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# The Glosses on Mark of Toledo's *Alchoranus Latinus*

**Abstract:** Mark of Toledo finalized his *Alchoranus Latinus* in 1210 under commission of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, the Archbishop of Toledo at the time. This translation of the Qur'an into Latin was the second one, after that realized by Robert of Ketton in 1143. As it is well known, Mark of Toledo's *Alchoranus Latinus* was not widely diffused as Ketton's *Alchoran Latinum*. In fact, there are only seven manuscripts of Mark's Latin version meanwhile Ketton's extant in 24. This work studies the glosses preserved in these seven manuscripts. It focus attention on what kind of glosses they are, whether they are all the same or completely different, whether they refer to the content of the text or are apologetical comments, whether they were copied by the copyist himself or added by a later reader. All these data will help to determinate which set of glosses it is.<sup>1</sup>

In about the year 1210, Mark of Toledo completed the formidable task of translating the Qur'an into Latin, a task that had been entrusted to him by the archbishop of Toledo, Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. As is well known, Mark of Toledo's was the second Latin translation of Islam's holy book: between 1142 and 1143 Robert of Ketton produced the first one,<sup>2</sup> a commission from the abbot of Cluny, Peter the

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1 This article was written as part of the Islamolatina research projects "Islamolatina. Textos, traduccions i controvèrsies a la Mediterrània medieval i moderna" [2017 SGR 01787 (GRC)] and "Medieval and Modern Sources for the Study of Transcultural Relations in the Mediterranean: Writing and Transmission II" [PGC2018-093472-B-C31] led by Prof. Cándida Ferrero Hernández.

2 For Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'an into Latin, a critical edition of which is being compiled by profs. José Martínez Gázquez and Fernando González Muñoz, among other articles see José Martínez Gázquez "Observaciones a la traducción latina del Corán (Qur'an) de Robert de Ketton" in *Les traducteurs au travail. Leurs Manuscrits et leurs Méthodes*, col. Textes et Études du Moyen Âge 18 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 115–127; "Finalidad de la primera traducción latina del Corán", in *Musulmanes y cristianos en Hispania durante las conquistas de los siglos XII y XIII*, ed. M. Barceló et J. Martínez Gázquez (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2005), 71–77; "Los quince primeros nombres de Allah en la traducción latina del Alchorán de Robert de Ketton", *Euphrosyne* 33 (2005): 303–313; "El lenguaje de la violencia en el prólogo de la traducción latina del Corán impulsada por Pedro el Venerable", *Cahiers d'études hispaniques médiévales* 28 (2005): 243–252; "Las glosas de la primera traducción latina del Alchoran latinus" in *Christlicher Norden – Muslimischer Süden: Ansprüche und Wirklichkeiten von Christen, Juden und Muslimen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, ed. M. Tischler et A. Fidora (Münster, 2011), 141–151; "Glossae ad ALCHORAN LATINUM Roberti Ketenensis translatoris, fortasse a

Venerable, during his visit to the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>3</sup> During his journey through the area around Tarazona, Peter the Venerable sowed the seeds for the *corpus Islamolatinum*,<sup>4</sup> a group of texts – the Qur'an first among them – translated from Arabic to Latin. Peter's intention in sponsoring these translations was to provide Christianity with the intellectual weapons<sup>5</sup> that would be necessary for understanding Islam and refuting the Muslims.

While Peter himself explained in a letter to Bernard of Clairvaux how he conceived this ambitious project,<sup>6</sup> we do not have any record of Jiménez de Rada explaining his reasons. Instead, for the second Latin translation of the Qur'an, Mark of Toledo informs us, in the prologue to his *Alchoranus Latinus*, who commissioned him to produce it<sup>7</sup> and what his motives were.<sup>8</sup>

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Petro Pictaviense redactae: An edition of the Glosses to the Latin Qur'an in BnF Ms Arsenal 1162", *Medieval Encounters* 21 (2015), 81–120.

3 Charles J. Bishko, "Peter the Venerable's journey to Spain", *Studia Anselmiana* 40 (1956), 163–175.

4 José Martínez Gázquez, "Islamolatina: Estudios sobre el *Corpus Islamolatinum* (1142–1143) y literatura de controversia islamo-judeo-cristiana", *Arabes in patria Asturiensium, Asturiensis Regni Territorium* 32, ed. Pietro Entrialgo et Clara Elena (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 2011), 173–192.

5 In the letter to Bernard of Clairvaux, Peter the Venerable justified his project as follows: "Aggredior, inquam vos, non, ut nostri saepe faciunt, armis sed verbis, non vi sed ratione, non odio sed amore", *Epistola Petri Cluniacensis ad Bernardum Clareuallis*, in James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), 212–214.

6 James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 212–214.

7 "Trastulit autem Marchus Tholetane ecclesie canonicus librum Alchorani ad petitionem Roderici venerabilis archiepiscopi Tholetani salubrem et persuasionem magistri Mauricii Toletane sedis archidiaconi meritis et sanctitate commendabilium uirorum," see *Prologus* lin. 195–198 in Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus quem transtulit Marcus canonicus Toletanus. Estudio y edición crítica* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Colección Nueva Roma 44: 2016), 12.

8 "Cumque uenerabilis Rodericus, Domino inspirante, sedem archipresulatus Toletane metropoleos et insulam suscepisset eamque ab inimicis crucis infestari cognouisset prouinciamque suam ab infestantibus detentam doliisset, calamitates suas et persecuciones lugendas esse merito prouidit, iuxta illud Ambrosii: 'Arma mea lacrimae meae sunt'," see *Prologus* lin. 162–167 in Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 11. "In hac quoque sollicitudine zelo succensus fidei christianae non segnis extitit reuerendus Mauricius archidiaconus eiusdem <ecclesie Toletane>, literatura commendabilis, uirtutibus insignis, moribus perspicuus, honestate preclarus sed pari uoto parique affectu laborauit, ut Liber iste in Latinum transferretur sermonem, quatinus ex institutis detestandis Mafometi a Christianis confusi Sarraceni ad fidem nonnulli traherentur catholicam. Vterque igitur, tam dominus meus Toletane sedis archiepiscopus, Yspaniarum primas, quam prefatus eiusdem archileuita, salubri me pulsarunt admonicione omnimodo persuadentes ut huius translationis subire laborem non recusarem." See *Prologus* lin. 176–185 in Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 12.

This study explores how Mark of Toledo's translation came down to us today, paying particular attention to the marginal annotations in the manuscripts that preserve this translation. Before going into the *corpus glossarum* of the *Alchoranus Latinus*, let us take a brief look at the main differences between the two first Latin translations of the Qur'an.

In addition to the number of manuscripts where they are preserved – so far as we know, Mark of Toledo's translation was less favored by fortune than was Robert of Ketton's, since there are 26 extant manuscripts<sup>9</sup> of the latter and only 7 of the former<sup>10</sup> – the main differences between the two are as follows. Robert of Ketton's translation was part of the *corpus islamolatinum* together with the *Chronica mendosa et ridiculosa Saracenorum, de uita Machumetis et succesorum eius*,<sup>11</sup> the *Liber de generatione Mahumet*, the *Liber de doctrina Mahumet*,<sup>12</sup> the *Apologia Alquindi*,<sup>13</sup> the *Summa totius heresis Saracenorum*,<sup>14</sup> and the *Liber contra sectam siue heresim Saracenorum*.<sup>15</sup> The manuscripts attest to these works being transmitted together: in most cases Robert of Ketton's translation circulated in manuscripts that contained the other texts from the *corpus Islamolatinum*. In contrast, there is no evidence that Mark of Toledo's work was transmitted in this way: the *Alchoranus latinus* was preserved mainly as a completely independent text,

9 Marie Thérèse D'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen Âge", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 16 (1948), 96, n.4; 108–112. Recently Óscar De la Cruz and Cándida Ferrero, "Robert of Ketton. *Chronica mendosa et ridicula Sarracenorum*", in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History*, vol. 3 (CMR 3), ed. David Thomas et Alex Mallett (Brill: Boston-Leiden, 2011), 508–519, on p. 511 they refer to complete transmission in 24 manuscripts, along with another two manuscripts that preserve a reduced version of the Qur'an. Th. Burman coincides assuring that 25 manuscripts exist, along with another that is contained in a private collection, see Thomas E. Burman, "Tafsîr and Translation: Translation: Traditional Arabic Qur'ân Exegesis and the Latin Qu'râns of Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo", *Speculum* 73 (1998), 705, n. 1.

10 Marie Thérèse D'Alverny, "Marc de Tolède", *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista de Toledo* 3, *Actas del II Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabes*, Toledo 20–26 Mayo 1985, *Serie Histórica* 5 (4 vols.), Toledo, Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes de Toledo, pp. 49–59; Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Liber Alchoran*, xciii–cxxi; Nàdia Petrus Pons, "Transmission and survival of Mark of Toledo's Latin Translation of the Qur'an", *The Qur'an: Text, Translation and Culture*, 2018. Tenth Conference on the Qur'an, SOAS, *in press*.

11 Óscar de la Cruz Palma et Cándida Ferrero Hernández, "Robert of Ketton. *Chronica mendosa et ridicula Sarracenorum*", in *Christian-Muslim Relations*, 508–519.

12 Óscar de la Cruz Palma and Cándida Ferrero Hernández, "Hermann of Carinthia. *Liber de generatione Mahumet. Liber de doctrina Mahumet*", in *Christian-Muslim Relations*, 497–507.

13 Fernando González Muñoz, *Exposición y refutación del islam. La versión latina de las epístolas de al-Hāshimī y al-Kindī*, (Coruña: Universidade da Coruña, 2005).

14 James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 204–211.

15 James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable*, 220–291.

with a prologue that is not particularly combative and lacking polemical annotations, apologetic appendices, or commentaries. It is thought that the *Alchoranus latinus* was probably initially transmitted together with the *Libellus Habentometi*. Unfortunately, there is only one extant example of this joint transmission: the *Mazarinensis* manuscript.<sup>16</sup> In terms of their translation method, Robert de Ketton chose to paraphrase the Arabic text, whereas Mark of Toledo opted for a much more literal, *verbatim* translation that would allow the original text in Arabic to be read side by side with the Latin version, facilitating its use by students and others learning the rudiments of Arabic. With respect to the *mise en page* there are also noteworthy differences between the first and second Latin translations of the Qur'an. While the manuscripts of Ketton's *Alchoran Latinum* have painstakingly careful calligraphy, with decorated capital letters, a two-column text arrangement, and a copious *corpus glossarum*, which altogether give the impression that it was intended to be a study text, the manuscripts of Mark of Toledo do not show great attention to the aesthetics of the *mise en page*. Among the seven extant manuscripts of this translation, the *Mazarinensis* manuscript<sup>17</sup> is the one most prized for its aesthetic qualities. In this copy we can see that the titles and numbers of the suras were done in an intense red, as were the running heads. The capital letters are either blue with red flourishes or red with blue flourishes. The arrangement of the text into two columns in this manuscript was not followed by later copyists, since in almost all other manuscripts<sup>18</sup> the text was copied in a single column. None of the manuscripts of Mark of Toledo has illuminations, indexes, or tables of contents. In the *Ambrosianus*<sup>19</sup> as well as the *Mazarinensis* manuscript, we find a small *corpus glossarum* made up of short marginal annotations, usually not more than two or three words long, which may well have been intended as a simple aid to future readers. Most of the glosses in the *Mazarinensis* are taken verbatim from the *Ambrosianus* manuscript, with the only changes being in the word order, though on rare occasions they are expanded to include an explanation of the content.<sup>20</sup>

16 BnF, Bibliothèque Mazarine collection, ms. 780.

17 Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, CIV-CIX.

18 Besides the *Mazarinensis* manuscript, only the *Granduensis* manuscript has the text arranged into two columns; see Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, XCVIII.

19 MS L.1.Sup of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana; see Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, xciv-xcvi.

20 For a more exhaustive comparison of the *corpus glossarum* of Mark of Toledo's *Alchoranus Latinus*, see Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 401–453.

In addition to the seven manuscripts of Mark of Toledo's translation, there are three indirect witnesses of the work. Two of them are Romance language versions that were based on this Latin text. The first of these is the Italian version of the prologue and some passages from the Qur'an and the *Libellus Habentometi*, translated by Niccolao di Berto.<sup>21</sup> This version is dated between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century (ca. 1499–1514) and is preserved in MS 1910 at the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence. This manuscript, better known as the *Vaglienti codex*, is a miscellaneous collection about important geographical discoveries of the fifteenth century,<sup>22</sup> whose *terminus ante quem* is July 15, 1514, the date when its compiler, the Florentine Piero Vaglienti, died. The Italian version of Mark of Toledo's *Alchoranus Latinus* by Niccolao di Berto is on folios 167ra through 181ra<sup>23</sup> of this manuscript. Luciano Formisano<sup>24</sup> has rejected the theory that the *Mazarinensis* manuscript – the only one that contains the Latin versions of both the *Alchoranus* and the *Libellus Habentometi* – could have been the direct source used by Niccolao di Berto, because some readings are different in the two manuscripts and there are gaps in the material in the *Mazarinensis*, and in these cases MS *Riccardiano* gives the correct reading, such as the interpretation of the name Mafometus, which the manuscripts

<sup>21</sup> See Luciano Formisano, "La più antica (?) traduzione italiano del *Corano* e il *Liber Habentometi* di Ibn Tūmart in una compilazione di viaggi del primo Cinquecento", *Critica del Testo* VII/2 (2004): 651–696; Ulisse Cecini, "Tra latino, arabo e italiano. Osservazioni sulla riduzione in volgare italiano della traduzione latina del *Corano* di Marco da Toledo (Ms. Ricc. 1910, cc170vb-174rb)" in *Filologia Mediolatina* 16 (2009): 131–160. The translated verses of the Qur'an are: I, 1–7; II, *basmla*, 8–10, 62, 85–87, 110–113, 119–120, 136–137, 252–253; III, *basmla*, 2, 18–19, 37–60, 67; IV, *basmla*, 1, 153, 155–158, 171–173; V, 46–47, 72, 82–86, 110–112, 117–118; XV, *basmla*, 1–3, 6–7, 14–15, XIX, *basmla*, 2–4, 7–26, 34.

<sup>22</sup> The contents of the manuscript are divided into three large thematic sections: fols. 1r-39r, a brief geographical encyclopedia that includes a sixteenth-century version of Marco Polo, as well as three itineraria excerpted from the Tuscan compilation of *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*; fols. 41r-143r, devoted to Portuguese voyages, containing, among other texts, the three letters written by Amérigo Vespucci to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, Vasco de Gamma's first expedition, and the discovery and evangelization of the Kingdom of the Congo that were underwritten by John II of Portugal; fols. 145r-184, which include local historic events such as the history of Florence and the Revolt of the Ciompi, and references to faraway countries, focusing on the relations between Islam and Western and African Christianity.

<sup>23</sup> Specifically, the anthology of Quranic verses occupies fols. 167ra-174rb, and the *Libellus Habentumeti*, fols. 174rb-181ra.

<sup>24</sup> Luciano Formisano, "La più antica (?) traduzione italiana", 660; Luciano Formisano, *Iddio ci dia buon viaggio e guadagno*. Biblioteca Riccardiana 10 (Edizioni Polistampa: Florence, 2006), 32.

transmitted as *graciosus*<sup>25</sup> (the term does not appear at all in the *Ambrosianus* manuscript due to a lacuna in the text), while Niccolao di Berto translated it as *grolioso*.<sup>26</sup> The second translation into a Romance language is an anonymous French version of the first four suras. It is likely the work of a French scholar in the seventeenth century<sup>27</sup> and is preserved on folios 270r through 338r of MS Lat. 3394 at the BnF,<sup>28</sup> one of the seven manuscripts that preserve Mark of Toledo's work. This version is the product of the commentaries made by this French Arabist regarding numerous passages of the Latin version. The reading and presentation in the French text suggest two different writing stages: a preliminary translation that would serve as a draft and would include corrections, deletions, and marginal annotations, and a clean copy of the translated text. The first two suras are presented twice (fols. 270r through 290v have a draft, and fols. 293r through 315r have a clean copy); however, in the case of the third and fourth suras (fols. 317r–338v) this process of making a draft and then a clean copy was not followed, or was not completed, since the manuscript includes only one version of these suras.

The third indirect witness, which was crucial to the survival of Mark of Toledo's translation of the Qur'an, is MS arabe 384 at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France,<sup>29</sup> a manuscript of Egyptian and Syrian origin dated to between the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. This manuscript contains an incomplete Qur'an (fols. 2–139: I, 1–xxiii; fols. 140 a 248: xxiii, 110 – xcix, 1), whose copious marginal annotations in Latin<sup>30</sup> have been attributed to Riccoldo da Monte

25 Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, PROL. lin. 128–129, p. 10: “Hic quippe fuit Mafometus, id est **graciosus**, non Nicholaus, sicut falso plures autumant . . .”.

26 Luciano Formisano, *Iddio ci dia buon viaggio*, I I, 32, p. 273: “Costui fu certamente Macometto ‘**grolioso**’, no Nicolaio, come falsamente molti indovinavano . . .”.

27 Although the author of this French version is unknown, I believe that it was a French scholar, referred to in my edition as *P*<sup>2</sup>, who knew Arabic, since he corrected the Latin text by adding the numbering of the ayas, secondary titles to the suras, and copious interlinear annotations about issues of style in the Latin text. This French version is to a large extent the result of the comments that this Arabist made to numerous fragments in the Latin version.

28 Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, CXVIII–CXXI.

29 Françoise Déroche, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Manuscrits musulmans. Tome I, 2. Les manuscrits du Coran. Du Maghreb à l'Insulide* (Bibliothèque nationale, Département des manuscrits: Paris, 1985), 53, note 344. José Martínez Gázquez and Françoise Déroche, “Lire et traduire le Coran au Moyen Age. Les glosses latines du manuscrit arabe 384 de la BNF” in *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Année 2010 juillet-octobre* (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Paris, 2010), 1024–1042.

30 This *corpus glossarum* comprises approximately 567 glosses, 422 of which are in the hand of Riccoldo da Monte di Croce.

di Croce.<sup>31</sup> A comparison between Mark of Toledo's translation and the text in these glosses make clear that the latter are derived from the *Alchoranus Latinus*, and that in most cases Riccoldo copied Mark of Toledo's translation verbatim.<sup>32</sup> What is more, the glosses that make up this *corpus* demonstrate the method used by Riccoldo da Monte di Croce as he prepared to write his *Contra Legem Sarracenorum*, one of whose direct sources was Mark of Toledo's *Alchoranus Latinus*,<sup>33</sup> maybe because the literalness of this translation and the absence of stylistic figures and commentaries helped Riccoldo to resolve some questions he initially had about the Arabic text.

The manuscripts that preserve Mark of Toledo's Latin version, which date from between the late thirteenth and the seventeenth centuries, were not produced in the Iberian Peninsula but in areas belonging to France, Germany, or Italy.<sup>34</sup> They are the following:

- *Ambrosianus*: Bibl. Ambrosiana, ms. L.1.Sup (A) [14th century].
- *Taurinensis*: Bibl. Nazionale Torino, cod. F.V.35 (T) [late 13th–early 14th century].
- *Granduensis*: Bibl. Nationale France, ms. Lat. 14503 (G) [mid-14th century].
- *Mazarinensis*: BNF, Bibl. Mazarine, ms. 780 (M) [ca. 1400].
- *Vindobonensis*: Nationalbibliothek Wien, ms. 4297 (V) [ca. 1500].
- *Borromeus*: Bibl. Ambrosiana, ms. R.113 Sup (B) [16th century].
- *Parisinus*: Bibl. Nationale France, ms. Lat. 3394 [late 16th century–2nd half of the 17th].

As can be seen in the following table, which shows the total number of marginal annotations in the manuscripts that preserve the *Alchoranus Latinus*, some manuscripts, such as the *Taurinensis*, the *Granduensis*, and the *Mazarinensis*, are

<sup>31</sup> Thomas E. Burman, "How an Italian Friar Read His Arabic Qur'an" in ed. Jan Ziolkowski, *Dante Studies, with the Annual Report of the Dante Society*, 125 (2007): 93–109; Thomas E. Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom 1140–1560* (Philadelphia: 2007): 601–608; José Martínez Gázquez and Françoise Déroche, "Lire et traduire le Coran au Moyen Age".

<sup>32</sup> José Martínez Gázquez and Françoise Déroche, "Lire et traduire le Coran au Moyen Age", 1029–1030.

<sup>33</sup> José Martínez Gázquez and Françoise Déroche, "Lire et traduire le Coran au Moyen Age", 1029–1030. For a more exhaustive comparison between the text of Mark of Toledo and Riccoldo da Monte, see Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, LV–LXXI; Nàdia Petrus Pons, "Riccoldo da Monte di Croce lector de Marcos de Toledo", *Medievalia* 19/2 (Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2016), 115–132.

<sup>34</sup> For a detailed description of these manuscripts, see Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, XCIII–CXXI.

much more prolix than others. For example, the *Parisinus* manuscript does not have marginal glosses but rather interlinear annotations.

<i>Corpus glossarum of the Alchoranus Latinus</i>				
Abbreviation	Manuscript	Copyist : number of glosses		Total
A	Bibl. Ambrosiana, ms. L.1.Sup	A : 153	A <sup>2</sup> : 25	178
T	Bibl. Nazionale Torino, cod. F.V.35	T : 308	T <sup>2</sup> : 0	308
G	Bibl. Nationale France, ms. Lat. 14503	G : 11	G <sup>2</sup> : 208	220
M	BNF, Bibl. Mazarine, ms. 780	M : 483	M <sup>2</sup> : 3	486
V	Nationalbibliothek Wien, ms. 4297	V : 141	V <sup>2</sup> : 14	155
B	Bibl. Ambrosiana, ms. R.113 Sup (B)	B : 19	B <sup>2</sup> : 0	19
P	Bibl. Nationale France, ms. Lat. 3394	P : 0	P <sup>2</sup> : 0	0

If we look a little closer at some specific examples in each of these manuscripts, we find, for example, that on folio 9v of the *Ambrosianus* manuscript, the glosses are simple references to the text. Thus, we find *de testamento*, which refers to the text of sura II, 180: “*Indicatur uobis si cuiquam uestrum mors imminet, si dimiserit possessionem, **testamento** parentibus offertur et propinquis cum honestate, iure timentibus*”;<sup>35</sup> or *de mulieribus* and also *Lex suina*, referring to aya 187 in the second sura: “*Licitum est uobis nocte ieiunii delectari cum **mulieribus** uestris. Ipse enim uestes sunt uobis et uos estis uestes. Nouit quippe Deus quod circumcidebatis uos ipsos, condescendit ergo uobis et pepercit. Nunc autem euangelizate eis et appetite que scripsit Deus uobis et comedite et bibite donec distinguatur filum album a filo nigro aurore. Deinde adimplete ieiunium ad noctem neque accedatis ad eas cum seduli fueritis in oratoriis. Isti sunt termini Dei, non transgrediamini eos: Deus enim sic determinat hominibus precepta sua quo forte metuant*”.<sup>36</sup> On folio 59v of the same manuscript, we read the annotation *Demon inobediens Nota*, referring to ayas 30–35 in sura XV: “*Et adorauerunt omnes angeli unanimiter, **excepto Demone**. Renuit enim esse cum procidentibus. Et dixit ei: “O Demon, cur non fuisti cum procidentibus?”*”<sup>37</sup> *Dixit: “Non debebam hominem quem creasti de fimo fetulento adorare”*.<sup>38</sup> *Dixit ergo: “Egredere inde, tu enim es lapidatus. Et maledictus es usque in diem legis”*; and on the same folio, VII *hostia Inferni*, which refers to some ayas further along: XV, 43–44: “*Et **gehenna** nimirum est eis promissa uniuersis, que **septem** habet **ostia** et unumquodque ostium habet distinctionem*”.

35 Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 28.  
36 Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 29.  
37 Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 159.  
38 Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 131.



In the case of the *Taurinensis* manuscript, the marginal annotations use only the simple abbreviation *nota* to highlight fragments of interest, as for example on folio 28r, where the gloss highlights X, 61: *Nec eris in aliquo nec legis eis aliquid de Alchorano nec facietis aliquod opus, quin simus super uos testes cum excesseritis. Nec latet creatorem tuum pondus formice in terra nec in celo nec minus illo nec maius, quin sit in Libro manifeste*;<sup>39</sup> or in X, 68: *Dixerunt: "Suscepitne Deus filium?" Mirabilis. Ipse est diues, qui possidet quecumque sunt in celis et in terra. Si rationem habetis ad hoc, cur dicitis contra Deum quod ignoratis?*<sup>40</sup> The same thing happens on folio 34r, with a note that refers to XIV, 32: *Deus autem est qui creauit celos et terram. Et dedit pluuiam de celo et produxit de arboribus fructus uobis. Et contulit uobis naues ad usus uestros, ut discurrerent in mari de mandato ipsius. Et flumina dedit uobis ad usus uestros.*<sup>41</sup>

The marginal annotations in the *Granduensis* manuscript must have been made by an Arabist – the additions made by this commentator are indicated in my edition by the abbreviation *G*<sup>2</sup> – given that a good many of them are in Arabic. These glosses by *G*<sup>2</sup> are mainly the titles of suras and annotations about specific ayas, such as on folio 158r, where we read the title in Arabic with an explanation of the number of the sura, that is, لا اعراف *est sex caput deest circiter quarta parte*;<sup>42</sup> or سَيِّطَان referring to ayas 12–13 of the seventh sura: <sup>12</sup>*Dixit: "Quid prohibuit tibi quod non humiliare te cum tibi precepi?" Dixit: "Ego melior sum illo. Creasti me ex igne et creasti eum ex luto".* <sup>13</sup>*Et dixit: "Descende ergo ex eo, non habebis ex quo superbire possis. Egrederere! Factus minoratus".*<sup>43</sup> The glossator of the *Granduensis* manuscript made annotations not only in Arabic but also in Greek, as on folio 181r, where he writes *o insignia! ματαιολογος* to identify XXI, 76: *Et Noe cum prius clamasset, respondimus ei et liberauimus eum et suos a calamitate magna*<sup>44</sup>; or simply in Latin, as can be seen further along on the same folio, where he wrote *mirabilis quidam create et dignum patet omnibus* in reference to XXII, 5: *O uos homines, si dubitatis de die requisicionis, nos quidem uos creauimus de terra, deinde de spermate, deinde de sanguissuga, deinde de carne consolidata et non consolidata ut declarem uobis. Et conquiescere faciam in matricibus quod uellem usque ad diem prescitum, deinde uos educerem infantes usque dum perueniretis ad robur uestrum. Et quidam uestrum decedunt et quidam ad deteriore reduncuntur*

<sup>39</sup> Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 159.

<sup>40</sup> Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 159.

<sup>41</sup> Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 156.

<sup>42</sup> Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 98.

<sup>43</sup> Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 98.

<sup>44</sup> Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 197.

*etatem ut postquam aliquid nouerint, desipiant. Et uidebis terram aridam. Et cum dedimus pluuiam desuper, contremiscit et bullit et producit de omni pares flores.*<sup>45</sup>

The *Mazarinensis* manuscript has annotations that refer to the content of the text, as on folio 24v, where we find *de pluuiā*, referring to VI, 6: *In quibus melius fuerunt homines quam uos collati et mandauimus celo ut plueret super homines et fecimus flumina sub ipsis fluere et destruximus eos propter peccata sua et suscitauimus post eos alia secula.*<sup>46</sup> On this same folio, the gloss *Hic dicit quod fuit sibi reuelatus Alchoranum a Deo* provides an explanation of VI, 19: *Dic: “Deus est testis inter me et uos. Et reuelatus est mihi hic Alchoranus. . .”*<sup>47</sup> We see another example of explaining the contents in the marginal annotations on folio 33v, where the gloss *non conuertant se retrorsum et qui conuertit tunc posteriora* refers to *ayas* 15–16 of the eighth sura: *“O uos qui creditis, quando opponitis uos illis qui blasphemarunt, non conuertatis posteriora. “Et qui conuertit tunc posteriora sua, nisi conuertendo se ad prelium uel declinando ad turbam, redit cum ira Dei et manebit in gehenna. Et quam praua conuersio!”*<sup>48</sup>

Looking at the annotations in the *Vindobonensis* manuscript, we see that they are not very different from those that we have outlined above. Thus, folio 69v has the marginal gloss *ut impugnent qui non credunt*, which explains part of the content in IX, 29: *Impugnate itaque eos qui non credunt in Deum nec in diem ultimum, nec respuunt ea que Deus excommunicauit et Legatus eius, nec legem obseruant ueritatis de illis quibus traditus est Liber. Qui soluunt tributum manualiter et sunt minorati.*<sup>49</sup> On folio 70r, for example, a note is made for *menses* to reference the passage IX, 36: *Menses quippe in Libro Dei scripti apud Deum sunt duodecim, die qua creauit celos et terram, quorum quatuor sunt illiciti(. . .).*<sup>50</sup>

The *Borromeus* manuscript also follows the same procedure in the few marginal annotations that it contains, as can be seen on folio 203v, for example, where *Maria* is written to refer to the passage in the Qur’an at III, 36: *Postquam autem peperit eam, ait: “Creator mi, peperit feminam. Et Deus nouit magis quid peperat. Et masculus non est sicut femina. Et uocauit eam Mariam, et muniam eam tecum et prolem eius a diabolo lapidatore”;*<sup>51</sup> or where *auis* is noted in reference to *aya* 42 of the same sura: *Et prophetam ad filios Israel: “Veni ad uos cum miraculo*

<sup>45</sup> Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 199.

<sup>46</sup> Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 84.

<sup>47</sup> Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 85.

<sup>48</sup> Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 112.

<sup>49</sup> Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 119.

<sup>50</sup> Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 119.

<sup>51</sup> Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 44.

*creatoris uestri. Creabo enim uobis de luto ad modum auis; et sufflabo in ea et fiet auis nutu Dei. . .*".<sup>52</sup>

We will conclude this overview of the *corpus glossarum* of Mark of Toledo's *Alchoranus Latinus* with some examples from the *Parisinus* manuscript. As was mentioned above, this manuscript contains a French translation following Mark of Toledo's Latin text. Unlike the other manuscripts that have been discussed, the *Parisinus* has no marginal annotations; the annotations that it does have are the interlinear corrections made by the translator who, in the following folios, produces the French version of the first four suras. To illustrate this process of correcting the Latin text, developing a draft of the French version, and producing the clean copy of the French text, let us take a look at ayas 2–4 of the first sura:<sup>53</sup>

2 *Gloria Deo, creatori gencium*<sup>2</sup>. 3 *Misericordi, miseratori*<sup>3</sup>, 4 *qui regnat in die legis*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> creatori gencium: Domino creaturarum *add./corr. s.l. P*<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> misericordi miseratori: miseratori misericordi *transp. P*<sup>2</sup> <sup>4</sup> qui regnat in die legis: *del. et Regi diei Iudicii add./corr. s.l. P*<sup>2</sup>

French translation [draft]

#### CHAPITRE PREMIER

2 Louange soit a Dieu, Seigneur du monde,  
3 clement et misericordieux. 4 Roy du jour  
du jugement.

French translation [clean copy]

#### Oraison Journaliere des Mahometans. CHAPITRE PREMIER

2 Louange soit a Dieu, Seigneur du monde,  
3 clement et misericordieux. 4 Roy du jour  
du jugement.

As was mentioned above, one of the indirect witnesses of Mark of Toledo's *Alchoranus Latinus* (and also an indication of the translation's importance) is the Italian version of some ayas of the Qur'an. It is interesting that the ayas that are selected to be translated into Italian almost always correspond to ayas that have a marginal gloss in one or another manuscript of the Latin version. Unfortunately, it is impossible to identify which manuscript may have been used as the source of the Italian version, since the translated ayas reflect glosses from several codices. However, we can hypothesize that a compendium of ayas excerpted from the Mark of Toledo's Latin text was probably in circulation, and that the composition of that compendium would have been directly connected to the *corpus glossarum* of the *Alchoranus Latinus*. The table that follows shows the correspondences between the ayas translated by Niccolao di Berto and the glosses contained in the different manuscripts of Mark of Toledo's Latin version of the Qur'an.

<sup>52</sup> Nàdia Petrus Pons, *Alchoranus Latinus*, 45.

<sup>53</sup> BnF, Lat. 3394, fol. 1r.

Correspondences between the Italian version of Niccolao di Berto and the *corpus glossarum*  
of the manuscripts of Mark of Toledo

Niccolao di Berto		Mark of Toledo
Sura	Ayas	
III	basmala	
	2	
	18–19	19 nota <i>AT</i> quod non est lex nisi Sarracenorum <i>M</i>
	37–60	37–38 Zacharias <i>V</i> 37–39 de Zacharia et Iohanne Baptista <i>M</i> 39 de Iohanne baptista ( <i>sic</i> ) <i>A</i> Iohannes baptista <i>V</i> magnus Christus <i>B</i> 40 uerba Euangelii <i>A</i> <sup>2</sup> 41 mendacium contra Euangelium <i>M</i> 42 angeli <i>B</i> 42–44 nota de Maria <i>A</i> <sup>2</sup> de Maria <i>MV</i> 45–49 de Christo <i>A</i> <sup>2</sup> de Ihesu Christi <i>M</i> nota Christus Ihesus <i>V</i> 49 de miraculo Christi <i>M</i> 49 aus <i>B</i> 51 nota <i>T</i> 52 de Apostolis <i>AM</i> 53 mendacium <i>M</i> 55 nuncio moriturus <i>M</i> <i>clauis</i> <i>V</i> 59–60 nota <i>T</i> Mendacium quod Ihesus fuit formatus de terra sicut Adam <i>M</i> similitudo Ihesu <i>V</i>
	67	67 mendacium <i>A</i>   Ysmael fuit filius Abrae <i>A</i> <sup>2</sup>   potius Ysmael fuit ebreus quam Christianus <i>A</i> <sup>2</sup> de Abrahe mendacium non fuit Abraham neque Christianus nisi Ysmahelita <i>M</i> nota <i>TV</i>
IV	basmala	
	1	
	153	153 iam magis. . . fide occulta: Moyses <i>A</i>
	155–158	156–157 de beata Maria et Ihesu <i>A</i> 157 passio Christi fuit fantastica <i>M</i>   de ipso dubio <i>M</i> 157–159 Nota Maria Christum Ihesum <i>V</i>

(continued)

Nicolaio di Berto		Mark of Toledo
Sura	Ayas	
	171–173	<b>171</b> nota <i>T</i>   nota <i>T</i> Ihesus Christus filius Dei <i>M</i>   Ihesus, filius Marie, est Verbum Dei et hec negat Trinitatem nec Deum habere filium <i>M</i> <b>171–172</b> Ihesus Christus <i>V</i> <sup>2</sup> <b>172</b> Ihesus <i>A</i> <sup>2</sup>
V	46–47	<b>46</b> nota <i>T</i> Euuangelia <i>A</i> Euangelia n(. . .) est directio (. . .) <i>M</i> <b>46–48</b> de Christo <i>A</i> Christus filius Marie <i>V</i> <sup>2</sup>
	72	<b>72</b> de Christo <i>A</i> nota <i>T</i> Blasphemant dicendo Christum non esse Deum <i>M</i> Christus <i>V</i> <sup>2</sup>
	82–86	<b>82</b> nota <i>T</i> clerici et monachi <i>A M</i> <sup>2</sup>
	110–112	<b>110</b> de Christo <i>A</i>   nota <i>T</i>   de Ihesu <i>V</i> miracula Christi <i>AM</i> nota <i>T</i> <b>110–116</b> <i>clavis V</i> <b>111</b> de Apostolis <i>A</i> Mendax <i>M</i> <b>112</b> Mendax <i>A</i> Miracula Christi de Apostolis(?) qui crediderunt in Deum et Legatum suum et qui fuerunt Sarraceni <i>M</i> <b>114</b> nota <i>T</i> <b>116</b> nota <i>T</i> Hic dicit Mendacium. Christus dixit quod esse eum et matrem eius duos deos <i>M</i>
	117–118	<b>117</b> obiit Christus <i>AM</i> <i>non legitur V</i>
XV	basmala	
	1–3	
	6–7	<b>6</b> monacus fuit <i>A</i>
	14–15	<b>15</b> Nota. Homo de fimo <i>A</i>
XIX	Basmala	
	2–4	

(continued)

Niccolao di Berto		Mark of Toledo
Sura	Ayas	
	7–26	7 de Iohanne Baptista V 10–14 Et dixit: “Pone mihi signum”. . . . non erat superbus et inobediens: Iohannes A 16–17 nota T 16–20 concepcio Marie A Maria Virgine V 16–24 ut omnia fabulose tractat G <sup>2</sup> 21–23 fabula A
	34	34 Ihesus A عيسى [trans. ‘(l)ṣà] [trad. “Gesù”] G <sup>2</sup> Ihesus Verbum ueritatis V

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