CLASSICAL LANGUAGES AND TRANSLATION: THE SACRED TEXTS

LAS LENGUAS CLÁSICAS Y LA TRADUCCIÓN: LOS TEXTOS SAGRADOS

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Abstract

Three aspects of translation related to classical languages are studied. The first section deals with the practice of translation in the ancient Greco-Roman world. The second and more extensive section deals with translations from classical languages into Catalan and Spanish throughout history: due to the scope of the subject, it simply provides an overview and refers to an exhaustive bibliography. The last part deals with the translation of sacred texts. The approach to biblical translations is twofold: it tackles translations of the Old Testament (OT) into Greek and Latin and translations of the New Testament (NT) into Latin; as well as the versions from Greek or Latin

into Catalan and Spanish. The article also presents a brief overview of translations of the Qur'an into Latin.

Keywords: Translation of Greek texts. Translation of Latin texts. Classical tradition. Reception of classical culture in Catalan and Castilian literature. Translation of sacred texts.

Resumen

Se estudian tres aspectos de la traducción relacionados con las lenguas clásicas. En un primer apartado se habla de la práctica de la traducción en el mundo antiguo grecorromano. El segundo y más extenso versa sobre la traducción de las lenguas clásicas al catalán y al castellano a lo largo de la historia: por la extensión del tema se traza simplemente una panorámica y se remite a una amplia bibliografía. El último punto trata de la traducción de los textos sagrados. La Biblia en la doble vertiente que afecta a las lenguas clásicas: las traducciones del Antiguo Testamento (AT) al griego y al latín y las del Nuevo Testamento (NT) al latín; y las versiones del griego o del latín al catalán y al castellano. Se enumeran también las traducciones del Corán al latín.

Palabras clave: Traducción de textos griegos. Traducción de textos latinos. Tradición clásica. Recepción de la cultura clásica en las literaturas catalana y castellana. Traducción de textos sagrados.

1. Translation in the ancient Greco-Roman world

The Greeks did not practice written translation, despite the fact that they were in contact with other peoples, and were acquainted with their oral accounts. Not even the discovery of the mystery religions from the East, which had so much influence on the Roman Empire, prompted them to translate these religious writings.

Around the same time as the Old Testament was translated into Greek in Alexandria, which we will discuss later, the first known Latin translation of a Greek work, the *Odyssey*, was embarked upon by a prisoner of war, the Tarentine Livius Andronicus, in Rome. The *Odusia*, as it is usually known, served as a textbook in Roman schools for more than two centuries until was replaced by the *Aeneid*.

Much of early Roman literature, and to a lesser extent literature from the classical period, was openly inspired by Hellenic models. The implicit

adaptations or translations were innumerable in the theatre, as can be seen especially in the comedies of Plautus and Terence. These cannot be considered authentic translations, however. Plautus is not really a translator of works of New Comedy; he is rather the creator of specifically Roman works (Albrecht 1994: 143-144). Plautus himself considers his adaptation of Greek originals into Latin a translation into a barbaric language: *Demophilus scripsit, Maccus vortit barbare* "Demophilus wrote it, Maccius (Plautus) translated it into barbarian" (Plaut. *Asin*. 11). This text implies that, at least in archaic times, the Romans considered Greek a literary language and Latin a "barbaric" one, and did not regard *contaminatio,* the process of Roman playwrights merging more than one Greek comedy, as a shameful act.

In fact, Latin literature stands out mainly for being a great adaptation of Greek literature, except for satire, the only genre considered entirely Roman: *satura quidem tota nostra est* (Quint. *Inst.* 10.93). This notwithstanding, fully-fledged translations did not abound, mostly because all the educated people of Rome between the 2nd century B.C.E. and the 2nd century C.E. knew Greek, the language in which the literature of the eastern part of the Roman Empire was written. Jerome (*Ep.* 57.5) refers to Cicero's translations, namely, Plato's *Protagoras*, Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, and the two very beautiful speeches (*orationes pulcherrimas*) that Aeschines and Demosthenes delivered against each other.

This process begins and ends in the third century, as the knowledge of Greek is gradually lost due to the cultural decline of the West. Before the fall of the Western Empire, a period of time begun in which translations from Greek into Latin abounded, and this continued after the invasions of the Germanic peoples. The figure of Boethius, Theodoric's minister, is particularly worth mentioning as he was imprisoned and executed by order of the emperor, for being unable to carry out his ambitious project of translating and commenting on the works of Plato and Aristotle. The only translation and commentary that have survived are a part of Aristotle's logical work, known as *Organon*, as well as Porphyry's *Isagoge*, an introduction to the *Categories*. Nevertheless, Boethius was the leading authority on logic in the Middle Ages until the complete Latin translation of the *Organon* in the thirteenth century.

Among the translations that the Romans carried out into Latin from languages other than Greek, the 28 volumes on agriculture by the Carthaginian named Mago stand out. They were translated by means of a Senate decree shortly after the conquest of Carthage in 146 B.C.E. according to Pliny the Elder (*H.N.* 18.22-23), and Varro (*RR.* 1.1.10) mentions the translations into Greek. Further information on translation in the Greco-Roman world can be found in Traina (1974), Seele (1995), Brock (2007), Bortolussi-Keller-Minon-Sznajder (2009), Feeney (2016), and McElduff (2017).

In the theoretical field, in the absence of any translation theory among the Greeks, Cicero and Horace were among the first to raise the discussion that has ever since lived an eternal life: to opt for *verbum e verbo* or *sensus de sensu* translation. The classical authors prefered the latter, although with nuances. Cicero claims that he translated two speeches of Aeschines and of Demosthenes not "as an interpreter, but as an orator... I did not consider it appropriate to transmit them word for word, but I preserved all the style and force of the words" (own translation). (*nec converti ut interpres, sed ut orator... non verbum pro verbo necesse habui reddere, sed genus omne verborum vimque servavi.*) (Cic. *Opt. Gen.* 14). However, Miguel Ángel Vega (1994: 22) does not consider Cicero's words a defense of translation by meaning, but rather as a differentiation between two modes of translation, the literal mode of the translator and the free mode of the poet. Valentín García Yebra (1979: 152-153) states that Horace's text, *nec uerbo uerbum curabis reddere fidus / interpres* (*A.P.* 133-134), is not a recommendation to interpreters on how to translate, but rather a piece of advice addressed to novice poets, which is why he translates it as follows: "and you do not try to reproduce the plot word for word as a faithful interpreter."

Nevertheless, it is Jerome of Stridon who is considered the father of translation theory in the modern sense. In addition to his enormous body of work as a translator, which is not limited to the *Vulgate*, among his translations from Greek to Latin it is worth mentioning the second part of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, which he entitled *Liber de situ et nominibus locorum Hebraicorum*, and his translations of Origen, including *De principiis* (περὶ ἀρχῶν) and some homilies. Jerome theorised on translation problems in his letter to Pammachius: *Ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteor, me in interpretatione Graecorum, absque Scripturis sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo*

mysterium est, non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu (Ier. *Ep.* 57.5). He differentiates between sacred and profane texts. Sacred texts must be translated to the letter, because even the word order can contain a mystery and thus literalness guarantees fidelity to the original, whereas translating profane texts according to their sense does not cause any problems. The Latin translations prior to the *Vulgate*, known as the *Vetus Latina*, carried out in the second and the third centuries CE, also claim to reproduce the sacred content as accurately as possible. In the Middle Ages literal translations prevailed in the Christian realm. Brock (1979: 70) claims that the reference for literal translations owned "to the prestige of this ideal of literal biblical translation", and "it eventually became the norm for virtually all translation from Greek into Latin until the Renaissance". On the contrary, and also in accordance with Jerome, in the prologues and dedications of non-religious peninsular translations, translation by meaning is usually chosen (Russell 1985: 27).

Throughout the Early Middle Ages, Western Christianity continued to draw inspiration from the theological writings of the Greek Fathers and from other sources that emerged in the Byzantine Empire. As Western intellectual life moved to the monasteries, most translations of the High Middle Ages were carried out there. In the sixth century, the Vivarium was founded, in which Cassiodorus commissioned the translation of Greek works for his library, including the *Antiquities of the Jews* by Flavius Josephus. In Monte Cassino, Benedict of Nursia promoted the transmission of classical texts according to the famous *ora et labora* rule, marking the origin of Benedictine monasticism.

2. Translation from classical languages into Spanish and Catalan

2.1. *The Middle Ages*

The reason why the first translations from Latin into Romance do not date from earlier than the twelfth century lies in the fact that the literary language that existed before this was a complex, but monolingual Romance (Wright 1999: 58). Therefore, we should not use of the term "translation" in the context of Latin and Romance until the twelfth century, which is when this process began in the Iberian Peninsula, although the target languages were

not the Romance languages at first. Indeed, the so-called Toledo School of Translators was a cultural centre for the transmission of classical, Arabic and Hebrew culture to the West. There has been much insistence that it was not a school of translation studies: Santoyo (2004a: 171) claims that nowadays the concept of the "Toledo school" has been quite unanimously rejected among scholars ("nadie hoy, en su sano juicio, alude a tal escuela, si no es para negar su existencia"). This translation scholar considers that there were only three or four translators at most in Toledo during the twelfth century and that many of those traditionally assigned to this school carried out their work in other cities such as Tarazona, Barcelona, Limia, Burgos, Tudela, Segovia, Sevilla, Murcia (Santoyo, 2009: 59). The texts were mostly translated from Arabic into Latin *à quatre mains*: the Arabized Jews rendered the Arabic texts into Romance, and the educated Christians, in turn, rendered them into Latin. This first stage begins with Raymond, Archbishop of Toledo between 1126 and 1152, under whose protection certain translators worked, such as Canon Dominicus Gundissalinus (ca. 1130-1170), who has a remarkable philosophical work of his own, and the baptized Jew John of Seville (Avendehut), also known as Iohannes Hispalensis, who worked as a translator from Arabic into Latin for about twenty-five years in the first half of the twelfth century, initially in Limia and later in Toledo. In a second period of this first stage, it is important to mention the following translators: Gerard of Cremona, who spent the final period of his life, from 1167 until his death in 1187, in Toledo, , and worked intensely as a translator; Michael Scot, who was active at the beginning of the thirteenth century until 1220; Hermannus Alemannus, who bridged the two generations: the first group of translators and those gathered around Alfonso X of Castile. Furthermore, Canon Hugo of Santalla was a translator from Arabic into Latin in Tarazona until his death in the first half of the twelfth century.

The Alphonsine period is considered the second stage of the medieval history of translation, since King Alfonso X the Wise (1252-1284) also promoted translation from Arabic into Castilian. This point is considered the beginning of translation into Romance in the Iberian Peninsula as well as the turning point in the evolution of the Castilian language as a vehicle of culture, even though the literary use of Latin reached the seventeenth or even eighteenth century, with the end of Humanism. The Alphonsine period is

usually divided into two parts, the first spanning from 1256-1259, and the second beginning in 1270. The General Estoria ("General History") includes the adaptation of the ten books of the *Pharsalia* (Book V) and extensive passages of the *Heroides* into prose, but the first proper translation of a classic author into Castilian dates to the reign of Alfonoso's successor, Sancho IV (1284-1295): *De ira* by Seneca is considered to be the first translation of a Senecan work into any vulgar language (Blüher 1969: 45).

Translations from Arabic into Latin were not limited to the so-called School of Translators. Here, it is important to mention Ramon Llull, who left works in Arabic, Latin and Catalan, with multiple versions of some of his works in Arabic and the other two languages. Furthermore, Doctor Arnau de Vilanova translated a few works by Galen and Avicenna from Arabic into Latin; some of their works in Latin were also translated into Catalan, such as the *Regimen sanitatis ad regem Aragonum* by Berenguer Sarriera.

In 1276 James I of Aragon created the royal chancellery so that all official documents were penned in Catalan. With the passage of time, officials in charge of translating legal and administrative texts, who knew Latin, also made translations of classical authors, mainly during the reigns of Peter the Ceremonious (1336-1387), John I (1387-1396) and Martin the Humane: these translations from Latin, prior to those of the classics, have a triple character: legal and historical, religious, and scientific (medical treatises).

Among the translators of this "pre-humanist" era, names such as Jaume Conesa stand out, who translated the *Historia destructionis Troiae* by Guido delle Colonne (1287) under the title *Històries troianes* (1367-74). Ferrer Saiol translated Palladius' work into Catalan and Spanish. Guillem Nicolau was a translator of Ovid's *Heroides*. The Dominican friar from Valencia, Antoni Canals, was the author of *Scipió e Aníbal*, based on a text from Petrarca's *Africa*. In keeping with the doctrinal nature of his work, he also translated classical texts of a moralistic nature, such as Seneca's *De providentia* and the *Valeri Màxim* (1395), widely used as a source of *exempla*. Various translations were made of this translation into Spanish in the fifteenth century, including that of Juan Alfonso de Zamora. Nicolau Quilis translated Cicero's *De officiis* (*cf.* Wittlin 1974). Furthermore, Bernat Metge translated only two non-classical works from Latin into Catalan: the medieval pseudo-Ovidian poem *De vetula* and the narrative *Griseldis*, translated by Petrarch from Tuscan into

Latin. Nevertheless, in his important work *Lo somni* he uses Latin texts, as an example of the continuity between the practice of creative writing and the practice of translation ("ejemplo de la continuidad existente entre la práctica de la escritura creativa y la práctica de la traducción") (Pujol 2004: 640-641).

One of the most translated authors into Catalan (and into Castilian) was Seneca. He was already a highly valued author during the Middle Ages from a moral point of view, remarkably compatible with Christian doctrine; quotations from his works were prominent in *florilegia*, and from the fourteenth century interest in his entire body of works arose. Tomás Martínez Romero has published several thoroughly researched works on the medieval Catalan translations of Seneca (1995, 1998, 2015).

In some cases, translations of Latin works were rendered from the French versions, such as the anonymous renditions of the first seven books of the First Decade of Titus Livius and of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*. Jaume Castellà's translation of Vegetius' *Epitoma rei militaris* was also rendered from the French version; the translated authors were largely historians because the kings themselves were primarily interested in chronicles and historical accounts (Martos 2007: 82-82). A work translated into almost all vernacular languages was Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae*; the Catalan version by Pere Saplana (1358-62) was quite widespread, revised around 1390 by Antoni Ginebreda.

At the end of the fourteenth century, patrons, increasingly open to classical culture, began to commission private translations. In this regard, it is especially worth mentioning Pero López de Ayala of Castile, who was directly or indirectly responsible for the majority of translations from Latin into Castilian that were carried out in the fourteenth century. In Aragon the Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller Johan Ferrández d'Heredia commissioned the translation of Greek works by Thucydides and Plutarch into Aragonese, and these can be considered the first translations from Greek into Romance in the Iberian Peninsula. Translators become more professional, thanks to receiving proper literary training in various institutions and thus, they began to pose new questions regarding their translation practice. This stage can be considered a prelude to the pre-Renaissance period of the fifteenth century, with an abundance of translations of Latin classics into Castilian carried out by authors who, in many cases, were prominent

in their own right. For instance, Enrique de Villena authored a translation of the *Aeneid*, commissioned by King Juan II of Castile, which is considered the first one into a vernacular language. The translation of the entire work is preserved, but death prevented him from finishing his hermeneutic work, which includes the glosses to the first three books. Fernando Pérez de Guzmán, nephew of Ayala, Grand Chancellor of Castile, translated anthologies of texts, and was in possession of a vast collection of translations, like his uncle the Marquis of Santillana, owner of one of the best libraries of the time and commissioner of translations from classical languages, possibly due to the fact that he himself knew little Latin. According to Santoyo (2004b: 151), the "school" gathered around Santillana was even more important than the Alphonsine one from a historical perspective.

Alonso Fernández de Madrigal (El Tostado) formulated a theory of translation from Latin into Spanish based on his experience in his 1450 translation of Jerome's version of the Eusebio's *Chronicon* into Spanish, entitled *Sobre el Eusebio*. Juan de Mena was the author of the *Laberinto de Fortuna* (Labyrinth of Fortune), and of the *Omero romanzado* translation of the Latin *Iliad*. Alonso de Cartagena translated the works of Cicero and Seneca; Alfonso of Palencia translated Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* as well as Flavius Josephus' *The Jewish War* and *Against Apion*; in his youth Juan del Encina translated Virgil's *Eclogues* into verse, unlike his predecessors, who did so into prose. Diego López de Toledo was a translator of Julius Caesar. Pedro González de Mendoza, already mentioned, and Alfonso de Palencia, translated Greek texts into Spanish through the Latin versions of the Italian humanists, who had great influence in the Peninsula. Mendoza is credited with a translation of the *Iliad* based on the Latin version by Pietro Candido Decembrio, and Alfonso de Palencia carried out translations at the end of the century from Latin, using the versions made in Italy. Even Latin authors were translated through Romance versions in French and Italian at this time.

The period of prominence of Catalan translation at the end of the fourteenth century was due to the fact that the main commissioners were the kings of Aragon. In the fifteenth century it was followed by the predominance of translation into Castilian. It has to be stated, however, that translation into Catalan continued to proliferate in the fifteenth century; for example, Ferran Valentí rendered Cicero's *Paradoxa*; Francesc Alegre carried out

the famous translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* at the end of the century; Lluís de Fenollet of Valencia translated Quintus Curtius Rufus (Barcelona, 1481), based on Decembrio's translation, like the later Castilian translation by Gabriel Castañeda (1534). There are also some anonymous translations of historical works such as Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitates Judaicas*, Julius Valerius' *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis*, or Sallust's *Bellum Iugurtinum*: Grespí (2004) and Borsari (2016) offer catalogues of anonymous translations into Castilian from the late Middle Ages, many of them from Latin.

Charles B. Faulhaber (1997) provides interesting statistical data: translations from Latin in the Middle Ages accounted for seventy-three percent of all translations into Spanish and seventy-eight percent of translations into Catalan, and the former doubled the latter in quantity; two-thirds were religious texts.

Despite the important translation work carried out in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, there is no written record of the methodology used for translation until the middle of the fourteenth century:

> the great translation effort carried out from the tenth to the thirteenth century in Ripoll, Tarazona, Cordoba and, above all, Toledo did not transmit a single iota of critical-theoretical considerations, not even elementary ones. The peninsular translators and scholars of these four centuries saw in translation only the strict praxis of interlinguistic transfer. Santoyo (1987: 10-11)

In the Middle Ages, and also later in the Renaissance and Humanism, translation was not strictly what is currently considered "free translation", but rather the faithful translation of the contextual meaning of words and phrases from the original with the means of the target language. Nelson Cartagena (2009: XI-XLII) conducts a study on the evolutions of translation theories in the Middle Ages in the introduction to his anthology, which contains twenty-one texts by seventeen authors, including their brief biographies. On the translation theory of Alfonso de Cartagena, see Morrás (1994), who draws attention to the apparent contradiction between the theoretical defence of the use of Latinisms and the plain prose of his translations. The conclusion is that only those Latinisms that do not threaten the naturalness of style should be used. Perujo (1999) analyses the translation procedures of Jaume Conesa, who insists on the usual tagline of the inferiority of the vulgar languages. According to this view, a translation of high literary value

into Romance would not be possible. This thought, which would remain alive for centuries, is shared by other important translators of the fifteenth century, such as Enrique de Villena, Juan de Mena, Alfonso de Palencia and Juan del Encina.

Further considerations on medieval translations in the Iberian Peninsula can be found in Recio & Martínez Romero (2001), Santoyo (2004a, 2009), Alvar (2010), Ruiz Casanova (2018: 63-173), and Santoyo (2019). For information on translations from Latin into Catalan, see Bacardí (2012: 182-187).

2.2. *The Modern Age until the Nineteenth Century*

The so-called *Decadència* was the recession of the Catalan language between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, when it lost its prestige compared to the prominence of Castilian. This period ended in the nineteenth century with the *Renaixença*. Despite the fact that Barcelona and Valencia were cultural centres, most translations were from Latin into Castilian. The only translation that enjoyed certain fame was the anonymous rendition of Aesop's fables under the name *Isopet*, the earliest remaining version of which dates from 1550 (the *editio princeps*, from 1493, has been lost). Thus, the following sections will be dedicated to translations from the classical languages into Castilian.

2.2.1. Sixteenth Century

In the sixteenth century, especially in the second half of the century, there were many Castilian versions of classic texts, both Greek and Latin, once they had been published in the original, thanks to the invention of the printing press in the previous century. One of the most noteworthy translators was Cristóbal de Castillejo, who translated fragments of Ovid, the Ciceronian treatises *De senectute* and *De amicitia*, and paraphrased Catullus in his own lyrical work; the character of his works stood in contrast to the Italian ways of Boscán and Garcilaso. Diego Gracián de Alderete translated, among others, Plutarch, Xenophon and Thucydides. Gonzalo Pérez was the first translator of the *Odyssey* in free hendecasyllables: the first edition contained books I to XIII (Salamanca, 1550), the first complete one was printed in Antwerp (1556), and the definitive one in Venice (1562). Jorge de Bustamante skillfully

translated the *Metamorphoses* (1545). Pedro Simón Abril translated Cicero's letters; his translations are of a didactic nature, since he is mostly known for his teaching of Greek and Latin; he also authored grammars of both languages. Fray Luis de León, in addition to his poetic work and the translation of the Song of Songs that cost him time in prison, also translated classical poetry, especially Virgil and Horace. Brocense, another great humanist, also translated some classical poets: Epictetus' *Enchiridion*, Virgil's first two eclogues, some translations of Horace and, according to Menéndez Pelayo, an *Iliad* in Latin and Castilian verse, destroyed by the Inquisition. The poet Fernando de Herrera translated the poetry of various Latin authors, especially of the Venusian poet.

As far as the theory is concerned, the ideas of the humanists are especially worth recalling, such as those of Luis Vives, expressed in *De ratione dicendi*, book III, chap. 12, and Juan de Valdés, visible in the *Diálogo de la lengua*.

Further information on the translation of classical languages during the Spanish Golden Age can be found in García Yebra (1994: 135-151), Ruiz Casanova (2018: 175-348); and for a list of Castilian translations of the sixteenth century, see Hernández Miguel (2008: 95).

2.2.2. Seventeenth Century

In the seventeenth century the majority of translations were of Greco-Latin works, far above the romances, most often from Italian, Catalan and Portuguese. We should mention here the humanist Vicent Mariner from Valencia, who carried out an enormous task translating Greek and Latin classics into Castilian at the beginning of the century, in addition to being the first, or one of the first, "reverse translators". Ruiz Casanova (2018: 300-301) clarifies, however, that he did not print any work and that the dating he establishes for his translations is doubtful and might have been manipulated in order to exalt his translation skills and speed. The most widely translated Greek author was Aristotle. The first translation into Spanish of Aristotle's *Poetics*, the most influential classical text as far as the literary reception of this century is concerned, was carried out by Alonso Ordóñez (1626). And, among the Romans, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Seneca, Statius -whose translation

of the *Thebaida* by Juan de Arjona was completed by Gregorio Morillo-, and the Christian Tertullian. Also noteworthy are the different versions of Tacitus from the beginning of the century authored by Emmanuel Sueyro (1613), Baltasar Alamos de Barrientos (1614), Antonio de Herrero Tordesillas (1615) (the *Annales*), and Carlos Coloma (1629). There has been some discussion about Quevedo's knowledge of the classical languages, and as there are different opinions about the nature of his translations, most scholars analyse the differences between his paraphrases and his translations proper: his favorite Latin authors were Martial and Seneca.

Among the many translations from the seventeenth century, many of them by poets, we should mention but a few, such as the Lupercio brothers and Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola and Francisco Medrano, translators of Horace's *Odes*. Luis Carrillo y Sotomayor partially translated Ovid's *Remedia amoris* and Seneca's *On the Shortness of Life*. Pellicer de Ossau was the translator of Tertullian and of Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon*. Juan de Jáuregui's *Pharsalia* were printed posthumously (1684). Francisco Enciso translated the *Aeneid* into *Ottava rima*. Diego Mejía translated the *Heroides*. Other proliferous translators included Gonzalez de Salas; Jerónimo Gómez de Huerta, the translator of Pliny's *Natural History*; and Rodrigo Fernández de Ribera, the translator of Martial under the title *Centuria de epigramas*.

2.2.3. Eighteenth Century

One of the characteristics of the eighteenth century is that in Europe the cultural epicentre passes from Italy to France, and French is used on many occasions as a bridge language, also in the translation of classical languages. Tomás de Iriarte was one of the most famous translators of Latin texts of that time. Besides the fables of Phaedrus, from which his original fables derived, he also translated Horace's *Ars poetica*, in whose prologue he justifies his work, pointing to the flaws he had found in the versions from previous centuries (Iriarte 1777: V). This point of view ignited literary argument with contemporaries who defended the versions criticised by the fabulist: those of Vicente Espinel (1591) and José Morell (1684). Iriarte also translated the first four books of the *Aeneid* and held on to the aforementioned idea of the inferiority of the vernacular languages in comparison to the high poetic

register of the translated authors. This idea had followers in his time, such as Javier de Burgos, who talked about the "unequal dispute" between the Latin and Spanish languages (1820: XVII). Nevertheless, this idea also had detractors, such as Antonio Ranz Romanillos, translator of Isocrates, and José Mor de Fuentes, who established a comparison between the two classical languages and Spanish.

Ignacio García Malo was the author of the first complete translation of the *Iliad* published in Spanish in 1788, although the unpublished translation by Félix de Sotomayor, preserved in the Ms. 8227-8228 of BNE, is from an earlier date (1746). Other outstanding translators from classical languages into Castilian, mostly from the second half of the century, were Ignacio de Luzán; Francisco Patricio de Berguizas, who translated the poetic works of Pindar in three volumes (1798); and José Antonio Conde, who in addition to Greek and Latin also translated from Hebrew, Arabic and Persian. Various poets such as Nicolás Fernández de Moratín and Meléndez Valdés also translated some classical texts. Leandro Fernández de Moratín made versions of some of Horace's odes in the period between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first two decades of the nineteenth century were still dominated by enlightenment thought.

In the eighteenth century, numerous translations of classical authors were created for didactic purposes, since translation was considered the best means to learn classical languages. Some authors disapproved of the fact that the translations into the fashionable language of the time, French, replaced those rendered from the classical languages in the Spanish Golden Age. Strong opinions circulated against the excess of Gallicisms in the target language, as well as statements that reviled contemporary translations. Such was the stance of José Vargas (1793) and Juan Pablo Forner, Horace's translator, whose satirical work *Exequias de la lengua castellana* (2000) was not published until many years after his death (Cueto 1871: 378-425).

On the theory of translation in this century, see Gutiérrez Hermosa (1998) and Pajares (1996), who distinguishes between the neoclassical current, that reproduces the precepts of Aristotle, Cicero and Horace; and what he describes as the renewing-imitative current, comprised of little-known translators, who put the spotlight on the recipient of the translation and do not seek fidelity to the original. Iriarte also points to other difficulties such

as the need to understand the historical and cultural context of the Greco-Roman world and the writing of notes, as well as the necessity for comparison with previous versions and familiarisation with the comments. Further difficulties mentioned by other translators are the quest for the most reliable edition or the need to know contemporary works (García Garrosa & Lafarga 2004: 26-27). References to theories of translation as far as the ancient texts are concerned can also be found in José Goya y Muniain's prologue to his translation of the *Commentaries on the Gallic War.*

One of the most translated authors in this century and the next was Horace. Javier de Burgos, the first translator into Castilian who rendered practically all his work within the nineteenth century, highlights the difficulties of translating the poet. His first translation of the *Odes* dates from 1820 (revised in 1844). The first volume of Menéndez Pelayo's famous work on Horace (1885) contained translations together with commentaries on the Venusian author.

2.3. *From the Nineteenth Century until Now*

2.3.1. Catalan

Between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, before the *Renaixença*, Antoni Febrer, a prominent translator from Menorca, translated mainly classical Latin texts: four philosophical treatises by Cicero, the *Eclogues*, and the *Fables* of Phaedrus. Between 1810 and 1842 six editions of the *Faules d'Isop* were published. Other translations of the Renaixença are those of Sappho, Ovid, Pliny and Terence (see Medina 1992). The translator and literary critic Joan Sardà translated Horace and Martial.

We should frame the project of systematic translation of classical Greek and Latin authors into Catalan within the *Noucentisme* movement. A century ago Francesc Cambó initiated the Bernat Metge collection, which to date includes over 430 volumes. Even before the end of the Spanish Civil War (1923-1939), eighty-four volumes by thirty writers were published, the first of which was Lucretius' *De rerum natura* translated by Joaquim Balcells. The initiative continued after the civil war in 1946, and even though, a year before returning from exile, Carles Riba (1942) published a translation of Plutarch's *Vides Paral·leles d'Alexandre i Cèsar*, in which his name did not

appear. However, Riba was the most important figure in the translation of classic Greek works into Catalan. He was director of the Bernat Metge collection for a short period of time, between the death of the first director, Joan Estelrich, in 1958, and his own death the following year. In the Alpha publishing house, in which the collection was integrated from 1926, he published translations of Xenophon, Plutarch, Aeschylus and Sophocles. However, his most famous translation is the second translation of the *Odissea* (1953), -the first having been issued in 1919-, published in 1948 in an edition for bibliophiles and reprinted on several occasions. The main objectives of the Bernat Metge collection were to give prestige to the target language and to establish a high register of Catalan, which led to a very elevated style, as stated in the publication norms, gathered by Joan Estelrich in 1922: see Bacardí-Fontcuberta-Parcerisas (1998: 81-94). After the acquisition of the collection by the SOM cooperative group in 2017, it was rebranded "La casa dels clàssics". At present (since 2007), the collection is directed by Raül Garrigsait, and its major aim is to refresh the oldest translations, in order to update the language and obtain texts that are free of the censorship of the time. Outstanding translators include, among many others, Miquel Dolç, Josep Alsina, Josep Vergés, Eduard Valentí, Manuel Balasch, Antoni Seva, and Jaume Medina.

There are two other collections of classical Greco-Latin texts in Catalan that prioritize accessibility over exclusivity. The monolingual "L'esparver clàssic", from the publishing house La Magrana, has published approximately fifty translations since 1993. After the acquisition of the publishing house by the RBA group in 2000, the publication of the "Clàssics de Grècia i Roma" collection commenced in 2012, partially composed of re-editions of the "L'esparver clàssic". The project stopped in 2015; however, in 2021 the Penguin Random House Group acquired the publishing house and announced its reactivation.

The other collection is called "Aetas" or "Summa Aetatis" depending on the length of the works, by the Martorell Adesiara publishing house, which has published over thirty translations of Greek and Latin texts from Classical Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance in bilingual editions. Beyond these collections, the translation work of Joan Francesc Mira stands out,

culminating in his *Odissea* (2011). All the Catalan translations of Greco-Latin classics can be found on the "Aula Carles Riba" website[1].

2.3.2. Castilian

Despite his short life, the poet Manuel de Cabanyes (1808-1833) completed several translations from Greek and Latin, some of them for educational purposes, influenced by both neoclassicism and romanticism. José Gómez Hermosilla translated the *Iliad* into hendecasyllables (1831), and defended the use of verse translation for classical poems, a recurrent problem among the translators of classical works of the time, as we read in their prologues; in contrast to other translators whose main concerns were, for example, the influence of the Galician language and the poor quality of translations.

Important figures included Sinibaldo de Mas, who attempted to translate the *Aeneid* into Castilian hexameters, and Miguel Antonio Caro, the president of Colombia, who published a volume of translations of Latin poets (1889). Along with the aforementioned Javier de Burgos, other translators of Horace's *Odes* were Felipe Sobrado, Federico de Baráibar, who also translated the *Odyssey*, and Rafael Pombo at the end of the century. *The Art of Poetry* was translated by Martínez de la Rosa, Juan Gualberto González, who also translated the *Odyssey*, Jaime Balmes and Raimundo de Miguel (1855). In addition to translation in verse, the theoretical reflections of some of these translators such as Baráibar, J.G. Gonzalez and M.A. Caro concerned fidelity to the original. Furthermore, Juan María Maury translated book IV of the *Aeneid* and Pérez de Camino the *Elegies* of Tibullus, Catullus and the Virgilian *Georgics*.

Menéndez Pelayo, in addition to his theoretical work on the translators of classics, also carried out his own translations: his *Biblioteca de traductores españoles* (Library of Spanish Translators) includes an entry with his own translations of Greek and Latin authors (Menéndez Pelayo 1952-53).

Between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Mexican bishop Ignacio Montes de Oca published a collection of Greek bucolic poets (1910).

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1. http://www.ub.edu/acr/

Due to the vast number of translations from classical languages in the twentieth century, we should enumerate here but a few translators and translation theorists. One of the translators of Homer into Castilian from the beginning of the century was Luis Segalá, who also translated the *Iliad* into Catalan. Other outstanding translators of classical authors into Castilian are the poets Aníbal Núñez and Ángel Crespo.

According to José Antonio Sabio (2017: 314), the opinions circulating in Spain in the second half of the twentieth century, before establishing the first translation schools in the 1970s, come from Latin and Greek teachers. Among the classical philologists who have written on the theory of translation, Valentín García Yebra, who also translated Aristotle, Cesar, Cicero and Seneca, stands out. Jiménez Delgado (1955) has also made significant contributions to translation studies. Other remarkable theorists are Miquel Dolç (1966), a prominent translator of the classics into Catalan as previously mentioned, Josep Alsina (1967), Lasso de la Vega (1968) and Agustín García Calvo (1973: 39-76), who also translated the *Iliad*.

Further information on the translation of classical languages in Spain can be found in Ruiz Casanova (2000, 2018) and Lafarga-Pegenaute (2004, 2009): the latter, *Diccionario Histórico de la Traducción en España* (DHTE), is available on the internet.

Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos (BAC, Library of Christian Authors) has published texts of the Patristic and Greek and Latin Christian tradition in a bilingual edition. Translations of the Greek apologists by Daniel Ruiz Bueno and the Bible translations mentioned in the following section are particularly noteworthy.

3. Bible translations

3.1. *Translations of the Bible up to the Visigoth period*

Biblical translations constitute an important part of the history of translation; beginning with the translation of the Old Testament texts known as the *Septuagint* or the *Translation of the Seventy*. This translation is known as such due the alleged number of translators, seventy-two, according to the famous *Letter of Aristeas*. The translators were summoned by the high priest of Jerusalem at the request of Ptolemy II Philadelphus urged by the

Jewish community of Alexandria, since the members of the large Jewish colony in Egypt and neighbouring countries had forgotten the language of their elders. However, the scholarly consensus is that the translation was actually carried out by Jews from Alexandria as it lacks literary merit and is replete with Hebraisms. The translation work began in the third century B.C.E. and it was completed in the following century, the period from which the oldest preserved fragments, parts of the *Leviticus* and *Deuteronomy*, date. According to Fernández Marcos (2007: 271), it was the greatest cultural contribution of Hellenistic Judaism and undoubtedly the one that had the greatest influence on our Western civilization and the largest translation corpus of all antiquity. Several very particular conditions facilitated the accomplishment of the work: the expansion of Hellenism, the cultural policy of the Ptolemies with the foundation of the Library of Alexandria, and the splendour of Hellenistic Judaism.

After the triumph of rabbinical Judaism, Jews left aside the version of the *Septuagint*, because Christians adopted the *Septuagint* as their official Bible (in fact, it still serves as the canonical text of the Greek Orthodox Church today). They used revisions that were more faithful to the Hebrew, such as that of Aquila, carried out between 100 and 130, and of a strict literalness criticized by Jerome. Other later translations into Greek were carried out by the Jews Theodotion and Symmachus. Origen, an early Christian scholar, gathered the four in his famous edition called *Hexapla*, which included, in six columns, the Hebrew text, the same text in Greek characters and the four translations cited.

In later centuries, translations of the Bible into Eastern languages such as Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgic, and Armenian followed, as well as into Latin and Gothic.

Although Christian writers predominantly used the Greek language at first, with the expansion of the new religion to the West it was necessary to start using the official language of the Empire, Latin, to reach the new faithful of the territories dominated by Rome. For this reason, Jerome of Stridon was commissioned by Pope Damasus I to translate the Bible into Latin, with the aim of unifying the texts read in churches. The *Vulgate*, so called because it was a rendition made for the people (*vulgus*) and written in simple Latin without too much rhetorical artifice, was nourished by various

previous Latin translations of the New Testament from the second and third centuries CE (known as *Vetus Latina*) and from the Greek translations of the *Septuagint*. Slowly but surely it was imposing itself on Western Christianity, until it became practically universal at the end of the eighth century, even though it was not officially recognised by the Church until the Council of Trent (1545-1563). The influence of this version on European culture is immeasurable: all the languages and literatures of the Western world are indebted to it. In 1979 a *Nova Vulgata* was published, promulgated by John Paul II, as a result of a revision initiated during the mandate of Paul VI.

Some years before Jerome, Bishop Ulfilas (also known as Wulfila) translated, or commissioned the translation, of the entire Bible (except the two books of *Kings*) from Greek into Gothic. Only a few fragments remain. It was in general use among the Visigoths established in the Iberian and Italian Peninsulas, although they soon adopted Latin as their own language.

3.2. *Translations of the Bible into Castilian and Catalan*

The first known translation in the Iberian Peninsula is the *Biblia Alfonsina* (Alfonsine Bible) (1280). Subsequent translations date from the fifteenth century: the *Biblia de Alfonso V, el Magnánimo* (Bible of Alfonso V, the Magnanimous), a translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew and Latin of which the exact date of composition is unknown; and the *Biblia de Alba* (Alba Bible) (1433), of the Old Testament, carried out by Rabbi Moses Arragel of Guadalajara, commissioned by Luis Guzmán and sponsored by Juan II of Castile (on medieval Castilian bibles, *cf.* Avenoza 2011, 2020).

Cardinal Cisneros, having founded the University of Alcalá, gathered together experts in ancient languages for his project of the *Biblia Políglota Complutense* (Complutensian Polyglot Bible), in six volumes, printed between 1514 and 1517. The first volume includes, along with the text of the *Pentateuch*, a series of letters that provide us with information about this endeavour: the permission of Pope Leo X, a letter from the pope to Cardinal Cisneros, a prologue to the reader, the prologues to the New Testament and to the Hebrew dictionaries, and finally Jerome of Stridon's letters in which he defends his third-century translation. The biblical texts of the Old Testament, which occupy the first four volumes, are presented in three

columns with the *Vulgate* text in the centre; the Greek, with a Latin literal translation, on the right; and on the left, the Hebrew, with clarifications on some complex words in the margin (there are only two columns in Latin and Greek in the parts that do not include the Hebrew version). The fifth volume contains the books of the New Testament in two columns, with the Greek *Vulgate* texts linked together by small superscript letters. It concludes with a brief two-page Greek grammar and a lexicon of some 9,000 Greek words. The sixth volume is composed of a dictionary of Hebrew and Aramaic words followed by an etymology with all the words of the Bible based on the work of the Carolingian monk Remi d'Auxerre, a thirty-page Hebrew grammar and a guide to the dictionary.

It should be stated that the intention of the Polyglot Bible was never to revise the text of the *Vulgate*. The famous humanist Benito Arias Montano was commissioned by Philip II to make a reprint, known as the *Biblia Regia* (King's Bible), edited in Antwerp (1569-1573) with two additional volumes.

Upon the threat of the advance of Protestantism, translations of the Bible into the vernacular language were prohibited and were persecuted during the Inquisition. Thus, during the Spanish Golden Age there were no translations into Castilian in the Peninsula, but they were carried out in other places. The first complete Castilian New Testament was authored by Francisco de Enzinas, published in Antwerp in 1543 following the critical edition of the Greek text by Erasmus. The Jew Abraham Usque translated the Old Testament in Ferrara (1553). The *Biblia del Oso* (Bear Bible), translated by Cassiodoro de Reina from the Hebrew and Greek, was published in Basel in 1569. A revision by Cipriano Valera published in Amsterdam (1602) is the most widely used translation by Spanish-speaking Protestants; it is known as the *Reina-Valera* or *Biblia del Cántaro* (Pitcher Bible). The latest revision is called the *Nueva Biblia Reina Valera* (2020).

At the end of the eighteenth century the Inquisition authorised versions into the vernacular language. Pope Benedict XIV allowed translations into vernacular languages in 1757, but it was not until 1782 that permission was granted in Spain. Until after the Civil War, the version of Felipe Scío de San Miguel (1793), which follows the *Vulgate* to the letter, was used in Spain (see Salas 2011). The translation by Félix Torres (1822), which was in fact a revision of a version by José Miguel Petisco, is much freer.

Two very successful translations were published in the forties within the BAC: one by Nácar & Colunga (1944), who translated the OT and the NT respectively, and another by Bover & Cantera (1947), translators of the NT and the OT respectively. The latter has been the basis of numerous versions that have emerged, especially in the 1960s. The well-known *Jerusalem Bible*, a pastoral and catechetical translation from the Biblical and Archaeological School of Jerusalem, was first published in French, and the first Spanish edition dates from 1967, with successive re-editions in 1975, 1998, 2009 and 2018. It is worth mentioning, among others, the *Nueva Biblia Española* (New Spanish Bible) (1975), revised and reissued twenty years later as the *Biblia del peregrino* (Pilgrim's Bible) (1993), and published shortly after in three large volumes (1996-97). It should be stated, however, that all these versions of Luis Alonso Schökel are less faithful to the original text than those of the BAC. The first *Interconfessional Bible* created by the collaboration of Catholics and Protestants dates, in its Spanish version (BTI), to 2008; the NT was published earlier (1978). The official version of the Episcopal Conference is from 2010.

Bonifaci Ferrer, a native of Valencia and brother of Saint Vincent, was the author of the first translation into Catalan (1478), derived from the *Vulgate*, but his edition, published in Valencia, was destroyed by the Inquisition in 1483. It is not certain whether he was the sole translator, or if he wrote it in collaboration with other monks of the Porta Coeli Charterhouse; it also seems that he used a previous Catalan version. There were no other complete versions until the 1920s (on the translations of the nineteenth century, *cf.* Puig 1987), which is when three translations of the Bible in Catalan were published. The most acclaimed is that of the Monasterio de Montserrat (1926), also known as *Bíblia grossa de Montserrat* (Big Bible of Montserrat), of an erudite nature, it is in 25 volumes, conceived and translated largely by Bonaventura Ubach. In 1970 a version was published in a single volume, known as the *Bíblia petita de Montserrat* (Small Bible of Montserrat).

The other two are from the "Fundació Biblica Catalana", under the aegis of Francesc Cambó and directed by Miquel d'Esplugues, in fifteen volumes, published between 1928 and 1948, and later published in a single volume under the name of *Bíblia de Catalunya* (1968). Another translation to mention is that of the "Foment de Pietat Catalana", which published four of the

eight volumes from 1928. Although the project was scheduled for completion in 1935, it could not be published in its entirety; the volumes published to date are two of the NT and two of the planned seven volumes of the OT. Furthermore, it is worth mentioning the *Bíblia Catalana Interconfessional* (BCI), the first edition of which dates from 1993, with variants in Balearic (1994) and Valencian (BVI) (1996). Last but not least, we should mention the *Bíblia Evangèlica Catalana* (2000), with an online edition (BEC online) since 2004. It was reissued in 2007 under the title *Bíblia Evangèlica Protestant*. For more information about Catalan translations of the Bible, see Casanellas (2010, 2011, 2020).

4. Latin Translations of the Qurʾān

Over a period of five centuries, the Qurʾān was translated into Latin in its entirety at least ten times, by scholars or groups of translators working independently of one another. In chronological order, these translations are:

> 1142-1143 Robert of Ketton (printed by Theodore Bibliander, 1543, 1550)
> 1210 Mark of Toledo
> *1456 Juan de Segovia, Yça Gidelli (now lost)
> Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (ca. 1445-1489), alias Flavius Mithridates
> 1518 Juan de Teruel (corrected in 1525 by Leo Africanus)
> ca. 1630 translation attributed to Cyril Lucaris
> 1622 Ignazio Lomellini
> 1632 Johann Zechendorff
> 1651-1669 Dominicus Germanus of Silesia
> 1698 Ludovico Marracci

The use of Muslim exegesis in the case of the first translation, produced by Robert of Ketton (1142-1143), has been thoroughly attested (Burman 2011). This translation was carried out under the auspices of Peter the Venerable (1092/94-1156), the abbot of Cluny, on the occasion of his journey to the Iberian Peninsula in 1141-1142. Somewhere in the Ebro Valley, not far from Tarazona (modern-day province of Zaragoza), he encountered a knowledgeable group of translators, among them Hermann of Carinthia and Robert of Ketton, who had been previously engaged in translating scientific works,

but had subsequently shifted to religious books (Cruz Palma & Ferrero Fernández 2011). Robert was an English monk who was particularly interested in Arabic treatises on astronomy and geometry, whereas Hermann, who was connected to the bishop of Tarazona, took an interest in translating texts on mathematics and astronomy. Both translators were assisted by Peter of Toledo, whose knowledge of Arabic may indicate that he was either of Mozarab origin or a convert from Islam or Judaism; Peter of Poitiers, the secretary of Peter the Venerable (Martínez Gázquez 2015); and a Muslim called Mohamet. In spite of this impressive team of specialists who worked on the group of texts on the life of the Prophet Muḥammad, the history of the Arabs and Islamic doctrine, recently dubbed *Collectio Islamolatina*, it is Robert of Ketton himself who is credited with the first translation of the Qur'ān (ed. Martínez Gázquez & González Muñoz 2022)[2]. Not only did Robert's translation circulate widely in manuscript form (twenty-four manuscripts have been identified to date), but it was also the version that served as the basis of a sixteenth-century edition undertaken by the Protestant humanist Theodore Bibliander (Theodor Buchmann, 1505-1564). This text, although highly controversial in its day, was printed in 1543, then reprinted, and served as a basis for various subsequent translations of the Qur'ān into modern languages.

Despite the wide circulation of Robert's translation, the second translator of the Qur'ān, Mark of Toledo, who produced his work half a century later, around 1210, almost certainly had no knowledge of it (ed. Pons 2016). Mark's translation was, as far as we know, the work of a single author, commissioned by Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo between 1209 and 1247, and Don Mauricio, Archdeacon of the Church of Toledo and later the bishop of Burgos. Just like Robert of Ketton and Hermann of Carinthia, Mark had also previously worked on scientific translations, specifically in the field of medicine. He also served as canon in the Church of Toledo from 1193 to 1216 (see Burman 2012 and the extensive bibliography cited therein).

Mark's translation has been regarded as prosaic and literal, in contrast to Robert's version, which relied heavily on paraphrase. Furthermore, Mark's

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2. For a general overview see the publications of the research project Islamolatina: http://grupsderecerca.uab.cat/islamolatina/

respect for the Islamic format of the holy book made it possible for readers to consult it side by side with the Arabic original. It seems that Mark was more preoccupied with providing a literal translation of the Qurʾān than with consulting the Arabic tradition. In general, though, Mark proved himself familiar with the standard interpretations of difficult words and passages (Burman 1998, 2011).

The next Latin translation of the Qurʾān is especially interesting as it attests to an extensive collaboration between a member of Christian clergy and a learned Muslim. Unfortunately, there are no extant copies and all the information about this translation is gathered either from scattered quotations preserved in other sources or from its prologue, which has fortunately been passed down to us (see Roth 2014).

The text in question was the fruit of the labours of Juan de Segovia (1393-1458), a Franciscan bishop and former cardinal, who withdrew in 1453 to the Priory of Aiton in Savoy, where he would remain until the end of his life and where he devoted himself to the project of translating the Qurʾān (Scotto 2022). The result of his efforts is thought to have been presented to the humanist Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II, and was meant to consist of a trilingual Arabic-Castilian-Latin edition. To this end, Juan appointed a Muslim scholar, ʿĪsà b. Jābir (also known as Yça Gidelli), a *muftī* and *faqīh* of the *aljama* (Muslim community) of Segovia. Their collaboration was supposed to result in a reliable and, in a sense, Muslim-approved translation, since Robert of Ketton's version, with which Juan was acquainted, did not strike Segovia as useful (Martínez Gázquez 2005). We read in the prologue to the lost translation that ʿĪsà came all the way from Segovia to Aiton in 1455 in order to work on his assignment. He spent four months with his host and, although asked to stay longer, he returned to Castile, where he authored another important work, *Breviario Sunni* (*cf.* Wiegers 1990, 1994). As for the translators' methodology, ʿĪsà was expected to provide as literal a Spanish translation as possible, from which Juan de Segovia would create the Latin version. It seems that this translation was supposed to be as free of textual intermediaries as possible. Segovia and other intended readers needed to be assured that the work they were consulting was a faithful and *verbatim* rendition and not an approximate summary of the Qurʾān.

Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada (ca. 1445-1489), alias Flavius Mithridates, attempted a translation of the Qurʾān at least twice, as attested in two extant manuscripts. Flavius Mithridates was born to a family of Sicilian Jews, and was most likely well-educated and bilingual in Arabic and Romance. He seems to have converted to Christianity early in life, and adopted Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada as his new name. His knowledge of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic gained him access to the influential circles of central and northern Italy. He was particularly active at the court of Urbino (ca. 1480-1482), at the Papal Court, and in the entourage of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (ca. 1485-1488), whom he served as a language teacher under the sobriquet of Moncates or Flavius Mithridates (Grévin 2020).

Translations of Qurʾānic verses authored by Mithridates are preserved in two artifacts. A luxury manuscript (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS urb. lat. 1384, likely completed around 1482) dedicated to the Duke of Urbino, Federico da Montefeltro (1422-1482), contains suwar twenty-one and twenty-two (Bobzin 2008; Burman 2011: 133-148). The second manuscript is MS Vat. Ebr. 357, probably prepared in Sicily at the beginning of the fifteenth century, which exhibits a fragmentary translation of the whole Qurʾān (Grévin 2010). Surprisingly, Mithridates also used Jewish sources to explain various Qurʾānic passages.

In 1518 a Latin translation of the Qurʾān was commissioned by Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1469-1532). Egidio is primarily known as a church scholar, Christian kabbalist, philologist, and reformer of the Augustine order. His great interest in Oriental languages led him to acquire manuscripts not only in Hebrew but also in Syriac, Aramaic, and Arabic, as well as to surround himself with language tutors and scholars. In 1518, Egidio was entrusted with a papal mission to Spain to meet Emperor Charles V and ask him to join forces against the Turks. It must have been on this visit that he met the convert and former *faqīh* Juan Gabriel, and he most likely decided to employ him as a translator due to his knowledge of the Qurʾān. The person who corrected Juan Gabriel's version of the Latin Qurʾān was Egidio's godson, Leo Africanus (ed. Starczewska 2018).

Ignazio Lomellini subsequently translated the Qurʾān into Latin in 1622 and entitled it *Animadversiones, Notae ac Disputationes in Pestilentem Alcoranum*. The work consists of a Latin translation of the Qurʾān as well

as extensive commentaries, marginal notes, and the Arabic original. The extant manuscript of the translation consists of 323 two-sided pages and is held at the library of the University of Genoa (Ms A-IV-4). Here, the Latin translation follows after each verse in Arabic, and is in turn followed by the commentary. These commentaries seem to have been made primarily from a Catholic perspective, as they make abundant references to the Vulgate, Patristic Christian writings, and occasionally to pagan classical poets (Shore 2017).

A seventeenth-century rendition has been attributed to the Patriarch of Constantinople Cyril Lucaris (1572-1638), believed to be completed ca. 1630. It is attributed to Lucaris because of an interpretation of the dedication which is preserved in one of the manuscripts. Lucaris' interest in obtaining a translation of the Qurʾān might have been due to his function as Patriarch of Constantinople. The full text is not preserved (chapters 30:10 to 93 are missing), but the extant portions contain ample commentaries also translated from Arabic (ed. Cruz Palma 2006).

One of the latest Latin translations of the Qurʾān to be mentioned here is a recently discovered work by Johann Zechendorff (1580-1662), dated to 1632 (Tottoli 2015). Johann Zechendorff was a German headmaster who was surprisingly passionate about teaching his pupils Qurʾānic Arabic. He was the headmaster of Zwickau Latin School from 1617, and it was only during his term of office that the school offered classes in Arabic. Zechendorff also published an edition and interlinear translation of parts of the Qurʾān. His *Specimen suratarum* contains suras 61 and 78, and was printed in 1630 using Arabic type carved by one of his pupils (Ben-Tov 2017). According to Reinhold Glei (2016), Zechendorff's translation of the entire Qurʾān is a very close, interlinear rendition, which runs from right to left.

Interpretatio Alcorani litteralis was prepared by Dominicus Germanus of Silesia (1588-1670) between 1651 and 1669 (ed. García Masegosa 2009). The Franciscan and Arabist Dominicus Germanus of Silesia spent the last years of his life at the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial in order to complete a new Latin version of the Qurʾān. His translation survives in several manuscripts, which bear testimony to intense correcting and editing. The translation was accompanied by the Arabic text and extensive comments.

The final work to be presented here is the impressive *Alcorani textus universus* by Ludovico Marracci (1612-1700), published in Padua in 1698. Ludovico Marracci's translation of the Qurʾān was the last one to be made into Latin. The monumental work consisted, in its final stage, of two large volumes. The recent discovery (2012) of Marracci's personal library, containing fifteen manuscripts dealing with the interpretation and translation of the Qurʾān, sheds light on how the accomplished Arabist approached the task of interpreting the Muslim holy text (Glei & Tottoli 2016). Thanks to Glei and Tottoli's study, we now know how Marracci made use of the Tafsīr. Initially, he relied almost entirely upon the interpretation of Ibn Abī Zamanīn and the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (a work consisting of the commentaries of al-Maḥāllī and al-Suyūṭī). Later, he incorporated information conveyed in other exegetical works, notably those of al-Bayḍāwī, al-Zamakhsharī and al-Thaᶜlabī.

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BIONOTE / NOTA BIOGRÁFICA

LUIS POMER MONFERRER holds a Ph.D. in Classical Philology and is a Professor of Latin Philology in the Department of Classical Philology at the University of València, were he has been teaching since 1991. His thesis on indirect speech in Curcio's work was awarded by the SEEC. His research areas have focused on three fields, in which he has participated in various research projects. 1. Translation and reception of classical culture in Castilian and Catalan literature. He has published two books, *Antología de las más famosas historias de amor* (2010, with E. Sales) and *Traducción y recepción de la cultura clásica* (2012, with A. Narro) and has participated with the entry "Middle Ages" in the *Diccionario hispánico de la traducción y recepción clásica* (2021). 2. Christian Literature. He has published three recent journal articles (2019-2020) on *adversus Iudaeos* literature, especially the dialogues, and is currently part of a research project on female martyrs. 3. Valencian humanism. He contributed to the translation into Spanish of *De disciplinis* of Luis Vives (Ajuntament de València, 1997) and participated in two dictionary entries of the *Diccionario del humanismo español* (2012). The result of a research project is the edition with translation into Spanish of two rhetorical works of Valencian humanists: the *Institutiones Rhetoricarum* of F. Furio Ceriol (PUV, 2022), and the *Methodus oratoria* of Andreu Sempere, soon to be published.

LUIS POMER MONFERRER, doctor en Filología Clásica por la Universitat de València, es Profesor Titular de Filología Latina en el Departamento de Filología Clásica de dicha universidad, donde imparte sus clases desde 1991. Es catedrático de latín de enseñanza secundaria en excedencia. Su tesis sobre el discurso indirecto en la obra de Quinto Curcio Rufo fue premiada por la SEEC. Además de trabajos sobre sintaxis latina derivados de su tesis, sus líneas de investigación se han centrado en tres campos, en los cuales ha

participado en diversos proyectos de investigación. 1. Traducción y recepción de la cultura clásica en las literaturas castellana y catalana. Ha publicado dos libros: la *Antología de las más famosas historias de amor* (2010), con E. Sales, y *Traducción y recepción de la cultura clásica* (2012), con A. Narro; ha participado con la entrada "Edad Media" en el *Diccionario hispánico de la traducción y recepción clásica* (2021). 2. Literatura cristiana. Entre diversas publicaciones fruto de dos proyectos, los más recientes son tres artículos de revista en 2019 y 2020 sobre la polémica *adversus Iudaeos*, especialmente los diálogos. Actualmente participa en otro sobre las mártires. 3. Humanismo valenciano. Colaboró en la traducción al castellano de *Las Disciplinas* de Luis Vives, para el Ajuntament de València (1997); participó con dos entradas en el *Diccionario del humanismo español* (2012); fruto de un proyecto de investigación es la edición con traducción al castellano, de dos obras retóricas: las *Institutiones Rhetoricarum* de F. Furio Ceriol (2022), y la *Methodus oratoria* de Andreu Sempere, de inminente publicación, sobre la cual ha publicado diversos trabajos.

Katarzyna K. Starczewska is a researcher at the Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale". In 2012 she presented her doctoral thesis entitled *Latin Translation of the Qur'ān (1518/1621) commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo. Critical Edition and Introductory Study* at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. Katarzyna is currently working on a number of topics that revolve around Muslim culture in early modern Europe. Her interests include networks of translators whose target language was Latin, the reflection of Latin interreligious controversies in national language treatises, and the first modern Arabic grammar books written in Latin. She is the author of numerous articles and book chapters. Her first book *Latin Translation of the Qur'ān (1518/1621) Commissioned by Egidio da Viterbo. Critical Edition and Case Study*, was published in Diskurse der Arabistik, Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, in 2018 and has received numerous reviews.

Katarzyna K. Starczewska es investigadora en la Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale". En 2012 presentó su tesis doctoral en la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona titulada *Traducción latina del Corán (1518/1621) encargada por de Egidio da Viterbo. Edición crítica y estudio introductorio*. Katarzyna está trabajando actualmente en una serie de temas que giran

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Ioannis Kioridis holds a Ph.D. in Spanish Philology (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens) and is a Contract Professor of Spanish Philology in the Master's Studies of the Department of Spanish Language and Philology of the Faculty of Letters of the aforementioned university. He is also a Contract Professor of Spanish Literature, History and Civilization in the Spanish Language and Civilization Studies Program at the Hellenic Open University, where he has been teaching since 2010. His thesis is a comparative approach between the *CMC* and the byzantine epic poem of *Digenis Akritis* in Escorial´s MS. His research deals with the translation of medieval Catalan and Castilian texts into modern Greek, comparative medieval literature, and the relationship between traditional Greek ballads and romancero. He participates in research projects at the universities of Zaragoza, Sergipe and Heidelberg. Among his books, the following are noteworthy: 1. *Το Έπος του Ελ Σιντ*: *εισαγωγή, πρωτότυπο κείμενο, μετάφραση, σχόλια* [The Song of my Cid: introduction-original text-translation-notes] (2019). In collaboration with St. Dertsas and Al. Montaner. 2. *Ραμόν Μουντανέρ: το ελληνικό τμήμα του Χρονικού* [Ramón Muntaner: the Greek section of the Chronicle]. Bilingual edition in Greek and Catalan. In collaboration with E. Ferrer, J. J. Pomer and J. Redondo.

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entre el *CMC* y el poema épico bizantino de *Diyenís Akritis* en su ms. de El Escorial. Su investigación versa sobre la traducción de textos medievales catalanes y castellanos al griego moderno, la literatura comparada medieval, la relación entre las baladas tradicionales griegas y el romancero. Participa en proyectos de investigación de las universidades de Zaragoza, Sergipe y Heidelberg. De sus libros destacan: 1. *Το Έπος του Ελ Σιντ: εισαγωγή, πρωτότυπο κείμενο, μετάφραση, σχόλια* [El CMC: introducción-texto original-traducción-notas] (2019). En colaboración con St. Dertsas y Al. Montaner. 2. *Ραμόν Μουντανέρ: το ελληνικό τμήμα του Χρονικού* [Ramón Muntaner: la secció grega de la Crònica]. Edición bilíngüe en griego y catalá. En colaboración con E. Ferrer, J. J. Pomer y J. Redondo.