Some Remarks on the Translation of Proper Names in Mark of Toledo's and Robert of Ketton's Latin Qur'ān Translations

Algunas observaciónes sobre la traducción de los nombres propios en las traducciónes latinas del Corán de Marcos de Toledo y Robert de Ketton

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This article presents Robert of Ketton's (1143) and Mark of Toledo's (1210) Latin translations of proper names appearing in the Qur'ān. Proper names represent a particular sub-group of words that challenges the translator in his task as a mediator between two cultures. Proper names are in fact tied to the person or the entity to which they belong and cannot, in absolute terms, be translated without losing their characteristic of being "proper." In the article, the names are divided in different categories and the different methods are explained, that each translator uses to render the names in the translation. Final remarks try to formulate some hypotheses in order to explain the different choices of each translator in the context of their respective Qur'ān translation.

Key words: Proper Names; Latin Translation; Qur'ān; Robert of Ketton; Mark of Toledo; Spain; Iberian Peninsula; Cultural Transfer; Peter the Venerable; Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada.

En este artículo se presentan las traducciones latinas que Robert de Ketton (1143) y Marcos de Toledo (1210) hicieron de los nombres propios que aparecen en el Corán. Los nombres propios son un grupo particular de palabras que ponen a prueba al traductor en su tarea como mediador entre dos culturas. En efecto, los nombres propios son naturalmente vinculados a la persona o la entidad a las que pertenecen y no pueden ser traducidos sin perder su característica de ser «propios». En el artículo los nombres se dividen en diferentes categorías y se exponen de forma detallada los diferentes métodos que cada traductor utiliza para expresar los nombres en Latín. En las observaciones finales se formulan algunas hipótesis para explicar las diferentes soluciones que cada traductor ha elegido en el contexto de su propia traducción del Corán.

Palabras clave: nombres propios; traducción latina; Corán; Robert de Ketton; Marcos de Toledo; España; Peninsula Ibérica; Transferencia cultural; Pedro el Venerable; Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada.

Introduction

The task of the translator is a difficult one: he has to transfer a con-glomerate of sound, form, style, syntax, and of course meaning from a system of expression of those things to another, he has to convey a product of a cultural and intellectual environment to another cultural and intellectual environment that often does not share the same back-ground knowledge, the same customs, the same beliefs, let alone the same language. Even among people who speak the same language there could be problems of understanding due a) to the different connotation that a word or an expression may have in different cultural contexts, b) to the semantic development that a concept can have as time goes by and as new ideas make use of an already existing lexicon, c) to the use and appropriation of foreign words, d) to the fall from the use of certain words and the creation of neologisms: "Multa renascentur, quae iam cecidere, cadentque / quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus, / quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi."[1]

The Qur'ān offers a wonderful example of a text that required ex-planations from its very beginning in order to be properly understood by the people who spoke the "same" language in which it was revealed. Though it was revealed in "clear, Arabic tongue,"[2] its style was poetic and elevated (so that its beauty and its inimitability were seen as a proof of its divine origin),[3] it contained rare and ancient words and it alluded to facts and traditions without explicitly naming them. Its verses, as it says about itself, are sometimes "clear" (*muḥkamāt*, properly "fixed, definite") and sometimes "ambiguous"[4] (*mutashābihāt*, properly "that resemble, allegorical").

Moreover, the sacral character of the Qur'ān adds a further compli-cation, because its message is one with its form and its strength lays in his "voice" and in his structure and rhymes no less than in the meaning conveyed by its words.

The medieval translator who had to express the Qur'ān in Latin words for a Christian audience, whose cultural heritage laid in the

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[1] Hor., *Ars poetica*, 70-72.
[2] Arab. *lisānun ʿarabiyyun mubīnun*. Cfr. Q 26:195 (The words in the quotation marks are from Arberry's translation, *The Koran interpreted*, p. 379) and 16:103.
[3] Cfr. Q 2:23; 10:38; 11:13; 52:34.
[4] Cfr. Q 3:5. The words in the quotation marks are from Arberry's translation, p. 45.

Latin-Christian and in the Roman tradition, had a huge task before himself.

The first two Latin translators of the entire Qur'ān, Robert of Ketton, who translated it in 1143 for the Cluniac abbot Peter the Venerable, and Mark of Toledo, who translated it in 1210 for the Toledan archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, chose different ways to convey the message of the Qur'ān.[5]

The former chose the style corresponding to the elevated prose of his time, structured in complex periods with many subordinate clauses and a wide use of participles, modifying the word order and the order of the sentences of the original and occasionally merging more verses in one long sentence. He often translated a single Arabic word with two Latin words in order to convey its meaning more clearly and he was not afraid sometimes to add short explanations. However, this way of translating sometimes gives obscure results, because the long, convoluted sentences of the translation summarise more subsequent sentences of the original, losing their linearity in this way, so that only by knowing what the original says one comes to understand the translation.

Mark of Toledo, instead, translated respecting the word and verse order of the original, though respecting the Latin grammar too, so that his translation appears to be closer to the original at a first look and of easier understanding.

[5] In general, on Robert's and Mark's translation of the Qur'ān into Latin, see Cecini, *Alcoranus latinus. Eine sprachliche und kulturwissenschaftliche Analyse der Koranübersetzungen von Robert von Ketton und Marcus von Toledo*; Tischler, "Die älteste lateinische Koranübersetzung als (inter)religiöser Begegnungsraum"; Glei, "*Pontes fieri iubentur. Brücken zwischen (Neo-)Latinistik, Religionsgeschichte und Orientalistik*"; Martínez Gázquez and Petrus, "Las motivaciones generales de las traducciones latinas del Corán"; Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom, 1140-1560*; Burman, "How an Italian Friar Read His Arabic Qur'ān"; Martínez Gázquez, "Finalidad de la primera traducción latina del Corán"; Petrus, "Marcos de Toledo y la segunda traducción latina del Corán"; Martínez Gázquez, "Observaciones a la traducción latina del Coran (Qur'ān) de Robert de Ketene"; Burman, "Tafsīr and Translation: Traditional Arabic Qur'ān Exegesis and the Latin Qur'ān of Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo"; Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation. Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa*; Bobzin, "Latin Translations of the Koran. A short overview"; D'Alverny, "Marc de Tolède"; Glei, *Petrus Venerabilis, Schriften zum Islam*; Hagemann, "Die erste lateinische Koranübersetzung - Mittel zur Verständigung zwischen Christen und Muslimen in Mittelalter?"; D'Alverny and Vajda, "Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tumart"; D'Alverny, "Deux traductions latines du Coran au Moyen Age," (see also note 6).

Given these premises, the case of the proper names represents a particular sub-group of words that challenges the translator in his task of mediator between two cultures.

The proper name is in fact tied to the person or the entity to which it belongs and, in absolute terms, it cannot be translated without losing its characteristic of being "proper." Moreover, when it belongs to something that has not a correspondence in the target culture, how is its "meaning" going to be conveyed?[6]

In this paper, I will show how the two Qur'ān translators dealt with these problems and the surprising solution that especially Mark of Toledo sometimes adopted.[7]

The translation of proper names

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I divided the names in three categories. The first group is formed by the names which belong to a figure shared by both source and target culture, in which they bear practically the same name, only in a differ-

[6] This article focuses only on proper names (particularly personal names and those of supernatural entities such as Gods, demons and angels). A similar approach can be found for example in Glei and Reichmuth, "Religion between Last Judgement, Law, and Faith: Koranic Dīn and its Rendering in Latin Translations of the Koran," and Martínez Gázquez, "Los primeros nombres de Allah en la traducción latina del Alchoran de Robert de Ketton." A complement to this article with more general observations can be found, other than in Cecini, *Alcoranus Latinus*, in my other contributions: Cecini, "Main Features of Mark of Toledo's Latin Qur'ān Translation"; Cecini, "Faithful to the Infidels' Word. Mark of Toledo's Latin Translation of the Qur'ān (1209-10)," and 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)."

[7] For this I follow orientatively the list of proper names contained in Ambros and Procházka, *A Concise Dictionary of Koranic Arabic*, p. 305-312. I focus on the section B and C (Angels, pagan deities, and the Devil; Humans). I carried out the research on Robert's translation (in this article also appearing as R.) on T. Bibliander's edition of 1543 (henceforth "Bibl."), sometimes recurring to the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1162 (henceforth A1) for dubious readings. For Mark's translation (in this article also appearing as Ma.) I normally quote from the manuscript Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, F. V. 35 (henceforth T), which I consider one of the best manuscripts for Mark. The other manuscripts that I quote for problematic passages are Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana L. I. sup (M); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 14503 (A); Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 4297 (V); Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 780 (D); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 3394 (P); Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana R. 113 sup (F). A description of these manuscripts with further bibliography can be found in Cecini, *Alcoranus latinus*, p. 73-81. A

ent form due to the different linguistic development of the tradition. In the Qur'ān it is the case of the names shared with the Jewish-Christian biblical tradition. If they have a Latin equivalent they are expressed by the translators in this form: so ʿĪsā becomes *Iesus*, *Yaḥyā* / *Iohannes*, *Ibrāhīm* / *Abraham*, *Jibrīl* / *Gabriel*, *Isḥāq* / *Ysaac*, *Yaʿqūb* / *Iacob*, *Nūḥ* / *Noe*, *Dāwūd* / *David*, *Sulaymān* / *Salomon*, *Yūsuf* / *Ioseph*, *Mūsā* / *Moyses*, *Hārūn* / *Aaron*, *Zakariyyā* / *Zacharia*, *Ilyās* / *Helias*, *Lūṭ* / *Loth*, *Maryam* / *Maria*, *Mīkāl* / *Michael*, *Ayyūb* / *Iob*, *Ādam* / *Adam* and *Isrā'īl* (name of Jacob) / *Israel*.

Exceptions are represented by the following names: for the translation of ʿ*Imrān* (Q 3:33; 3:35; 66:12), the father of Mary, mother of Jesus, Robert follows the Christian tradition and translates it *ad sensum* as *Ioachim*. Mark remains closer to the Arabic and translates it as *Ambram*.[8] Actually the manuscript tradition is very uncertain regarding the translation of this name, as most of the manuscripts have *Abraham*.[9] The fact that M, one of the oldest manuscripts, has *Ambram*, and that it would be more likely for a medieval copyist to correct the name into the more famous *Abraham* than the other way round, support in my opinion the hypothesis that Mark's translation was *Ambram*, which would also avoid the confusion with *Ibrāhīm*. Anyway, the important point here is that Mark does not substitute the name following the Christian tradition, but remains close to the Arabic.

Yūnus is translated correctly by Mark with *Ionas*, Robert instead has in Q 4:163 *Ionatha* and in 6:86 and 10:98 omits its translation. In 37:139 he translates it correctly with *Ionas*. By the way, both resolve the epithet of Jonah *Dhū-l-nūn* (The one with the Fish) in 21:87, by translating it as *Ionas*.

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critical edition of Mark's translation was accomplished by Nadia Petrus in her doctoral dissertation and finds itself in the library of the Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona (*Al-choranus Latinus, quem transtulit Marcus canonicus Toletanus: estudio y edición crítica*, Tesis Doctoral dirigida por José Martínez Gázquez, 2008, awaiting publication). The English translation of the Qur'ān I used is, as already noted, the one of Arberry (*The Koran interpreted*, henceforth "Ar.").

   [8] Cfr. Num 26, 59, where Amram is the father of Moses, Aaron and Mary. Cfr. also Q 19:28, where Mary, mother of Jesus, is called "Sister of Aaron" (Ar., p. 304).

   [9] 3:33: T, f. 7va: *Abraham*; M, f. 15r: *Ambram*; V, f. 20v: *Abrahe*; D, f. 12ra: *Abrahe*; P, f. 22r: *Abraha*; F, f. 203r: *Habrae* ; 3:35: T, f.7va: *Abram*; M, f. 15v: *Ambram*; V, f. 20v: *Abraham*; D, f. 12ra: *Admram*; P, f. 22r: *om.*; F, f. 203: *Habram*; 66:12: T, f. 77va *Abram*; V, f. 196r: *Abraham*; D, f. 111rb: *Abraham*; A, f. 211vb: *Abram* (with an interlinear "m" between the "a" and the "b"); P, f. 219r: *Abraam*.

A slightly different category contained in this group is represented by names whose spelling does not reveal who is meant at first sight.

Al-Yasāʿ, who indicates the prophet Elisha, is translated by Mark in 6:86 as *Iosue* and in 38:48 as *Elyas*. This two translations could be explained as a misunderstanding of the consonantic succession, in the first case because close to the Hebrew *yhwshʿ*, in the second to the Arabic *Ilyās*. Robert translates it in 6:86 as *Ezechia* and in 38:48 as *Alieza*. The latter is undoubtedly a simple transliteration, while the former could derive from al-Ṭabarī. *Al-Yasāʿ* was in fact identified in Muslim tradition with the son of the widow who hosted Elijah in Sarepta of Sidon during the famine and gave him food (cfr. I Kings, 17). After Elijah cured the son's sickness, he became Elijah's disciple and successor. That is why *al-Yasāʿ* is also called *Ibn al-ʿAjūz*, i.e son of the old woman.[10] Other authors, however, (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, *Annales*, 1, 535)[11] attribute this epithet to *Ḥazqīl* (Ezekiel), which could explain Robert's translation *Ezechia*.

To stay by Elijah, we also note that the name variant *Il Yāsīn*, which is found in 37:130, is translated correctly by Mark with *Helyas*, but just transliterated by Robert as *Iezin*.

Ismāʿīl is translated as *Isma(h)el* by both Mark and Robert: only in 6:86 Robert translates it as *Samuel*.

In this group I will also include *Iblīs*, the proper name of the Devil, who disobeyed God and refused to bow down before Adam. It is considered a contraction of the Greek *diábolos*.[12] Thusly, it is translated by Mark in the majority of the occurrences with *diabolus* (2:34; 7:11; 18:50; 20:116; 34:20; 38:74). Almost as frequent is, however, the translation *Demon* (15:31; 15:32 ; 17:61; 26:95; 38:75). *Demon* or *Demonium* is, by the way, Mark's translation of *jinn*, too (cfr. *e.g. sūrah* 114:6: "Mina l-jinnati wa-l-nās." Ma: "de demonibus et homi-

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[10] For the tradition of *al-Yasāʿ* as *Ibn al-ʿAjūz* cfr. Seligsohn and Vajda, "Alīsaʿ," in *EI²*, 1, p. 404.

[11] Al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk*, p. 456. (Engl. transl. Brinner, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, p. 118: "Ibn Ḥumayd related to us – Salamah – Ibn Isḥāq: Ezekiel b. Buzi was named Ibn al-ʿAjūz because his mother asked God for a son even though she had grown old and barren. Then God gave him to her. For that reason he was called "son of the old woman").

[12] Cfr. Ambros and Procházka, *A Concise Dictionary*, p. 305; Wensinck-[L.Gardet], "Iblīs," in *EI²*, 3, p. 668. The Arabic tradition refers it, however, to the verb *ablasa* (to despair), as he cannot hope in the mercy of God (*ibidem*).

nibus"[13]; R: "hominibusque diabolicis atque perversis [te defen-dat]"[14]). One could wonder if in this double translation of *Iblīs* the un-resolved issue whether he is an angel or a *jinn* plays a role.[15] The second solution is supported for example by Zamakhsharī (*Kashshāf*, on *sūrah* 20:116) and *sūrah* 18:50, quoted by Zamakhsharī, also seems to allow this conclusion.[16] The problem remains however open and there are also voices who speak for the angelic nature of *Iblīs* and some, like al-Ṭabarī (*Annales*, 1, 80), who say that the *jinn* are a cat-egory of angels.[17] Robert, instead, translates *Iblīs* always as *Belzebub*, apart from 34:20, where he translates it as *diabolus*, although there he rephrases the verse, so that he does not use the word as a proper name.

The other name that designates the Devil, *al-Shayṭān* (Satan), or other demoniac creatures, also occurring in the plural form (*al-Shay-āṭīn*),[18] is translated by Robert mostly (53 of 70 occurrences of *al-Shay-ṭān* and 15 of 18 occurences of *al-Shayāṭīn*) as *Diabolus*, counting also the occurrences in which he alters the proper name into an adjective (e.g. *diabolica suggestio* in 2:36; 7:200; *diabolica commixtio* in 12:100; *diabolicae suggestiones et voluptates* in 22:52). He translates it only one time (2:268) as *Sathanas* and 5 times as *daemon / demoniacus*. A few times he uses the plural for the singular (4:38 "wa-man yakuni l-shayṭānu la-hū qarīnan."[19] R. "diabolis consociabuntur"[20]; 19:45: "fa-takūna li-l-shayṭāni waliyyan."[21] R. "et te diabolis associaturum"[22]) and

[13] T., f. 84rb.
[14] Bibl., p. 188.
[15] For this problem, see Wensinck-[L.Gardet], "Iblīs," in *EI²*.
[16] "Wa-idh qulnā li-l-malā'ikati usjudū li-ādama fa-sajadū illā iblīsa kāna mina l-jinni fa-fasaqa 'an amri rabbi-hī [...]." (Ar.: "And when We said to the angels, 'Bow yourselves to Adam'; so they bowed themselves, save Iblis; he was one of the jinn, and committed ungod-liness against his Lord's command"). Ma. (T, f. 39va): "Et quando diximus angelis: 'Adorate Adam'. Adoraverunt omnes excepto Dyabolo, qui fuit ex demonio: inobediens enim fuit pre-cepto creatoris sui." R. (Bibl. p. 96): "Quando nos iniunximus angelis, ut sese Adae subijce-rent, omnes praeter Belzebub, qui et diabolus factus a Deo discessit, praecepto perfecere."
[17] Cfr. Wensinck-[L.Gardet], "Iblīs," in *EI²*.
[18] According to Fahd ("Shayṭān," in *EI²*, 9, p. 406), the term *al-Shayāṭīn* "denotes the deities of paganism (2:14; 4:76, 117:119-120; 5:90-1; 19:44-5 etc.)." Otherwise Rippin, "Shayṭān," in *EI²*, p. 408: The references suggest that the word is used to refer to the hosts of evil (e.g. Q 2:102; 6:121), the evil leaders among humans (e.g. 2:14; 6:112) and mis-chievous spirits very similar to *jinn* (e.g. 6:71; 21:82).
[19] Ar., p. 78: "Whosoever has Satan for a comrade."
[20] Bibl., p. 31.
[21] Ar., p. 306: "so that thou becomest a friend to Satan."
[22] Bibl., p. 99.

the singular for the plural (6:71: "ka-l-ladhī stahwat-hū l-shayāṭīnu fī l-arḍi ḥayrāna..."[23] R. "sicut ille brutus et inscius quia diabolo seductus et irrisus"[24]). Sometimes he omits the translation or substitutes the proper name with a pronoun for stylistic reasons (e.g. 29:38 (om.); 4:120 (*Qui*); 17:64 (om.)).

Mark instead translates *al-Shayṭān* mostly (39 times) as *Sathanas*, 23 times as *diabolus*, 5 as *demon* (one of them plural for singular: 7:201: "Inna l-ladhīna ttaqaw idhā massa-hum ṭā'ifun mina l-shayṭāni tadhakkarū fa-idhā-hum mubṣirūn."[25] Ma.: "Illi enim qui metuunt quando turba tangit eos demonum recordantur eisque videntibus"[26]), one time as *demonium* and two times with a pronoun in order to avoid a repetition in the same sentence (17:53 (*qui*); 22:52 (*eius*)). *Al-Shayāṭīn* is translated by him 14 times as *demones* (thus expressing the difference with Satan), but one time as *diabolus* (sg.) and 3 times as *Sathanas* (sg.).

The name *Jālūt* (Goliath; cfr. Hebr. *gālyath*) appears three times in *sūrah* 2 (vv. 249, 250, 251) and is translated all the time by Robert as *Golia* and by Mark as *philisteum*.

In these verses (247 and 249) occurs also the name *Ṭālūt*: both translators identify him correctly and translate it as *Saul*.

Āzar is the name of Abraham's father in *sūrah* 6:74. In Gen. 11:27 Abraham's father is called *Terakh*. According to A. Jeffery[27]:

> There can be no doubt that it [*scil. Āzar*] is a deformation of the Hebrew Eleazar, the name of Abraham's faithful servant in the Genesis story which, as that story came to Muhammad, was mistaken for the name of his father.

Mark makes a translation of the name, while Robert transliterates it. I think it is worth noting that none of them, who were certainly aware of the name reported by the book of Genesis, thought of changing it.

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[23] Ar., p. 129: "Like one lured to bewilderment in the earth by Satans."

[24] Bibl., p. 47.

[25] Ar., p. 168: "The godfearing when a visitation of Satan troubles them, remember, and then see clearly."

[26] T, f. 23ra. This translation is probably due to the misunderstanding of *ṭā'if*: Ambros and Procházka, *A Concise Dictionary*, p. 176: "'walking around', poss. to be understood as 'phantom, apparition' [...] [in 7:201] also explained as 'impulse [to do s.th]'"; with *ṭā'ifa* (pl. *ṭawā'if*), Ambros and Procházka, *A Concise Dictionary*, "'group, section, party (of people)'". The translation as *turba* probably made Mark turn the members of the "group," i.e. the demons, to plural.

[27] Cfr. Jeffery, "Āzar," in *EI²*, 1, p. 810.

Due to the shortness of the verse I quote it entirely, so that the reader could get a sample of the two interpreters' way of translating: Arabic: "Wa-idh qāla ibrāhīmu li-abī-hi āzara a-tattakhidhu aṣnāman ālihatan innī arā-ka wa-qawma-ka fī ḍalālin mubīn."[28] Ma: "Quando dixit Abraham- patri suo Lazaro: 'Cur suscipitis ydola in deos? Video enim te et populum tuum in manifesta perditione.'"[29] R.: "Abrahe patrem suum Azar increpando quaerenti, cur imagines sibi deos efficeret, unde ipse gensque sue tota in errorem manifestum incideret, dixi..."[30]

'Uzayr, appearing in 9:30, is identified with Ezra by Muslim commentators.[31] Mark translates it as *Eleazar*, Robert transliterates it as *Ozair*.

Qārūn is the biblical Qorah from Num. 16. However, he is depicted as one of Moses' people only in Q 28:76-82. In the other two passages in which he appears (29:39 and 40:24), he is depicted as a minister of the Pharaoh together with *Hāmān*.[32] Robert translates this name as *Karon* (40:24 *Karaon*) and Mark as *Charon*.[33]

Hāmān is translated by Robert as *Hemen* (in 28:6; 28:38; 40:36) or *Hamen*[34] (in 29:39) or *Haamen*[35] (in 40:24). Mark translates it as *Haman*.

Among the names which belong to the Hebrew-Christian tradition we find also *Ba'l* (Ma.: *Baal*; R.: *Bal* in the accusative form *Balen*), who is mentioned in 37:125 by Helija (cfr. 1 Kings 18); *Ya'jūj wa-Ma'jūj* (Gog and Magog, cfr. Ez. 38 and 39; Apoc. 20:7-10) are always translated as *Gog et Magog* by Mark. Robert translates them in this way in 21:96, but, interestingly, in 18:94 and 97 as *transmontani*. For this, note that Robert translates the beginning of 18:93 "ḥattā idhā bal-

[28] English translation by Arberry, p. 130: "And when Abraham said to his father Azar, 'Takest thou idols for gods? I see thee, and thy people, in manifest error.'"
[29] T, f. 18ra.
[30] Bibl., p. 47.
[31] Cfr. Lazarus-Yafeh, "'Uzayr," in *EI²*, 10, p. 960.
[32] Macdonald ("Ḳārūn," in *EI²*, 4, p. 673), notes that this could come from a legend derived from rabbinical literature in which "Hāmān and Ḳārūn are bracketed together because of their riches and their avariciousness, thus explaining why the latter has become Pharaoh's minister."
[33] The variant *Acharon* is also present, e.g. in T., 52vb (Q 28:76) and elsewhere, but *Charon* is in my opinion to prefer for an analogue reason to that one illustrated above for Ambram / Abraham (*Acharon* being the Hebrew spelling for Aaron).
[34] A1, f. 101vb; Bibl., p. 126: "*Hamer*."
[35] A1, f. 114rb; Bibl., p. 146: "*Haaran*."

agha bayna l-saddayni”[36] as “Demum ipso ad montes applicante.”[37] Gog and Magog are the ones who are beyond these *montes* and the “he” is *Dhū-l-qarnayn* (the Two-horned), i.e. Alexander the Great, who built a barrier to defend the people who were before the *saddayni* / *montes* from Gog and Magog. Robert gives an explicit translation of *Dhū-l-qarnayn* as *Alexander*, Mark instead remains close to the Arabic and translates it as *Bicornis*.

A last particular case of this group is that of *Idrīs*, who is also somehow connected to the romance of Alexander[38]: he is mentioned twice in the Qur’ān (19:56-57: “Wa-udhkur fī l-kitābi idrīsa inna-hū kāna ṣiddīqan nabiyyan / Wa-rafaʿnā-hu makānan ʿaliyyan”[39] and 21:85-86: “Wa-ismāʿīla wa-idrīsa wa-dhā-l-kifli kullun mina l-ṣābirīn / Wa-adkhalnā-hum fī raḥmati-nā inna-hum mina l-ṣāliḥīn”[40]), and at first his name does not sound like someone known to the biblical tradition. It is considered by Nöldeke[41] to come from the name Andreas, which he referred to Jesus’ apostle. Hartmann refers into the “cook of Alexander the Great who achieved immortality by accident, according to the romance of Alexander,”[42] without “material evidence,”[43] but with very reasonable argumentation. The Muslim commentators, referring to 19:57, identify him, among others, with the biblical Enoch.[44] P. Casanova, instead, connected it with Ezra (from the Greek *Esdras*).[45]

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[36] Ar., p. 299: “until, when he reached the two barriers.”

[37] Bibl., p. 97.

[38] Cfr. Hartmann, “Zur Erklärung von Sūre 18, 59ff.”

[39] Ar., p. 307: “And mention in the Book Idris; he was a true man, a Prophet. We raised him up to a high place.”

[40] Ar., p. 330: “And Ishmael, Idris, Dhul Kifl – each was of the patient, and We admitted them into Our mercy; they were of the righteous.”

[41] Cfr. Nöldeke, “Idrīs.”

[42] Vajda, “Idrīs,“ in *EI²*, 3, p. 1030. Cfr. Hartmann, “Zur Erklärung,” pp. 314-315.

[43] Hartmann, “Zur Erklärung,” p. 315: “zu einer genaueren Prüfung der Frage fehlt uns leider das Material.”

[44] Cfr. Gen. 5, 24: “Ambulavitque [Enoch] cum Deo, et non apparuit: quia tulit eum Deus” (cfr. also Sir 44:16; 49:16; Eb 11:5). The Muslim scholars’ attribution is reported in Hartmann, “Zur Erklärung,” p. 315 and Vajda, “Idrīs,“ in *EI²*, p. 1030.

[45] Casanova, “Idrīs et ʿOuzaïr,” esp. p. 358. For completeness I also mention that in order to avoid the fact that if it were so two characters of the Qur’ān, *Idrīs* and *ʿUzayr*, were both to be identified with Ezra (and resting on the fact that “il y a, je [i.e. Casanova] crois, impossibilité radicale à voir dans le fils de Dieu reconnu par les Juifs, Esdras à qui jamais personne n’a eu l’idée d’attribuer une pareille filiation” [cfr. Q 9:30 (tr. Ar., p. 182): “the Jews say: ‘Ezra [=*ʿUzayr*] is the Son of God])“ Casanova proposes to read the Arabic word contained in 9:30 as *ʿUzīl* or *ʿUzzīl* and identifies this name with one of names at-

We can relate the translation of Robert to the one or the other of these exegetic traditions, as he translates the name as *Hesdra*[46] (19:56-57: "Hesdram quoque veridicum atque prophetam a nobis elevatum in locum excelsum in hoc volumine nomina"[47]; 21:85-86: "Ismael et Hesdra et Alchifla, indurantes omnes, et patientes ac boni nostram senserunt pietatem et misericordiam"[48]) and Mark, who chooses Enoch (19:56-57: "Et recole in libro Enoch: enim fuit verax propheta et sublimavimus eum in locum excelsum"[49]; 21:85-86: "Et Ysmael et Enoch et qui susceptus est in cunabulis, omnes patientes, et misericorditer egimus cum eis quia iusti erant"[50]).

II

This last quotation of Mark of Toledo and his translation of *Dhū-l-kifl* as "qui susceptus est in cunabulis" brings us to the second group of names, i.e. the names who have not a parallel in the target language / culture.

In this case the only method of "translating" the name seems to be the transliteration.

This is, in fact, the method mostly employed by both translators when they meet this kind of names: *Tubba'*, king of Yemen, (44:37 and 50:14) is translated by Mark as *Thoba* and by Robert as *Tuba*; The *Thamūd* (first mention 7:73), the people to which the prophet *Ṣāliḥ* (about whom we will speak later) was sent, are translated by Mark mostly (ca. 2/3 of the times) as *Thamude* (plural), or as *Thamud*. Robert translates it always as *Themut(h)*, except in 7:63, where he has *Teuth*[51]; the prophet *Shu'ayb* (first mention 7:88) is translated by Mark as *So(h)ab* or *Sohaib*; by Robert as *Sc(h)aib* or *Schaibe(h)*. The people *'Ād* (first

tributed by the commentators to the *B^{e}ne Elohim* (God's sons) mentioned in Gen 6:2 and 4, of which the most known is 'Aza'el (with the name variants *'Azaz'el* and indeed *'Ūzi'el*). To justify this reading Casanova says that "ending *lām* and *rā'* are lightly to be confused in Arabic writing and, in the language, the confusion of the two consonants is universal" (p. 360, my translation from the French).

[46] Interestingly enough, as we have seen, he does not translate *'Uzayr* as Ezra as well, but he prefers to transliterate the name as *Ozair*, thusly differentiating the two characters.

[47] Bibl., p. 99-100 as actually "Heforam"; A1, f. 84rb: "Hesdram."

[48] Bibl., p. 106.

[49] T, f. 41ra.

[50] T, f. 43vb.

[51] A1, f. 55rb; Bibl. p. 54: "Zeuth."

mention 7:65) is translated by Mark as *Had* (only in 29:38 he has *Hud*).
Robert translates it as *Ha(a)t(h)*; *Hūd*, the prophet sent to the people
ʿĀd is translated by Robert as *Hut(h)* and by Mark as *Hud*; The Sabians,
arab. *al-Ṣābi'ūn*,[52] appearing three times in the Qur'ān (2:62; 5:69;
22:17)[53] are translated by Mark in 5:69 as *Sabbahonite*[54] and in the
other two times they are omitted in the translation (Was the fact that in
2:62 and 22:17 they appear in Arabic in the indirect case the reason of
Mark's problems?).[55] Robert's translation is way more interesting: In
2:62 they are translated as "those who redirect themselves towards an-
other law (=religion), after having left their (previous) one" ([*omnis*]
lege sua relicta in aliam tendens).[56] Similarly, they are translated in
22:17 (*leges variantium*).[57] In 5:69 another interpretation is added: The

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[52] About them cfr. Fahd, "Ṣābi'a," in *EI²*, 8, p. 675-678.

[53] Q 2:62: "Inna l-ladhīna āmanū wa-l-ladhīna hādū wa-l-naṣārā wa-l-ṣābi'īna man
āmana bi-l-lāhi wa-l-yawmi l-ākhiri wa-ʿamila ṣāliḥan fa-la-hum ajru-hum ʿinda rabbi-him
wa-lā khawfun ʿalay-him wa-lā hum yaḥzanūna." Ar., p. 8: "Surely they that believe, and
those of Jewry, and the Christians, and those Sabaeans, whoso believes in God and the
Last Day, and works righteousness – their wage awaits them with their Lord, and no fear
shall be on them, neither shall they sorrow"; Q 5:69: "Inna l-ladhīna āmanū wa-l-ladhīna
hādū wa-l-ṣābi'ūna wa-l-naṣārā man āmana bi-l-lāhi wa-l-yawmi l-ākhiri wa-ʿamila ṣāliḥan
fa-lā khawfun ʿalay-him wa-lā hum yaḥzanūna." Ar., p. 111: "Surely they that believe, and
those of Jewry, and the Sabaeans, and those Christians, whosoever believes in God and
the Last Day, and works righteousness – no fear shall be on them, neither shall they sor-
row"; Q 22:17: "Inna l-ladhīna āmanū wa-l-ladhīna hādū wa-l-ṣābi'īna wa-l-naṣārā wa-l-
majūsa wa-l-ladhīna ashrakū inna l-lāha yafṣilu bayna-hum yawma l-qiyāmati inna l-lāha
ʿalā kulli shay'in shahīdun." Ar., p. 335: "Surely they that believe, and those of Jewry, the
Sabaeans, the Christians, the Magians and the idolaters – God shall distinguish between
them on the Day of Resurrection; assuredly God is witness over everything." (Arberry's
translation probably originates in a confusion of the Sabian with the "Sabaeans, the inhab-
itants of Saba', the biblical Sheba" against which warns the François de Blois in his article
Sabians, in the *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*, p. 511-512.)

[54] T, f. 15vb: "Illi enim qui crediderunt et Iudei et Sabbahonite et Nazareni qui credi-
derunt in Deum et diem ultimum et bona fecerunt non timebunt nec contristabuntur."

[55] Q 2:62 = T, f. 2ra: "Illi enim qui crediderunt et Iudei et Christiani qui crediderunt in
Deum et diem ultimum et operati sunt bonum et habebunt apud Deum mercedem nec for-
midabunt nec dolebunt"; Q 22:17 = T, f. 44va: "Illi autem qui crediderunt et qui iudaisarunt
et Nazarei et gentiles et ydolatre Deus utique dirimet inter eos die resurrectionis. Deus
enim testis est in omni re."

[56] Bibl., p. 10: "Sciendum autem generaliter, quoniam omnis recte vivens, Iudaeus seu
Christianus, seu lege sua relicta in aliam tendens, omnis scilicet Deum adorans, bonique
gestor, indubitanter divinum amorem assequetur."

[57] Bibl., p. 107: "[Deus] qui super omnia potens, illa die credentium et Iudaeorum, ac
leges variantium, Christianorum, item et gentilium ac incredulorum iudex atque discussor
intererit." (I put the comma after "*variantium*," which is absent in Bibliander's edition.
This comma is very important to convey the proper meaning and could be put there only

Sabians are in fact rendered as "those who adore the angels instead of God or those who change [their] religion for another one" (*angelos loco Dei adorantes, qui scilicet legem pro lege variant*).[58] Now, these translations support Burman's thesis[59] of the use of traditional Islamic exegesis by the translators. These explanations can be found, among others, in al-Ṭabarī's[60] and in Ibn ʿAṭiyya's[61] commentaries.

Zayd, the Prophet's adoptive son (33:37) is translated by Mark as *Zeidus*, while Robert does not write his name explicitly, but, while talking about *Zaynab*, *Zayd*'s wife, he says "her husband" (*maritus suus*).[62] *Luqman* (31:12-13), a legendary character, is translated by Robert as *Aluchmen* and by Mark as *Locmanus*.

The Quraysh (106:1), Muḥammad's fellow tribesmen, are translated by Robert as *homines Corash* and by Mark as *generationes Corressi*.[63]

Hārūt and Mārūt (2:102), the two fallen angels, are translated by Robert as *Arot et Marot* and by Mark as *Harot et Maroth*. The name *Muḥammad* is translated by Mark as *Machometus* (with the variants *Mahometus* and *Mafometus*) and by Robert as *Machumetus* or *Machometus* (one time, in 48:29, as *ille*). For the name *Aḥmad*, however, contained in 61:6 in Jesus' prophecy about a subsequent prophet bearing that name, Mark makes a literal translation, from the meaning of the root *ḥ-m-d* as "praise," while Robert transliterates it: "Wa-idh qāla ʿīsā bnu maryama [...] innī [...] wa-mubashshiran bi-rasūlin yaʾtī min

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thank to the comparison with the Arabic original. Thusly one understands that this passage is not about some "religion changing Christians," but two separate groups i.e the "leges variantes" (=Sabaeans) and the Christians. This is a very good example of an editorial choice which changed a fundamentally correct translation into a mistaken one.

[58] Bibl., p. 41-42: "Credentes atque Iudaei, et angelos loco Dei adorantes, qui scilicet legem pro lege variant, Christiani etiam, omnes hi inquam si in Deum crediderint, et iudicij diem expectantes benefecerint, nihil timeant."

[59] Firstly conceived in his article "Tafsīr and Translation," cfr. above n. 5.

[60] Al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmiʿ al-bayān fi tafsīr al-qurʾān*, 1, p. 319: "wa-kullu khārijin min dīnin kāna ʿalay-him ilā ākhara ghayru-hu tusammī-hu l-ʿarabu ṣābiʾan" ("The Arabs call Sabian everyone who leaves a religion, which he belongs to, for another, different one"; my transl.); *ibidem*: "hum qawmun yaʿbudūna l-malāʾikata" ("they are a people who adores the angels"; my transl.).

[61] Ibn ʿAṭiyya, *al-Muḥarrar al-wajīz fi tafsīr al-kitāb al-ʿazīz*, p. 237: "wa-l-ṣabiʾu [...] : man kharaja min dīnin ilā dīnin" ("and the Sabian [...] is who exits from a religion for (another) religion"). *ibidem*: "hum qawmun yaʿbudūna l-malāʾikata."

[62] Q 33:37: "[...] fa-lammā qaḍā zaydun min-hā waṭaran [...]." Engl. tr. Ar., p. 431: "So when Zaid had accomplished what he would of her." R., Bibl, p. 132: "Post moram igitur sui mariti pro velle suo cum illa."

[63] Q 106:1: *Li-īlāfi qurayshin* (Ar., p. 661: "For the composing of Koraish"); Bibl., p. 187; T. f. 83vb.

baʿdī smu-hū aḥmadu [...]."[64] Mark translates as follows: "Et quando dixit Ihesus, filius Marie [...]: Ego [...] et annuntio vobis legatum post me venturum, cuius nomen est 'gloriosus' [...]."[65] Robert instead: "Christum item Mariae filium dicentem: [...] ego [...] vobisque nuncium affero, de nuncio post me venturo, cui nomen Ahametthus [...]."[66]

Mark's translation of *Aḥmad* introduces a solution he uses for this kind of names: when the name allows it, he literally translates it into Latin.

So Mark's translation of *Dhū-l-kifl*, a mysterious prophet about whose identity even the Muslim exegetic tradition has not an univocal explanation,[67] in 38:48 is *Alumpnus*. *Kafala* means in fact "to nurture" (like Latin *alo*, from which *alumnus* comes). For the already seen translation in 21:85 as *qui susceptus est in cunabulis* I unfortunately have not found a satisfactory explanation and I have to leave the problem open. Robert translates the name in both occurrences as *Alchifla*.

Also *Ṣāliḥ*, the prophet of the *Thamud*, is translated into Latin by Mark as *Prosper*, (the root *ṣ-l-ḥ* meaning, among other meanings, "to prosper"), while Robert has *Schale*.

As for Mark's translation of *Aṣḥābu-l-rass* ("the people of the ditch" or "of the well") as *consortes capitis* in 25:38 and as *socii capitis* in 50:12, we can suppose a connection with the word *ra's* (=head). Robert has *Arazee gentem* in the first passage and in the second one *superbi*, if this translation is to be related to *Aṣḥābu-l-rass*. In this passage, in fact, not all the names that appear in the Arabic text are translated by Robert.[68] If we would suppose that Robert, too, connected *rass* with the meaning of "head," maybe he could have meant, "those who held their head high," hence "haughty."

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[64] Ar., p. 580: "And when Jesus son of Mary said, '[...] I am indeed [...] giving good tidings of a Messenger who shall come after mem whose name shall be Ahmad.'"

[65] T. f. 76ra. In the manuscript the "s" is corrected and a line is put over the "u" (to give *gloriosum*) to comply the word to *nomen*. the manuscripts V, f. 193v. and P, f. 215r, too, have *gloriosum*. A, f. 210rb, has *gloriosus* and D, f. 99va has *graciosus*. I chose the variant with "s" as *lectio difficilior*, to be understood as a translated proper name, rather than the adjective predicated to *nomen*.

[66] Bibl., p. 171, actually has *Machumetus* in the text, but in A1, f. 128rb, this is just an interlinear gloss above the word *Ahamettus*.

[67] Cfr. Vajda, "Dhu'l-kifl," in *EI²*, 2, p. 242.

[68] The verses 50:12-14 ("Kadhdhabat qabla-hum qawmu nūḥin wa-aṣḥābu-l-rassi wa-thamūd / wa-ʿādun wa-firʿawnu wa-ikhwānu lūṭ / Wa-aṣḥābu l-aykati wa-qawmu tubbaʿin kullun kadhdhaba l-rusula fa-ḥaqqa waʿīd." Engl. transl. Ar., p. 539-40: "Cried lies before them the people of Noah and the men of Er-Rass, and Thamood, and Ad and Pharaoh, the brothers of Lot, the men of the Thicket, the people of Tubbaʾ. Every one cried lies to the

The *Aṣḥābu-l-ayka* ("people of the thicket") are named four times in the Qur'ān. Two of these are translated by Robert referring to the meaning of *ayka*(*t*) (thicket) as people who has a sort of religious cult connected with trees (in 15:78: "De hominibus arbores invocantibus et sic temerarie deviantibus nostram vindictam sumpsimus")[69] or simply as *homines arboris*[70] (in 38:13). In 26:176 they are, however, translated as *gens Aleicha*[71] and in 50:14, as we have seen, he omits them (or incorporates them in the *superbi*). Mark translates the expression in 15:78 as *habitatores Gomorre*, in 26:176 as *socii Lechate*, in 38:13 as *populus Lechate* and in 50:14 as *fratres Lechate*. The explanation for the translation with *habitatores Gomorre* can derive from the context of 15:78. The *Aṣḥābu-l-ayka* are here described to be punished because of their impious conduct. Right before their mention (vv. 49-77) the story of Lot (cfr. Gen. 18-19) and his city's destruction by a rain of stones of baked clay (v. 74) is told. The v. 79 recites then like that: "Fa-ntaqamnā min-hum wa-inna-humā la-bi-imāmin mubīn."[72] Now, Bobzin explains that the *humā* (=both of them) refers to the aforementioned "people of Lot" and the subsequently named "people of the Thicket"[73] and Bausani explicitly translates the verse as "and We took vengeance on them, and, behold, those two *cities*,

Messengers, and My threat came true.") are summarised in one sentence by Robert (Bibl., p.160): "Sui quoque predecessores videlicet homines Noe et Hat superbique Pharaonis, nec non et Tuba, nostris praeceptis atque prophetis contradixerunt illisque contigit quod illis praedictum est et praedicatum."

[69] Bibl., p. 86.

[70] Bibl., p. 114.

[71] Bibl., p. 118.

[72] Ar., p. 257: "We took vengeance on them. The two of them were upon a roadway manifest." My interpretation of the verse is: "We took vengeance on them and indeed both of them [have become] clear examples!" By the way I find worth noting Mark's translation of *Imām* as "sacerdos" (the translation of the whole verse is: "ulti [*all mss. but T., f 35ra, which has:* multi] sumus in eos, licet sacerdotem habeant manifestum"). He does not understand the Quranic connotation of the word as "s.o. or s.th. exemplary or serving as a standard," (Ambros and Procházka, *A Concise Dictionary*, p. 29), something that stands before oneself (cfr. the preposition *amāma* = in front of) to serve as a guide and a model (an idea very good conveyed by the German word *Vor-bild*). On the contrary he translates the word with the first meaning that one finds, for example, in the *Lexikon der islamischen Welt* under the article "Imām": "Vorbeter bei einem rituellen Gemeinschaftsgebet" (Falaturi, "Imām," i.e. the person who stands in front of the praying community and guides the prayer. That was probably the most common meaning in Mark's time, too. He translates *imām* as *sacerdos* also in 2:124. I spoke of Mark's custom of translating a word with a standard meaning, neglecting the nuances given by the context also in *Main Features*, p. 334-336).

[73] Bobzin, *Der Koran*, München, 2010, p. 685: "79. «und siehe, beide» *wa-inna-humā*, d.h. die im Vorangehenden Abschnitt genannten «Leute Lots» sowie im Folgenden die «Leute des Dickichts»."

clear exemplar Signs."[74] So, if the story of Lot and the one of the *Aṣḥābu-l-ayka* constitute a unity which is sealed by the v. 79, and if this is the story of the destruction of two cities, Mark must have concluded that, as according to the biblical tradition the city of the people of Lot was Sodom, the city of the *Aṣḥābu-l-ayka* must have been Gomorrha.

Mark makes a translation also of the name *Abū lahab* (=Father of the flame), "nickname" of Muḥammad's uncle and fierce opponent ʿAbd al-ʿUzzā b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hishām, mentioned in 111:1, as *Flammeus*. Robert writes *Avileahab*.[75]

III

The third and last group in which I divided the proper names appearing in the Qur'ān is the one containing the proper names of pre-Islamic and pagan gods and idols. I had to create a separate group for these mostly because of Mark's translation of them, which is at once surprising and interesting. Before, let us have a look of such translations: in *sūrah* 53:19 and 71:23[76] he replaces the proper names occurring in these verses, "the three most venerated deities of the pre-Islamic pantheon"[77] and "the five gods dating from the time of Noah" respectively, with names derived from the Greek-Roman religion and mythology. He translates the names *al-Lāt*, *al-ʿUzzā*, and *Manāt*, appearing in *sūrah* 53:19 as *Pallas, Venus et Dyana* and the names *Wadd*, *Suwāʿ*, *Yaghūth*, *Yaʿūq* and *Nasr*, mentioned in 71:23, as *Proserpinam*, *Plutonem*, *Cerberum*, *Venerem*, *Naiades*, *Pleiades*. (Robert's translation of these names is respectively *Alleto, Alance, Meneth, Huden, Schuan, Iaguta, Ianuca, Naceren*).[78]

Moreover, he translates the *Ṭāghūt* (8 times) as *Astaroth* (Robert has *Idola / Theut / Thaut / diaboli et idola*) and *Jibt* as *Mandroth* (Robert has, probably – but it is not sure that it refers to *Jibt*, *magi*[79]).

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[74] My translation and my emphasis. Cfr. Bausani, *Il Corano*, p. 190: "e Noi ci vendicammo di loro, ed ecco quelle due città, chiari Segni esemplari."

[75] A1, f. 138ra; Bibl. p. 188: "*Avileah*."

[76] Cfr. Cecini, *Alcoranus latinus*, p. 132, n. 522; Cecini, *Main Features*, p. 337.

[77] Fahd, "Al-Lāt," in *EI²*, 5, p. 692. For the next quotation see Fahd, "Suwāʿ" in *EI²*, 9, p. 908.

[78] Cfr. Cecini, *Alcoranus Latinus*, p. 164, n. 571.

[79] Cfr. Atallah, "Ǧibt *et* Ṭāġūt *dans le Coran*," esp p. 69, where he notes that M. Ḥamīdullāh translates *Jibt* as *magie* (Ḥamīdullāh, *Le saint Coran*, p. 93). Atallah (p. 73) recalls also that Suyūṭī explains *Jibt* as a ethiopic word that Ṭabarī, basing himself on the *tafsīr* author Saʿīd b. Jubayr, says to mean "sorcerer."

The name *Mālik* (43:77), by which Moloch is probably meant, is translated by Mark as *Reges*, while Robert transliterates as *Melich*.

This last one is of course the easiest to explain: Mark just translates the name (due to the Quranic defective writing he must have read *malik* (=king); it is not clear why he translated in plural). This name could also fit in the precedent group, but I put it here because he refers to a pagan deity.

Coming now to *sūrah* 53:19, it is striking that Mark tries to convey the essence of the proper names by replacing the three Arabic goddesses with three goddesses of the Greek-Roman pantheon. There are elements which could support the hypothesis that these translations are not randomly made. The association *al-ʿUzzā-Venus*, is well known.[80] As to *al-Lāt*, she also has, among others, some traits of a warrior goddess which approach her to *Athena*.[81] About *Manāt*, Fahd informs us that in the hellenised Orient she took different roles, from simple *Tychē* to Venus-Good Fortune to Nemesis. The root from which the name comes (*m-n-w/y*), Fahd continues, conveys the idea of counting and dividing, with the particular application to the idea of "counting the days of life," hence Death (*maniyya*), and giving each one his part, hence "Fortune, Destiny." This could be the characteristics which drew *Manāt* near *Diana / Artemis*, who for example could bring sudden death with the strike of her arrows[82] and, in his role of *Diana-Proserpina-Hekate* ruled over the dead in the underworld.[83]

The explanation of 71:23 is more difficult and I did not find almost any characteristics that could associate this names of the five idols of Noah's times to the respective Latin translations. By the way – feature very unusual for Mark – we have here six Latin names for five Arabic ones. Moreover, they are all supposed to be male[84] and singular, while

[80] Cfr. Zayadine, "Al-ʿUzza Aphrodite."
[81] Cfr. Fahd, *Le panthéon de l'Arabie centrale à la veille de l'hégire*, p. 111, who also quotes Schlumberger, *La Palmyrène du Nord-Ouest*, p. 63, who describes the iconography of *al-Lāt* with soldier-helm, aegis and spear: "porte un casque à couvre-nuque décoré de volutes, sans cimier. Boucles d'oreilles sphériques, collier. Sur la tunique à manches longues est fixé l'égide. Lance à fer lancéolé dans la main droite." Cfr. also Starcky, "Allath, (B.): Allath sous les traits d'Athéna."
[82] Cfr. for example, Hom., *Il.*, 6:205; 6:427; 19:59.
[83] Cfr. Verg. Aen. IV 511 ("tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae"); see also Kahil, "Artémis-Hékate"; and Kahil, "*Artémis-Tyché*."
[84] Fahd, *Le panthéon* , p. 155.

in the translation we have a female and two plural names. *Nasr* is supposed to be a vulture[85] and I do not see an explicit connection to *Naiads* or *Pleiads*.

The only elements I have found that justify Mark's translation is that *Wadd* could have been a lunar God,[86] thusly being connected to *Proserpina*, and that *Suwā'* was supposedly associated in the cult to *Wadd* (fitting in this way to be *Pluto* to create a couple with *Proserpina*), which, however, is not sure.[87]

So in this case we have to suppose for now that Mark just connected the names to infernal entities and creatures (*Proserpina, Pluto, Cerberus*) and pagan rural cults (*Naiads*, *Pleiads*).

The translation of *Jibt*, which together with *Ṭāghūt* is generally considered to indicate idols,[88] as *Mandroth* is quite mysterious, too.[89] I could not find the name *Mandroth* in the semitic pantheon or in the Bible. I could hypothesise it to be a corruption of *Nemroth* (cfr. Michea, 5:5 – where it stands quintessentially for Assiria, so being connected in a way to *Astaroth*, Mark's translation of *Ṭāghūt*, next to *Jibt* in 4:51 – and Gen. 10:8 and 11). Other similar names which I could find in Jerome's *Liber interpretationis Hebraicorum nominum* are *Mazaroth* (cfr. 2 Kings. 23:5), which should be referred to the zodiac constellations,[90] and is

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[85] Fahd, *Le panthéon*, p. 133-134.

[86] Fahd, *Le panthéon*,p. 189.

[87] Fahd, *Le panthéon*, p. 156.

[88] Cfr. Stewart, "Ṭāghūt," in *EI²*, 10, p. 93-95; Nöldeke, *Neue Beitrage zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 47-48. Atallah, "Ǧibt *et* Ṭāġūt," p. 77f., however, connects, with a plausible argumentation, the word *Ṭāghūt* with the Egyptian deity *Thōt* and the word *Jibt* with *Qibṭ*, the name that the Arabs give to the Egyptians. So, the *Ṭāghūt* should be "des sages versés dans toute la science égyptienne révélée par Thôt et ses écrits" (p. 80) and *Jibt* should stand for "pratiques divinatoires et magiques" (p. 81), this last hypothesis being supported by the often quoted *ḥadīth* (Atallah mentions Jawharī, Ṣaḥaḥ, s.v. jibt; Ibn Manẓūr): "al-ṭiyaratu wa-l-'iyāfatu wa-l-ṭarqu mina-l-jibt" (The belief in presages, the ornithomancy and the lithomancy belong to / come from the *jibt*), *ibidem*.

[89] Q 4:51: "A-lam tara ilā l-ladhīna ūtū naṣiban mina l-kitābi yu'minūna bi-l-jibti wa-l-ṭāghūti wa-yaqūlūna li-l-ladhīna kafarū hā'ulā'i ahdā mina l-ladhīna āmanū sabīl(an))." (Ar., p. 80: "Hath thou not regarded those who were given a share of the Book believing in demons and idols, and saying to the unbelievers, 'These are more rightly guided on the way than the believers'?") Ma. (T, f. 11va): "Nonne vides eos quibus communicatus est Liber? Credunt in Mandroth et Astaroth, dicentes blasphemis: 'Isti sunt in via magis recta quam credentes.'"

[90] Cfr. Lagarde, Morin and Adriaen (eds.), *Hieronymus: Hebraicae quaestiones in libro Geneseos. Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*, p. 116.

also spelled *Mazuroth* in Iob 38:32.[91] By the way, the Hebrew root *n-d-r* (cfr. Arabic *n-dh-r*), to which the word *Mandroth* could be connected, means "to make a vow."[92]

As of *Ṭāghūt*, considering that Mark assumes it to be an idol, he translates it with a name which has a similar ending and stays quintessentially for idolatry in the Bible. (Cfr. Judg. 2:13; 1 Sam. 7:3-4; 2 Kings 23:13; and as *Astarthen* 1 Kings 11:5).

Conclusion

This quick overview on the Latin translations of proper names in the Qur'ān by Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo has shown that our translators have made use of all the possibilities of transfer that are available in this kind of situation. They used a proper name existing in their language when they could identify the Quranic character with one from "their own" tradition; they transliterated the name; they translated the meaning of the name; they used another proper name, which was not linguistically derived from the source name, but which in their opinion could make the character, which the proper name referred to, understandable to the audience, belonging to an analogue reality.

We can see a tendency towards transliteration in Robert and towards translation "at any cost" in Mark, however, we have shown that there are exceptions and that the tendency cannot be seen as an unbreakable rule.[93] Even for the same name we have found different translations and different ways of translation used by the same translator, for example *Aṣḥābu-l-ayka* was translated by Mark in 15:78 (*habitatores Gomorre*) and was transliterated instead in 26:176 and 38:13 (*socii / populus Lechate*, if *Lechate* is not a translation, too, that I cannot identify). Otherwise, Robert has both *idola* and *Theut* corresponding to *Ṭāghūt* or both *homines arboris* and *gens Aleicha* for the same *Aṣḥābu-*

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[91] Cfr. Lagarde, Morin and Adriaen (eds.), *Hieronymus*, p. 134. Interestingly enough in Iob, 38,32 *Mazuroth* is translated as *lucifer* (morning-star) in the *Vulgata*: "Numquid producis luciferum in tempore suo, et vesperum super filios terræ consurgere facis?"

[92] Cfr. Koehler and Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum alten Testament*, III, p. 637.

[93] In the case of the Sabians we have found an explanation of a name by Robert, which moreover is most probably taken from Muslim exegesis.

l-ayka. Mark, who replaces *Jonas* for *Dhū-l-nūn*, does not the same for *Dhū-l-qarnayn*, who remains the *Bicornis*, while Robert has *Alexander*. Robert, who normally strives towards *variatio*, can be very consistent (for example in the translation of *Iblīs*) and Mark, who is normally consistent and repetitive (and who pays attention to etymological relationships between words), does not translate all the time – for example – *al-Shayṭān* as the apparently obvious *Sathanas*, but he uses other words, too, and the same Mark who does not render explicit to his public who the "Two-horned" is, goes that far to transform Semitic idols into "western" deities.[94]

However, I notice an effort on Mark's side to render every name understandable by his western Latin-Christian public, whenever he can. This public maybe would not have understood who the "Two-horned" was, but they would have understood the word *Bicornis*, as they would have understood the word *Prosper* or *Alumnus* even without knowing who was meant. *Astaroth* is not a Latin word, but it is present in the Bible. As for the name of the goddesses, the Latin public could relate more easily to the name *Pallas* then *Alleto*. On the other hand, one could say that the indissoluble bond between the proper name and its object should not be broken with a translation and that even if source and target proper name object may have common characteristics or even be "the same" person or deity, their proper designation with sounds deriving from the one or the other language would determine their cultural belonging, with all the background knowledge and connotations about them that this implies.

So the question about which is the better way of translating must still remain unanswered, as there is no method which is absolutely better or worse. We should ask us instead what understanding and aim of the own work can be supposed by the choice for the one or the other translation method.

If we focus on the proper names, we have the impression that Mark, more than Robert, tends to carry out a transfer which involves the cultural contents of the names, making them understandable for the audience and relating to their cultural background. Robert instead tends to leave the name in transliteration, keeping its alterity. On the contrary,

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[94] For other examples of the same word translated in different ways, cfr. Cecini, *Main Features*, p. 338-344.

on the level of the style, Mark's phrasing is plain and respectful of the original, so that a comparison with it is easy. Robert, instead, reformulates the sentences very much and writes them in an elevated and complicated style. If we put these two aspects together, we could ask ourselves if Robert's translation was not supposed to substitute the original, having the style and the syntax of a ripe Latin work, in which the proper names are not translated, but left as they are to better convey the alterity and the original connotation of their object, while Mark's translation, even if it is perfectly legible alone, was not supposed to be read next to the Arabic original. Its plain style, in fact, would have simplified the comparison with the original. Moreover, the translation of proper names, which could be read in their original form in the source text, would have functioned as a sort of little commentary, like an interlinear gloss, a cultural aid for the reader, who could receive an idea of the reality the proper name pointed to. This way would have reduced the difficulties proper to every translation, and in particular to the "untranslatable" Qur'ān, to a minimum, leaving the level of style, sound, form, graphic appearance and property of language (for example in the case of the proper names) to the original and completing it with a translation that conveyed the meaning and helped to enable a transfer on cultural level, for a more profound comprehension of the text.

This hypothesis, as some of the translation explanations above as well, still calls for further research. It was however important for me to call attention to these interesting aspects of the Latin translations of the Qur'ān and I will be glad if this will encourage further studies on the subject.[95]

Table: Gods, demons, angels and people in Robert of Ketton's and Mark of Toledo's Latin Qur'ān translation

Arabic	Robert of Ketton	Mark of Toledo
Abū lahab	*Avileahab*	*Flammeus*
'Ād	*Ha(a)t(h)*	*Had*; 29:38 *Hud*
Ādam	*Adam*	*Adam*
Aḥmad	*Ahametthus*. Cfr. n. 66	*gloriosus*. Cfr. n. 65
al-Lāt	*Alleto*	*Pallas*
al-Shayṭān	*Diabolus* (53x); 2:268 *Sathanas; daemon* (5x); missing in 29:38 and 17:64; 4:120 *Qui*	*Sathanas* (39x); *diabolus* (23x); *demon* (5x); *demonium* (1x). For *al-Shayāṭīn*, cfr. article text
al-'Uzzā	*Alance*	*Venus*
al-yasa'	6:86 *Ezechia*; 38:48 *Alieza*	6:86 *Iosue*; 38:48 *Elyas*
Aṣḥābu-l-rass	25:38 *Arazee gens*; 50:12 *superbi*	25:38 *consortes capitis*; 50:12 *socii capitis*
Aṣḥābu-l-ayka	15:78: *homines arbores invocantes*; 8:13 *homines arboris*;	15:78 *habitatores Gomorre*; 26:176 *socii Lechate*; 38:13 *populus Lechate*; 50:14 *fratres Lechate* 26:176 *gens Aleicha*; 50:14 prob. omitted
al-ṣābi'ūn	2:62 *lege sua relicta in aliam tendens*; 5:69 *angelos loco Dei adorantes, qui scilicet legem pro lege variant*; 22:17 *leges variantes*	missing in 2:62 and 22:17; 5:69 *Sabbahonite*
Ayyūb	*Iob*	*Iob*
Āzar	*Azar*	*Lazaro*
Ba'l	*Bal(en)*	*Baal*
Dāwūd	*David*	*David*
Dhū-l-kifl	*Alchifla*	38:48 *Alumpnus*; 21:85 *qui susceptus est in cunabulis*
Dhū-l-nūn (=Yūnus)	*Ionas*	*Ionas*
Dhū-l-qarnayn	*Alexander*	*Bicornis*
Hāmān	*Hemen; Hamen; Haamen*	*Haman*
Hārūn	*Aaron*	*Aaron*
Hārūt; Mārūt	*Arot et Marot*	*Harot et Maroth*
Hūd	*Hut(h)*	*Hud*
Iblīs	*Belzebub*; 34, 20 *diabolus*	*diabolus; Demon*

Arabic	Robert of Ketton	Mark of Toledo
Ibrāhīm	*Abraham*	*Abraham*
Idrīs	*Hesdra*	*Enoch*
Il Yāsīn	*Iezin*	*Helyas*
Ilyās	*Helias*	*Helias*
ʿImrān	*Ioachim*	*Ambram* (but cfr. n. 9)
ʿĪsā	*Iesus*	*Iesus*
Isḥāq	*Ysaac*	*Ysaac*
Ismāʿīl	*Isma(h)el*; 6, 86 *Samuel*	*Isma(h)el*
Isrāʾīl	*Israel*	*Israel*
Jālūt	*Golia*	*philisteum*
Jibrīl	*Gabriel*	*Gabriel*
Jibt	prob. *magi*	*Mandroth*
Luqmān	*Aluchmen*	*Locmanus*
Lūṭ	*Loth*	*Loth*
Mālik	*Melich*	*Reges*
Manāt	*Meneth*	*Dyana*
Maryam	*Maria*	*Maria*
Mīkāl	*Michael*	*Michael*
Muḥammad	*Machumetus*; *Machometus*	*Machometus*; ms. variants *Mahometus*, *Mafometus*
Mūsā	*Moyses*	*Moyses*
Nasr	*Naceren*	*Naiades, Pleiades*
Nūḥ	*Noe*	*Noe*
Qārūn	*Karon*; 40, 24 *Karaon*	*Charon*
Quraysh	*homines Corash*	*generationes Corressi*
Ṣāliḥ	*Schale*	*Prosper*
Shuʿayb	*Sc(h)aib*; *Schaibe(h)*	*So(h)ab*; *Sohaib*
Sulaymān	*Salomon*	*Salomon*
Suwāʿ	*Schuan*	*Plutonem*
Ṭāghūt	*Idola / Theut / Thaut / diaboli et idola*	*Astaroth*
Ṭālūt	*Saul*	*Saul*
Thamūd	*Themut(h)*; 7:63 *Teuth*	*Thamude*; *Thamud*

Arabic	Robert of Ketton	Mark of Toledo
Tubbaʾ	*Tuba*	*Thoba*
ʾUzayr	*Ozair*	*Eleazar*
Wadd	*Huden*	*Proserpinam*
Yaʾjūj wa-Maʾjūj	21:96 *Gog et Magog*; 18:94 and 97 *transmontani*	*Gog et Magog*
Yaghūth	*Iaguta*	*Cerberum*
Yaḥyā	*Iohannes*	*Iohannes*
Yaʿqūb	*Iacob*	*Iacob*
Yaʿūq	*Ianuca*	*Venerem*
Yūnus	4:163 *Ionatha*; 37:139 *Ionas*; missing in 6:86 and 10:98	*Ionas*
Yūsuf	*Ioseph*	*Ioseph*
Zakariyyā	*Zacharia*	*Zacharia*
Zayd	does not translate, instead paraphrasis *"maritus suus"*	*Zeidus*

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