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Scientific Language in the Latin Qur'ans of Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo

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Introduction[1]

The Latin translations undertaken between the late eleventh/fifth and thirteenth/seventh centuries brought about sea changes in the currents of European thought.[2] Arabic and Greek texts newly accessible to the Latin intellectual world fundamentally changed the fields of medicine, philosophy, mathematics, astrology, and astronomy. These works transformed the pre-existing European canon of scientific texts and many of them would become central components of the reading lists of the earliest universities in Paris, Salerno, and Oxford. Concurrently, concerted efforts resulted in the translation of religious texts into Latin, which frequently served as the basis for Christian polemical treatises. Greek patristic works and early Church documents became embroiled in the growing disputes between Latins and Byzantines.[3] From Arabic, the Qur'an was first translated into Latin in the sixth/mid-twelfth century, accompanied by an extensive polemical apparatus of glosses and texts critical of Islam. In the seventh/thirteenth century, the Hebrew Talmud was rendered into Latin and became subject to Christian scrutiny and anti-Jewish polemic.[4]

The neat division of these two strands of translation activities is complicated by the fact that many of these scientific works translated into Latin (particularly the philosophical works of al-Farābī, Avicenna, al-Ghazālī, and Averroes) possessed religious elements and were placed in service of Christian theology. A further complication occurs with the translators themselves, some of whom were involved in projects on both sides of this imaginary divide. This paper aims to take a step toward a more holistic approach of the translation activities of the High Middle Ages by focusing on two Latin scholars who both translated the Qur'an in addition to scientific works. Robert of Ketton translated astrological and astronomical works from Arabic before producing the first Latin translation of the Qur'an (537–538/1142–1143), while Mark of Toledo translated medical treatises by Galen (and one work falsely attributed to him) via the Arabic intermediaries of Ḥunayn b. Ishāq before also rendering the Qur'an into Latin (606/1209).

This paper argues that the translators incorporated their scientific learning into their translations of the Qur'an by employing terminology specific to their fields of

expertise—those of astronomy/astrology and medicine, respectively—and examines how these incorporations shed light on the translators' views on the Qur'an and Islam. I will demonstrate the connections between each translator's body of work by first comparing the prefaces to their scientific and Qur'anic translations before discussing selected passages from the Qur'anic translations in which I have identified technical language specific to each scholar's field. To show the extent to which each translator privileged his preferred subject, I will also compare both Latin translations of each selected passage.

The results of this inquiry are intended to illuminate a hitherto unexplored facet of the two earliest Latin translations of the Qur'an and to cast new light on the intellectual personas and aspirations of two scholars about whom precious little evidence survives. In the case of Mark of Toledo, our analysis reveals a novel and learned polemical strategy against Islam that merits further scholarly inquiry of Mark as not only a translator but also a polemicist. More broadly, this paper aims to shed further light on both the methods of medieval translators and on their anticipated audiences.

Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo

The contours of Robert of Ketton's career remain vague.[5] He and a fellow scholar named Hermann of Carinthia embarked on an ambitious program of translating into Latin works on geometry, astronomy, and astrology, and for this purpose travelled to Iberia in the early 530s/1130s. The full extent of Robert's output continues to be a matter of debate, but at the very least he translated an astrological treatise by the third/ninth-century philosopher Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī, which he titled *De iudiciis* ('On judicial astrology', also known as 'The forty chapters'), and he produced a now lost translation of al-Battānī's astronomical canons and tables.[6]

During the years 537–538/1142–1143, Robert and Hermann were contracted by Peter the Venerable, the abbot of the influential monastic order of Cluny, to translate several works on Islam as the basis for an envisioned polemic against Islam.[7] Robert translated the Qur'an as well as an anonymous Arabic chronicle, while Hermann produced translations of an Islamic text on Muḥammad's prophethood and a dialogue between a Jew and Muḥammad.[8] On the basis of these translations, Peter the Venerable authored a brief polemical summary of Islam, the *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum* ('Summary of the Entire Heresy of the Saracens'), and eventually composed a longer refutation titled *Contra sectam Saracenorum* ('Against the Sect of the Saracens').[9]

After translating the Qur'an, Robert spent a stint in London (*c*. 542–545/1147–1150), although he maintained ties with northern Iberia, for he held an ecclesiastical benefice in Pamplona during the same period (*c.* 540–546/1145–1151). He was

politically active in the following years: he corresponded with Pope Eugene III (547–548 /1152–1153) and received a canonry of Santa María de Tudela in 552/1157 for his support of Sancho el Sabio. Shortly thereafter (*c.* 552–554/1157–1159), Robert permanently moved to Rome, where he joined the retinue of the later Pope Celestine III.[10]

Mark of Toledo's early life is likewise cloaked in obscurity, though unlike Robert of Ketton, he seems to have been a native of Iberia, likely of Toledo or its immediate environs.[11] He studied medicine, possibly in Montpellier as Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny has suggested, during or shortly after which studies he translated a collection of medical works, including Ḥunayn's versions of two treatises on the pulse (one originally composed by Galen and one falsely attributed to him) and Galen's *Peri tōn aporōn kinēseōn* ('On Problematical Movements').[12] He seems also to have been responsible for a fresh translation of Ḥunayn's well-known *Isagoge* or 'Introduction' to the art of medicine.[13] In 606/1209, having become a canon at the church of Toledo, Mark translated the Qur'an at the behest of archbishop of Toledo Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and archdeacon Mauricius. In 610/1213, the same Mauricius subsequently commissioned Mark to translate a series of short Islamic works of Ibn Tūmart, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, founder of the reformist Almohad movement.

Scientific Language in the Prefaces

Both Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo prefaced their translations of the Qur'an with programmatic statements outlining the circumstances that led to their translation activity. By way of a preface, Robert of Ketton included a letter dedicating his translation to Peter the Venerable, who had tasked him with translating the Qur'an. In the letter's conclusion, Robert draws attention to his scientific expertise:[14]

> *Istud quidem tuam minime latuit sapientiam, que me compulit interim astronomie geometrieque studium meum principale pretermittere. Sed ne prohemium fastidium generet ipsi finem impono tibique celesti, celum omne penetranti, celeste munus voveo quod integritatem in se scientie complectitur, que secundum numerum et proportionem atque mensuram celestes circulos omnes et eorum quantitates ac ordines et habitudines, demum stellarum motus omnimodos et earumdem effectus atque naturas et huiusmodi cetera diligentissime diligentibus aperit, nunc probabilibus nonnunquam necessariis argumentis innitens.*
>
> [This has not eluded your wisdom, which has driven me, meanwhile, to interrupt my principal study of astronomy and geometry. But to keep my preface from generating boredom, I will draw it to an end and dedicate a heavenly gift to You, Heavenly One, Who penetrates all the heavens, a gift that contains the entirety of science within it,

> discloses to diligent students all of the celestial spheres—their quantities, arrangement, and condition—in accordance to number, proportion, and measure, and also reveals the various motions of the stars and their effects and natures, sometimes supported by probable, but more often by necessary arguments.]

Robert asserts that Peter the Venerable's commission had interrupted what he regarded as his chief intellectual endeavour, 'my principal study of astronomy and geometry'. Robert subsequently employs a striking amount of terminology relating to astronomy and astrology in announcing a forthcoming project, which he describes as a 'heavenly gift' that 'contains the entirety of knowledge within it, discloses to diligent students all of the celestial spheres—their quantities, arrangement, and condition—in accordance to number, proportion, and measure, and also reveals the various motions of the stars and their effects and natures'. Robert's envisioned project likely involved the translation of Ptolemy's ancient cosmological treatise the *Almagest*. Although no translation attributed to Robert survives, his scholarly companion Hermann of Carinthia had referenced the text in his own treatise *De essentiis* and appears to exhibit some knowledge of the work.[15] More importantly, Robert himself mentioned the *Almagest* in the preface to his earlier translation of al-Kindī's *De iudiciis*:[16]

> *Quamquam post Euclidem Theodosii cosmometrie libroque proportionum libencius insudarem unde commodior ad Almaiesti – quo precipuum nostrum aspirat studium – pateret accessus, tamen, ne per meam segniciem nostra surdesceret amicitia, vestris nutibus nil preter equum postulantibus, mi Hermanne, nulli Latinorum huius nostri temporis astronomico secunde, penitus parere paratus, eum quem commodissimum et veracissimum inter astrologos iudicem ... transtuli ...*
>
> [Although after Euclid I would have preferred to study the *Cosmometria* (=*De sphaeris*, 'On spheres') of Theodosius and a book on proportions, so that then I might more easily access the *Almagest*—where my particular scholarly interest aspires to—still, my Hermann, second to none among the Latins of our era in astronomy, so that my friendship would not be deaf to your gentle requests (which are only fair) through inaction, I decided to heed [your requests] and ... translated the author I judged to be most appropriate and accurate among the astrologers ...]

This astrological treatise of the renowned third-/ninth-century polymath al-Kindī offers the reader a manual for predicting various events or ascertaining the most

propitious times for undertaking certain activities, based on observations of the movement and position of relevant celestial bodies.[17] In the opening of the preface to al-Kindī's *De iudiciis*, addressed to Hermann, Robert explained that he had undertaken the project at the request of his friend. Robert similarly indicates that this project caused him to interrupt his 'particular topic of study' (*precipuum nostrum ... studium*), namely the *Almagest*.

In comparing the rest of Robert's preface to the *De iudiciis* with his preface to the Qur'an, several other correspondences become apparent:[18]

> *[Liber] In quo tum vobis tum ceteris huius sciencie studiosis placere plurimum studens, enodato verborum vultu, rerum semen et effectum atque summam stellarium effectuum pronosticationisque quorumlibet eventuum Latine brevitati diligenter inclusi ... Sed ne proemium lectori tedium, lectionique moram afferat, illius prolixitatem supersedendo, rem propositam secundum nature tramitem a toto generalique natis exordiis texamus* ...
>
> [In this [book], in my aim to satisfy not only you but all students of this science, in an uncomplicated appearance of words, I have studiously and briefly included, in Latin, the origin and effect of things, and an overview of the effects of the stars and of the prediction of any kind of event ... But to keep this preface from boring and delaying the reader, let us avoid verboseness and compose our planned project, following the path of nature [by beginning] from the whole and the abstract ...]

In the first place, Robert used nearly identical formulas in concluding each preface (*Sed ne proemium ... fastidium/tedium ... generet/afferat*). More importantly, Robert used similar astronomical and astrological jargon to describe the effects of the stars. In both prefaces, Robert describes the field as a 'science' (*scientia*), concerned with, among other things, the 'effects of the stars'.[19] The correspondences raise a compelling question: given the close connection between the two prefaces, how does Robert's work as a translator of scientific, and specifically of astronomical and astrological texts relate to his translation of the Qur'an? In other words, does Robert employ similar jargon in his Qur'anic translation, and if so, why?

Mark of Toledo's preface to the Latin Qur'an is far more extensive than that of Robert. Addressing Archbishop of Toledo Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and Archdeacon Mauricius, who had commissioned the project, Mark includes a lengthy account of the life of Muḥammad and the origins of Islam. Throughout the preface, Mark employs a similar concentration of technical jargon as Robert of Ketton had done, although the terminology Mark employs relates to his expertise in medicine. Drawing on an established Christian polemical trope, his summary of the life of Muḥammad

alleges that the Prophet simulated the behaviour of someone suffering from epilepsy to claim that he experienced revelatory visitations of the angel Gabriel.[20] In his description, Mark shows himself to be highly cognisant of the features of an epileptic episode.[21] He goes on to describe how, in the aftermath of a seizure, a person appears to be apoplectic—a term he then defines for the benefit of his readership:[22]

> *Quociens autem populis illarum regionum verbum predicacionis proponebat, extra urbem universos convocabat et in presencia omnium ficte quasi morbum paciens caducum in terra prostrabat se violenter et, ut in epilencticis fieri solet, spumam per os eiciens, pedibus atque manibus inordinate hinc et inde proiectis, in arena diutissime volvebatur: post spatium vero temporis non modicum ex industria motum membrorum suorum sic compescebat et occulos claudebat, ut non solum apopleticus crederetur in quo nullus sensus et motus habetur, verum exanimis estimaretur. Cumque turbatis iam occulis quasi a demonio arreptus exurgeret, dicebat populo suo quod angelus Gabriel a Deo mittebatur ad ipsum, qui prosternebat eum in terra et in corpore ipsum vexabat et in anima. Et angariabat eum in extasi positum ut ... ab ydolatria revocatos ad cultum Dei vivi studiosius traheret*.
>
> [Whenever he presented his message to the peoples of those regions, he convened them outside the city and, in the presence of everyone, threw himself down on the ground violently, pretending that he was suffering from the falling illness, and, as normally happens with those suffering from epilepsy, frothed at the mouth and rolled around in the sand for a long time, throwing his feet and hands about chaotically: after a while, he deliberately controlled the movement of his limbs again and closed his eyes, so that they would not only believe that he was apoplectic—that is, someone who is unconscious and motionless—but would even regard him as dead. And when he got up, with a wild look in his eyes as though he were seized by a demon, he told his people that the angel Gabriel had been sent to him by God, who had struck him down on the ground and tormented him in body and mind. And while he was thus placed in ecstasy, the angel enjoined him to ... zealously bring the idolaters to the worship of the Living God.]

As previously suggested, Mark's detailed description of an epileptic seizure demonstrates his medical training and familiarity with standard works on the subject.[23]

In listing the various reasons Muslims allegedly adduce for divorce, Mark likewise showcases his knowledge of various ailments.[24] He returns to the subject of epilepsy, however, when treating the style of the Qur'an:[25]

> *Interdum enim loquitur sicut qui delirat, interdum autem sicut inanimatus ... Huius autem stili turbatio a nonnullis excusatur eo quod asserunt eum invisibiliter ab angelo vexari in anima et corpore et angariari ut homines amoneret ab ydolatria ad colendum unum Deum et morem gerebat accutam pascientibus in passione delirantibus ex pertubacione mentis*.
>
> [Sometimes he speaks like one who is delirious, at other times as one who is possessed ... some excuse this chaotic style by claiming that he was tormented and distressed in mind and body by an invisible angel to dissuade people from idolatry and to draw them to worship of one God; and he acted like[26] those who suffer from a severe fever and are rendered delusional in their ailment due to the confusion of their mind.]

As with Robert of Ketton, we may compare the medical terminology of Mark of Toledo's preface to the Qur'an with his translation of a treatise by Galen on the pulse and on problematical movements (via the third-century/ninth-century Arabic translations of Ḥunayn), where he employed some of the same terms. Notably, Mark used the term *apoplexia* as well as *apoplecticus* several times.[27] In one particularly relevant passage from his translation of a treatise on the pulse, Mark discusses how sufferers from an acute fever may incur a minor apoplectic state.[28] The phrasing in both texts is nearly identical (*pacientes ex acuta* in *De pulsu* vs *accutam pascientibus* in the preface to the Qur'an), and the reference to apoplexy is paralleled in Mark's discussion of Muḥammad's feigned revelations.

Mark's repeated use of medical language in describing the pseudo-revelatory episodes of Muḥammad and the style of the Qur'an, in language closely connected to his earlier medical translations, show that he viewed the origins of Islam through the lens of a physician. In so doing, Mark devised an ingenious explanation for the style of the Qur'an, which puzzled many European readers for its lack of narrative or clear structure.[29] He claims that some people ascribe this incoherence to Muḥammad's state of mind upon receiving the revelation. Mark, however, has already told us that Muḥammad merely pretended to suffer from epilepsy; we must conclude that for Mark, the Qur'an's jumbled style was another element of Muḥammad's elaborate deception.

At the end of the preface, Mark of Toledo adds a potential medical component to his translation project. He twice describes the commission he received from Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo and Archdeacon Mauricius with the adjective *salubris*, playing on

the word's double meaning of 'healthy/promoting health' in both a physical and spiritual sense.[30] Mark's phrasing here, combined with his description of Islam as 'an unhealthy doctrine' (*non sana doctrina*) at the start of the preface, highlights the medical perspective from which he approached anti-Islamic polemic.[31] As we will see, Mark also incorporated his medical learning into his translation of the Qur'an.

A careful examination of Robert's translation of al-Kindī's *De iudiciis* shows that Robert was acquainted with some of the same medical terminology used by Mark. In a chapter on determining the outcome of battles using astrological methods, al-Kindī also describes the various diseases that might accompany a protracted siege. In his translation, Robert refers to *apoplexia* ('apoplectic state'), the same word (albeit with a slightly different spelling) used by Mark in his preface and, as we will examine below, in Mark's translation of Q. 25:47. The fact that Robert, in his Latin rendition of this Qur'anic verse, refrains from using the term *apoplexia*, demonstrates the extent to which he privileged astronomical and astrological rather than medical learning and perhaps tells us something about his intellectual profile.

On the other hand, Robert does utilise in his preface to the Qur'an some of the same terminology related to siege warfare as he had used in translating the chapter on siege warfare in *De iudiciis*.[32] José Martínez Gázquez has argued that Robert's language should be viewed within the context of Peter the Venerable's polemical objectives in commissioning the translation, as expressed by Peter in his subsequent polemical treatises the *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum* ('Summary of the Entire Heresy of the Saracens') and *Contra sectam Saracenorum* ('Against the Sect of the Saracens').[33] By also taking Robert's other translation work into account, we observe Robert meeting his patron's needs by reusing these elements.

So far, we may summarise our findings as follows: in the prefaces to their translations of the Qur'an, both Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo emphasised their knowledge of scientific disciplines and employed technical terminology belonging to their fields of expertise. Some of these terms, moreover, correspond to their translations on these topics, thus demonstrating some coherence—at least superficially—in each scholar's translation projects.

Astronomical Terminology in the Latin Qur'an

The Qur'an contains various passages on celestial objects and events that lend themselves to a technical rendition by a translator well-versed in the subject. So, for instance, in Sura 21:

Q. 21:33

wa-huwa'lladhī khalaqa al-layla wa'l-nahhāra wa'l-shamsa wa'l-qamara kullun fī falakin yasbaḥūn[34]	
YA[35]	*It is He Who created the Night and the Day, and the sun and the moon: all [the celestial bodies] swim along each in its rounded course.*
RK[36]	[31:46–47:] *Diem item et noctem continuavimus, et solem ac lunam, et omnes in circulo mobili currentes fecimus.*
	[31:46–47:] *We have joined in succession day and night, and the sun and moon, and we made [them] all traverse in a moving circle.*
MT[37]	*Ipse est qui creavit noctem et diem et solem et lunam. Omnia que sunt in celo discurrunt.*
	It is He who created night and day and the sun and moon. All the things that are in the heavens, run about.

Robert of Ketton translates the Arabic *falak* with *circulus mobilis* ('moving sphere/circle'), thus rendering the technical sense of the Arabic word, which in an astrological and astronomical context typically refers to a celestial sphere or to a circular motion in the heavens.[38] Here we may recall that Robert employed the phrase *celestis circulus* ('celestial sphere/circle') in his preface to the Qur'an. In the latter instance, Robert supplied the adjective *celestis*, since the absence of any astronomical context could have made the noun *circulus* ambiguous. When we compare Robert's translation with that of Mark of Toledo, we may conclude that where Robert has chosen to use the more specific, technical term, Mark instead offers the much more general translation of *celum*, 'heavens' or 'sky'. While Mark realised from context that the passage concerned some kind of heavenly motion, he saw no need to provide his readers with more specific information on the nature of the movement. What is striking in comparing the two Latin translations is not that Mark of Toledo's rendition is incorrect (which it is not), but rather that Robert of Ketton chose to employ an emphatically technical astronomical and astrological concept, thus lending the Qur'anic passage the appearance of a technical treatise. Another conspicuous change Robert made was to alter the third person verb, referring to God, to a first-person plural, thus imitating God's first-person voice in the Hebrew Bible and Christian Old Testament. The modification could have been motivated by a desire to render the narrative voice more sensible to a Christian audience.[39]

The Arabic term *falak* comes up at several points in the Qur'an. In Sura 36, it occurs alongside a description of the movements of the sun and the moon:

Q 36:38–40	
wa'l-shamsu tajrī li-mustaqarrin lahā dhālika taqdīru'l-ʿazīzi al-ʿalim wa'l-qamara qaddarnāhu manāzila ḥattā ʿāda ka'l-ʿurjūn al-qadīm lā al-shamsu yanbaghī la-hā an tudrika'l-qamara wa-lā al-laylu sābiqu al-nahhāri wa-kullun fī falakin yasbaḥūn.	
YA	*And the Sun runs his course for a period determined for him: that is the decree of [Him] the Exalted in Might, the All-Knowing. And the Moon—We have measured for it mansions [to traverse] till it returns like the old [and withered] lower part of date-stalk. It is not permitted to the Sun to catch up the Moon, nor can the Night outstrip the Day: each [just] swims along in [its own] orbit [according to Law].*
RK	[46:35–46:] *Nonne viderant ... solemque nescium quietis in cursu suo, lunamque per mansiones promoveri, usquequo diminuta sicut scopae subtile lignum et antiquum appareat? Cur igitur Deum horum factorem omnium, incompraehensibilem, et sapientem, non glorificant, nec adorant? Eodem quoque dispositore nec sol lunam consequitur, neque nox diem praecedere potest. Haec enim in circulo disponuntur.*
	[46:35–46:] *Had they not seen ... the sun, incapable of repose in its course, and the moon, moved in mansions until it appears diminished, like a thin and old twig from a broom? Why, then, do they not glorify and adore God as incomprehensible and wise creator of this all? Through His design, the sun does not follow the moon, and night cannot precede day. For they are arranged in a circle.*
MT	*Et sol incessanter currit de disposicione gloriosi, sapientis. Et lune providimus mansiones donec incurratur sicut ramusculus palme antique. Non oportet solem consequi lunam nec noctem transilire diem. Et omnia in celo discurrunt.*
	And the sun courses without ceasing by the design of the glorious, wise one. And we have prepared mansions for the moon, until it is returned like the twig of an old palm frond. It is improper for the sun to follow the moon and for night to catch up to day. And all things run about in the heavens.

Both Robert and Mark pick up on the fact that the Arabic *manāzila* refers to the lunar mansions, rendering the word as *mansiones*, just as it would have been translated in an astrological treatise.[40] Mark again opts for the vague translation of *celum* for *falak*,

whereas Robert simply dispenses with *circulus*, perhaps this time assuming the reader's ability to infer the specific meaning of the word from context.

Strikingly, Robert of Ketton introduces astronomical and astrological vocabulary even when the source text does not warrant it. In Sura 113, he uses *circulus visibilis* ('the visible sphere') as a translation for the Arabic *falaq*, meaning 'dawn' (although Mark of Toledo renders it as 'twilight'):

Q. 113:1	
qul aʿūdhu bi-rabbi'l-falaq	
YA	*Say: I seek refuge with the Lord of the Dawn*
RK	[123:11–12:] *In nomine Dei, domini circuli visibilis*
	[123:11–12:] *In the name of God, the lord of the visible sphere*
MT	*Dic: Deffendo me cum creatore crepusculi*
	Say: I protect myself with the creator of the dawn

Given the auditory resemblance of the words *falak* and *falaq*, Robert's slip may reveal an oral context, in which someone read out the Arabic to him as he translated. This example thus potentially tells us something of Robert's working method in translating Arabic into Latin.

For another example in which Robert utilises greater specificity in astronomical and astrological terminology than Mark of Toledo, we may look to Sura 81, which describes the movement of celestial bodies across the sky in the opposite direction to the earth's rotation (here the Arabic *khunnas* has often been interpreted as referring to the receding or 'retrograding' of stars and planets, and *kunnas* to the 'hiding' or 'setting' of the same):[41]

Q. 81:15–16	
fa-lā uqsimu bi'l-khunnas wa'l-jawāri'l-kunnas	
YA	*So verily I call to witness the planets that recede. Go straight, or hide.*
RK	[91:10:] *Per stellas combustas, et retrogradas, atque directas*
	[91:10:] *By the burnt stars, the retrograde ones, and the direct ones*
MT	*Iuro quidem per stellas que occidunt et humiliantur*
	I swear by the stars that set and are humbled

Robert has picked up on the astronomical content but interpreted the passage as referring to different movements of stars: those that are in retrograde motion and those that are in direct motion, while the adjective *combustus* likely refers to a position, marked off with respect to the Sun, where a celestial body (usually a planet rather than a star) is said to be 'burnt' and without power.[42] Robert used the same adjectives when describing retrograde and direct stars in his earlier translated treatise on astrology.[43] Mark of Toledo, on the other hand, simply refers to the setting of stars (*occidunt*), which are thus 'humbled', and likely followed a tradition of *tafsīr* in his interpretation.[44]

In some instances, both Robert and Mark use technical jargon in passages of celestial content but do so differently. For example:

Q. 53:1–7	
wa'l-najmi idhā hawā mā ḍalla ṣāḥibukum wa-mā ghawā wa-mā yanṭiqu ʿani'l-hawā in huwa illā waḥyun yūḥā ʿallamahu shadīdu'l-quwā dhū mirratin fa'stawā wa-huwa bi'l-ufuqi'l-aʿlā	
YA	*By the Star when it goes down—Your Companion is neither astray nor being misled, Nor does he say [aught] of [his own] Desire. It is no less than inspiration sent down to him: He was taught by one mighty in Power, Endued with Wisdom: For he appeared [in stately form] While he was in the highest part of the horizon:*
RK	[63:1–6:] *Per stellam vespertinam cliens noster, nullatenus errans, nil ex proprio velle, nisi tantum divinitus sibi mandatum loquitur: qui sublevatus ad orizontis celsitudinem, ad Deum ipsum instruentem illum, atque docentem efficaciter, accessit.*
	[63:1–6:] *By the evening star: our follower, who in no way errs, speaks nothing of his own volition, but [speaks] only that which has been entrusted to him by God; he who, raised aloft to the highest part of the horizon, approached God, who instructed and taught him with great power.*
MT	*Per Plyades quando declinant! Non erravit frater vester nec inique quidem fecit neque locutus est quod voluit. Sed ex revelacione que fuit ei revelata docuit eum vehemens, fortitudo, sublimis, qui consistit in arce superiori.*
	By the Pleiades, when they set! Your brother has not erred, nor has he acted unjustly, nor has he spoken that which he himself wanted [to say]. But [he

	spoke] by the revelation that was revealed to him; a powerful one taught him, [pure] strength, lofty, as he stood in the upper citadel.

Robert interprets the star mentioned at the beginning of Q. 53, *Sūrat al-Najm* ('the Sura of the Star'), as referring to the evening star, while Mark, following a tradition of *tafsīr*, identifies it as the constellation Pleiades.[45] Yet, while Robert catches the Qur'anic reference to the horizon in the Arabic *al-ufuq al-aʿlā*, Mark resorts to the poeticising translation of *arx superior*, 'the upper citadel', recalling Vergil and Ovid.[46]

As a preliminary conclusion, we may observe that, unlike Mark of Toledo, when it comes to passages of astronomical and astrological content in the Qur'an, Robert of Ketton consistently seized the opportunity to employ specific, and sometimes technical, terminology. Several motivations may explain Robert's translation practice. One explanation for Robert's approach to the Qur'an is that he was not as comfortable with the topics and the language of the Qur'an as he was with the scientific works. Consequently, he seized upon opportunities to refer to scientific discourse. This suggestion is bolstered by comparative appraisals of Robert's translation methods: While Charles Burnett, Keiji Yamamoto, and Michio Yano have concluded about Robert's translation of the *De iudiciis* that '[i]n general, Robert abbreviates and recasts the text in his own words', Thomas Burman has observed that Robert's 'paraphrasing is a good deal less elaborate in this scientific text than in the Qur'anic translation'.[47] The increased amount of paraphrasing in his Qur'anic translation may then point to Robert's limited confidence as a translator in the register of his source text; but when the opportunity presented itself, Robert enthusiastically reverted to more familiar language.

Yet the tone Robert strikes at the end of his prefatory letter to Peter the Venerable suggests a more substantive motivation. His description of his forthcoming project—in all likelihood an envisioned Latin translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest*—assumes an almost religious reverence for the subject: in Robert's words, the *Almagest* contains cosmic truths and the sum of all knowledge.[48] Even though Robert was commissioned by Peter the Venerable to translate the Qur'an—and, if we believe the Cluniac abbot, paid handsomely to do so—perhaps he viewed it as an opportunity not merely for monetary gain but also to promote the study of astronomy, his own learning, and his forthcoming work on what he considered the apex of human achievement.[49]

Medical Terminology in the Qur'an

Turning next to the occurrence of medical terminology in the Latin translations of the Qur'an, we observe that Mark of Toledo consistently employs far greater specificity in translating Qur'anic passages dealing with physical ailments than Robert of Ketton

had done. For example, in Sura 3, Mark accurately renders the Arabic *qarḥ*, 'wound' or 'ulcer', with Latin *ulcus*, whereas Robert opts for the more generalising 'adversity':

Q. 3:140	
in yamsaskum qarḥun fa-qad massa al-qawma qarḥun mithluhu	
YA	*If a wound hath touched you, be sure a similar wound hath touched the others.*
RK	[6:104–5:] *Si vobis adversitates incubuerint, similiter et caeteris incubuerint.*
	[6:104–5:] *If adversities have oppressed you, they likewise have oppressed others.*
MT	*Si tangit vos ulcus, iam simile tetigit populum ulcus.*
	If an ulcer touches you, a similar ulcer has touched [the rest of the] people.

Where Robert's vague rendition may have been intended to paper over any uncertainties over the precise meaning of the Arabic word, Mark has provided an accurate translation.[50] Although suggestive, this discrepancy by itself does not necessarily speak to Mark's medical background or Robert's lack thereof. However, an example that is more indicative of each translator's intellectual context and scholarly priorities occurs in Sura 37:

Q. 37:45–47	
yuṭāfu ʿalayhim bi-kaʾsin min maʿīnin bayḍāʾa ladhatin li'l-shāribīn lā fīhā ghawlun wa-lā hum ʿanhā yunzafūn	
YA	*Round will be passed to them a Cup from a clear-flowing fountain—Crystal-white of a taste delicious to those who drink [thereof], Free from headiness; nor will they suffer intoxication therefrom.*
RK	[47:36–7:] *Et eisdem vescentibus fructus quoslibet, porrigetur scyphus plenus humore clarissimo, et dulci, et saporifero.*
	[47:36–7:] *And while they eat any type of fruit [they want], a goblet will be offered to them, full of the clearest liquid, sweet and full of taste.*
MT	*Discurretur per eos cum sciphis argenteis vino candido, plenis potantibus dulci in quo non est ebrietas neque urget ad emorrosagiam.*

	There will be passed among them silver goblets, full of dazzlingly white wine, sweet to those who drink [it], and in which there is no drunkenness, nor does it cause a haemorrhage.

The passage contains a description of Paradise and the delights it holds, including a draught that does not produce the abject effects of alcohol. Robert offers a free-flowing Latin rendition that emphasises the drink's tastefulness, *dulci et saporifero* ('sweet and full of taste'). Mark, on the other hand, demonstrates a sophisticated understanding of the Arabic *yunzafūna*. The Arabic root means 'to lose blood', and consequently to lose one's senses. Robert may not have understood the word and its usage here, opting to smooth over the difficulty by simply giving another adjective describing the taste. Yet Mark must have known the word from his experience with medical texts. He rendered it in its base medical sense, using a Greek word he had used in his translation of Galen's introductory treatise on the pulse—and it is worth pointing out that in both instances, Mark used the slightly garbled spelling *hemorrosagia* or *hemorrosogia* for the Greek *haimorragia* ('haemorrhage', 'loss of blood').[51] Although the Arabic word Mark translated in *De pulsu* is not the same as that in Sura 37, it does occur alongside the word *nazf*—the same root as the Qur'anic *yunzafūna*. Thus, while Robert once again gives a vague and imprecise rendition of a passage requiring medical learning, Mark's sophisticated translation shows an indisputable link between his earlier translation work on the pulse and his Latin Qur'an.

In Sura 25, Mark again demonstrates his knowledge of medical terminology and his tendency to utilise this learning in his translation of the Qur'an:

Q. 25:47	
wa-huwa'lladhī jaʿala lakum al-layla libāsan wa'l-nawma subātan wa-jaʿala al-nahāra nushūrā	
YA	*And He it is Who makes the Night as a Robe for you; and Sleep as Repose and makes the Day [as it were] a Resurrection.*
RK	[35:69–71:] *Idem etiam noctem coopertorium, et somnum, diem expergefactum, et motum statuit.*
	[35:69–71:] *He also established night for you as a covering and sleep, and day, as awakened and roused.*
MT	*Et ipse quidem est qui posuit vobis noctem indumentum et sompnum quasi apoplexiam, et diem suscitacionem.*
	And He it is who made for you night as a covering and sleep as though [it were] apoplexy, and day as a resuscitation.

Mark translates the Arabic *subātan*, related to the word 'sabbath' and referring to rest, not with the Latinised form *sabbatum*, as would be expected, but with the medical term *apoplexia*. Here again, Robert of Ketton avoids all difficulties by omitting the word entirely. Mark, however, had encountered the word in Ḥunayn's translations of Galen's treatises on problematical movements and on the pulse, where it was used to render the Greek *ti kōmatōdes* ('some lethargic state'), describing a state of deep sleep or stroke, in some instances associated with epilepsy.[52] This passage is especially evocative for the way Mark approached the Qur'an: although he could have chosen to colour the verse with a religious shading, his experience with the medical use of the Arabic word encouraged him to adopt the language of a physician—and we may recall that Mark similarly used the adjective *apopleticus* (*sic*) to describe Muḥammad in his preface to the Qur'an.[53] Robert, on the other hand, although he used the word *apoplexia* in his translation of al-Kindī's *De iudiciis*, refrained from employing it in his translation of this sura.

Several passages in Mark of Toledo's translation show in their utilisation of medical terminology a strong connection with his description of the life of Muḥammad in the prologue. In Sura 68, Mark employs the term *maniacus* ('maniac', 'suffering from mania') in translating the Arabic *majnūn* (lit., 'possessed by a *jinn*', in common parlance 'mad' or 'suffering from mania'):[54]

Q. 68:51–2	
wa-yaqūlūna innahu la-majnūn wa-mā huwa illā dhikrun li'l-ʿālamīn	
YA	*and they say: 'Surely he is possessed!' But it is nothing less than a Message to all the worlds.*
RK	[78:36–7:] *sed nuncium daemoniacum, cum non sit nisi doctor gentium, appellant*
	[78:36–7:] *but they call him a demonic messenger, even though he is nothing less than a teacher of the nations.*
MT	*Et dicebant: 'Maniacus est'. Et non est nisi memoria gentibus.*
	And they said: 'He is a maniac'. And he is nothing less than a reminder to the nations.

Mark's rendition of *majnūn* as *maniacus* in this passage not only corresponds to the *mania* mentioned in Mark's prologue, but also underlines Mark's tendency to view

Islam—its genesis, its founder, and its teachings—through the lens of a physician.[55] Ulisse Cecini has rightly drawn attention to Mark's method of consistently translating Arabic roots, preferably by using Latin calques.[56] For example, Mark emulated the Arabic root system in translating the words *al-raḥmān* and *al-raḥīm*, both derivative of the root *r-ḥ-m*, as *misericors* and *miserator* (Q. 1:1). Thus, it is all the more striking that, in this instance, it is Robert of Ketton, not Mark of Toledo, who follows the etymological route by consistently translating *majnūn*, which is related to *jinn*, as *daemoniacus* or *diabolicus* ('demonic' or 'diabolical'). To be sure, there are a few passages where Mark also employs this strategy,[57] but in the opening of Sura 68, by contrast, his translation of *majnūn* with the Latin verb *delirare* ('to be delirious') recalls his use of the word in his preface:[58]

Q. 68:1–2	
nūn wa'l-qalami wa-mā yasṭurūn mā anta bi-niʿmati rabbika bi-majnūnin	
YA	*Nun. By the Pen and by the [Record] which [men] write—Thou art not, by the grace of thy Lord, mad or possessed.*
RK	[78:2–4:] *Per calamum et lineas atque scriptum, tu non es nisi Dei nuncius habitus optimi, mercedem maximam inde sumpturus, non magus, non daemoniacus.*
	[78:2–4:] *By the reed-pen, and the lines, and the writing: you are nothing less than the messenger of God, in excellent condition, due to receive the greatest reward for it—not a mage, nor a demoniac.*
MT	*Per piscem et calamum et scripturas! Non deliras in beneficio creatoris tui.*
	By the fish, and the reed-pen, and the scriptures! You are not delirious, by the grace of your creator.

The connection between Mark's rendition here and his depiction of the life of Muḥammad in the preface becomes even more suggestive when one considers the full import of the Qur'anic passage, in which the Prophet is reassured that, contrary to accusations the people may level at him for suffering from madness, he does, in fact, receive true revelations. Yet, in the preface, Mark had suggested that the disjointed language of the Qur'an, resembling that of someone suffering delirium (*loquitur sicut qui delirat … morem gerebat accutam pascientibus in passione delirantibus ex pertubacione mentis*), was related to Muḥammad's ruse to feign angelic visitation by imitating the behaviour of epileptics.[59] Mark's choice of the word *delirare* here thus effectively undercuts the very claim of the Qur'anic passage.

Similarly, Mark's translation of the Arabic *fī ghamarāt al-mawt* (lit. 'in the floods of death', 'in the mortal throes') with *in extasi mortis* ('in the trance state of death') in Sura 6 recalls his phrasing in the preface:

Q. 6:93	
wa-law tarā idh al-ẓālimūna fī ghamarāti'l-mawti wa'l-malāʾikatu bāsiṭū aydiyahim akhrijū anfusakum	
YA	*If thou couldst but see how the wicked [do fare] in the flood of confusion at death!— the angels stretch forth their hands, [saying] 'Yield up your souls'.*
RK	[15:142–3:] *Quid si in mortis articulo, angelosque manus eorum tenentes, et taliter alloquentes eos uideretis?*
	[15:142–3:] *What if you could see them, in the moment of death, the angels holding their hands, and addressing them thus?*
MT	*Et si videres in extasi mortis iniuriosos et angelos extendentes eis manus, ut animas ipsorum extraherent eis comminantes.*
	And if you could see the wicked ones in the trance state of death, and the angels stretching out their hands to them, threatening to draw out their souls from them.

The Qur'anic passage describes how evildoers will be brought to account for their deeds at the moment of their passing, when they will be visited by the angels of death. In his preface, Mark had claimed that Muḥammad told his followers that his episodes, which resembled epileptic fits, were in fact angelic visitations, in which he was situated in the no-man's land between consciousness and unconsciousness, *in extasi positum* ('situated in trance state').[60] Again, by using the same terminology in his preface and in his translation, Mark reinforced his interpretation of the genesis of the Qur'an.

This intricate interplay between Mark's language in the preface and in his Latin translation of the Qur'an corresponds to another recently observed polemical tactic employed by him.[61] In his preface to the Latin Qur'an, Mark displays a predilection for the polemical etymology and aetiology, for example, by relating the Arabian city Mecca to the Latin word for adulteress (*mecha*), or by explaining the alternative appellation of the Qur'an—*al-furqān* ('the standard', i.e., for distinguishing between good and evil)—as the scripture 'distinct' from the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament.[62] Mark's use of polemic that begins at the word level demonstrates his sensitivity to the force of individual words to convey a broader polemical message.

For Mark, combating Islam, which he depicted as an 'unhealthy doctrine' (*non sana doctrina*) disseminated by a conman learned in medicine, required a physician: conveniently, someone just like Mark of Toledo. Through his narrative of the origins of Islam in the preface and the use of technical medical language in both this narrative and in related passages in his translation of the Qur'an, Mark designed a radical new approach to Christian polemic with Islam. The obvious religious dimensions of this enterprise are closely intertwined with an intellectual one, in which a Latin Christian physician sought to use his knowledge of medicine to reclaim a field of study dominated by Arabic texts, transmitted, and many of them written, by Muslims.

Mark was not alone in marrying religious polemic and technical scientific discourse. None other than Robert's companion and fellow scholar, Hermann of Carinthia, marshalled his astrological learning to engage in anti-Islamic polemic. In his astrological treatise *De essentiis* ('On essences') (538/1143), he claimed that even the Muslim astrologer Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Balkhī Abū Maʿshar admitted that Christ's virgin birth had been foretold by celestial portent and argued for the influence of celestial bodies such as Mars and Venus on Muhammad's alleged violence and lasciviousness.[63] Another contemporary, William of Conches (*c.* 542–544/1147–1149), adduced in his discussion of the earth's suspension the example of the so-called 'floating tomb of Muḥammad'—a legend, according to which Muḥammad's casket was suspended in mid-air using magnets, that became a widespread motif in polemical Latin lives of Muḥammad.[64]

Conclusion

By comparing Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo's Latin renditions of the Qur'an with their earlier translations of technical treatises, correspondences emerge that demonstrate that both scholars, rather than working in a vacuum, brought their previous work to bear on their Qur'anic translations. Moreover, by juxtaposing both translations of the Qur'an, each translator's preference for technical language relating to his specific field of expertise is brought into focus. Whereas Robert prioritised specificity in rendering passages of astronomical and astrological import, he neglected to apply the same standard when it came to passages belonging to different fields, such as medicine; the same, but inverted, pattern holds true for Mark's approach to Qur'anic verses dealing with physical ailments.

This paper represents a preliminary effort and more work needs to be done in tracing the relationship between Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo's scientific activities and their understanding of the Qur'an. What has become clear, however, is that these first Latin translations cannot be properly understood without taking into account the full intellectual context of the translators. In fact, some passages are wholly incomprehensible without closely examining these authors' translations of

scientific works. Moreover, the connections between each scholar's body of work demonstrate the need for a more comprehensive approach to medieval translations. José Martínez Gázquez highlighted some time ago the importance of the siege terminology Robert of Ketton employed in his preface, and more recently, Thomas Burman has demonstrated definitively the significance of *tafsīr* for Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo's understanding of the Qur'an.[65] Indeed, Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo were influenced by various types of discourse. It only makes sense, therefore, to take them seriously when they emphasise their scientific expertise in their prefaces to the Qur'an.

Our findings may allow us to qualify Thomas Burman's observation that premodern Latin Qur'an translators, rather than dedicating themselves to distorting the Qur'an, went to 'great lengths to get across what they (often mistakenly) see as the meaning of the text'.[66] It is true that, taking each passage in isolation, Robert of Ketton and Mark of Toledo's finetuning of their translations to their respective field of expertise hardly crosses the threshold of polemical distortion. Yet while Robert of Ketton's translation does not, on the whole, evince a coherent attempt to connect his astronomical and astrological learning to a polemical programme (as, for example, his colleague Hermann of Carinthia had done in several passages of his astrological treatise), Mark of Toledo warrants renewed consideration as a polemical translator. In his lengthy preface to the translation, Mark established a deeply polemical interpretative framework that related organically to his field of expertise. Viewed against the backdrop of his self-promotion as a scholar of medicine and his portrayal of Islam as a pathology, Mark's privileging of the medical register in translating the Qur'an assumes a significance surpassing that of simple 'code switching' and moving into the sphere of polemical activity. This subtle combination of recontextualisation and a kind of 'philological polemic' enabled Mark to guide his readers toward a hostile reading of the Qur'an without substantially altering the text itself. Importantly, however, this polemical strategy did not consist solely in an external framework imposed upon the text, but also involved the translation of individual words in ways that recalled Mark's polemical narrative of the nature and genesis of the Qur'an.

Finally, the current inquiry may also help lift the veil on the elusive question of the broader cultural import of these Latin translations of the Qur'an. From Robert of Ketton's perspective, at least, it appears that he envisioned an audience that was, like himself and his close associate Hermann of Carinthia, trained in scientific texts—in other words, the *diligentissime diligentibus* ('most diligent aficionados') he referred to in the preface to his Latin Qur'an. This observation could bolster a hypothesis espoused by John Tolan, who suggested that Peter the Venerable's polemical project against Islam may have been directed to a learned Latin Christian

elite in danger of apostatising through prolonged exposure to Islamic thought.[67] Mark of Toledo, on the other hand, used his preface to provide his readership with all the necessary information to be able to understand his 'physician's approach' to the Qur'an and to the Prophet of Islam. His intellectual authority, therefore, did not rely on an expert readership, but merely required readers who knew enough about the science of medicine to value one who had mastered it.

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NOTES

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2 For standard introductions to these translation movements, see: Haskins, *The Renaissance*; d'Alverny, 'Translations and Translators'; Jolivet, 'The Arabic Inheritance'; Gutas, 'What was there in Arabic'; Hasse, 'The Social Conditions'; Burman, 'The Cultures and Dynamics'; Burnett, 'Translation and Transmission'.

3 These translations are particularly associated with the circle of Pisan scholars Burgundio of Pisa, Leo Tuscus, and Hugh Eteriano.

4 See the ongoing project, 'The Latin Talmud and Its Influence on Christian-Jewish Polemic' (LATTAL). For a description: Fidora, 'The Latin Talmud'.

5 For overviews of the little evidence regarding the life and career of Robert of Ketton, see Burnett, 'Ketton, Robert of'; Burman, *Reading the Qur'an*, pp. 15–16; de la Cruz Palma and Ferrero Hernández, 'Robert of Ketton'; Cecini, *Alcoranus latinus*, pp. 85–86.

6 A selection of the Arabic original and Robert of Ketton's Latin translation of *De iudiciis* has been edited in Charles Burnett in Bos and Burnett, *Scientific Weather Forecasting*, pp. 397–405.

7 For this collection of texts, previously somewhat misleadingly dubbed the 'Toledan Collection', see Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*; Martínez Gázquez and de la Cruz Palma, 'Las traducciones impulsadas'; Tolan, *Saracens*, ch. 6.

8 Robert gave the chronicle the polemical title *Chronica mendosa et ridicula Sarracenorum* ('Mendacious and ridiculous chronicle of the Saracens'), although in the earliest extant manuscript (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 162) it appears, along with the two works translated by Hermann of Carinthia (the *Liber de generatione Mahumet* and the *Liber de doctrina Mahumet*) as the *Fabulae Sarracenorum* ('Fables of the Saracens'). A critical edition of the *Chronica mendosa* is being prepared by Óscar de la Cruz Palma.

9 For the Latin and a German translation, see Peter the Venerable, *Schriften zum Islam* ed. and tr. Glei; for an English translation, see Peter the Venerable, *Writings against the Saracens*, tr. Resnick.

10 Martín Duque, 'El Ingles Roberto'.

11 For the life of Mark of Toledo, see d'Alverny and Vajda*, Marc de Tolède*; d'Alverny, 'Marc de Tolède'; Burman, 'Mark of Toledo'; *Alchoranus latinus*, ed. Petrus Pons, pp. XXVII–XXXVII.

12 D'Alverny and Vajda, *Marc de Tolède*, pp. 16–17. See for a parallel edition of Ḥunayn's Arabic and Mark's Latin, Mark of Toledo, *De motibus*, ed. Nutton, pp. 178–249.

13 In the preface to his translations on the pulse, Mark claims to have made a new translation of this text, based on a more complete version (Cecini, *Alcoranus latinus*, p. 105). The work had first been translated in the fifth/eleventh century, possibly by Constantine the African: Newton, 'Constantine the African and Monte Cassino'. Marie-Térèse d'Alverny and Georges Vajda suggested (d'Alverny and Vajda, *Marc de Tolède*, pp. 111–112) that this different version of the text used by Mark may be related to a Latin translation in Erfurt produced in Spain.

14 Robert of Ketton, *Dedicatory Letter to Peter the Venerable*, in Cecini, *Alcoranus latinus*, pp. 92–93. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own.

15 See Hermann of Carinthia, *De essentiis*, p. 28.

16 Robert of Ketton, *De iudiciis*, prologue 2–4, in Cecini, *Alcoranus latinus*, p. 87.

17 For a fuller discussion of this text, see Bos and Burnett, *Scientific Weather Forecasting*.

18 Robert of Ketton, *De iudiciis*, prologue ll. 2–4, in Cecini, *Alcoranus latinus*, p. 87.

19 In the quoted passage from the preface to the *De iudiciis*, Robert references only the 'effects' of the stars but compare elsewhere in his translation of the *De iudiciis*, at chapter 106

in Burnett, *De iudiciis* (=MS Oxford, Digby 51, f. 59v), where Robert similarly refers to both the 'effects and natures of the stars': *Notandum tandem rerum habitus et affectiones ex stellarum naturis et alterationibus procedere.* I am grateful to Charles Burnett for supplying me with a portion of his unpublished critical edition of the Latin translations of al-Kindi's *Kitāb al-Mudkhal fī aḥkām ʿilm al-nujūm* by Robert of Ketton and Hugh of Santalla. My references to Robert of Ketton's translation are to the chapters in this edition as well as to MS Oxford, Digby 51, the earliest manuscript witness of this text.

20 The earliest instance of this trope in Christian polemic against Islam occurs in Theophanes the Confessor, whose chronicle was widely available in Europe in Anastasius the Librarian's Latin translation. For the Latin and an English translation, see Yolles and Weiss, *Medieval Latin Lives*, pp. 15–21; for a discussion of the passage, see Tolan, *Saracens*, pp. 64–67; for a broader discussion of the trope and its use by Mark of Toledo, see Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 47–53.

21 So observed Cecini, *Alcoranus latinus*, p. 117.

22 Mark of Toledo, *Preface to the Qur'an*, ll. 75–85, in *Alchoranus latinus*, ed. Petrus Pons.

23 D'Alverny and Vajda, *Marc de Tolède*, p. 123; Starczewska, 'Muḥammad's Portrait'. Mark likely did not rely on Ps.-Hippocrates' famous treatise *On the Sacred Disease*, as has been suggested, since this text did not circulate in the Latin West until the Renaissance. Instead, Mark may have relied upon other works, such as the Ps.-Hippocratean *Liber Aphorismorum*, known in the Latin West at least since Jerome and Augustine and newly translated in the twelfth/sixth century. The fifth section of this treatise, which typically followed Ḥunayn's *Isagoge* in the Latin curriculum, deals with epilepsy. On this work, see Kibre, *Hippocrates latinus*, pp. 29–33.

24 Mark of Toledo, *Preface to the Qur'an*, ll. 136–138, in *Alchoranus latinus*, ed. Petrus Pons: *Ysmaelite vero ... propter defformitatem vel sterilitatem vel lepram vel maniam vel yirchum vel polipum* [*dimittunt uxores*].

25 Mark of Toledo, *Preface to the Qur'an*, ll. 144–151, *Alchoranus latinus*, ed. Petrus Pons.

26 The conventional classical meaning of the Latin idiom *morem gerere alicui* as 'to humour/accommodate someone' does not fit the context of Mark's passage here; instead, I have followed Ulisse Cecini in translating it as 'to act like' (Cecini, *Alcoranus latinus*, p. 195: 'Er verhielt sich dabei, wie'), as supported by Mark's use of the same idiom in translating Q. 18:55, where the classical meaning is similarly unsuited to the context and the same meaning of 'to act like' seems to apply.

27 For an example from Mark's translation of *De motibus liquidis*, see Mark of Toledo, *De motibus*, ed. Nutton, p. 243: *Et memini quorundam que infunduntur hominibus quando apoplexiam incurrunt.*

28 *De pulsu* (=Galen, *De pulsibus ad tirones*), MS Paris, Sorbonne 125, f. 125rb: *omnes ... pacientes ex acuta febricitabunt et fortassis eis accidit minor apoplexia* (Ar. *subāt*, Gr. *ti kōmatōdes*).

29 For examples, see Daniel, *Islam and the West*, pp. 77–81. Robert of Ketton had similarly described the Qur'an as 'vile, incoherent, and disjointed' (*vilem et dissolubilem ac incompaginatam materiam*) (Cecini, *Alcoranus latinus*, p. 87).

30 Mark of Toledo, *Preface to the Qur'an*, ll. 183 and 196, in *Alchoranus latinus*, ed. Petrus Pons.

31 Mark of Toledo, *Preface to the Qur'an*, l. 12, in *Alchoranus latinus*, ed. Petrus Pons.

32 Compare, for example, Robert's reference to *propugnacula*, 'ramparts', in his letter to Peter the Venerable (Robert of Ketton, *Dedicatory Letter to Peter the Venerable*, in Cecini, *Alcoranus*

latinus, p. 93) to his use of the same word in translating al-Kindī's chapter on siege warfare (MS Oxford, Digby 51, f. 68r).

33 Gázquez, 'El lenguaje de la violencia'.

34 Throughout, I use the Cairo 1924 edition of the Qur'an (henceforth abbreviated as Q).

35 Throughout, English translations of the Arabic Qur'an are taken from Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an* (henceforth abbreviated as YA).

36 In the absence of a critical edition of Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'an, I have relied upon the critical edition of Theodor Bibliander's Early Modern printed edition of the text in Lappin, *Alchoran latinus* (henceforth abbreviated as RK). Since Robert's subdivision of the suras in the Qur'an differs from the standard, I have indicated Robert's sura number along with the line numbers provided in Lappin's edition.

37 For Mark of Toledo's translation of the Qur'an, I refer to *Alchoranus latinus*, ed. Petrus Pons (henceforth abbreviated as MT).

38 On the different usages of the term *falak*, see Tzvi Langermann, 'Arabic Cosmology', p. 190. In his translation of *De iudiciis*, Robert likewise used *circulus* to render *falak*.

39 For a discussion of glosses clarifying the use of narrative voice in Robert's translation of the Qur'an, see Burman, *Reading the Qur'an*, pp. 68–69.

40 See, for example, Burnett, 'The *Sortes regis Amalrici*', p. 235.

41 See Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, ad loc.

42 See the commentary to Ibn Ezra, *Abraham Ibn Ezra*, ed. and tr. Sela, p. 120.

43 Robert of Ketton, *De iudiciis*, chapter 52, in Burnett, *De iudiciis* (=MS Oxford, Digby 51, f. 58r): *a mora autem ad ipsius* [=*Mercurii*] *cum sole coniunctionem, si retrogradus existat, iuventuti; demum directus existens ad ipsius moram, senectuti*; chapter 77 in Burnett, *De iudiciis* (=MS Oxford, Digby 51, f. 59r): *directus non retrogradus.* See also Robert of Ketton, *De iudiciis*, MS Oxford, Digby 51, f. 66r: *utrum retrograde an directe*.

44 This is a common interpretation in *tafsīr* (Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, ad loc.); alternatively, Mark may have read not *kunnas* but the Arabic root *k-n-ṣ*, which means 'to mock'.

45 Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an*, ad loc.

46 Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, 1.250: *caeli quibus adnuis arcem*; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.163: *quae pater ut summa vidit Saturnius arce*; *Metamorphoses*, 2.306: *summam petit arduus arcem*; *Tristia* 5.3.19: *aetheriae arces*.

47 See Burnett et al., 'Al-Kindi on Finding Buried Treasure', p. 89; Burman, *Reading the Qur'an*, p. 220 n. 102.

48 Compare the similar language used by Hermann of Carinthia to describe Ptolemy's *Planisphere* in Hermann of Carinthia, *De essentiis*, pp. 347–349: *omnium humanitatis studiorum summa radix et principium*.

49 Peter the Venerable, *Epistola de translatione sua* 2.22, in Peter the Venerable, *Schriften zum Islam*, ed. and tr. Glei: *multo pretio* ('at great expense').

50 For another connection between Mark's Latin Qur'an and his medical translations, note that Mark used *ulceratus* in *De motibus liquidis* (Mark of Toledo, *De motibus*, ed. Nutton, p. 247) to translate a putative earlier reading of the Arabic *qarḥ* (the same word in the cited Qur'anic verse) before correcting it to *vulneratus* to translate *jarḥ*. See Nutton's commentary on this.

51 Mark of Toledo, *De pulsu*, MS Paris, Sorbonne 125, f. 124ra: *imitatur nauseam ... et emorosogiam et fluxum sanguinis*. Mark translates Ar. *wa'l-ruʿāf wa'l-nazf* from Gr. *kai haimorragiais kai gynaikeiō rhō*. For the Greek, see Galen, *De pulsibus ad tirones*, ed. Kühn, chapter 11; for the Arabic, see Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb Jālīnūs*, ed. Sālim, p. 55.

52 For the passage in Galen's *On problematical movements*, see the Latin of Mark of Toledo with the corresponding Arabic of Ḥunayn in Mark of Toledo, *De motibus*, ed. Nutton, pp. 242–243: *Et memini quorundam que infunduntur hominibus quando apoplexiam* (Ar. *subāt*) *incurrunt*. For the passage in Galen's *On the pulse*, see Mark of Toledo's Latin in *De pulsu*, Paris, Sorbonne 125, f. 125rb: *omnes ... pacientes ex acuta febricitabunt et fortassis eis accidit minor apoplexia* (Ar. *subāt*, Gr. *ti kōmatōdes*); for the Greek, see Galen, *De pulsibus ad tirones*, ed. Kühn, c. 12; for the corresponding Arabic, see Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb Jālīnūs*, ed. Sālim, p. 74.

53 Mark of Toledo, *Preface to the Qur'an*, l. 81, in *Alchoranus latinus*, ed. Petrus Pons.

54 For background on the notion of the *majnūn* in an Islamic context and its relation to ancient medicine, see Dols, *Majnūn*.

55 Mark of Toledo, *Preface to the Qur'an*, l. 138, in *Alchoranus latinus*, ed. Petrus Pons.

56 Cecini, 'Main Features'.

57 See, e.g., Mark of Toledo, 2:275 and 26:27 for an etymological interpretation of *majnūn.*

58 Mark of Toledo, *Preface to the Qur'an*, l. 150, in *Alchoranus latinus*, ed. Petrus Pons: *in passione delirantibus*.

59 Mark of Toledo, *Preface to the Qur'an*, ll. 143–150, in *Alchoranus latinus*, ed. Petrus Pons.

60 Mark of Toledo, *Preface to the Qur'an*, l. 85, in *Alchoranus latinus*, ed. Petrus Pons.

61 Starczewska, 'Muḥammad's Portrait'.

62 Mark of Toledo, *Preface to the Qur'an*, ll. 19 and 70, in *Alchoranus latinus*, ed. Petrus Pons.

63 Tolan, 'Introduction', p. 11. For the relevant passages, see Hermann of Carinthia, *De essentiis*, ed. and tr. Burnett, pp. 80–82 and 167–169.

64 William of Conches, *A Dialogue*, p. 35. For this motif, see Ratkowitsch, 'Das Grab des Propheten'.

65 Martínez Gázquez, 'El lenguaje de la violencia'; Burman, *Reading the Qur'an*.

66 Burman, *Reading the Qur'an*, p. 29.

67 Tolan, *Saracens*, p. 160.