The introduction of the Toledo Qur‘ān states that the text in the Latin alphabet was copied from an Aljamiado translation. In fact, the translation of terms and expressions relating to hell shows some specific characteristics of Aljamiado literature, such as the privileged use of calques from Arabic and a preference for the term Jahannam, though the most quoted term al-nār (“fuego”) is also attested. These characteristics are more evident when compared to Latin translations prior or contemporaneous to the Toledo Qur‘ān. It is clear that in the translation of terms related to hell, these works display greater attention to Latin style and final result thus evidencing another perspective and consequently another audience.

The preference given to the term Jahannam is closely linked to the evidence emerging from the Aljamiado eschatological literature, where Jahannam is generally preferred to al-nār (“fuego”). This preference reflects more than specific characteristics of the literature of the Moriscos, an evolution of Muslim literature as a whole, which is reflected in the kind of literary materials circulating and transmitted. Further, along with this, Aljamiado literature on hell and also the Toledo Qur‘ān reflect similar developments in the late medieval Muslim Arabic literature, and therefore also in eschatological traditions, in which Jahannam emerges
strongly as the term used to describe hell in narratives.

Key words: Islam; Qurʾān translation; Aljamiado; Eschatology; Hell.

Palabras clave: Islam; traducción del Corán; Aljamiado; Escatología; Infierno.

1. Introduction

Among the medieval and early modern translations of the Qurʾān, the Toledo Qurʾān stands out with a few unique features. Translated into Spanish at the beginning of the 17th century, it is not only a significant early attestation of a complete translation of the Muslim holy text into a European language, but also the work of a Muslim translator for a Muslim audience. Therefore, the Toledo Qurʾān is a translation which lies on the border between Europe and the Muslim world. It testifies to the activity of the translators of the Qurʾān across Europe, which started in the Iberian peninsula – especially in Spain – in the 12th century. Likewise, it can be regarded as a product of Morisco literary activity, characterized by an activity of translation whose most typical expression was Aljamiado literature. In order to better appreciate the peculiarity of this translation in relation to this double context, I deemed it useful to analyze the terminology used to mention hell in the Qurʾān, and the way it is translated, discussing this specific aspect in relation to other Qurʾān translations and to Aljamiado literature as a whole. Through this analysis, I hope to be able to illustrate some significant features of this translation, and its relation to Aljamiado and Islamic literatures.

The choice of this topic is connected to a study I carried out on eschatological narratives regarding hell in Aljamiado literature. In another paper, I discussed the contents of the narratives in which hell is mentioned and described. Eschatological details and direct references to hell are in fact ubiquitous in many texts written by Moriscos. From the “Tale/story/Ḥadith of the Day of Judgment” to other well-known Islamic motifs or stories – such as the night journey and the ascension to heaven (miʿrāj) by Muḥammad, or the stories of the colloquy between Moses and God, of Jesus and the skull, of the Donzella Carayona, and others – various Aljamiado texts

1 See Tottoli, “The Morisco Hell: Significance and Relevance of the Aljamiado Texts for Muslim Eschatology and Islamic Literature.”
mention hell, or describe it in detail, defining it with different names and terms. Significantly, details and textual evidence of these stories show that the Aljamiado hell is perfectly in line with the Islamic descriptions, and closely related to Quranic and Hadith images. Where some small detail is added, it is perfectly consistent with the reinterpretation of Islamic literature during the Middle Ages. Furthermore, the existence of families and of several copies of the same narrative in Aljamiado versions attest a more conservative attitude towards the translated texts if compared to the body of Arabic versions which I was able to consult.

With this in mind, the translation of the terms and description of hell in the Toledo Qur’ān is certainly a significant aspect, which could shed further light both on this text, and on the analysis of the religious terms used in Aljamiado literature. Islamic terminology in Aljamiado literature, along with the discussion on the contents of the narratives is, in fact, the other main issue concerning the translation of Aljamiado literature, and its relationship with Islamic Arabic literature.

2. The Toledo Qur’ān and Western Translations of the Qur’ān on Muslim Hell

The Toledo Qur’ān is a complete translation of the Islamic holy text into Spanish, which has survived in one single manuscript preserved in the Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha in Toledo (no. 235). The text has been comprehensively studied and recently re-edited by Consuelo López-Morillas, who has carried out various studies on the Aljamiado Qur’āns, and on this text in particular.² Besides mentioning previous studies, in her edition of the Toledo Qur’ān, López-Morillas also examines the most recent research on this subject, providing a general overview on the Qur’ān in Aljamiado literature, and on the questions posed by this text. Copied in 1606 by an anonymous Morisco from Aragon (or supposedly Muhammad Rubio, as suggested by López-Morillas), the Toledo Qur’ān is a complete translation of the Qur’ān in Latin characters. As the text itself states, it was copied from an original which included the holy text in both Arabic and Aljamiado.³ The identity of the author of this translation, as well as

² López-Morillas, El Corán de Toledo. Edición y estudio del manuscrito 235 de la Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha.
³ López-Morillas, El Corán de Toledo, pp. 13, 21f.

its relation to the lost Qurʾan by Yça de Segovia, who translated the text in 1456 – have been questioned by López-Morillas, and dismissed in another recent study by Ulli Roth and Reinhold Glei. As regards the translation itself, in her introduction, López-Morillas exhaustively discusses the main linguistic features of the text, focusing on flaws, traits and peculiarities in syntactic, morphological and lexical choices.

There are different possible ways to analyze a Quranic translation, and many are the questions arising from the various perspectives. One interesting aspect is the analysis of the choices of the translator concerning specific topics, to be considered not only in relation to other translations of the Qurʾan, but also to literature as a whole. In this paper, I will make reference to the other Medieval and Early Modern European translations of the Qurʾan, and to Aljamiado literature. For the purpose of this study, the analysis of the way the names and the descriptions of hell are translated in the Toledo Qurʾan may prove to be extremely useful, given the relevance of the topic in the holy text, and the questions connected to it. Hell is in fact mentioned in many passages, mostly with the term al-nār, meaning “fire,” and with Jahannam, which is the Arabic for Gehenna. Among the other names or expressions, there is the more frequent al-Jahīm, along with other terms (Saʿīr, Laẓā, al-Hutama, al-Hāwiya) which, in some cases, puzzled exegetes and consequently translators as regards their exact meaning related to fire, flames, etc.

In the Toledo Qurʾan the most common term al-nār is translated as fuego, i.e. Spanish “fire.” In fact, all the occurrences of the term al-nār, without exception, are translated in this way. As regards the translation
of the second most frequent term, *Jahannam*, the Toledo Qur’án displays one of the most common features of Aljamiado literature – that is, the use of calques from Arabic for significant religious terms. All the occurrences of the Arabic *Jahannam* are translated as *chehannam*. This term also appears in the expression “fire of Jahannam,” attested in some verses, which is always rendered as *fuego de chehannam*. Although the translation of the two main Quranic terms is consistent and systematic, *chehannam* seems to be preferred in some passages, and in the translation of other terms related to hell. Firstly, *chehannam* appears in relation to the translation and glossing of some verses where the term is not explicitly present in the Quranic text. Secondly, *chehannam* is the favorite choice when translating the other expressions in the Qur’án related to hell, which exegetis and later narratives usually consider as different names of it. *Al-Jahîm* is mostly translated as *chehannam*; only in a few cases it is translated as *fuego* or, in one case, adopting the calque of Arabic *alchahim*. The use of calques is also attested for the purpose of rendering other names, reflecting the Aljamiado tendency to preserve significant Arabic expressions from the original text. Even in this case, however, along with the transcription of the Quranic terms, the favorite choice appears to be *chehannam*, and not the more frequent Quranic *fuego*. In the

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10 See the verse dealing with the punishment of misbelievers (Q 3:88): *chehannam* appears in the translated text but not in the original Arabic, López-Morillas, *El Corán de Toledo*, p. 174; the same tendency appears when dealing with other details and elements of hell: *ghayyan* in Q 19:58 is glossed and explained as *Gaye un bal de fuego en chehannam*, see López-Morillas, *El Corán de Toledo*, p. 336.


case of Saʿīr, along with la valle de Çayr (Q 22:4), or fuego (Q 34:12), the preferred translation is chehannam (Q 31:21, 35:6, 42:7, 67:5, 10, 11). Saqar is transcribed simply as Çacar, or glossed as el fuego de Çacar but, again, also translated as chehannam. As regards the other less frequent terms — along with the prevalent transcription from Arabic, such as in the case of Alhóttama and Alheggüiyah — the Arabic Lazā in Q 70:15 is translated as chehannam.

This situation can be partly compared to what is found in other Aljamiado partial translations of the Qur’ān. These texts show a tendency to give a clear-cut definition of hell in the Spanish translation, mentioning it with the terms “jahannam” and “fire.” For instance, in one passage the Arabic al-nār, such as in the case of al-nār al-kubrā in Q 87:12, is translated as en el fuego mayor de jahannam. This tendency is mostly evident in relation to other terms or concepts connected to hell. Where there is mention of Sijjīn, it is glossed and translated as qu-es la presión en jahannam. The use of Jahannam when the translator needs to include an exegetical hint to hell appears in some other passages: al-ʿadhāb al-kabīr (Q 88:24) is translated as el tormento mayor de jahannam (“the great torment of Jahannam” when the translator needs to include an exegetical hint to hell appears in some other passages: al-ʿadhāb al-kabīr (Q 88:24) is translated as el tormento mayor de jahannam (“thegreat tormentof Jahannam”)

15 López-Morillas, El Corán de Toledo, p. 422.
18 López-Morillas, El Corán de Toledo, p. 532.
20 López-Morillas, El Corán de Toledo, p. 554 (Q 104:4-5).
21 López-Morillas, El Corán de Toledo, p. 553 (Q 101:9).
23 “BRAH T19” (=Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, Edición, estudio y glosario del manuscrito aljamiado T19 de la Real Academia de la Historia), pp. 322, 550.
24 “Junta 9” (=Laureano García, Tradiciones musulmanas (Ms. IX de la Biblioteca de la antigua Junta para la Ampliación de Estudios de Madrid)), p. 219; Sijjīn is also quoted in “BNM 4953” (=Hegyi, Cinco leyendas y otros relatos moriscos (Ms. 4953 de la Bibl. Nac. Madrid)), pp. 124, 125. Even if it is rare, we must also mention the term zabāniya which appears for instance in Ms “Junta 9” in a version of the story of the Day of Judgement attributed to Kaʾb, see “Junta 9,” pp. 321, 323. A passage in “BNM 4953” suggests that there could have been some problems of comprehension of the proper meaning of the term indicating the angels of hell. There, the expression y sera lançado en Zabāniya, followed by an analogous expression where Jahannam is used, seems to point to it as the name of a place, while the original meaning must have been “being thrown amongst the angels Zabāniya”; see “BNM 4953,” p. 204.
hannam”), but also fire is used; ‘adhāb al-sa‘īr (Q 67:5) is translated as la pena del fuego (“the punishment of Fire”). There are two more passages, in the first of which al-Jahim is translated as jahannam, while in the second occurrence as fuego. The term al-ghāsiya in Q 88:1 is also rendered with fuego; in this case Jahannam and fire are used to mean hell. Other texts take a different direction; in the Qur’ān commentary discussed by Vernet, jahanna(m) stands alone, with no indication of fire. In general, the various renderings appear unsystematic, but point to the more common use of Jahannam and Fire, although there is a clear tendency to gloss and simplify. In general, the translation of the two major terms to indicate hell is faithful, i.e. Fire for al-nār and Jahannam for jahannam, but when there is a need to insert glosses or further explanation, Jahannam and Fire are sometimes used interchangeably, while other times Jahannam is preferred.

In this regard, and in relation to these other partial translations from Aljamiado literature, the Toledo Qur’ān seems to display similar features, using the two most common terms Jahannam and Fire (al-nār) for the most part. However, even more than in these translations, Jahannam, in the form chehannam – which is a calque from Arabic and not of the Biblical Gehenna – seems to be the favorite term. This, as we shall see, attests to the use of this term in Aljamiado sources, and stands out in comparison to the other Western translations. A brief comparison of the Aljamiado translation to some of the early and coeval translations into Latin will suffice to better understand its main features.

In the Bibliander edition of the translation by Robert of Ketton, for instance, where it is possible to trace the verses, gehenna is given as the corresponding translation of the Arabic Jahannam in most passages, but it is

27 “BRAH T19,” p. 347.
29 Vernet, “La exegesis musulmana tradicional en los coranes aljamiados,” pp. 135-137; in the passage at p. 135 pena de fuego is mentioned just after the term jahannam.
30 Cf. in fact the tables of the various translations made by López-Morillas, The Qur’ān in Sixteenth-Century Spain: Six Moriscos Versions of Sūra 79: al-jahim is rendered as fuego or alternatively jahannam, pp. 78, 79. In the exegetical parts chehannam appears alternatively as fire to refer to hell, see López-Morillas, El Corán de Toledo, pp. 321, 336, 373, see also p. 413 where Jahannam is inserted just after al-nār, which is rendered in the same verse as fire (Q 32:19); but cf. p. 396: fuego, p. 407: alchanna / fuego.
also translated as *infernus*, and even as *ignis*. At the same time, *al-nār* is translated as *ignis* all over the text. Interestingly, this translation highlights the different approach and focus of a non-Muslim translator, who was more concerned about the final result of the Latin version. Rather than a matter of inconsistency, there seems to be a problem of comprehensibility of the Latin text, resulting in the choice of terms belonging to Biblical tradition. A clear example of this is the translation of all the other terms connected to hell: *ignis* (or alternatively *focus*, which is never connected to *al-nār*), Gehenna and *infernus* are used alternatively.

Similar cases of calques from Arabic can be found in some passages of Egidio da Viterbo’s translation: *Alchumatu* of *al-Hutmama* in Q 104-105, and *al-Giazim* of *al-Jahim*. However, where the two occurrences of *al-Hutmama* appear together, the puzzling term is given as “infernum, Alchumatu”; as regards *al-Jahim*, it appears in other occurrences alternatively as *ignis* or, preferably, in the second part of the Qur’a, as *infernus*. Different solutions are also adopted to render *Sa’ir*, which is translated or transcribed as Zangris/Zaigr, or even *infernus*, and even

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ignis, while Lažā is ignis ardens, and Saqar and al-Hāwiya are translated as infernus.

In general, however, al-nār is always translated as ignis while Jahannam as infernus. The translation thus reflects the expected problems posed by the meanings of the various names of hell, showing a preference for infernus. It is somehow clear that the translator, whenever he is not able to find an exact equivalent for one term, opts for the term which can best recall hell in the target culture of the translated text. This is also evident in other coeval or slightly later translations, despite the different solutions adopted to render Jahannam. While, for example, in the Latin translations by Germanus de Silesia and Cyril Lucaris al-nār is always translated as ignis, the former translates Jahannam alternating infernus with a more frequent gehenna, while the latter always translates it as infernus. In Lucaris infernus is his favorite solution for translating al-Jahīm. Infernus is also the favorite solution by Germanus for translating al-Jahīm, while he opts for different solutions to translate this term as well as other less frequent names.

Although it must be clear that the matter at stake here is not the relation between these translations, this brief comparison points out that the Toledo Qurʾān appears first of all systematic in the translation of the two main terms for hell, in the use of chehannam for Jahannam, and also as regards other less frequently quoted terms. Many other significant Islamic terms are transcribed from Arabic in the Qurʾān, not only when they are related

40 Starczewska, Latin Translation of the Qurʾān, p. 635 (Q 70:15).
to eschatology (i.e. *alchanna* for paradise). The use of *chehannam*, however, does not just illustrate the central concern of an Islamic translation – not only in comparison to the other European translations of the Qur’an – but also a clear tendency to further emphasize the Islamic character of the terminology. This is more evident in the Toledo Qur’an than in any other Aljamiado translation. However, as we shall see, it is not a specific feature of this Quranic translation, but is strictly connected to Aljamiado. In order to support this statement, we will briefly analyze Aljamiado literature in the following paragraph.

3. From Arabic to Spanish. The Names of the Muslim Hell in Aljamiado Literature

Hispanists and scholars of Aljamiado texts have carried out numerous studies on the linguistic questions raised by these texts, especially if relevant to the history of Iberian languages and vernaculars of the periods they were written in. The present analysis will rather focus on how Spanish writers or copyists translated Islamic eschatological words and concepts into Spanish, in particular regarding the Muslim Hell, so as to better understand the choices made by the translator of the Toledo Qur’an.

Aljamiado and Morisco literature is Islamic literature written in Iberian languages between the 15th and the 17th centuries and – as it has been rightly defined – it is mainly based on faithful translations of original Arabic works. This faithfulness is undoubtedly related to the necessity to preserve the essence of the original, but also to characterize the specificity of these texts with Arabisms and formal devices.

The connection of the Aljamiado texts with the Arabic originals is still awaiting comprehensive discussion and research. The *locus classicus* on this point is the PhD thesis by L.P. Harvey, *The Literary Culture of the Moriscos, 1492–1609: A Study Based on the Extant Manuscripts in Arabic and Aljamiá*. Using the words by Alberto Montaner, these translations were made with *gran fidelidad*; see Montaner Frutos, “La Aljamía: una voz islámica en Aragón,” p. 100; on the point see also Barletta, *Gestos clandestinos: la literatura aljamiado-morisca como práctica cultural*, p. 119; Reuter, *Aljamiado narratives of Muhammad’s ascension to heaven: the Moriscos and the mi’raj*, p. 10; López-Baralt, *Tratado de los dos caminos* (ms. S2 de la Colección Gayangos, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia) por un morisco refugiado en Túnez, pp. 163-164; Suárez García, “Las demandas de Ḥātim al-ʿĀsīm: una traducción de Algazel y otras versiones morisca” (forthcoming).

On the topic of Arabism and style as a cultural reference in texts not translated from Arabic, see Harvey, *Muslims in Spain 1500 to 1614*, p. 141.
3.1. Jahannam

This necessity to preserve the original and further characterize significant Islamic words emerges in the terminology used to mention hell and its features. This is in fact a significant example of the ways Aljamiado texts read, translate and interpret the corresponding Arabic terms for their audience. As already noticed in other studies, the first evidence is that Jahannam is also in this case the preferred term to mention hell, rather than the corresponding fuego (“fire”). Fuego translates the Arabic al-nār, which is the most common term in Islamic Arabic literature but appears in Aljamiado texts as second in frequency after Jahannam.48 Jahannam appears as the most common name to mention hell in various passages in the texts taken into consideration, alone49 or alongside aljanna, which is the Aljamiado loanword from the Arabic al-janna, the most frequent name of paradise in the Qur’ān and Muslim traditions.50 The transliteration of aljanna for
paradise, including the article al-, also explains why jahannam appears as the most frequent term: it most probably looked much more "Islamic" from a religious point of view, as a way of differentiating among the surrounding non-Muslim people, surely much more than translating the Arabic word as paraíso or infierno, or a generic "fire." Furthermore, the couple aljanna and jahannam maybe had also a superficial phonetic resemblance which could have made them a convenient pair of contrasting terms.

As displayed in various religious texts containing description or mention of hell, Aljamiado literature shows a preference for Jahannam also in the range of expressions connected to the term. An interesting example is the use of the expression f(f)uego de jahannam ("fire of Jahannam"). The corresponding Arabic expression när Jahannam is already mentioned in the Qur'ān, and also appears in a number of major Arabic traditions. Early Quranic commentaries mostly mention it in connection to the related verses in Quranic passages, or while mentioning one of the hadiths — attributed to the Prophet Muhammad — which use this expression. Major hadith collections, for instance, include a few reports in which the Prophet Muḥammad states that the "fire of Jahannam" awaits those who commit suicide with a knife, or by other means, such as by drinking poison, etc.; or that the fire on earth is one seventieth of the "fire of Jahannam." Other hadiths, in differing versions, mention the fire of Jahannam when the Prophet states that the destiny awaiting the men drinking from golden or silver vessels is that "the fire of Jahannam will gargle in their bellies." Similar reports can be found in the major hadith collections. However,

56 Muslim, Sahih, I, p. 454, IV, p. 2184: the expression is in the title of a bāb on the heat of the fire of Jahannam. See also Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, Sīfāt al-nār, I, p. 99 no. 149: the fire of this world invokes protection from the fire of Jahannam. See how the "fire of Jahannam" quoted by Andalusian authors such as Ibn Ḥazm, al-Fīsāl, II, p. 81, III, p. 66, IV, pp. 55, 152, 154, V, p. 40; Ibn Abī Zamanīn, Usūl al-fiqh, I, p. 139; and Makkī b. Abī Tālib, al-Hidāyah ilā bulūgh al-nihāya fi 'ilm ma'ānī al-Qur'ān wa-tafsīrī-hi, IV, p. 2368, VI, p. 4297, passim.

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Quranic passages and later sources in which the expression is attested appear to be mostly referring to the fire as belonging to hell, thus “the fire of Jahannam” is used in its literal meaning. The impression from the quotations in the Aljamiado texts is that in most cases the *fuego de jahannam*, the “fire of Jahannam,” is quoted with a clear reference to hell and its punishment as a whole rather than to the fire which is awaiting the damned. This may be not the case when Muhammad asks God to save his community (*al-umma*) from the fire of Jahannam, or in other occurrences. Nevertheless, it probably stands for hell in general when mention is made to those who are to be saved or to escape the “fire of Jahannam,” or to “those of the fire of Jahannam,” a more probable translation of *ahl Jahannam* than *ahl nahr Jahannam*.

The preference for Jahannam to give a vivid picture of hell appears in a variety of other expressions which are in general derived from the original Arabic texts, but which also clearly indicate the characterization, and even popularization, of the description of hell. The terms and expressions are also in these cases already mentioned in hadith literature, but it is in late Medieval narrative rewritings that these elements are combined in colorful descriptions. In this regard, Aljamiado texts perfectly fit in this context, confirming this tendency towards enlargement and narrative reworking. The term *Jahannam* is used in many expressions to describe

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60 Vespertino Rodríguez, *Leyendas aljamiadas*, pp. 236, 238.
hell, such as in \textit{las kadenas de jahannam} ("the chains of Jahannam"),\textsuperscript{61} the \textit{perros de jahannam} ("dogs of Jahannam"),\textsuperscript{62} and \textit{un árbol de jahannam} ("a tree of Jahannam").\textsuperscript{63} As regards animals inhabiting hell, the major role is undoubtedly that of the serpents and scorpions, and above all serpents (usually \textit{culebras}) appear in frequent expressions to indicate punishments.\textsuperscript{64} A description, along with the \textit{puertas de jahannam} ("doors of Jahannam"), of the \textit{culebras de fuego} ("serpents of fire"), \textit{de las sierpes de jahannam} ("of the serpents of Jahannam") is given in one sermon on the merits of Ramadan, in which the two terms are alternatively used.\textsuperscript{65} The list could be longer, as in many other expressions Jahannam appears as a key term in the pictorial description of hell and its punishments.\textsuperscript{66}

The interrelationship between the various terms can be identified in the different versions of the same text. For instance, in the versions of the story of the Day of Judgment ascribed to Ka'b al-Aḥbār, there is a passage in which the Angel of Death, describing the punishments of hell, mentions the \textit{tormento de los de al-jahim} ("torment of those of the Jahim") in one manuscript, and in another the \textit{tormento de los de jahannam} ("torment of..."
those of the Jahannam”); then followed in both by the mention of the Sa’ir. These two manuscripts introduce slight variants as regards the identification and naming of hell. These differences – which can be the result of either a reduction or an expansion of terminology compared to the Arabic original – indicate that the expressions related to the names of hell and its attributes have undergone some reworking. Similar phenomena can also be noted in the versions of the same narrative attested in Aljamiado. For instance, in Ms Paris 774 – in the longest passage mentioning fire and hell – in some passages the attributes of hell have slightly been increased, but not so significantly as to prove that there has been some reworking in comparison to Ms Aitona.

Despite their close relation to the original Arabic – and the derivation of terms, expressions and, above all, of the imagery from attestations in Islamic traditions – the texts and traditions on hell in Aljamiado versions point to a clear preference accorded to the term Jahannam to mention fire. The overall primary use of Jahannam is for instance attested in the Tafsira of the Mancebo de Arévalo, where “fire(s)” appears only to mention the punishments of hell. This is particularly evident in the chapter in which sins and punishments are described. The reason for this preference is probably to be found in the easier cultural identification of the thing evoked through an Islamically-connoted term rather than through a faithful translation in Spanish. This was the reason behind the use of aljanna for paradise, and of the corresponding jahannam for hell.


70 Mancebo de Arévalo, Tratado (Tafsira), see on this passage pp. 288-289; Jahannam is quoted in pp. 106, 163, 183, 217, 221, 225, 262, 280, 313, 330, 377: las penas de Jahannam: p. 199; along with aljanna: pp. 176, 183, 254, 341, 368. If we take a manuscript as Junta no. 3 into consideration, we can notice the alternate use of the two terms, but a predominance of Jahannam, see Kontzi, Aljamiado Texte, fiuwegos: pp. 431, 510, 616, 561 (con buertas); fiuwegos de Jahannam: pp. 363, 445, 616, 640, 665; Jahannam: pp. 458, 592, 610, 664.
3.2. Fire

Despite all the cultural reasons leading to favor Jahannam rather than al-nār, this last term occurs so often in the Qur’ān and in later Islamic and Arabic traditions and literature, that the translators of the Aljamiado texts from Arabic could not but use it. Thus, in many sources – even if less frequently – we find the simple term fuego, which is the Spanish for the Arabic al-nār, “fire.” It is relevant to note that sometimes it appears in different texts contained in the same manuscript, or alongside “Jahannam” in adjacent passages. The most typical example in this regard can be found at the end of the story of the Day of Judgment, when Muslim sinners, who are punished, ask Muhammad for intercession and fuego and jahannam are alternatively used. In other passages of longer stories, “fire” is used with the meaning of “hell,” such as in the different versions of the story of the Day of Judgment or, for instance, where the term fuego appears together with aljanna. Where, for example, there is mention that those destined to paradise must be sent to paradise, while those destined to hell must be sent to hell; “hell” is referred to as fuego; “fire” appears again when we find the Arabic ahl al-nār (“Those of hell”) in the Aljamiado text. Expressions connected to fire are very rarely used to describe narrative features of hell. For instance, las puertas del fuego (“the doors...
of fire”), as found in the Qur’an, or one or two doors of fire, are the only details which are actually mentioned.

The occurrences of “fire,” which are less frequent than those of “Jahannam,” and also the fact that *alnarr* is never used alongside *aljanna*, show that this term was used according to its predominance in the Qur’an and in early Islamic traditions. Ignoring this feature was absolutely impossible and, for this reason, it does appear frequently, but not as much as the favorite term in Aljamiado literature.

4. Aljamiado Translations of the *Tanbih al-ghāfilin* and Other Literature

A significant reference concerning the use of these terms is also offered by the Aljamiado translation(s) of the *Tanbih al-ghāfilin* by Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandi and the Morisco literature in Latin script. As regards Samarqandi, whenever a cross-check of the Aljamiado text with the original in Arabic is possible, a number of features can be singled out. The title given is “Capítulo en la semblança de los del fuego” (“Chapter on the Likeness of the People of Fire”), which is slightly different from the original *Bāb ṣifat al-nār wa-ahli-hā*. The Spanish is generally a faithful translation of the Arabic, even though some passages have required further explanation. For instance, the expression *fuego de jahannam* is provided to better explain a short report attributed to the Prophet or, in another

77 “Junta 57,” f. 105r: about the Ramadan, when the doors of paradise are open and those of Jahannam are close, see also 111v; “Junta 13,” p. 296.
78 “BRAH T19”, p. 457.
79 Only a few authors have discussed and compared the Aljamiado texts to the original Arabic versions, see for ex. al-Amiri, “El original árabe del tratado de al-Tafr frente a sus dos versiones aljamiadas,” pp. 27-34.
80 “Samarqandi” (=Busto Cortina, *El al-kitāb Çamarqandi. Edición del Ms. Aljamiado 4871 de la B.N.M., con un vocabulario completo y un estudio de algunos cuentos que en él aparecen*), p. 3; from here onwards, the comparison with the Arabic is based on the edition of the *Tanbih al-ghāfilin* publ. in Casablanca, n.d., which is a reproduction of a Cairo edition. It must be underlined that the translation edited by J.C. Busto Cortina is not complete, though the three manuscripts preserving parts of it cover together the whole work, see Suárez García, “Las demandas de Ḥatim al-ʿAṣām.”
81 “Samarqandi,” p. 30; but it appears as *fuego del infierno in “Mohammad de Vera”* (=Suárez García, *El tratado de materia religiosa de Mohammad de Vera (Ms. 397 Esp. de la Biblioteca Nacional de París)*), p. 83.

case, in the Aljamiado text, we find that Mālik is referred to as Mālik el tesorero del fuego, i.e. “the doorkeeper of fire.”

Furthermore, in the long tradition describing the doors and layers of hell, the translation of the names of people destined to be punished is mostly faithful: 1) al-Hāwiya for hypocrites, people of the Table and of the Pharaoh; 2) al-Jaḥīm for those committing shirk; 3) Saqar for the gentiles, where in the Arabic we find al-ṣāhiʿīn; 4) Laẓā for Iblis and his followers, and the Mazdeans; 5) al-Ḥutama for the Jews; 6) al-Saʿīr for the Christians; and 7) for Muslim sinners. In general, the alternation fuego/jahannam follows the occurrences of the terms in the original Arabic and, apart from the only case mentioned above, fuego always translates the Arabic al-nār. Few phenomena, such as small omissions and additions, are unimportant, and no conclusion can be drawn from them, since they could also be connected to the existence of different manuscript versions of the work of Samarqandi, and not to the translation itself. In general, Aljamiado texts are a very faithful transposition of the original text in Arabic as for contents and formal devices, with a few examples, as regards eschatology, of glosses or additions to explain the contents of the original in the new language. The Tānbīḥ al-ghāfīlin can be considered as the expression of a unique voice in the literary stratifications of the traditions and works circulating among Muslims. It undoubtedly shows a sort of higher level than the other materials diffused and as such, even though it is not a theological book but a collection of traditions, it reflects a different attitude compared to other more popular texts.

The relevance of terminological choices – and of all this discussion – appears clear if we take some other later literature into consideration, for instance, the literature written in Latin script. By cross-referencing these literatures, it emerges that the conservative attitude and the preference first for the term “Jahannam,” and then for “Fire,” revealed by Aljamiado texts,

82 “Samarqandi,” p. 32; and cf. with “Junta 9,” p. 221: el porter del fuego. The text also shows the term zabānīya (referred to the angels of hell) translated as los almalakes aprecurantes, see “Samarqandi,” pp. 31, 33: a los almalakes aprecurantes con-el fuego. See also where zabānīya is simply transcribed: “Junta 9,” p. 321.

83 “Samarqandi,” p. 31; cf. also “Mohanmad de Vera,” p. 84. On the names used in the manuscripts in Arabic circulating in al-Andalus, see “Manuscrito de Ocaña” (=Hofman Vannus, Historias religiosas musulmanas en el Manuscrito mudéjar-morisco de Ocaña: Edición y estudio), intr. pp. 16-17. The same list is given in ‘Abd al-Rahim al-Qādī, Daqāʿiq al-akhbār fi dhikr al-janna wa-l-nār, pp. 64-65; see a similar list in Abu-Deeb, The Imagination Unbound. Al-adab al-ʿAjāʾib and the Literature of the Fantastic in the Arabic Tradition, p. 95.
reflect a greater concern for the text, rather than the mere acceptance and subsequent adherence to the originals in Arabic. In the treatise on religious matters written in Latin script by Mohanmad de Vera, which renders the *Tanbih al-ghāfīlin* almost faithfully, we also find the term *infierno* alongside *fuego*, with the proper meaning of “Fire,” and we also find the expression *fuego del infierno*. Later on, the term *jahanna* is also used, in some cases in alternation with *fuego*, while in one case *infierno* translates “Jahannam,” for example in the expression *las orillas del ynfiero*. This attitude is confirmed and verified in the treatise of *Dos Caminos*, where the favorite word for “hell” is *ynfierno*, and it appears together with “fire.” The tendency emerging in Mohanmad de Vera’s text proves the existence of a different audience; also, the eternal abodes are referred to with less specific cultural terms and, in the Morisco texts of Aljamiado literature, they are always mentioned using Muslim names.

5. Aljamiado Terminology and Arabic Traditions and Literature

The use of terms relating to hell in Aljamiado literature displays specific features which have been thoroughly discussed above. A rather close faithfulness to the original Arabic sources and the history of the transmission of the copied texts – thus with no direct access to the originals – prompted a polarization of the terminology around “Jahannam” and “Fire,” the two major terms which translate “hell” in Muslim traditions. Aljamiado texts somehow show a preference for “Jahannam” to refer to hell, even though “Fire” is also frequently used. This appears clearly in translated texts which are supposedly more conservative, such as major literary works. “Jahannam” and other terms related to it are generally used, while the other Quranic terms can usually be found when the doors of hell

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84 “Mohanmad de Vera,” pp. 76, 81.
85 “Mohanmad de Vera,” p. 82.
86 “Mohanmad de Vera,” pp. 78, 83.
87 “Mohanmad de Vera,” p. 85.
are mentioned. It seems that Moriscos preferred to use aljanna and jahannam for paradise and hell, as indicators of Islamic features in a Christian environment. It is highly significant, in this regard, that paraíso and infierno appear in other contexts but very rarely in Aljamiado literature as such. The presence of “Fire” is of secondary importance but still significant, and is strictly related to the numerous occurrences in the Arabic sources.

What is far more problematic is to ascertain if this is to be considered a particular feature of Spanish Aljamiado works, or something which could have already characterized the original Arabic versions, on which the Spanish translators relied upon. The details we can find in the translations of the Qur’an and of the Tanbih al-ghafilin are not enough to constitute evidence in this regard, although they evidently point in this direction. With regard to the other texts taken into account – since, in most cases, no direct source of translation has been discovered so far – only provisional considerations can be made, as far as Islamic literature as a whole is concerned. Islamic literature – which we only briefly discussed in relation to the expression “fire of Jahannam” – attests to the circulation of traditions using the two terms, as well as the others, in continuity with Quranic terminology. However, it is not easy to detect a specific tendency in late Islamic literary works if they are hadith-oriented, since early traditions – and, consequently, terms related to previous materials – are quoted. More specific results could be obtained by analyzing the terms used in chapter headings. However, the evidence provided by this analysis is also unreliable as, in some editions, chapter headings are added by editors, and in some early works they were added by later copyists. That being said, a few words should be added to better understand the use of the terms in relation to Islamic Arabic literature as a whole in Aljamiado literature.

Arabic works dealing with eschatology – and hell in particular – usually show a relatively larger use of the term “Fire” rather than of “Jahannam,” although both appear as synonyms all over the section dedicated to the topic; sometimes, they are even interchangeable. It is quite common to find al-nār in chapter headings, and jahannam in the traditions quoted next to them, and vice-versa. Not withstanding the larger use of al-nār, literary works collecting and discussing hadiths and reports display a clear preference for “Jahannam” in relation to the physical description of hell and all the details on what it is like and what is in it. When describing its shape, its edge, its doors, its valleys, pits, rivers and anything related to it.
and its landscape, the mostly used term is “Jahannam.”

In other cases, when hell is mentioned in relation to the morality of the people condemned and of their sins etc. the favorite term appears to be “fire.” This tendency clearly emerges above all in the organization of the materials, but it is partially verified in the reports themselves. “Fire” is mentioned when describing the food and drinks awaiting those condemned to hell, and the clothes they wear, or when describing the damned weeping in hell. In this regard, the expression *ahl al-nār* (“Those/The people of Fire”) is emblematic of this use, since it always appears to refer to the damned and the people destined to hell. In the few less hadith-oriented works – which generally preserve a complete narrative rather than simply reproduce short extracts from reports handed down by previous generations – we notice that “Jahannam” is preferred. In the anonymous *Kitāb al-‘azama*, for instance, “Jahannam” is the favorite term, although this could be considered to be in line with the tendency mentioned above. In this work, all the descriptions represent a pictorial “geography” of hell, and thus “Jahannam” becomes the favorite reference name.

That being said, the Aljamiado texts appear to perfectly fit the Islamic traditions, and to be in continuity with the tendencies outlined above. However, they represent a step further, just like later Muslim Arabic literature, in the simplification of terminology but also in the clear preference for “Ja-

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92 See Abu-Deeb, *The Imagination Unbound* (including an edition of An., *Kitāb al-‘azama*), p. 95f., including names of the doors, description of the structure of hell, of its valleys, etc. Fire is found in the expression *ahl al-nār*: p. 126.

hannam,” which could be connected to the kind of literary material diffused. In other words, this use of “Jahannam,” on the one hand, reflects the necessity to characterize hell through a Muslim name – rather than through the more generic term “fire” – in a minority environment. On the other hand, it is directly connected to the type of literature translated, which is mostly made of late extended stories and traditions which show a particular interest in a long description of the visual aspect of hell. Therefore, Aljamiado texts further illustrate the tendency to privilege “Jahannam” in this kind of descriptions of hell, as already shown in hadith literature, and as further developed in late Medieval narratives on eschatology and hell.

6. Conclusion

Many questions emerge from the discussion on the literary sources mentioned above. The analysis of the terminology on hell in the Toledo Qurʾān and in Aljamiado literature – as well as the cross-check with other Quranic translations and Islamic eschatological literature – highlights a number of identifying features of each source, as well as the relations between them. As a general consideration, it appears evident that the Toledo Qurʾān strictly belongs to Aljamiado literature. This further confirms the opening statement about the fact that it might have been copied from a version of the Qurʾān including the original Arabic, along with the Aljamiado translation. Most likely, the one who copied it in Latin script produced a faithful transcription from the Arabic script, preserving all the features that are also displayed by the corpus of Aljamiado literature.

Another point emerging from this analysis provides further evidence on the “Islamic” nature of Aljamiado literature. Among the old judgments about its contents, there is the well-known statement by Nykl, claiming that these religious texts prove the decline of the knowledge of the Islamic faith precepts. This is no longer the case, and many other works of research in the last decades have underlined this. I would say that the truth is quite the reverse: Moriscos were a minority strongly concerned about the beliefs of their faith and the preservation of their literature.

93 On a similar type of simplification, cf. López-Morillas, El Corán de Toledo, pp. 92-93.
95 See on this Barceló and Labarta, Archivos moriscos. Textos árabes de la minoría islámica valenciana. 1401-1608, p. 59 and ff.
minology used to translate and refer to hell clearly proves this, and any difference underlines the Islamic character – not the opposite. Furthermore, if some rewritings and revisions also exist, and some of their elements are of any cultural concern, as a whole the extent of these rewritings is completely consistent with what happened to Islamic Medieval texts diffused in Arabic. Variation in wording and even in the way characters and things are identified (sinners, layers, names) do not separate Aljamiado versions from Islamic literature. In fact, it is quite the opposite: it proves that the Aljamiado versions went through the same process as Arabic Islamic literature in the same period. The reason for this is simply that, just like in other Muslim places and times, the versions in use among Moriscos displayed various attitudes and concerns, but they all reflected ways of expression already existing in the Islamic literary traditions. Although forced into a peculiar situation, Moriscos were not urged to produce different versions of their Muslim literary heritage; on the contrary, this context determined strong conservative attitudes which led to translations characterized by a marked preference for Muslim Arabic terminology.

Nevertheless, the Toledo Qur’an and Aljamiado literature offer more opportunities for discussion, and we can push the question about their Islamic nature further. In comparison to other translations and to later literature, even produced by Moriscos, the preservation of terminology and the use of calques clearly go in this direction. Also the preference for “Jahannam”/“chehannam” perfectly fits this picture. However, the wider use of “Jahannam” also seems to reflect a tendency partially shown in some later Islamic literature and, above all, in later popular rewritings, where vivid and fanciful descriptions of hell rely more on the term “Jahannam” than on al-nār. Thus, if so, it is clear that the Toledo Qur’an does not only reveal a larger use of Islamic terminology, which reflects a cultural necessity to characterize the beliefs of a minority, but also displays certain features of the Islamic literature and, consequently, of the Aljamiado texts dating to the period between the 15th century to the early 17th century. The use of “Jahannam” in the Toledo Qur’an is thus strictly connected to the Aljamiado literature as a whole which, on this point, appears in perfect continuity with the coeval Islamic literature produced in other Muslim areas, not only as regards contents, but also as far as eschatological terminology is concerned.
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