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# Between Exegesis and Linguistics: Ludovico Marracci's Latin Translation of the Qur'an

## 1 Introduction

Ludovico<sup>1</sup> Marracci (1612–1700), a regular cleric of the Order of the Mother of God, theologian, linguist and translator, lived and worked in the intellectually vibrant atmosphere of Rome in the second half of the 17th century. This period, known as Roman Orientalism, was marked by a flourishing exchange and study of Oriental texts and manuscripts.<sup>2</sup>

In this rich environment, Marracci embarked on a monumental enterprise that would secure his legacy: the translation of the Qur'an from Arabic into Latin.<sup>3</sup> His journey into the complexities of qur'anic translation began with the *tafsīr* of Ibn Abī Zamanīn and gradually expanded to include a vast array of Islamic sources, commentaries and exegetical materials. Marracci's translation process involved a laborious synthesis of profound exegetical insight and linguistic expertise. In his *Praefatio ad refutationem Alcorani*, Marracci described the painstaking process, which took over forty years; over the course of these decades, he translated the

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1 I use the name Ludovico, as Marracci is conventionally named in the historiography, although his handwritten signature cites the name Lodovico. For more detailed information on his life, see: Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, "Ludovico Marracci. La vita e l'opera," in *Il Corano: traduzioni, traduttori e lettori in Italia*, ed. Giuliano Zatti et al. (Milano: Centro Ambrosiano di documentazione per le religioni, 2000), 9–30; Lisa Saracco, "Marracci Ludovico," in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Encyclopædia Italiana, 2007), vol. 70, 700–702; Roberto Tottoli, "Ludovico Marracci," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History Vol. 9, Western and Southern Europe (1600–1700)*, ed. David Thomas and John A. Chesworth (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2017), 791–800.

2 Thomas E. Burman, *Reading the Qur'an in Latin Christendom 1140–1560* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Alexander Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters: Islam and the European Enlightenment* (Cambridge/London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2018); Federico Stella and Roberto Tottoli, eds., *The Qur'an in Rome. Manuscripts, Translations, and the Study of Islam in Early Modern Catholicism* (Leiden/Boston: De Gruyter, 2024).

3 Giuliano Zatti et al., eds., *Il Corano: traduzioni, traduttori e lettori in Italia* (Milano: Centro Ambrosiano di documentazione per le religioni, 2000); Maurice Borrmans, "Ludovico Marracci et sa traduction latine du Coran," *Islamochristiana* 28 (2002): 73–85; Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, "Ludovico Marracci e la conoscenza dell'Islam in Italia," *Campus Major* 6 (2004): 6–23; Gian Luca D'Errico, ed., *Il Corano e il Pontefice: Ludovico Marracci fra cultura islamica e Curia papale* (Roma: Carocci, 2015).

Qur'an four times, constantly refining his work in order to make an intrinsically untranslatable text comprehensible.<sup>4</sup>

The evolution of Marracci's translation can be traced thanks to the discovery in 2012, by Roberto Tottoli, of Marracci's personal manuscripts. Found on the premises, in Rome, of the Regular Clerics of the Mother of God, these manuscripts contain the first three versions of his Latin translation.<sup>5</sup> The first study of these manuscripts was carried out by Roberto Tottoli and Reinhold F. Glei and published in the book *Ludovico Marracci at Work. The Evolution of his Latin Translation of the Qur'an in the Light of His Newly Discovered Manuscripts*.<sup>6</sup> This research hypothesized the existence of a final manuscript, sent by Marracci to the printers as a model as a model for the printed version of his work. In October 2022, Sara Fani discovered this fourth and final version in the archives of the library of the Seminary of Padua, shedding further light on the evolution of Marracci's translation from the manuscripts to the printed edition.<sup>7</sup>

Marracci's translation of the Qur'an faced numerous editorial challenges that made it impossible to print in Rome, the heartland of the Catholic Church. Since 1559 the Qur'an had been included in various Roman editions of the *Index*

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<sup>4</sup> Ludovico Marracci, "Refutatio Alcorani. Praefatio," in Ludovico Marracci, *Alcorani textus universus* (Padova: Ex Typographia Seminarii, 1698), vol. 2, 7: "Illud unum explicita fronte affirmare possum, me in ea elucubranda omnem fidem, curam atque attentionem adhibuisse, et annorum supra quadraginta studium collocasse. Quo tempore quater Alcoranum in Latinum idioma ex correctissimis Arabum exemplaribus, praecipuorum illius expositorum subsidio converti, [...] semperque aliquid fuit quod vel adderem vel detraherem vel in melius commutarem. Et fortasse nunc etiam idem mihi continget, si quintam illius interpretationem tentarem." (I can expressly affirm that, I put all my faith, care, and attention into it, and I devoted more than forty years of study to it. During this period, I translated the Qur'an four times from the most accurate Arabic copies with the help of its best commentators, [...] and there was always something that I added or removed or changed for the better. Moreover, perhaps the same would happen now if I attempted a fifth translation).

<sup>5</sup> Roberto Tottoli, "New Light on the Translation of the Qur'an of Ludovico Marracci from His Manuscripts Recently Discovered at the Order of the Mother of God in Rome," in *Books and Written Culture of the Islamic world. Studies Presented to Claude Gilliot on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday*, ed. Andrew Rippin and Roberto Tottoli (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), 91–130.

<sup>6</sup> Reinhold F. Glei and Roberto Tottoli, *Ludovico Marracci at Work. The Evolution of his Latin Translation of the Qur'an in the Light of His Newly Discovered Manuscripts. With an Edition and a Comparative Linguistic Analysis of Sura 18* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2016).

<sup>7</sup> Sara Fani, "Printing the Qur'an in Rome: From the Typographia Medicea to Marracci's Paduan Edition," in *The Qur'an in Rome. Manuscripts, Translations, and the Study of Islam in Early Modern Catholicism*, ed. Federico Stella and Roberto Tottoli (Leiden/Boston: De Gruyter, 2024), 114. In my own PhD thesis, "The Theological Lexicon of Ludovico Marracci (1612–1700), Translator of the Qur'an into Latin" (PhD diss., Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", 2024), I present a philological reconstruction of the text of sura 5, based for the first time on all the versions of the translation, including the Paduan manuscripts.

*Librorum Prohibitorum*, and from 1600 the Congregation of the Holy Office forbade its publication in any language or form, a decree confirmed by Pope Alexander VII (1655–1667). However, publication was finally authorized after the intervention of Cardinal Gregorio Barbarigo (1625–1697), who had founded a seminary in Padua in 1670 with the intention of training new missionaries for the Islamic lands. This seminary was equipped with oriental typography, which facilitated the publication of Marracci's work.<sup>8</sup>

In 1698, Ludovico Marracci's *Alcorani textus universus* was published in two volumes by the presses of the seminary of Padua.<sup>9</sup> His translation is notable for being the last Latin translation of the Qur'an, closing the cycle of Latin translations of the Qur'an in the West. Moreover, the meticulous attention he paid to exegetical material and linguistic precision set a new standard for subsequent translations of the Qur'an into various modern languages. Marracci's work remains a cornerstone in the history of qur'anic translation.<sup>10</sup>

## 2 Exegetical Sources in Marracci's Translation Process

In 1648, Marracci began to collect sources for his Latin translation of the Qur'an.<sup>11</sup> As he explains in the preface, he used the libraries of several religious institutions: the Maronite College, San Lorenzo in Lucina (run by the Caracciolini Order), San

<sup>8</sup> On the Qur'an in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* see: Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters*, 236–7, note 87. See also Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (henceforth: BNCF), *Magl.* VIII, 572, letter 23 (21 October, 1684): letter from Marracci to Magliabechi on the difficulties of publishing the Qur'an in Rome; BNCF, *Magl.* VIII, 388, letter 1 (9 January, 1685), letter 54 (27 August, 1689): letters from which we can see that it was Magliabechi who introduced Marracci's work to Cardinal Gregorio Barbarigo, with whom Marracci had an epistolary exchange studied and used in Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters*, 44–74; on this, see also Giovanni Pizzorusso, "Ludovico Marracci tra ambiente curiale e cultura orientalistica a Roma nel XVII secolo," in *Il Corano e il Pontefice: Ludovico Marracci fra cultura islamica e Curia papale*, ed. Gian Luca D'Errico (Roma: Carocci, 2015), 91–118.

<sup>9</sup> Ludovico Marracci, *Alcorani textus universus* [...] (Padova: Ex Typographia Seminarii, 1698).

<sup>10</sup> Alexander Bevilacqua, "The Qur'an translations of Marracci and Sale," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 76 (2013): 93–130; Alastair Hamilton, "After Marracci: The Reception of Ludovico Marracci's Edition of the Qur'an in Northern Europe from the Late Seventeenth to the Early Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 20, no. 3 (2018), 175–92.

<sup>11</sup> Città del Vaticano, Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (henceforth: ACDF), *Decreta S.O.* 1648, f. 110v.; ACDF, *Decreta S.O.* 1651, f. 130v: reading licences issued to Marracci and deposited at the Holy Office.

Pietro in Montorio (which hosted the Amadists) and San Pancrazio (managed by the Discalced Carmelites).<sup>12</sup> In 1671, he obtained a single book from the Vatican Library: an elegant 16th-century Ottoman copy of the Qur'an.<sup>13</sup>

Among Marracci's materials in the Order's possession is a 1482 copy in Maghrebi script of the *tafsīr* by Ibn Abī Zamanīn.<sup>14</sup> This commentary on the Qur'an, which was very popular and widespread in the Iberian peninsula and was also available in an *aljamiado* version, was used by Moriscos from the 16th century onward.<sup>15</sup> It is plausible that this manuscript, together with other Arabic codices, was acquired by Cardinal Camillo Massimo (1620–1677) during his nunciature in Spain from 1653 to 1658 and then entered into his private collection in the library of the Pontifical Urban College of Propaganda Fide, from where Marracci borrowed it.<sup>16</sup> This hypothesis is supported by Marracci's preface, in which he states that he used for his translation not only the libraries of the Roman religious orders but also the private collections of Pietro della Valle (1586–1652), Abraham Ecchellensis (1605–1664) and Cardinal Camillo Massimo.<sup>17</sup>

Marracci claims to have studied “a very ancient codex in the library of His Eminence Cardinal Camillo de Maximis, now kept in the renowned library of the Pontifical Urban College of Propaganda Fide in Rome”,<sup>18</sup> elsewhere in his work he

<sup>12</sup> Ludovico Marracci, “Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani. Praefatio,” in Ludovico Marracci, *Alcorani textus universus* [ . . . ] (Padova: Ex Typographia Seminarii, 1698), vol. 1, 7. This work had been also published earlier separately: Ludovico Marracci, *Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani* (Roma: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1691). For further information see: Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1939), 445, note 2; Tottoli, “New light,” 114–17.

<sup>13</sup> Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (henceforth: BAV), MS Vat. Ar. 206. It was possible to recognize this copy from a request made by Marracci and documented in the Vatican Library, dated 20 July, 1671. For further information see: Glei and Tottoli, *Ludovico Marracci at Work*, 28–29.

<sup>14</sup> Roma, Archivio Ordine dei Chierici Regolari della Madre di Dio (henceforth: AOMD), MS B78.

<sup>15</sup> On Ibn Abī Zamanīn's *tafsīr* and its Morisco context see: Nuria De Castilla Muñoz, “La transmisión de textos entre los moriscos: dos copias del *tafsīr* abreviado de Ibn Abī Zamanīn,” *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 26 (2015): 147–61.

<sup>16</sup> Roberto Marzocchi, *Facere bibliothecam in domo. La biblioteca del Cardinale Carlo Camillo II Massimo (1620–1677)* (Verona: Bonato, 2008), 109–10.

<sup>17</sup> Marracci, “Prodromus. Praefatio,” 7.

<sup>18</sup> Ludovico Marracci, “Prodromus. Pars Prima. Appendix,” in Marracci, *Alcorani textus universus*, vol. 1, 36: “[ . . . ] in antiquissimo codice ex Bibliotheca Eminentissimi Cardinalis Camilli de Maximis, qui nunc in insigni Bibliotheca Sacri Collegii de Propaganda Fide Romae adservatur.”

confirms that this codex was previously in the Cardinal's private collection and later in the Library of Propaganda Fide.<sup>19</sup>

The Arabic codices of the Library of the Pontifical Urban College of Propaganda Fide were later incorporated into the Vatican Borgiani Collection and the Angelica Library. The Borgiani Arabic Collection also contains a group of homogeneous manuscripts of Spanish provenance: twenty codices characterized by their green parchment bindings. Giorgio Levi Della Vida pointed out that although these codices belong to different historical periods and have different contents, they have a certain homogeneity and give the impression of coming from the collection of the same owner, a Morisco.<sup>20</sup> It is therefore possible that the *tafsīr* in question belonged to this collection and that, instead of ending up in the Borgiani Arabic Collection in the Vatican, it remained on the bookshelves of Marracci's Order.

This *tafsīr* is crucial because it marks the beginning of Marracci's translation activity.<sup>21</sup> It is an abbreviated commentary that omits or summarizes certain verses and divides the qur'anic text into short passages with interpolated explanations. Marracci underlined the qur'anic passages and arranged the Latin translation alongside, adding the numbers of the verses. Glei, who was the first to study Marracci's Latin translation of the Qur'an, classified this initial translation as a 'working translation', corresponding to a decoding phase aimed at clarifying the sense and the meaning of the text.<sup>22</sup>

Marracci gradually produced a complete translation of the Qur'an into Latin, also adding marginal notes to it. This work, entitled *Mysterium Iniquitatis Revelatus sive Alcoranus Muhammedi Arabum Pseudoprophetae*, is very similar to the previous manuscript based on Ibn Abī Zamanīn's text and uses the *tafsīr* by Jalāl ad-Dīn

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<sup>19</sup> Ludovico Marracci, "Prodromus. Pars Secunda," in Marracci, *Alcorani textus universus*, vol. 1, 76: "In quodam Codice manuscripto perantiquo Bibliotcae Eminentissimi Cardinalis Camilli de Maximis, qui nunc in Bibliotheca S. Collegii de Propaganda Fide adservatur." (In a certain ancient manuscript codex in the library of His Eminence Cardinal Camillo Massimo, which is now kept in the library of the Pontifical Urban College of Propaganda Fide).

<sup>20</sup> Giorgio Levi della Vida, "Manoscritti arabi di origine spagnola nella Biblioteca Vaticana," *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda a Bibliotheca Apostolica edita* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1962), vol. 2, 150: "[. . .] è ovvia la congettura che quel possessore fosse un Morisco, il quale abbia voluto o dovuto disfarsi dei suoi libri, sia per essersi convertito alla fede cristiana sia per aver preso la via dell'esilio." (It is an obvious conjecture that the owner was a Morisco, who wanted or had to get rid of his books, either because he had converted to Christianity or because he had gone into exile).

<sup>21</sup> AOMD, MSS B69, B70.

<sup>22</sup> Glei and Tottoli, *Ludovico Marracci at Work*, 135.

al-Mahalli and Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī, known as *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (i.e. the *tafsīr* of the two Jalāl), for the marginal notes.<sup>23</sup>

Among Marracci's materials held by the Order, there is a copy of the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*.<sup>24</sup> According to Levi Della Vida's reconstruction, this manuscript was copied from a *tafsīr* that had belonged to the Scottish traveller George Strachan (1572–1635), who had donated it to the Order of the Discalced Carmelites in 1621. Marracci consulted and copied it in the Carmelite monastery in Rome on July 1st, 1651, as attested in the copy still kept by his Order.<sup>25</sup>

In a later manuscript, Marracci translated the qur'anic text into Latin without the Arabic text but with notes and refutations.<sup>26</sup> This manuscript has completely different characteristics. It can be defined as a 'documentary' translation. It conveys not only the content but also some formal, linguistic and prosodic aspects of the original text. It represents a transcoding phase in which the author has mastered the meaning of the text and incorporated deeper exegetical knowledge and linguistic considerations.<sup>27</sup>

The final manuscript translation, sent to the printers for publication, is preserved in the library of the Padua Seminary; this five-volume manuscript contains the Latin translation, notes, refutations, and annotations on the approval and concession of the *imprimatur*. A peculiarity of the text is the presence of two courses of corrections. The first set, in Marracci's own hand, consists of changes made during the copying process, suggesting that Marracci continued to revise the text until the end. The second set, which appears to have been added later during a subsequent reading, also seems to be Marracci's work, as it bears his distinctive handwriting and style.<sup>28</sup>

In his letters to the Florentine bibliophile Antonio Magliabechi (1633–1714), Marracci expressed his disappointment with the outcome of the publication due to various changes made during the printing process.<sup>29</sup> Although he pointed out questionable pages, there are no significant differences between the Padua manuscript and the final printed edition except for the second set of corrections, which

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<sup>23</sup> AOMD, MS B65.

<sup>24</sup> AOMD, MS B74.

<sup>25</sup> Levi Della Vida, "Manoscritti arabi di origine spagnola," 144–45; Tottoli, "New Light," 105–106.

<sup>26</sup> AOMD, MS B66.

<sup>27</sup> Glei and Tottoli, *Ludovico Marracci at Work*, 42.

<sup>28</sup> Archivio del Seminario Maggiore di Padova (henceforth: ASP), MS 497.

<sup>29</sup> BNCF, *Magl.* VIII, 572, letter 65, (2 May, 1699). For more information on the correspondence, see Bevilacqua, *The Republic of Arabic Letters*, 44–74.

the edition incorporates. A study is currently underway to determine whether the corrections were made by Marracci or by the reviser of the work, Timoteo Agnelli, formerly Ȧumaylī ibn Da'fī Karnūsh (d. 1724), a Syriac Orthodox Christian from Diyarbakir who taught at the seminary in Padua and revised Marracci's work before it was printed. Nevertheless, the edition as a whole is the culmination of the process of linguistic revisions, achieved by Marracci after years of study and an increasing use of exegetical sources.

Marracci's edition is interpolated with the commentator's explanations in italics, with definitions and circumlocutions in brackets. Carlo Alfonso Nallino has identified the names of the Muslim scholars and manuscripts consulted by Marracci.<sup>30</sup> Some parts of these works are kept in a composite codex of various writers and copyists housed at the Order.<sup>31</sup> The five commentaries to which Marracci refers in the text, with the Latin transliteration of their names, are: *Beidavius* (al-Baydāwī), *Gelaleddinus* (Jalāl ad-dīn as-Suyūtī), *Jahias filius Salam* (Ibn Abī Zamanīn), *Thalebiensis* (ath-Thālabī) and *Zamchaserius* (az-Zamakhsharī). Other sources he used are: *Albocharius* where Marracci refers to the canonical collection *Sahīh al-Bukhārī*; *Albacarius*, which is the way he calls the 'Book of Lights', *Kitāb al-anwār fī mawlid an-nabī* of al-Bakrī. Among the apologetic sources and those regarding the history of Christianity, the most cited is *Ahmedus filius Abdolhalimi* or Ibn Taymiyya, and his work *Al-jawāb al-ṣahīh li-man baddala dīn al-Masīh* (The Sound Reply to Those who Altered the Messiah's Religion). These are followed by *Masaudius* or al-Mas'ūdī and *Ismael filius Aly* or *Ismael Sciahinsciah*, where Marracci refers to Abū l-Fidā' and his universal history, *Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* (Abridgment of the History of Mankind).<sup>32</sup> His use of a considerable number of original sources was one of the significant features of his work, and the reason why his work is still consulted, appreciated and valued.

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<sup>30</sup> Carlo Alfonso Nallino, "Le fonti arabe manoscritte dell'opera di Ludovico Marracci sul Corano," in *Raccolta di scritti editi e inediti*, vol. 2. *L'Islam, Sufismo, confraternite*, ed. Maria Nallino (Roma: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1940), 98–107.

<sup>31</sup> AOMD, MS B76.

<sup>32</sup> Giuseppe Rizzardi, "Il modello controversistico di Ludovico Marracci," in *Il Corano, traduzioni, traduttori e lettori in Italia*, 81–109; for the list of sources, 90–91. On the transmission of *Kitāb al-anwār* of Abū al-Hasan al-Bakrī see Roberto Tottoli, "Le molteplici forme di un testo: Ludovico Marracci e la trasmissione del *Kitāb al-anwār* di Abū al-Hasan al-Bakrī," in *Studi Arabistici in memoria di Anna Paganini*, ed. Stefania Bertonati, Mirella Cassarino and Roberto Tottoli (Napoli: UniorPress, 2023), 443–70.

### 3 Linguistic Features of Marracci's Translation

His deepening understanding of the Qur'an and its exegetical material led Marracci to undertake a scrupulous linguistic revision of the translation he had made. The aim was to faithfully capture the linguistic nuances of the original text. Taking advantage of the flexibility and precision of Latin, he approached translation as a balance between preserving the integrity of the source language and ensuring clarity and accuracy in conveying its meaning.<sup>33</sup>

In his preface, Marracci explicitly distanced himself from the prevailing translation practices of his time, particularly those influenced by Jerome's Latin translation of the Bible, which often prioritized conveying the meaning of the text over its literal rendering. His choice to produce a literal translation instead is akin to throwing a veil of *Latinitas* over the Arabic *corpus*. In doing so, he demonstrated not only his outstanding linguistic and translatological skills and expertise, but also his deep knowledge of the religious and cultural realm with which he was dealing.<sup>34</sup> He himself explains that the Arabs venerate not only the content of the text but also every single character in it. The focus of the translation is therefore not only the message transmitted by the words, but also the value of the words themselves as an integral part of the revelation.<sup>35</sup>

Marracci's precise approach extended beyond linguistic fidelity to graphic representation. He incorporated features typical of qur'anic manuscripts, such as decoration with rosettes, the traditional division of the text into thirty equal parts and the translation of the so-called Mysterious Letters that appear at the beginning of 29 chapters of the Qur'an. He also left certain Arabic terms, like *sūra*, untranslated, preserving their original form and meaning. The decision to put the Arabic

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<sup>33</sup> Reinholt F. Glei, "Arabismus latine personatus. Die Koranübersetzung von Ludovico Marracci (1698) und die Funktion des Lateinischen," *Jahrbuch für Europäische Wissenschaftskultur* 5 (2009): 93–115; Reinholt F. Glei, "(Neo-)Latin as a Meta-Language," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 63 (2014): 3–25.

<sup>34</sup> Marracci, "Refutatio Alcorani. Praefatio," 12: "Huic vero latinam interpretationem e regione subieci, verbo tenuis, et ad literam, quantum fieri potuit, expressam, qua in re minus elegans, minusque latinus, ne dicam aliquantulum barbarus censeri malui, quam exacti Interpretis fidei vel tantillum deesse." (But to this [to the Arabic text] I have added the Latin translation made *verbatim*, that is word-for-word, as far as I was able to do so. It was my intention rather to be criticized as less elegant and less Latin, to say nothing of a bit barbarous, than to lose even a bit of the faithfulness of the rigorous translator).

<sup>35</sup> Marracci, "Refutatio Alcorani. Praefatio," 13: "Arabes non solum sententias, sed etiam verba, et characteres, et apices ipsos in Alcorano venerantur." (The Arabs venerate not only the content of the Qur'an, but also the words, the characters and even the punctuation itself). With the word *apices* Marracci means not only punctuation marks but also reading and recitation signs.

text alongside the translation underlines Marracci's view of the latter not as an isolated entity, but as a scholarly tool to be studied alongside the original. This choice reflects Marracci's commitment to facilitating a deep engagement with the Qur'an within its linguistic and cultural framework.

Marracci's role as a translator embodied an unwavering commitment to linguistic precision and scholarly rigour. Before embarking on the translation of the Qur'an, he chaired, on behalf of Innocent XI, a distinguished committee of experts that included Antonio dell'Aquila of the Order of Friars Minor, Bartolomeo Lancia Pettorano of the Order of Friars Minims, Filippo Guadagnoli of the Clerics Regular Minor (who died before the task was completed), and the Jesuits Giovanni Battista Giattini and Athanasius Kircher. This illustrious committee was charged with the monumental task of translating the Lead Books of the Sacromonte (Granada) from Arabic into Latin.<sup>36</sup>

Each member of the committee meticulously translated the text individually, then working together they synthesized these translations into a single draft. Marracci took on the key role of director, overseeing the refinement of the final version. This definitive translation, approved by the Roman Church, was entitled *Interpretatio laminarum Granatensium Romana ordine pontificio fideliter facta*. In this monumental work, Marracci adhered to the same principles that characterized his translation of the Qur'an: a commitment to literal translation, exemplified by the term *fideliter*, and a dedication to rendering Latin accessible and faithful to the original text.<sup>37</sup>

Marracci's scholarly pursuits extended beyond translation, moreover, as indicated by his seminal work, the *Disquisitio laminarum Granatensis*. This comprehensive commentary, preserved in the archives of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in two versions – a draft dated 1666 and the official copy submitted to

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36 For a comprehensive historical, religious, and cultural contextualization of the event see: Manuel Barrios Aguilera and Mercedes García-Arenal, eds., *Los plomos del Sacromonte. Invención y tesoro* (Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de València; Zaragoza: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Zaragoza; Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2006); Manuel Barrios Aguilera, *La invención de los libros plombeos: fraude, historia y mito* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2011); Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español. Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2010); Eng. tr.: Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain. Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism*, trans. Consuelo López Morillas (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013). Critical edition and English translation: Pieter Sjoerd van Koningsveld and Gerard Albert Wiegers, *The Lead Books of the Sacromonte and the Parchment of the Torre Turpiana: Granada, 1588–1606. General Introduction, Critical Edition, and Translation*, (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2024).

37 ACDF, St. St., R7g.

the Inquisition in 1669 – offered an accurate analysis of the linguistic and doctrinal discrepancies in the Lead Books, highlighting their deviations from the *vera fides*.<sup>38</sup>

Marracci attempted to show that some of the content of the *Laminae* came from the Qur'an and other Islamic sources by comparing selected passages from the Latin translation of the *Laminae* with his Latin translation of the Qur'an. The final judgement came on 6 March 1682, when Pope Innocent XI, whose confessor was Ludovico Marracci, condemned the contents of the Lead Books, stating that a significant part had been derived from the Qur'an.<sup>39</sup>

In the *Disquisitio*, Marracci also compiled a list of Arabic words with their Latin equivalents found in the Lead Books that had never been used by Christian Arabs, providing further evidence that the texts were of Muslim origin.<sup>40</sup> The Latin translation of these Arabic words was revised and changed in his Latin translation of the Qur'an. Although Marracci did not explicitly justify these changes in any commentary or related documents, these revisions can be documented, and plausible reasons for them can be considered. Firstly, Marracci's extensive use of exegetical materials significantly improved his understanding of qur'anic terms, allowing him to make more informed translation decisions. Secondly, Marracci's deep knowledge of Latin, encompassing both ecclesiastical documents and classical literature, enabled him to find more appropriate equivalents for Arabic words. His mastery of Latin is evident in his *Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani*, where he frequently cites both ecclesiastical documents and classical authors to refute the Qur'an and support his anti-Islamic arguments.<sup>41</sup>

Marracci's careful selection of Latin equivalents was not only a merely linguistic task but a profound theological and cultural endeavour. Each word carries

<sup>38</sup> ACDF, St. St., R6a; R7e. This work was mentioned for the first time in the article: Mercedes García-Arenal, "The Religious Identity of the Arabic Language and the Affair of the Lead Books of the Sacromonte of Granada," *Arabica* 56, (2009): 495–528. I am currently carrying out a study of it in order to produce an edition.

<sup>39</sup> ACDF, St. St., R7g, f. 315.

<sup>40</sup> ACDF, St. St., R7e, f. 17r: "His et aliis huiusmodi vocibus Alcoranus aliique Mahumetanorum libri referti sunt: Christiani Arabes vel nunquam, vel rarissime utuntur, et illis quidem paucis, ad usum et fortasse et commercium cum ipsis Mahumetanis, plerasque tamen tanquam impias ac profanas, et in odium Christianae religionis inventas refugint ac detestantur." (These and similar words are found in the Qur'an and in other Islamic books. The Christian Arabs never use them, or they use the few they have for everyday life and perhaps for trade with Muslims. But they shun and detest most of those ungodly and blasphemous words, which are uttered out of hatred for the Christian religion).

<sup>41</sup> Loriana Salierno, "The Role of Greek and Latin *Auctores* in Ludovico Marracci's *Alcorani Textus Universus*," in *The Qur'an in Rome. Manuscripts, Translations, and the Study of Islam in Early Modern Catholicism*, ed. Federico Stella and Roberto Tottoli (Leiden/Boston: De Gruyter, 2024), 413–31.

specific resonances and associations, and Marracci understood that his choices could significantly affect the reception and interpretation of the translated text. He chose words that would shape readers' understanding and perceptions, ensuring that the translated text was not only a faithful representation of the original but also a powerful tool for theological reflection and cultural engagement.<sup>42</sup>

A representative example, and the first term to appear in the list, is *al-masjid*, which comes from the root *s-j-d* meaning 'to prostrate oneself' or 'to perform an act of worship.' *Al-masjid* means a place of prostration, a structure intended for the communal prayers and religious activities of Muslims: namely, a mosque. This term is used in the Qur'an, for example in verses 2:144: *fa-walli wajha-ka shatra al-masjidi al-harāmi* (So turn your face to the Holy Mosque) and in 17:1: *subḥāna allādhī asrā bi-`abdi-hi laylā min al-masjidi al-harāmi ilā al-masjidi al-aqṣā* (Glory be to Him who carried His servant by night from the Holy Mosque to the farthest mosque).<sup>43</sup>

In the *Disquisitio*, Marracci translates *al-masjid* as *templum*.<sup>44</sup> The term *templum*, from the Greek word τέμενος (derived from τέμνω, meaning 'to cut off'), referred to any place separated from the rest of the land and intended for religious purposes involving the observation and interpretation of divine signs. As Varro explains (*ling. VII, 2*): *Templum locus augurii aut auspicii causa quibusdam conceptis verbis finitus* (a temple is a place defined by certain words chosen for the purpose of augury or auspices). Over time, the term *templum* came to include sacred buildings dedicated to various deities of the Roman pantheon (e.g., LIV. I, 12: *Hic ego tibi templum Statori Iovi, quod monumentum sit posteris [ . . . ] voveo* – here I dedicate a temple to you, Jupiter Stator, as a monument for future generations).<sup>45</sup>

In the Christian Scriptures, the concept of the *templum* moves from a physical place of worship, such as Solomon's Temple in Jerusalem (cf. 1 and 2 Kings, 2 Chronicles 3–4), to a spiritual symbol of the divine presence. When Jesus expels the merchants from the temple (as reported in Matthew 21:12–13, Mark 11:15–17, Luke 19:45–46 and John 2:13–16), this act becomes a call to purity of faith and

<sup>42</sup> ACDF, *Extravagantia* XXIV. These are miscellanea, in which Marracci responds to the censors who opposed the publication of his work. The author defends the legitimacy of his translation, which he sees as an instrument of doctrinal controversy.

<sup>43</sup> The translation of Q. 17:1 follows, with modifications ("farthest" instead of "further"): Arthur John Arberry, transl., *The Koran Interpreted*, 2 vols. (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1955), retrieved from [www.quran12-21.org](http://www.quran12-21.org), accessed August 2, 2024).

<sup>44</sup> ACDF, St. St., R7e, f. 16r.

<sup>45</sup> Latin authors are quoted according to the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Cfr. *Index librorum . . .* (Leipzig: In aedibus B.G. Teubneri, 1990). Online at: <https://thesaurus.badw.de/en/tll-digital/index-of-sources.html> (accessed August 2, 2024). Marcus Terentius Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, ed. Gustav Goetz and Franz Schoell (Leipzig: Teubner, 1910); Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, ed. Robert Maxwell Ogilvie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974).

authenticity in the lives of believers. The significance of *templum* is further elevated to a metaphor for the body of Christ, as seen in John 2:19–21: *Respondit Iesus et dixit eis: Solvite templum hoc et in tribus diebus excitabo illud. Dixerunt ergo Iudei: Quadraginta et sex annis aedificatum est templum hoc, et tu in tribus diebus excitabis illud? Ille autem dicebat de templo corporis sui* (Jesus answered and said unto them: Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up. Then said the Jews: Forty and six years was this temple in building, and wilt thou rear it up in three days? But he spake of the temple of his body). Believers are also considered temples of the Holy Spirit, as Paul writes in 1 Corinthians 3:16: *Nescitis quia templum Dei estis, et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis?* (Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?).<sup>46</sup>

However, Marracci opts not to use *templum* when translating *al-masjid* in the Latin Qur'an. Instead, he uses *fanum* as the primary rendering.<sup>47</sup> *Fanum*, derived from *fari*, meaning 'to speak' or 'to proclaim,' refers to any delimited place consecrated with a specific solemn formula (e.g., CIC. *de div.* I, 41: *In Persis augurantur et divinant magi, qui congregantur in fano commentandi causa atque inter se colloquendi* – in Persia, the magi practice augury and divination, gathering in a sacred place for the purpose of reflection and discussion among themselves).<sup>48</sup>

In the *Alcorani textus universus*, the term *fanum* is replaced by *oratorium*,<sup>49</sup> which is more closely associated with the act of prayer, derived from the verb *orare*, 'to pray'. *Oratorium* literally means 'place of prayer'. Du Cange, following a *Glossarium Graeco-Latinum*, explains it as Εὔητήριον, Οἶνος προσευχῆς, *locus, ubi orationes celebrare consueverunt Christiani* (a place of prayer, a house of prayer, a place where Christians are accustomed to celebrate prayers), and points out how this description corresponds to biblical references in Matthew 21:13 and Luke 19:46: *Domus mea, Domus orationis vocabitur* (my house shall be called a house of prayer).<sup>50</sup> Considering these nuances, *oratorium* emerges as the most appropriate translation of *al-masjid*, as it accurately conveys the primary function of the mosque as a place dedicated to prayer and worship.

<sup>46</sup> The Latin Bible has been quoted following Robert Weber et al., eds., *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem. Editionem quarta emendata* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994). The translations of John 2:19–21 and 1 Cor. 3:16 follow: *The Holy Bible: King James Version* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1769), online at: [www.bible.com/it/versions/1-KJV-king-james-version](http://www.bible.com/it/versions/1-KJV-king-james-version) (accessed September 13, 2024).

<sup>47</sup> AOMD, Ms. B65, f. 76.

<sup>48</sup> Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Divinatione*, ed. C. F. W. Müller (Leipzig: Teubner, 1915).

<sup>49</sup> Marracci, "Refutatio Alcorani," 193.

<sup>50</sup> Charles Du Fresne Du Cange et al., *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, ed. Léopold. Favre (Niort: L. Favre, 1883–87), on line at: <http://ducange.ens.sorbonne.fr> (accessed September 13, 2024).

Another significant example consists of the verbs *anzala* or *nazzala*, frequently used to indicate the gradual revelation of the Qur'an. For instance, in verse 17:106: *wa qur'ānan faraqnā-hu li-taqra'a-hū 'alā n-nāsi 'alā mukthīn wa nazzalnā-hu tanzīlān* (And a Qur'an We have divided, for thee to recite it to mankind at intervals; and We have sent it down successively). This gradual revelation occurred at specific moments, such as during the Night of Decree (or Power, ar. *laylat al-qadr*) and in Ramadan, as mentioned in verse 97:1: *Innā anzalnā-hu fī laylati l-qadr* (Behold, We sent it down on the Night of Power), and verse 2:185: *shahru ramadāna l-ladīhī unzila fī-hi l-qur'ānu hudan li-n-nāsi wa bayyinātīn mina l-hudā wa l-furqān* [. . .] (The month of Ramadan wherein the Qur'an was sent down to be a guidance to the people, and as clear signs of the Guidance and the Salvation). These verbs apply not only to the Qur'an but also to other sacred texts, such as the Torah and the Gospel, as illustrated in verse 3:3: *nazzala 'alayka l-kitābā bi-l-ḥaqqa muṣaddiqan li-mā bayna yaday-hi wa-anzala t-tawrātā wa-l-injīl* (He has sent down upon thee the Book with the truth, confirming what was before it, and He sent down the Torah and the Gospel).<sup>51</sup>

In his *Disquisitio*, Marracci translates *anzalnā* as *demittere*, and specifies: *Demittere e caelo sacros libros, praesertim Alcoranum* (to send down from heaven sacred books, especially the Qur'an). An example of the use of *demittere* in his translation is found in his verse 5:68 (= Q. 5:59): *Credimus in Deum, et in id, quod demissum est ad nos* (i.e., *Alcoranum*) *et in id, quod demissum fuit antea* (i.e., *Pentateuchum, o Evangelium*) (We believe in God and in that which has been sent down to us [i.e., the Qur'an] and in that which was sent down before [i.e., the Pentateuch or the Gospel]).<sup>52</sup>

In his translation of the Qur'an, Marracci occasionally uses the verb *revelare* to emphasize that divine revelation involves both a descent and an unveiling. In Christian Latin, this verb is often used to denote God's communication through the Scriptures, the prophets, and Christ, as seen for example, in Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* I, 19, 1): *Deus noster, etsi non ab initio, etsi non per conditionem, sed per semetipsum revelatus est in Christo Iesu* (Our God, although not from the beginning and not through creation, but through Himself, has been revealed in Christ Jesus).<sup>53</sup>

Generally, Marracci prefers to translate *anzala* and *nazzala* with the expression *descendere facere*. For example, in his 3:3 (= Q. 3:3–4): *Descendere fecit super te Librum cum veritate confirmantem id, quod traditum fuerat ante eum, et descendere*

<sup>51</sup> The translations of Q. 17:106; 97:1; 2:185; 3:3 follow, with modifications ("Qur'an" instead of "Koran"): Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, retrieved from [www.quran12-21.org](http://www.quran12-21.org) (accessed September 9, 2024).

<sup>52</sup> Marracci, "Refutatio," 227.

<sup>53</sup> Caius Tertullianus, *Adversus Marcionem*, ed. Ernest Evans (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954).

*fecerat Pentateuchum et Evangelium antea, directionem hominibus, et descendere fecerat Alphorcanum* (He made the Book descend upon you with the truth, confirming what was revealed before it, and He made the Torah and the Gospel descend before as a guidance for humanity, and He made the Criterion descend).<sup>54</sup>

The verb *descendere* is often associated with key Christian events such as the Incarnation of Christ and the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. This is evident in Augustine (*In Ev. Ioannis Tract. XI*, 8): *Deus voluit esse filius hominis, et homines voluit esse filios Dei. Ipse descendit propter nos, nos ascendamus propter ipsum* (God wanted to be the Son of Man, and He wanted that men become the children of God. He descended for us, we should ascend for Him) and in Tertullian (*Carn. IV*, 3): *Propter eum [hominem] descendit, propter eum praedicavit, propter eum omni se humilitate deiecit usque ad mortem, et mortem crucis* (For him (the man) He descended, for him He preached, for him He humbled Himself even to death, and death on a cross).<sup>55</sup>

In this case, as in others, the choice of terms in Marracci's Latin translation of the Qur'an reveals a rich variety of interpretation, offering nuanced translations that capture the complexity of meaning while maintaining accuracy.<sup>56</sup>

In selecting his translations, Marracci draws significantly from the exegetical material he consulted, with a notable emphasis on commentaries, particularly of the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*. This commentary played a crucial role in shaping his translations. Taking as an example *Sūrat al-Mā'ida*, Marracci translates the passage from verse 5:1: *Ūhillat lakum bah̄imatū l-an'ām illā mā yutlā 'alay-kum ghayra mūhillī ṣ-ṣaydi wa antum ḥurum* (Permitted to you is the beast of the flocks, except that which is now recited to you, so that you deem not game permitted to be hunted when you are in pilgrim sanctity) as: *Licitum est vobis brutum pecorum, praeterquam, quod legitur vobis illicitum venationis, cum vos estis in sacra peregrinatione.*<sup>57</sup> Marracci's choice to translate *bah̄imat al-an'ām* as *brutum pecorum* is supported by the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, which specifies that this term refers to camels, cattle, and sheep that can be consumed after slaughter.<sup>58</sup>

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54 Marracci, "Refutatio," 104.

55 Aurelius Augustinus, "Tractatus XI," in *In Ioannis Evangelium Tractatus CXXIV*, ed. Richard Willem (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), 120–30. Caius Tertullianus, *De Carne Christi*, ed. Ernest Evans (London: Oxford University Press, 1956).

56 I dedicated a chapter of my PhD thesis: Salierno, "The Theological Lexicon," to the linguistic analysis of the translation.

57 Marracci, "Refutatio," 192. The translation of Q. 5:1 follows Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, retrieved from [www.quran12-21.org](http://www.quran12-21.org) (accessed September 9, 2024).

58 Marracci, "Refutatio," 194: "Brutum pecorum, arabice *bah̄imat al-an'ām*, exponit Gelal. *al-ibil wa-l-baqar wa-l-ghanam* camelii, boves et oves, quae et alia huismodi, licet comedere. Prohibentur autem ea quae venando capta sunt in septis Meccanis, tempore peregrinationis." (*Brutum pecorum*,

Furthermore, this sura emphasizes the need to respect the symbols of God during the pilgrimage, including the sacred month, the sacrificial offerings, and the garlands. Marracci translates the related passage of verse 5:2: *Lā tuḥillū sha'ā'ir allāhi wa-lā-sh-shahra l-ḥarāma wa-lā-hadya wa-lā-l-qalā'īd* (Profane not God's way-marks nor the holy month, neither the offering, nor the necklaces), as: *ne licita faciatis sacraria Dei, [...] neque munus* (i.e. pecus quod defertur ad immolandum in Mecca), *neque appensoria* (i.e. ramos seu alia, quae appenduntur eidem pecori, ut fit securum in itinere) (Do not make lawful the sacred symbols of God, [...] nor the offering (i.e., the livestock brought to be sacrificed in Mecca), nor the garlands (i.e., branches or other items hung on the same livestock, so that it may be recognized as secure on the journey).<sup>59</sup> Marracci's translation of *al-hadya* as *munus* is influenced by the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, which explains that *al-hadya* refers to the moral obligation of bringing offerings to the sacred place as blessings to be presented to the deity.<sup>60</sup>

Another prominent example of Marracci's reliance on the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* is evident in his translation of the following passage of verse 5:3: *Al-yawma akmaltu la-kum dīna-kum wa-atmamtu 'alaykum ni'matī*. (Today I have perfected your religion for you, and I have completed My blessing upon you). This verse is considered one of the most important in the sura, as it is regarded by exegetes, including the *Tafsīr at-Ṭabarī* (VI, 80), as one of the last revelations received by Muhammad.<sup>61</sup> Marracci translates this verse as: *Hodie perfeci vobis religionem vestram et complevi super vos gratiam meam*.<sup>62</sup> His translation is based on the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, which

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in Arabic, *Bahimat al-an'ām* is explained by Gelal. *al-ibil wa-l-baqar wa-l-ǵanām* as the camels, oxen, and sheep which, together with other similar animals, are allowed to be eaten. However, those captured while hunting are prohibited in the Meccan boundaries during the pilgrimage). Cf. Jalāl ad-Dīn al-Mahallī and Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūtī, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1417/1997), retrieved from <https://shamela.ws/book/12876> (accessed September 10, 2024).

59 Marracci, "Refutatio," 192 (emphasis is present in Marracci's edition). The translation of Q. 5:2 follows Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, retrieved from [www.quran12-21.org](http://www.quran12-21.org) (accessed September 9, 2024).

60 Marracci, "Refutatio," 194: "Neque munus, arabice *al-hadya*. Erat ovis, quae ducebatur ad Meccam, ut ibi immolaretur, et foliis seu ramusculis arborum tanquam fertis ornabatur, ut quilibet agnosceret rem esse Deo dicatam." (*Neque munus*, in Arabic *al-hadya*. It was a sheep that was taken to Mecca to be sacrificed there, and it was adorned with leaves or small branches of trees, so that everyone would recognize it as something dedicated to God). Cf. al-Mahallī and as-Suyūtī, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, retrieved from <https://shamela.ws/book/12876> (accessed September 10, 2024).

61 The translation of Q. 5:3 follows Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted*, retrieved from [www.quran12-21.org](http://www.quran12-21.org) (accessed September 10, 2024). For the exegetical commentary: Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr at-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-bayān 'an ta'wīl āy al-Qur'ān* (*Tafsīr at-Ṭabarī*). (Mecca: Dār at-Tarbiya wa-Turāth), retrieved from <https://shamela.ws/book/43> (accessed September 10, 2024).

62 Marracci, "Refutatio," 193.

indicates that the norms and decrees of the religion have been completed, and no further additions or prohibitions have been made.<sup>63</sup>

In conclusion, Marracci's translation choices reflect a careful and informed engagement with Islamic exegetical sources, particularly the *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*. By drawing on these authoritative interpretations, Marracci not only ensures accuracy in conveying the meaning of the Qur'an but also provides a comprehensive understanding of its religious and legal prescriptions to a non-Muslim audience.

## 4 Conclusions

Marracci's Latin translation of the Qur'an is a remarkable scholarly achievement, reflecting a high level of exegetical acumen and linguistic precision. Marracci's approach to translating the qur'anic text, supported by an extensive engagement with Islamic sources and commentaries, underscores his commitment to accuracy and depth in rendering the original Arabic into Latin. His translation process, which took four decades and culminated in publication in 1698, exemplifies a unique fusion of theological insight and linguistic expertise. The discovery of Marracci's manuscripts, particularly the final version preserved in the library of the Seminary of Padua, provides a comprehensive view of the development of his translation. These manuscripts shed light not only on the gradual refinement of his translation, but also on the rigorous editorial challenges he faced. Marracci's innovative approach to literal translation, which departed from classical *ad sensum* practices, aimed to respect the sacredness of the original text and convey both its content and form with exceptional fidelity. An examination of specific terms reveals Marracci's deep understanding of both the Arabic source and the Latin target language, ensuring that the translated text remains faithful to the theological and cultural context of the original. This precision in Marracci's lexical choices reflects his overall translation philosophy.

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<sup>63</sup> Marracci, "Refutatio," 194: "Hodie perfeci vobis religionem vestram. Explicat Gelal. *Aḥkāma-hu wa-farā'iḍa-hu fa-lam yanzil ba'da-hā ḥalāl wa ḥarām* iudicia et statuta religionis absolvit. Ideo postea nihil aliud concessum, vel prohibitum fuit. Et complevi super vos gratiam meam. Exponit Gelal. *wa-qīla bi-dukhūl Makka āminīn* dicta sunt haec quando Mahumetani ingressi sunt Meccam securi." (*Hodie perfeci vobis religionem vestram*. Explained by Gelal. *aḥkāma-hu wa-farā'iḍa-hu fa-lam yanzil ba'da-hā ḥalāl wa ḥarām* judgments and statutes of religion have been completed. Therefore, nothing else was permitted or prohibited afterward. *Et complevi super vos gratiam meam*. Gelal explains: *wa-qīla bi-dukhūl Makka āminīn* these things were stated when the Muslims entered Mecca safely). Cf. al-Mahallī and as-Suyūṭī, *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*, retrieved from <https://shamela.ws/book/12876> (accessed September 10, 2024).

In conclusion, Marracci's translation not only served as a reference point for subsequent translations but also highlighted the potential of Latin as a bridging language in interfaith and intercultural scholarship. The legacy of Marracci's translations continues to be a valuable resource for understanding the complex relationship between language, theology, and the reception of Islamic texts in the Christian world.

## List of Libraries and Archives

ACDF	Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (Vatican City)
S.O.	ACDF Sanctum Officium
St. St.	ACDF Stanza Storica
AOMD	Archivio Ordine dei Chierici Regolari della Madre di Dio (Rome, IT)
ASP	Archivio del Seminario Maggiore di Padova (Padua, IT)
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vatican City)
BNCF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (Florence, IT)

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 BAV, Ms. Vat. Ar. 206.  
 BNCF, Magl. VIII, 388, letters 1, 54; 572, letters 23, 65

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Marracci, Ludovico. *Alcorani textus universus ex correctioribus Arabum exemplaribus summa fide, atque pulcherrimis characteribus descriptus, eademque fide, ac pari diligentia ex Arabico idiomate in Latinum translatus; appositis unicuique capitri notis, atque refutatione: his omnibus praemissus est prodromus totum priorem tomum implens, in quo contenta indicantur pagina sequenti*. Auctore Ludovico Marraccio e congregatione Clericorum Regularium Matris Dei, Innocentii XI glorioissimae memoriae olim confessario. Patavii: Ex Typographia Seminarii, 1698.

Vol. 1: *Prodromus ad refutationem Alcorani, in quo Mahumetis vita, ac res gestae ex probatissimis apud Arabes scriptoribus collectae referuntur. De Alcorani nomine, auctore, idiomate, stylo, summa apud Mahumetanos veneratione, aliisque similibus ad integrum illius, absolutamque notitiam pertinentibus agitur. Denique per quatuor verae Religionis notas Sectae Mahumetanicae falsitas ostenditur, et Christianae Religionis veritas comprobatur. In quatuor partes divisus*.

Vol. 2: *Refutatio Alcorani, in qua ad Mahumetanicae superstitionis radicem securis apponitur; et Mahumetus ipse gladio suo iugulatur; Sacrae Caesareae Maiestati Leopoldi I. Magni Romanorum Imperatoris dicata*.

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