauer, Otto. 'On the "Spanish Era"'. *Chiron: Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 11 (1981): 371–80.

Neuwirth, Angelika. *Der Koran als Text der Spätantike: Ein europäischer Zugang*. Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2010.

Nothaft, C. Philipp E. *Medieval Latin Christian Texts on the Jewish Calendar: A Study with Five Editions and Translations*. Brill, 2014.

—'A Third Latin Translation of Ibn Al-Ṣaffār's Treatise on the Uses of the Astrolabe'. *Mediterranea, International Journal on the Transfer of Knowledge* 8 (2023): 377–412.

Paret, Rudi. 'Ismāʿīl'. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, IV, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs. Brill, 1960–2005.

Pedersen, J. 'Ādam'. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, I, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs. Brill, 1960–2005.

Penelas, Mayte. 'A Possible Author of the Arabic Translation of Orosius' Historiae'. *Al-Masāq* 13 (2001): 113–35.

—'Linguistic Islamization of the "Mozarabs" as Attested in a Late Ninth-Century Chronicle'. In *Language of Religion - Language of the People: Medieval Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, edited by Ernst Bremer, Jörg Jarnut, Michael Richter, and David J. Wasserstein. Wilhem Fink Verlag, 2006.

Pierre du Bourguet, S. J. 'Copt'. In *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2, edited by Aziz S. Atiya. Macmillan, New York, 1991.

Plenkers, Héribert. *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der ältesten lateinischen Mönchsregeln*. C.H. Beck, 1906.

Puig, Roser. 'Le Kitāb al-Mustawʿib al-Kāfī wa-l-Muqniʿ al-Shāfī d'Ibn Khalaf al-Umawī al-Qurṭubī (m. 1206). D'après le Manuscrit Aḥmadiyya 11925/12 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Tunis'. In *Actes du XIIIème Colloque Maghrébin sur l'Histoire des Mathématiques Arabes*, edited by Mahdi Abdeljaouad and Hmida Hedfi. COMHISMA 13, 2018.

Quentin, Henri. 'Kalendaria'. In *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Tome VIII (Judaïsme–Lexique), première partie.

Radtke, B. 'Walī'. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, XI, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs. Brill, 1960–2005.

Rius-Piniés, Mònica. 'Sciences and Technology'. In *The Routledge Handbook of Muslim Iberia*, edited by Maribel Fierro. Routledge, 2020.

Roisse, Philippe. 'Célébrait-on les Offices Liturgiques en Árabe dans l'Occident Musulmán? Étude, Édition et Traduction d'un "Capitulare Evangeliorum" Árabe (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Aumer 238)'. In *¿Existe una Identidad Mozárabe?: Historia, Lengua y Cultura de los Cristianos de al-Andalus (Siglos IX - XII)*, edited by Cyrille Aillet, Mayte Penelas, and Philippe Roisse. Casa de Velázquez, 2008.

Rojo Carrillo, Raquel. 'Old Hispanic Chant Manuscripts of Toledo: Testimonies of a Local or of a Wider Tradition?' In *A Companion to Medieval Toledo: Reconsidering the Canons*, edited by Yasmine Beale-Rivaya and Jason Busic. Brill, 2018.

Rouwhorst, Gerard. 'De Oriëntaalse Liturgieën'. In *Handboek Oosters Christendom*, edited by H. Teule and A. Brüning. Peeters, 2018.

Rushforth, Rebecca. *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*. Boydell & Brewer for the Henry Bradshaw Society, 2008.

Saavedra, Eduardo. *Estudio sobre la Invasión de los Árabes en España*. El Progreso Editorial, 1892.

Safran, Janina M. *Defining Boundaries in al-Andalus: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Islamic Iberia*. Cornell University Press, 2013.

—'The Command of the Faithful in al-Andalus: A Study in the Articulation of Caliphal Legitimacy'. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30, no. 2 (1998): 183–98.

Sahner, Christian C. *Christian Martyrs under Islam: Religious Violence and the Making of the Muslim World*. Princeton University Press, 2018.

Samsó, Julio. *Las Ciencias de los Antiguos en al-Andalus*. Fundación Ibn Tufayl de Estudios Árabes, 2011.

—'Sobre los Materiales Astronómicos en el Calendario de Córdoba y en su Versión Latina del Siglo XIII'. In *Nuevos Estudios sobre Astronomía Española en el Siglo de Alfonso X*, edited by Juan Vernet. Instituto de Filología, Institución 'Milá y Fontanals', Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1983.

—'Cordoba as a Scientific Center'. In *A Companion to Late Antique and Medieval Islamic Cordoba: Capital of Roman Baetica and Caliphate of al-Andalus*, edited by Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala and Antonio Monterroso Checa. Brill, 2023.

—*On Both Sides of the Strait of Gibraltar: Studies in the History of Medieval Astronomy in the Iberian Peninsula and the Maghrib*. Brill, 2020.

—'Un Calendrier Tunisien d'origine Andalouse?- Du XIXe Siècle'. *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 26 (1978): 67–84.

Sanders, Paula. *Ritual, Politics and the City in Fatimid Cairo*. State University of New York Press, 1994.

Sato, Kentaro. 'Yannayr and al-ʿAnṣara: Seasonal Festivals in the Medieval Muslim West'. *The Journal of Sophia Asian Studies* 30 (2012): 1–14.

Senra Gabriel y Galán, José Luis. 'Dos Telas Islámicas Encontradas en el Monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión de los Condes'. *Goya: Revista de Arte* 303 (2004): 332–40.

Sezgin, Fuat. *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. VII: Astrologie-Meteorologie und Verwandtes. Bis ca. 430 H. E.J. Brill, 1979.

Shaffer, Melanie. 'A "Proper" Celebration: The Old Hispanic Commune Sanctorum and Its Affordance for Individualised Liturgies'. *Journal of Medieval History*, 2026, 1–44. https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/03044181.2025.2595200.

Shatzmiller, M. 'Al-Muwaḥḥidūn'. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, VII, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs. Brill, 1960–2005.

Simonet, Francisco J. *Historia de los Mozárabes de España. Hasta la Conquista de Toledo por Alfonso VI (Años 870 a 1085)*. III. Turner, 1983.

—*Un Santoral Hispano-Mozárabe del Siglo X*. Tipografía de Pascual Gonesa, 1871.

Soravia, Bruna. 'Secretaries and the Running of Government'. In *The Routledge Handbook of Muslim Iberia*, edited by Maribel Fierro. Routledge, 2020.

Steinschneider, Moritz. 'Harib, Sohn des Zeid, Und Garib, Sohn des Said. Zur Geschichte der Mathematischen Wissenschaften im X. Jahrhundert'. *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik* 6, no. 3 (1866): 235–43.

Stern, Sacha. 'Christian Calendars in Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts'. *Medieval Encounters* 22, nos 1–3 (2016): 236–65.

Stroumsa, Sarah. 'Single-Source Records in the Intercommunal Life of al-Andalus: The Cases of Ibn al-Naghrīla and the Cordoban Martyrs'. *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 6, nos 1–2 (2018): 217–41.

Thomann, Johannes. 'A Fragment of an Unusual Arabic Almanac for 297 AH/910 CE (P.Berl. Inv. 12793)'. In *New Frontiers of Arabic Papyrology: Arabic and Multilingual Texts from Early Islam*, edited by Sobhi Bouderbala, Sylvie Denoix, and Matt Malczycki. Brill, 2017.

—'The Arabic Ephemeris for the Year 1149/1150 CE (P.Cambridge UL Inv. Michael. Chartae D 58) and the Arabic Baḥnīṭas, Greek Παχνίτης and Coptic ⲡⲁϣⲟⲛⲥ'. *Chronique d'Égypte* 90 (2015): 207–24.

Tieszen, Charles L. *Christian Identity amid Islam in Medieval Spain*. Brill, 2013.

Tottoli, Roberto. 'Isaac'. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam Three*, edited by K. Fleet, G. Krämer, D. Matringe, J. Nawas, and D. J. Stewart. Brill, 2017. https://doi.org/https://doi-org.ru.idm.oclc.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_32535.

—'Prophets'. In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World*, IV, edited by John L. Esposito. Oxford University Press, 2009.

—'The Qiṣaṣ Al-Anbiyā' of Ibn Muṭarrif al-Ṭarafī (d. 454/1062): Stories of the Prophets from al-Andalus'. *Al-Qanṭara* 19, no. 1 (1998): 131–60.

Troupeau, Gérard. 'Le Vocabulaire Arabe Chrétien dans le "Kitāb al-Muḫaṣṣaṣ" d'Ibn Sīdah'. *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 25 (1993): 289–301.

Urvoy, Marie-Thérèse. 'Influence Islamique sur le Vocabulaire d'un Psautier Arabe d'al-Andalus'. *Al-Qanṭara* 15, no. 2 (1994): 509–18.

Van Bladel, Kevin T. *From Sasanian Mandaeans to Ṣābians of the Marshes*. Brill, 2017.

Van der Ploeg, J. P. M. *The Christians of St. Thomas in South India and Their Syriac Manuscripts*. Center for Indian and Inter-religious Studies, 1983.

Van Herwaarden, Jan. 'The Origins of the Cult of St James of Compostela'. *Journal of Medieval History* 6, no. 1 (1980): 1–35.

Van Koningsveld, Pieter S. 'Christian Arabic Literature from Medieval Spain: An Attempt at Periodization'. In *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period (750-1258)*, edited by Samir Khalil Samir and Jørgen Nielsen. Brill, 1994.

—'Christian-Arabic Manuscripts from the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa: A Historical Interpretation'. *Al-Qanṭara* (Madrid) 15, no. 2 (1994): 423–51.

—*The Arabic Psalter of Ḥafṣ Ibn Albar Al-Qūṭī: Prolegomena for a Critical Edition*. Aurora, 2016.

—'The Date of al-Qānūn al-Muqaddas: The Lisbon Fragments and the Islamic Sources'. In *Canon Law and Christian Societies between Christianity and Islam: An Arabic Canon Collection from al-Andalus and Its Transcultural Contexts*, edited by Matthias Maser, Jesús Lorenzo Jiménez, and Geoffrey K. Martin. Brepols, 2024.

—'The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library: A Contribution to the Study of Mozarabic Manuscripts and Literature'. Proefschrift ter Verkrijging van de Graad van Doctor in de Letteren aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, 1977.

Varisco, Daniel Martin. *Medieval Agriculture and Islamic Science: The Almanac of a Yemeni Sultan*. University of Washington Press, 1994.

—'Traditions and Practices in the Medieval Islamic World'. In *Prognostication in the Medieval World: A Handbook*, edited by Matthias Heiduk, Klaus Herbers, and Hans-Christian Lehner. De Gruyter, 2021.

Vázquez Ruiz, José. 'Un Calendario Anónimo Granadino del Siglo XV'. *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos* 9–10 (1962 1961): 23–64.

Veccia Vaglieri, L. '(Al-)Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib'. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd Edition*, III, edited by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs. Brill, 1960–2005.

Velkov, Asparukh. *Les Filigranes dans les Documents Ottomans: Divers Types d'Images*. Akadémie des Sciences de Bulgarie, Institut d'Études Balkaniques, 2005.

Vidal-Gorène, Chahan, Noëmie Lucas, Clément Salah, Aliénor Decours-Perez, and Boris Dupin. 'RASAM - A Dataset for the Recognition and Analysis of Scripts in Arabic Maghrebi'. *Lecture Notes in Computer Science: International Conference on Document Analysis and Recognition*, 2021, 265–81.

Vivancos Gómez, Miguel Carlos. 'El Calendario y otros Contenidos Litúrgicos en los Folios Introductorios del Antifonario de León'. In *Les Folios Introductifs de l'Antiphonaire de León (Archivo de La Catedral de León, Ms. 8, Fol. 1-27)*, edited by Thomas Deswarte. Brepols, 2024.

Vives Gatell, José. 'Santoral Visigodo en Calendarios e Inscripciones'. *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia: Revista de Ciències Historicoeclesiàstiques* 14 (1941): 31–58.

Vives Gatell, José, and Angel Fábrega Grau. 'Calendarios Hispánicos Anteriores al Siglo XIII'. *Hispania Sacra* 2 (1949): 339–80.

Wasserstein, David J. 'The Language Situation in al-Andalus'. In *The Formation of al-Andalus. Part 2: Language, Religion, Culture and the Sciences*, edited by Julio Samsó and Maribel Fierro. Ashgate, 1998.

—'The Library of Al-Ḥakam II al-Mustanṣir and the Culture of Islamic Spain'. In *Education and Learning in the Early Islamic World*, vol. 43, edited by Claude Gilliot. The Formation of the Classical Islamic World. Ashgate Variorum, 2012.

Wood, Jamie. 'Persecution, Past and Present: Memorialising Martyrdom in Late Antique and Early Medieval Córdoba'. *Al-Masāq* 27 (2015): 41–60.

Zadeh, Travis. *The Vernacular Qur'an: Translation and the Rise of Persian Exegesis*. Oxford University Press, 2012.

Zieme, Stefan. 'Gerard of Cremona's Latin Translation of the Almagest and the Revision of Tables'. *Journal for the History of Astronomy* 54, no. 1 (2023): 3–33.

Zotenberg, Hermann, and Steinschneider, Moritz. *Catalogues des Manuscrits Hébreux et Samaritains de la Bibliothèque Impériale*. Bibliothèque Impériale, 1866.



English summary

This dissertation offers a critical revision of several aspects of what is currently known as the *Cordoban Calendar*, namely its manuscript corpus, transmission, liturgical content, and the religious identity of its author. As an Arabic almanac probably composed in Córdoba in the tenth century, the *Cordoban Calendar* is of considerable interest to historians seeking to gain a better understanding of the realities of al-Andalus during this period. Thanks to the two manuscripts edited by Reinhart Dozy in 1873 and Charles Pellat in 1961, many scholars working on al-Andalus are familiar with the *Cordoban Calendar*, or at least have a general idea of its contents. Consequently, almost all conclusions drawn about the *Cordoban Calendar* have thus far been based on these two manuscripts. In recent decades, however, additional manuscripts have come to light, although they have not yet become widely known among scholars. These manuscripts correspond to a considerable extent to the text preserved in the two edited manuscripts, either in the form of Latin translations (6) or Arabic copies (4). In addition to these manuscripts, I identified seven further manuscripts containing versions of the *Cordoban Calendar* and incorporated them into the analysis. The text, therefore, is not witnessed by two manuscripts, as is commonly assumed, but by nineteen.

Corpus – The nineteen manuscripts correspond closely to one another, in most of the sections on an almost word-for-word basis. The main structure and building blocks of the text consist of an extensive introduction containing the title(s), two rubrics, and a paragraph on the Christian year. Each month contains a prologue and an epilogue, as well as daily entries providing information on weather conditions, the positions of the sun and moon, the feasts being celebrated, the length of the day, and agricultural activities. The text also contains several passages connected specifically to the Cordoban context. It is the combination of these building blocks that distinguishes the *Cordoban Calendar* from other Arabic almanacs. The greatest degree of variation is found in the liturgical entries, that is, entries concerning religious feasts and commemorations, as well as biblical and qurʾanic figures and events. On the basis of both the correspondences and the variations among the manuscripts, this study establishes a taxonomy that divides the manuscript corpus into several branches. This taxonomy is not intended to represent stemmatic relationships, that is, direct lines of descent between individual copies, but rather connections in a broader sense. It identifies text versions that share the greatest degree of textual similarity, allowing them to be discussed as manuscript branches.

The newly identified manuscripts shed new light on the context in which the text was produced and challenge widely held assumptions about the *Cordoban Calendar*. For instance, they strengthen the hypothesis that the text was most probably composed in 973 rather than 961. They also strongly suggest that the text was known from the outset under two titles: the *Kitāb al-anwāʾ* and the *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa-maṣāliḥ al-abdān*. Revisiting the *Cordoban Calendar* on the basis of the complete, currently identified manuscript corpus thus contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the circumstances of its production.

Transmission – One of the main conceptual tools for revisiting the *Cordoban Calendar* from a fresh perspective is the notion of *living literature*. This concept works particularly well in cases where there is no autograph preserved, where attempts to reconstruct such a version face significant obstacles, and where multiple textual variants circulate without clearly pointing to an *Urtext*—all features that apply to the textual tradition of the *Cordoban Calendar*. Viewing the *Cordoban Calendar* as *living literature* makes it possible to treat all manuscripts, in principle, as equally valid witnesses to the textual tradition. Accordingly, this research, framed by the concept of *living literature*, does not seek to establish definitively which of the nineteen manuscripts is closest to the original text. It nevertheless considers the possibility that the manuscripts belonging to branch B1 preserve an older text version from which other copies in the corpus derive, rather than being themselves the result of a merge of other manuscripts in the corpus, as is currently proposed.

Liturgical content – The absence of an original manuscript of a textual tradition raises the question of how such a source can be used for historical research. Rather than attempting to reconstruct an *Urtext*, this study distinguishes between liturgical categories that were more likely to have formed part of the *Cordoban Calendar* in its earliest recoverable form and those that were less likely to have done so. First, it must be noted that the *Cordoban Calendar* cannot be considered a stand-alone text. Parts of it draw on sources—almanacs and other calendrical works—that travelled from the Middle East and Egypt to al-Andalus. The *Cordoban Calendar* therefore stands in close relationship to other sources, whether they predate or postdate it. This dissertation has clarified the relationship between the *Cordoban Calendar* and the works of scholars from a range of backgrounds, including Ibn Māsawayh, al-Bīrūnī, al-Umawī, al-Jādirī, Ibn al-Bannāʾ, and the anonymous author of the *Long Calendar*. The analysis also reveals previously unnoticed correspondences with texts such as Ibn Bahlūl's *Kitāb al-dalāʾil*, al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*, and an anonymous calendar preserved in the El Escorial manuscript 924. Situating the *Cordoban Calendar* within this wider Mediterranean tradition of Arabic almanacs demonstrates the extent to which this tradition flourished and circulated among scholars across political and religious boundaries.

Comparison with these other Arabic almanacs has made it possible to formulate hypotheses about the liturgical categories that originally formed part of the *Cordoban Calendar*. On the basis of this comparison, I argue that the *Cordoban Calendar* accommodated a diverse liturgical repertoire in its earliest recoverable form, including Iberian Christian feasts, Coptic feasts, Jewish and Persian feasts, and entries concerning prophets and scriptures. There are also good reasons to assume that Islamic historical events belonged to the *Cordoban Calendar* from an early stage of its transmission, although this cannot be argued with the same degree of confidence as for the other liturgical categories.

The identification of the most likely early liturgical categories provides the basis for interpreting the *Cordoban Calendar*'s liturgical content. The analysis focuses in particular on Christian Andalusi practice, given the availability of comparable Christian material from the kingdoms of northern Iberia. The evidence suggests a certain degree of liturgical uniformity across the Peninsula, despite regional and chronological differences. At the same time, a number of noteworthy deviations point to local Cordoban particularities. The case studies also revealed a number of entries that most likely did not refer to celebrations in Córdoba.

Entries referring to the Cordoban martyrs and associated figures are of particular interest because of their controversiality and their occurrence in only one of the manuscripts. These entries appear to have been added at a later stage of the textual transmission, which significantly weakens the claim that these individuals were ever commemorated by a Christian community in Córdoba. The case of the Cordoban martyrs thus illustrates the difficulty of treating this particular manuscript as a straightforward representation of tenth-century Cordoban Christian practice.

Religious identity – On the basis of philological arguments, this study identifies the author of the *Cordoban Calendar* as rooted in the Islamic tradition. The narrative function of key terms, the use of names, the author's perspective as an outsider on communities such as Iberian Christians, Jews, Copts, and Persians, and the doctrinal perspective embedded in descriptions of biblical and qurʾanic events all point to a Muslim viewpoint. At the same time, the text contains a diverse range of liturgical and theological material, suggesting a relatively unpolemical engagement with ritual practices that did not belong to the author's own religious tradition. Rather than setting these traditions against one another, the text constructs a shared historical framework that acknowledges and accommodates multiple religious traditions. It is conceivable that the author did not perceive these 'different' traditions simply as cultural expressions external to his own, but rather as elements of a shared cultural world. Despite the subtle presence of Islam as its prevailing religious framework, the *Cordoban Calendar* should therefore be understood as the testimony of an individual whose identity was not defined exclusively by religious affiliation, but who instead sought to bring into view the diversity of the realm in which he lived.

The author's attitude towards these different traditions is significant for understanding tenth-century Andalusi identity more broadly, particularly in the context of individuals working at court, as was most likely the case with the author of the *Cordoban Calendar*. Court scholars and secretaries may be expected, particularly in this period, to have been well informed about—and often interested in—traditions beyond their own, while remaining rooted in a particular religious tradition, whether Jewish, Christian, or Muslim. Caliph al-Ḥakam II's wide-ranging interest in religion and scholarly inquiry may have encouraged the author's creativity and freedom to incorporate diverse traditions, whether or not this was motivated by pragmatic considerations. The concept of *cultural hybridity*, as formulated by Peter Burke, and more particularly his

discussion of hybrid people and hybrid texts, provides a useful framework for understanding this attitude and its possible underlying causes.

Throughout this study, I have demonstrated how a textual tradition with a complex transmission history—particularly one lacking an autograph—can be approached more critically by incorporating all identified text versions through philological analysis. Such an approach has the potential to challenge deeply entrenched assumptions about both the nature of the text and the context of its production. It also opens up a fresh perspective on how such texts can be used to draw more nuanced conclusions about the wider historical context in which they were produced. In the case of the *Cordoban Calendar*, the evidence of cultural hybridity through this approach challenges not only our understanding of this particular text, but also broader conceptions of identity itself, suggesting that religious and cultural boundaries in tenth-century al-Andalus could be more fluid and multilayered than conventional categories allow.



Nederlandse samenvatting

Dit proefschrift biedt een kritische herziening van verschillende aspecten van wat tegenwoordig bekendstaat als de *Cordoban Calendar*, namelijk het handschriftencorpus, de overlevering, de liturgische inhoud en de religieuze identiteit van de auteur. Als Arabische almanak die waarschijnlijk in de tiende eeuw in Córdoba werd samengesteld, is de *Cordoban Calendar* van aanzienlijk belang voor historici die een beter inzicht willen krijgen in de realiteit van al-Andalus in deze periode. Dankzij de twee handschriften die door Reinhart Dozy in 1873 en Charles Pellat in 1961 werden uitgegeven, zijn veel onderzoekers die zich met al-Andalus bezighouden bekend met de *Cordoban Calendar*, of hebben zij op zijn minst een algemeen beeld van de inhoud ervan. Bijgevolg zijn vrijwel alle tot dusver getrokken conclusies over de *Cordoban Calendar* gebaseerd op deze twee handschriften. In de afgelopen decennia zijn echter aanvullende handschriften aan het licht gekomen, hoewel deze nog niet algemeen bekend zijn onder onderzoekers. Deze handschriften komen in aanzienlijke mate overeen met de tekst die in de twee uitgegeven handschriften is overgeleverd, hetzij in de vorm van Latijnse vertalingen (6), hetzij als Arabische kopieën (4). Daarnaast heb ik zeven verdere handschriften geïdentificeerd die versies van de *Cordoban Calendar* bevatten en deze in de analyse betrokken. De tekst is derhalve niet, zoals doorgaans wordt aangenomen, in twee handschriften overgeleverd, maar in negentien.

Corpus – De negentien handschriften komen in de meeste onderdelen in hoge mate met elkaar overeen, op sommige plaatsen vrijwel woord voor woord. De belangrijkste structuur en bouwstenen van de tekst bestaan uit een uitgebreide inleiding met daarin de titel(s), twee rubrieken en een paragraaf over het christelijke jaar. Iedere maand bevat een proloog en een epiloog, evenals dagelijkse vermeldingen met informatie over weersomstandigheden, de posities van de zon en de maan, de feesten die worden gevierd, de lengte van de dag en landbouwactiviteiten. Daarnaast bevat de tekst verschillende passages die specifiek verband houden met de context van Córdoba. Het is de combinatie van deze bouwstenen die de *Cordoban Calendar* onderscheidt van andere Arabische almanakken. De grootste mate van variatie is te vinden in de liturgische vermeldingen, dat wil zeggen vermeldingen van religieuze feesten en herdenkingen, evenals van bijbelse en koranische figuren en gebeurtenissen. Op basis van zowel de overeenkomsten als de variaties tussen de handschriften stelt dit onderzoek een taxonomie op waarin het handschriftencorpus in verschillende takken wordt onderverdeeld. Deze taxonomie is niet bedoeld om stemmatische relaties, dat wil zeggen directe afstammingslijnen tussen afzonderlijke kopieën, weer te geven, maar om verbanden in bredere zin inzichtelijk te maken. De taxonomie identificeert tekstversies die de grootste mate van tekstuele overeenkomst vertonen, zodat deze als handschriftentakken kunnen worden besproken.

De nieuw geïdentificeerde handschriften werpen nieuw licht op de context waarin de tekst tot stand kwam en stellen breed aanvaarde aannames over de *Cordoban Calendar* ter discussie. Zo versterken zij de hypothese dat de tekst waarschijnlijk in 973 en niet in 961 werd opgesteld. Ook wijzen zij er sterk op dat de tekst vanaf het begin onder twee titels bekendstond: de *Kitāb*

al-anwāʾ en de *Kitāb tafṣīl al-azmān wa-maṣāliḥ al-abdān*. Een hernieuwde bestudering van de *Cordoban Calendar* op basis van het volledige, nu bekende handschriftencorpus draagt daarmee bij aan een genuanceerder begrip van de omstandigheden waaronder de tekst tot stand kwam.

Overlevering – Een van de belangrijkste conceptuele instrumenten om de *Cordoban Calendar* vanuit een nieuw perspectief te benaderen is het begrip *living literature*. Dit concept is bijzonder geschikt voor gevallen waarin geen autograaf bewaard is gebleven, pogingen om een originele tekst te reconstrueren op aanzienlijke obstakels stuiten en meerdere tekstuele varianten circuleren zonder duidelijk naar een *Urtext* te verwijzen — kenmerken die alle van toepassing zijn op de tekstuele traditie van de *Cordoban Calendar*. Door de *Cordoban Calendar* te beschouwen als *living literature* wordt het mogelijk om alle handschriften in beginsel als even valide getuigen van de tekstuele traditie te behandelen. Vanuit dit perspectief streeft dit onderzoek, dat wordt gekaderd door het concept *living literature*, er niet naar definitief vast te stellen welk van de negentien handschriften het dichtst bij de oorspronkelijke tekst staat. Wel wordt de mogelijkheid in overweging genomen dat de handschriften die tot tak B1 behoren een oudere tekstversie bewaren waaruit andere kopieën in het corpus zijn voortgekomen, in plaats van dat zij zelf het resultaat zijn van een samenvoeging van andere handschriften uit het corpus, zoals momenteel wordt verondersteld.

Liturgische inhoud – Het ontbreken van een oorspronkelijke handschrift van een tekstuele traditie roept de vraag op hoe een dergelijke bron kan worden gebruikt voor historisch onderzoek. In plaats van te proberen een *Urtext* te reconstrueren, maakt dit onderzoek onderscheid tussen liturgische categorieën die waarschijnlijker deel uitmaakten van de *Cordoban Calendar* in zijn oudst reconstrueerbare vorm en categorieën waarvoor dit minder waarschijnlijk is. Allereerst moet worden opgemerkt dat de *Cordoban Calendar* niet als een op zichzelf staande tekst kan worden beschouwd. Delen ervan zijn gebaseerd op bronnen — almanakken en andere kalenderteksten — die vanuit het Midden-Oosten en Egypte naar al-Andalus werden overgebracht. De *Cordoban Calendar* staat daarom in nauwe relatie tot andere bronnen, ongeacht of deze ervoor of erna zijn ontstaan. Dit proefschrift heeft de relatie tussen de *Cordoban Calendar* en de werken van geleerden met uiteenlopende achtergronden verduidelijkt, onder wie Ibn Māsawayh, al-Bīrūnī, al-Umawī, al-Jādirī, Ibn al-Bannāʾ en de anonieme auteur van de *Long Calendar*. De analyse brengt daarnaast eerder onopgemerkte overeenkomsten aan het licht met teksten als Ibn Bahlūls *Kitāb al-dalāʾil*, al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh* en een anonieme kalender die wordt bewaard in het handschrift El Escorial 924. Door de *Cordoban Calendar* binnen deze bredere mediterrane traditie van Arabische almanakken te plaatsen, wordt zichtbaar in welke mate deze traditie bloeide en onder geleerden over politieke en religieuze grenzen heen circuleerde.

Een vergelijking met deze andere Arabische almanakken heeft het mogelijk gemaakt hypotheses te formuleren over de liturgische categorieën die oorspronkelijk deel uitmaakten van de

Cordoban Calendar. Op basis van deze vergelijking betoog ik dat de *Cordoban Calendar* in zijn oudst reconstrueerbare vorm een divers liturgisch repertoire omvatte, waaronder Iberisch-christelijke feesten, Koptische feesten, Joodse en Perzische feesten en vermeldingen van profeten en heilige geschriften. Er zijn ook goede redenen om aan te nemen dat islamitische historische gebeurtenissen vanaf een vroeg stadium van de overlevering tot de *Cordoban Calendar* behoorden, hoewel dit niet met dezelfde mate van zekerheid kan worden beargumenteerd als voor de andere liturgische categorieën.

De identificatie van de liturgische categorieën die waarschijnlijk al in een vroeg stadium aanwezig waren, vormt de basis voor de interpretatie van de liturgische inhoud van de *Cordoban Calendar*. De analyse richt zich in het bijzonder op de christelijke praktijk in al-Andalus, gezien de beschikbaarheid van vergelijkbaar christelijk materiaal uit de koninkrijken in het noorden van het Iberisch Schiereiland. De bronnen wijzen op een zekere mate van liturgische uniformiteit op het gehele Schiereiland, ondanks regionale en chronologische verschillen. Tegelijkertijd wijzen verschillende opmerkelijke afwijkingen op lokale kenmerken van Córdoba. De *case studies* brachten daarnaast een aantal vermeldingen aan het licht die waarschijnlijk geen betrekking hadden op vieringen in Córdoba.

Vermeldingen van de martelaren van Córdoba en aan hen gerelateerde figuren zijn bijzonder interessant vanwege hun controversiële karakter en het feit dat zij slechts in een van de handschriften voorkomen. Deze vermeldingen lijken in een later stadium van de tekstoverlevering te zijn toegevoegd, wat de bewering dat deze personen ooit door een christelijke gemeenschap in Córdoba werden herdacht aanzienlijk verzwakt. Het geval van de martelaren van Córdoba illustreert daarmee hoe moeilijk het is om dit specifieke handschrift te beschouwen als een rechtstreekse weergave van de christelijke praktijk in Córdoba in de tiende eeuw.

Religieuze identiteit – Op basis van filologische argumenten identificeert dit onderzoek de auteur van de *Cordoban Calendar* als iemand die geworteld was in de islamitische traditie. De narratieve functie van sleutelbegrippen, het gebruik van namen, het perspectief van de auteur als buitenstaander ten opzichte van gemeenschappen zoals Iberische christenen, Joden, Kopten en Perzen, en het doctrinaire perspectief dat besloten ligt in beschrijvingen van bijbelse en koranische gebeurtenissen wijzen op een islamitische blik. Tegelijkertijd bevat de tekst een grote verscheidenheid aan liturgisch en theologisch materiaal, wat wijst op een relatief vreedzame omgang met rituele praktijken die niet tot de religieuze traditie van de auteur zelf behoorden. In plaats van deze tradities tegenover elkaar te plaatsen, construeert de tekst een gedeeld historisch kader waarin verschillende religieuze tradities worden erkend en een plaats krijgen. Het is denkbaar dat de auteur deze 'verschillende' tradities niet eenvoudigweg beschouwde als culturele uitingen die buiten zijn eigen traditie stonden, maar eerder als elementen van een gedeelde culturele wereld. Ondanks de subtiele aanwezigheid van de islam als overheersend

religieus kader moet de *Cordoban Calendar* daarom worden begrepen als het getuigenis van een individu wiens identiteit niet uitsluitend door de verbondenheid aan zijn eigen religie werd bepaald, maar die er juist naar streefde de diversiteit van het rijk waarin hij leefde zichtbaar te maken.

De houding van de auteur tegenover deze verschillende tradities is van belang voor een breder begrip van de identiteit in tiende-eeuws al-Andalus, in het bijzonder in de context van personen die aan het hof werkzaam waren, zoals waarschijnlijk ook het geval was met de auteur van de *Cordoban Calendar*. Van geleerden en overheidsfunctionarissen aan het hof mag met name in deze periode worden verwacht dat zij goed op de hoogte waren van — en vaak ook belangstelling hadden voor — tradities buiten hun eigen traditie, terwijl zij geworteld bleven in een specifieke religieuze traditie, of die nu Joods, christelijk of islamitisch was. De brede belangstelling van kalief al-Ḥakam II voor religie en wetenschappelijke kennis kan de creativiteit en vrijheid van de auteur hebben bevorderd om uiteenlopende tradities op te nemen, ongeacht de vraag of dit vanuit pragmatische overwegingen gebeurde. Het concept *cultural hybridity*, zoals geformuleerd door Peter Burke, en meer in het bijzonder zijn bespreking van hybride personen en hybride teksten, biedt een bruikbaar kader om deze houding en de mogelijke onderliggende oorzaken ervan te begrijpen.

In dit onderzoek heb ik laten zien hoe een tekstuele traditie met een complexe overleveringsgeschiedenis — in het bijzonder een traditie waarvan geen autograaf bewaard is gebleven — kritischer kan worden benaderd door alle geïdentificeerde tekstversies in de analyse te betrekken en de traditie aan een filologische analyse te onderwerpen. Een dergelijke benadering kan diepgewortelde aannames over zowel de aard van de tekst als de context waarin deze tot stand kwam ter discussie stellen. Zij opent bovendien een nieuw perspectief op de manier waarop dergelijke teksten kunnen worden gebruikt om tot genuanceerdere conclusies te komen over de bredere historische context waarin zij zijn ontstaan. In het geval van de *Cordoban Calendar* maakt het bewijs voor *cultural hybridity* dat deze benadering heeft opgeleverd niet alleen ons begrip van deze specifieke tekst complexer, maar ook bredere opvattingen over identiteit. Het wijst erop dat religieuze en culturele grenzen in het tiende-eeuwse al-Andalus meer fluïde en gelaagd konden zijn dan conventionele categorieën toelaten.



Curriculum Vitae

Cathrien Hoijinck obtained her BA (2010) and MA (2013) degrees in History and Culture of the Near and Middle East at the Freie Universität Berlin, majoring in Arabic Studies and minoring in Religious Studies and Islamic Studies. She developed a particular interest in the so-called Islamic West, that is, the Islamic history of Spain and North Africa. Reflecting these interests, her master's thesis focused on the poetry of the eleventh-century Cordoban poet Ibn Shuhayd and on the literary criticism of his contemporaries, who debated whether Ibn Shuhayd's work was original or constituted "plagiarism." After completing her master's degree, Cathrien was eager to learn a spoken Arabic language and gain first-hand experience of living in an Arabic-speaking country. She therefore joined the Netherlands Institute in Morocco on a project devoted to the acquisition of Moroccan Arabic (2014).

In the Netherlands, she worked for several years as a credential evaluator for the MENA region at Nuffic (2015–2018). Alongside this position, she completed a BA in Interpreting German–Dutch and Dutch–German at the ITV University of Applied Sciences for Interpretation and Translation (2016). She combined her work at Nuffic with working as a sworn interpreter in court proceedings and in notarial settings. Before and after this period, she worked for various NGOs, including De Vrolijkheid (2015), Pax (2018–2019), and Hivos (2019–2020), drawing on and developing further her Arabic proficiency and experience with cultures and societies in the MENA region.

Cathrien was drawn back to academia in 2020. She began her PhD research at Radboud University as part of the project Making a Martyr in Medieval Iberia, funded by the Dutch Research Council and led by Kati Ihnat. This project sought to understand, from a multidisciplinary perspective, the cultural construction and ritual commemoration of martyrs on the Iberian Peninsula during the period in which the Old Hispanic rite was practiced (589-1080).

During her doctoral research, Cathrien was hosted twice for three-month research stays in Madrid at the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo (2021 and 2024). For her second stay, she was awarded an Erasmus+ grant. She further stayed as a research fellow at the Netherlands Institute in Morocco (March 2022), where she conducted archival research, and returned in December 2023 to follow up on several archival requests. In addition, she contributed to the organization of a two-part workshop in collaboration with the RomanIslam Center in Hamburg: the first part was held in Hamburg in May 2022 and the second in Nijmegen in July 2023.

Cathrien has presented her research at numerous international conferences, congresses, workshops, seminars in English, German, and Spanish. She has published the results of her research in an article co-authored with Kati Ihnat in a special issue of *Hispania Sacra*, as well as in *Geschiedenis Magazine*.

Radboud Universiteit

