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# Rediscovering the Qur'an in Nineteenth-Century Spain: Allure and Aversion in the Shadow of A. B. Kazimirski's French Edition

## 1 Qur'an Translation in Modern Spain: Over Two Centuries Wandering Through the Desert (1606 – 1844)

It is a well-known fact that from the early seventeenth century, when Aljamiado literary production came to a halt, and the mid-nineteenth century, in Spain there was virtually no interest in Arabic and Islamic studies generally, much less in translations of the Qur'an into Spanish.<sup>1</sup> This attitude stands in stark contrast to that of other European countries, where complete translations of the Qur'an into various European languages began to appear as early as the mid-sixteenth century, but especially as of the early seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, Spain entered a period dominated by “apologetic Orientalism” and an “eager-

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1 In any case, this general lack of interest in Arabic studies does not mean there was a total absence, as professors García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano have consistently argued in a number of studies. See, for example, Fernando Rodríguez Mediano and Mercedes García-Arenal, “Diego de Urrea y algún traductor más: en torno a las versiones de los Plomos,” *Al-Qantara* 23, no. 2 (2002); García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden: Brill, 2013). On the origins of scientific approaches to Arabic Studies in the eighteenth century, see Paz Fernández, *Arabismo español del s. XVIII: Origen de una quimera* (Madrid: ICMA, 1991).

2 For a quick overview of these translations, see e.g. Ziad Elmarsafy, “Translations of the Qur'an into Western Languages,” *Religion Compass* 3, no. 3 (2009).

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**Note:** This essay is part of a project that has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (SyG grant agreement no. 810141), project EuQu “The European Qur'an. Islamic Scripture in European Culture and Religion 1150–1850.” I thank to Consuelo López Morillas for her translation of the original text.

ness to convert.”<sup>3</sup> This vast expanse of time begins in 1606, with the *Alcorán in Christian letters* (MS 235 of the Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha, Toledo),<sup>4</sup> the finest Aljamiado version of the Islamic holy book. After this point, the only other reference to a Spanish translation of the Qur’an is an indirect translation via French to be used by missionaries, published in 1672.<sup>5</sup> By all indications it was based on the version of André Du Ryer (1647)<sup>6</sup>, a merchant as well as French consul in Cairo and Istanbul. Du Ryer’s translation spread across Europe and was extremely successful (with five editions in five years), and was immediately translated into English, German, Dutch and other languages.<sup>7</sup> As Mikel de Epalza has surmised,<sup>8</sup> while the Count of Oropesa<sup>9</sup> has been credited with the translation, he was more likely a patron than a direct participant in the process. This translation foreshadows a phenomenon that would be a constant in Spain through the mid-twentieth century, and which persists even today: that of indirect translations based not on original Arabic text, but rather on prior translations into other languages, first and foremost among them French. Moreover, it illustrates a constant in the history of translation: the reuse of one version of a text for purposes other than those originally intended. Du Ryer’s original work, as many researchers have pointed out, does not fall into the category of refutations of Islam or proselytism, but rather, despite the translation’s various missteps (some scholars have called it a tedious monotone rhapsody) and the various paratextual elements that remain a product of their time and seek to situate the work within a fully Christian context, it does attempt to provide the

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3 The words of Spanish Arabists J. Bosch and P. Chalmeta —*orientalismo apologético* and *afán de conversión*—, respectively, cited in Bernabé López García, “Treinta años de arabismo español: el fin de la almogavaria científica (1967–97),” *Awraq* 18 (1997), 13.

4 Consuelo López-Morillas, *El Corán de Toledo. Edición y estudio del ms. 235 de la Biblioteca de Castilla-La Mancha* (Gijón: Trea, 2011). MS II-IV-701 of Florence’s Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana holds an Aljamiado version of the Qur’an with a later date (1612), linked to the figure of Mohamed Rabadán and the city of Salónica, but it is only a partial translation.

5 While its whereabouts are currently unknown, it is cited by Tirso Gonzalez de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem mahometanorum: in duas partes divisa: in prima, veritas religionis christianae catholicae romanae manifestis argumentis demonstratur: in secunda, falsitas mahometanae sectae conuincitur* (Madrid: Juan de Goyeneches, 1687). See Rafael Cansinos Assens, *El Korán, versión literal e íntegra* (Madrid: Aguilar 1951), 41; Gregorio Sánchez Doncel, *La verdad histórica del islam de ayer y hoy* (Madrid: [n.p.], 2004), 215.

6 Andre Du-Ryer, trans., *L’Alcoran de Mahomet* (Paris: A. de Sommerville, 1647).

7 On this translation, see e.g. Elmarsafy, “Translations,” 432; Olivier Hanne, *L’Alcoran: comment l’Europe a découvert le Coran* (Paris: Belin, 2019), chapter 16.

8 Mikel de Epalza, *L’Alcorà: traducció de l’àrab al català, introducció a la lectura i cinc estudis alcorànics amb la col·laboració de Joseph Forcadell i Joan M. Perujo* (Barcelona: Proa, 2001), 545.

9 Probably Manuel Joaquín Álvarez de Toledo-Portugal, 4th Count of Oropesa (1671–1707).

reader with honest information about the contents of the Islamic holy text, and, as such, it was the preferred translation of the eighteenth century.

The interest in the Qur'an in ecclesiastical circles during this period can be perceived in a new translation, this time into Latin: *Interpretatio Alcorani litteralis cum scholiis ad mentem Autoris et propriis domesticis ipsius expositoribus germane colectis* Rev. P. Frem Dominicum Germanum de Silesia. Carried out between 1650 and 1665 by Franciscan friar Dominicus Germanus de Silesia, who, though from Germany, taught Arabic at the Royal Monastery of El Escorial, this Latin version, “written in an elegant Latin that is very precise,”<sup>10</sup> was only recently published,<sup>11</sup> and is currently being studied by Ulisse Cecini.<sup>12</sup>

However, until well into the nineteenth century, the majority of efforts related to the qur'anic text have to do with the refutation of Islam.<sup>13</sup> The list of Spanish refuters from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries is considerable. In addition to the well-known pioneers Juan Andrés de Játiva (*Confusión de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán*, 1515)<sup>14</sup> and Martín García (*Sermones*, 1520),<sup>15</sup> there were also Joan Martí Figuerola (*Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán*, 1519),<sup>16</sup> Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón (*Libro llamado antialcorano*, 1532, and *Diálogos christianos contra la secta mahomética*, 1535),<sup>17</sup> Lope de Obregón (*Confutación del alcorán y la secta mahometana*, 1555),<sup>18</sup> Pedro Guerra de Lorca (*Catacheses mystogogicae*

**10** José Montero Vidal, *Mahoma. Su vida. El Corán* (Madrid: Editorial Reus, 1927), vol. II, 344–45. On this translator, see also Braulio Justel, *La Real Biblioteca de El Escorial y sus manuscritos árabes: sinopsis histórico-descriptiva* (Madrid: IHAC, 1978), 93, 171 and 226.

**11** Antonio García Masegosa, ed., *Germán de Silesia. Interpretatio alcorani litteralis*, Nueva Roma 32 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2009).

**12** See Ulisse Cecini's contribution to this volume.

**13** The Inquisition was not definitively abolished in Spain until 1834 and, as we will see, the first nineteenth-century Spanish translation of the Qur'an did not appear until ten years later (1844).

**14** Juan Andrés, *Confusión o confutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcorán / Opera Chiamata Confusione della setta machumetana*, ed. M<sup>a</sup> Isabel García-Monge and Elisa Ruiz García, 2 vols (Mérida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2003).

**15** Manuel Montoza Coca, “Los Sermones de Don Martín García, obispo de Barcelona. Edición y estudio,” PhD Thesis (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2018).

**16** Real Academia de la Historia, Colección Gayangos MS 19–36, Juan Martín Figuerola, “Lumbre de fe contra el Alcorán y la secta mahomética.”

**17** Bernardo Pérez de Chinchón, *Antialcorano; Diálogos cristianos, conversión y evangelización de moriscos*, ed. Francisco Pons Fuster (Alicante: Universidad de Alicante, 2000).

**18** Lope de Obregón, *Confutación del Alcorán y secta mahometana, sacado de sus propios libros y la vida del mesmo Mahoma* (Granada: Sancho de Nebrija, 1555).

*pro advenis ex secta Mahometana*, 1586)<sup>19</sup> and, in the period that concerns us here, Tirso González de Santalla (*Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum*, 1687),<sup>20</sup> Fray Félix de Molina o Alamín (*Impugnación contra el Talmud de los judíos, Alcorán de Mahoma y contra los herejes*, 1727),<sup>21</sup> Ioachin Casses Xaló y Granel de Ribas Altas (*Theatro cathólico ruina de la puerta othomana, de su Alcorán y secta*, 1738),<sup>22</sup> Joseph Martin (*Historia verdadera del falso, y perverso profeta Mahoma*, 1781),<sup>23</sup> Fray Manuel de Sto. Tomás de Aquino (*Verdadero carácter de Mahoma y de su religión*, 1793–95).<sup>24</sup>

Interestingly, as Fray Manuel himself declares,<sup>25</sup> this last work came as a reaction to the sudden appearance in Spain of the historical study of Islam initiated in France during the Enlightenment period, which reframed Islam as a non-clerical religion, spawning new translations of the Qur'an aimed at better understanding the legacy of Islam, accompanied by more rigorous historical studies of the figure of the Prophet Muḥammad. Once again, in Spain this new trend shows up in the form of a Spanish translation of a French text: *Compendio histórico de la vida del falso profeta Mahoma que escribió en francés en*

<sup>19</sup> Pedro Guerra de Lorca, *Catecheses Mystogogicae pro advenis ex secta mahometana ad pa-  
rrocos et potestades* (Madrid: Pedro Madrigal, 1586).

<sup>20</sup> Gonzalez de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem mahumetanorum* (Madrid: Juan de Goye-  
neches, 1687).

<sup>21</sup> Félix de Alamín (O.F.M.Cap.), *Impugnación contra el Talmud de los judíos, al Corán de Maho-  
ma, y contra los herejes, y segunda parte de la religión christiana* (Madrid: Imprenta de Lorenço  
Francisco Mojados, 1727).

<sup>22</sup> Joaquín Casses Xaló Granel de Ribas Altas, *Theatro cathólico, ruina de la puerta othomana,  
de su Alcorán y secta y progressos de la Iglesia por las aguilas del imperio* (Madrid: [n.p.], 1738).

<sup>23</sup> Manuel José Martín, *Historia verdadera del falso y perverso profeta Mahoma, sacada de San  
Eulogio, Juan Sagredo, Fray Jayme Bleda y otros historiadores* (Madrid: Manuel Martín, 1781).

<sup>24</sup> Manuel de Santo Tomás de Aquino, *Verdadero carácter de Mahoma y de su religión: Justa  
idea de este falso profeta, sin alabarle con exceso, ni deprimirle con odio* (Valencia: Francisco Bru-  
guete, 1793). On this field of anti-Islamic apologetics both prior and contemporary to the work of  
Juan Andrés, see e.g. Elisa Ruiz García “Estudio preliminar,” in *Confusión o confutación*, 13; Ryan  
Szpiech, Mercedes García-Arenal and Katarzyna K. Starczewska, “‘Deleytaste del dulce sono y no  
pensaste en las palabras’: Rendering Arabic in the Antialcoranes,” *Journal of Transcultural Me-  
dieval Studies* 5, no.1 (2018); García-Arenal, Starczewska and Szpiech, “The Perennial Impor-  
tance of Mary’s Virginity and Jesus’ Divinity: Qur’anic Quotations in Iberian Polemics After  
the Conquest of Granada (1492),” *Journal of Qur’anic Studies* 20, nº 3 (2018). For subsequent fig-  
ures, see e.g. Montero, *Mahoma. Su vida*, II, chapter V, 329–47; Cándida Ferrero Hernández,  
“Pervivencia de tópicos medievales en el humanista Pedro Guerra de Lorca,” *Humanismo y per-  
vivencia del mundo clásico*, ed. José María Maestre et al. (Alcañiz-Madrid: Instituto de Estudios  
Humanísticos and CSIC, 2015); Mikel de Epalza, “El profeta del islam, según el P. Traggia: una  
evolución católica de fines del XVIII,” *Al-Andalus-Magreb* 4 (1996).

<sup>25</sup> Epalza, “El profeta,” 97.

1787 *Mr de Pastoret*. As Epalza notes in his study, and as an example of contradictory feelings in the face of the Arab-Islamic, to Fray Manuel's credit, although his work clearly falls within Catholic apologetics in favor of Christianity and against all other religions and, in particular, French rationalist Islamophilia, it nevertheless marks a serious attempt at approaching Islam via reputable Latin, French and Italian sources, which was only made possible by the new sociopolitical context of peace between Spain and the Islamic powers of the period.

## 2 Indirect Translations via French in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth centuries: In the Shadow of A. B. Kazimirski

Now let us turn to the tumultuous nineteenth century; a great deal can happen in one hundred years. To quote María Jesús Viguera, in discussing the Spanish historiography of al-Andalus, Islam in this century will be the subject of "alternating and at times entangled currents of phobia and sympathy, of rejection but also of acceptance, of closing off and opening up, both deep and superficial."<sup>26</sup>

Spain would thus hang on to its age-old anti-Islamic tradition, while at the same time, following in the path of European scientific and intellectual progress, would begin to rediscover Arab-Islamic heritage through the cornerstone of its sacred literature, the Qur'an, but also through the profane, through the *Thousand and One Nights* and poetry, with a particular focus on that of al-Andalus. However, these works were received via the intermediation of foreign translations: the French versions of Galland and Mardrus, for example, for the tales of Scheherazade as rendered into Spanish by Blasco Ibáñez and others;<sup>27</sup> or Shack's acclaimed anthology of Andalusí poetry in German translation (1865),

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<sup>26</sup> María Jesús Viguera, edition and study of Francisco Codera y Zaidín, *Decadencia y desaparición de los almorávides en España* (Pamplona: Urogoiti, 2004), xix.

<sup>27</sup> For the Spanish translations of the *Thousand and One Nights*, see Salvador Peña Martín, "La recepción iberoamericana de las *Mil y una noches*," *Castilla. Estudios de Literatura* 8 (2017). Granadan Arabist Antonio Almagro Cárdenas made a pioneering attempt at translating excerpts directly into Spanish from the original Arabic. Published in the late nineteenth century in the newspapers *La Estrella de Occidente* and *La Alhambra*, they have yet to receive any scholarly attention.

translated in turn into Spanish by Juan Valera under the title *Poesía y arte de los árabes en España y Sicilia* (1867–71).<sup>28</sup>

As we have pointed out, the Qur'an was no exception in terms of the use of intermediate or indirect translations. While we find three different approaches — from the versions motivated by the echoes of the Enlightenment and the later Romantic movement, with its ethnocentric Maurophilia and idealization of the Orient (taken to include al-Andalus) as a land of sensuality as well as mysticism and spirituality; those belonging to the liberalism and new scientific approaches to Islam of the nineteenth century, or to colonial enterprise itself; as well as those that picked up the mantle of the anti-Islamic Christian apologetics— the starting point in all cases is the same French translation: Albin de Biberstein Kazimirski's *Le Koran* (1808–87).<sup>29</sup>

Originally from Poland, upon emigrating to France he was appointed interpreter to the French Legation in Persia, and subsequently translator and interpreter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and secretary-interpreter to the Emperor for Oriental languages. A student of Silvestre de Sacy, he was profoundly knowledgeable in Arabic and Persian, and left behind a translation of the Qur'an, an excellent Arabic-French dictionary, and a translation of the eleventh-century Persian poet Manuchehri, among other works. His first translation of the sacred text of Islam dates from 1840. However, this edition contained few notes, and so in the 1841, 1842, and especially 1852 editions, the notes and indices were expanded and the text revised. Since then it has been republished on multiple occasions down to the present, and, while it is not without its critics, it has continued to enjoy a positive reputation among specialists.<sup>30</sup>

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**28** Adolf Friedrich von Schack, *Poesía y arte de los árabes en España y Sicilia*, trans. Juan Valera (Madrid: M. Rivadeneyra, 1871). There were a small number of attempts to translate Arabic poetry directly into Spanish. In 1861 Pedro Lahittete published *Orientales*, the first anthology of Eastern and Andalusí poetry rendered into Spanish verse; see María Paz Torres Palomo, “Las *Orientales* de Pedro de Lahitte[te]: una traducción ¿exótica? del XIX,” in *El papel del traductor*, ed. Esther Morillas and Juan Pablo Arias (Salamanca: Colegio de España, 1997).

**29** On this translator and his version, see Abdelhamid Drira, “Kazimirski dans l’histoire du Coran: histoire de la traduction du Coran du XII<sup>e</sup> s. au début du XX<sup>e</sup> s.,” *The Arabist. Budapest Studies in Arabic* 40 (2019); Drira and Grzegorz Kubacki, “Wojciech Biberstein-Kazimirski – orientalista i dyplomata,” *Pamiętnik Biblioteki Kornickiej* 37 (2020).

**30** Contemporary French reprints with introductions by leading Arab and Islamic Studies experts such as Maxime Rodinson or Mohamed Arkoun contain words of praise for the translation such as: “An excellent [translation...] that was able to retain the poetic air of many passages of the Qur'an,” or “This translation remains admirable, and because of several brilliant solutions, recommendable [...]. It is unfortunate for Kazimirski’s successors that we can still write this about his translation, a century after its publication.” However, these contemporary editions of Kazimirski’s translation follow the original 1840 text, omitting the notes and interpretations

The first of these nineteenth-century Spanish versions of the Qur'an in the shadow of Kazimirski's translation is a partial translation attributed to Andrés Borrego (Málaga 1802–Madrid 1891),<sup>31</sup> one of the foremost politicians and journalists of the nineteenth century, who represented both conservative liberalism and Romanticism, and was a pioneer of so-called parliamentary journalism, in addition to founding the newspapers *El Español* and *El Correo Nacional*.<sup>32</sup> Little is known about his work as a translator. He likely mastered French during his long stay in Paris into the 1830s, and in 1837 translated Chevalier Artaud's history of Pope Pius VII, as *Historia de la vida y del pontificado del Papa Pío VII*. As to his decision to render the Qur'an into Spanish, we can only guess at the hypothetical influence of his childhood friend Estébanez Calderón, an author known for his Arabophilia, as well as his relationship with Arabists of the period such as Pascual Gayangos, Emilio Lafuente Alcántara and Eduardo Saavedra. From among his vast body of writings, it is worth highlighting the tolerant stance toward other religions in his lecture, "De la tolerancia religiosa y de la aplicación del artículo 11 de la Constitución" (Madrid, 1876). So far, all of our attempts to locate this translation have failed, and it is only attested to indirectly by references in other works.<sup>33</sup>

Let us now turn to another four versions—all of them extant—that drew directly on the legacy of Kazimirski.

### 3 The Rediscovery of Islam as Adversary: Benigno de Murguiondo y Ugartondo

There is no better representative of the islamophobic trends of the nineteenth century than Benigno de Murguiondo y Ugartondo's version of the sacred text

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added in later editions, which reflect an ethnocentrism typical of the period, with a non-neutral stance toward Islam that would run afoul of today's standards.

**31** Andrés Borrego, *El Corán traducido al castellano* (Madrid: [n.p.], 1844).

**32** For his biography, see Consuelo de Castro, *A. Borrego. Periodismo Liberal Conservador 1830–1846* (Madrid: M. Castellote, 1972) and María Celia Fórneas, "Andrés Borrego pionero del periodismo parlamentario," *Estudios sobre el mensaje periodístico* 5 (1999). Unfortunately, none of these texts mentions his version of the Qur'an. His newspapers ushered in a new style of journalism, introducing specific sections on music, books, etc., which leads us to suspect that perhaps his partial translation of the Qur'an was somehow related to these dailies.

**33** Their source seems to be Victor Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885*, x 78n, who in turn cites Dionisio Hidalgo, *Diccionario general de bibliografía española* (Madrid: Imprenta de las Escuelas Pías, 1862–81).



of Islam. Published in Madrid in 1875<sup>34</sup> under the title *El Alcorán otomano en español* (The Ottoman Koran in Spanish), suffice it to reproduce the cover text to illustrate the spirit of this version:

THE KORAN, faithfully translated into Spanish, ANNOTATED AND REFUTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DOGMA, THE HOLY DOCTRINE AND PERFECT MORALS OF THE HOLY ROMAN APOSTOLIC CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE ONE TRUE CHURCH, preceded by an introduction, the first chapter of which comprises a succinct explanation, in alphabetical order, of various terms and names that appear in the historical compendium of the life and most important deeds of the false prophet Mohamed, and in the false, ignorant and contradictory code that said malicious leader dictated to his countrymen the Arabs, which in Spanish is called the *Alcorán*, and of other names subsequently introduced in the Ottoman Empire; the second chapter contains preliminary remarks by the author comparing Catholicism and Mohammedanism; the third contains the historical compendium of the life and most important deeds of the false prophet Mohamed; and the fourth, a brief and succinct overview of said code.

We know little to nothing about how the translation originated or was commissioned<sup>35</sup>—if it was commissioned at all—nor about the translator, beyond where and when he was born (Oñate, 1805) and the information provided in the book itself: that he held a doctorate in Jurisprudence, was a lawyer in the Tribunals, and was an honorary War Auditor.<sup>36</sup> However, anyone who so much as leafs through this hefty tome will quickly realize that the aim of the volume is less the translation of the Islamic holy book per se than its refutation. For example, the first seven ayas of the first sura are the subject of sixty pages of notes and refutation, and the same is true of the second sura.

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**34** As pointed out by Epalza, *Alcorà*, 546, the date and place of publication coincide with an anonymous translation that appears in several bibliographic repertoires, *El Alcorán, traducido fielmente al castellano y anotado, precedido de una introducción explicativa de la vida de Mahoma y del Código que dictó* (Madrid 1875), which is almost certainly an inaccurate reference to Murguiondo's translation.

**35** It is worth noting that throughout history refutations have appeared in periods in which the climate of hostility toward Islam has been relaxed. In the nineteenth century, the East generally, and in particular the Islamic world, captured the attention of intellectuals, writers and artists throughout Europe and Spain. As we will see shortly, in addition to the partial versions of Borrego and Gerber de Robles, three years earlier Vicente Ortiz de la Puebla had published his *Corán o Biblia Mahometana*, which exhibits an overall positive approach to the holy text and the figure of Muḥammad: *El Corán o Biblia mahometana, seguido de la biografía de Mahoma, primera versión española anotada y comentada según los más distinguidos comentadores del Corán* (Barcelona: Juan Aleu, 1872).

**36** Interestingly, he is the only translator of the Qur'an cited by Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Biblioteca de traductores españoles* (Madrid: CSIC, 1952–53), vol III, 409, although he does not add any information about him.



Although it is usually referred to as a retranslation of Kazimirski's French version, the translator himself never states this clearly.<sup>37</sup> Unlike later retranlations, while many traces of Kazimirski's translation are plain to see, even a quick comparison of the two reveals that Murguiondo's version retains a certain degree of independence from the French text, from the fact that the *ayas* are numbered differently, to a variety of solutions that differ from those preferred by Kazimirski.

Using suras I and II as a reference in order to highlight some of these divergences, it is striking how the text includes —without italics or any other marking— formulas in the *aya* headings such as “Remember Mohamed” or “Remember that day,” which are nowhere to be found, whether in the French version or the original Arabic. Murguiondo also expands upon certain concepts, as in *verdaderos creyentes* (“true believers”) for the Arabic *mu'minūn*, which Kazimirski translates simply as *croyants*, or the notions of God's *perdón gratuito* (“free forgiveness”), or *buena fe* (“good faith”), all adjectives absent from the French version.

Thus, it is plausible that Murguiondo had other translations on hand. His notes cite the French translation by Savary and, especially, the Latin translation of Ludovico Marracci, “the most learned, erudite, complete and perfect of all those I have encountered.”<sup>38</sup> Murguiondo uses it both for the text of his version<sup>39</sup> and, even more so, for his refutations.<sup>40</sup>

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**37** In the copy of this translation held in the library of the Escuela de Traductores de Toledo, which belonged to the well-known Hebrew scholar David Gonzalo Maeso, there is a note in his hand stating “it is a (correct) retranslation of Kazimirski's French translation, although it does not say so. Subsequent translations, into any language, will not necessarily be any better.”

**38** Murguiondo, *El Alcorán*, 82.

**39** By way of example, he translates the Basmala as “In the name of God the compassionate and merciful” (*compasivo y misericordioso*), specifically explaining that he preferred this translation as per Marracci instead of the habitual French translation, “clement and merciful” (*clemente y misericordioso*) (Murguiondo, *El Alcorán*, 86).

**40** In their defense, we might point out that, mixed in with the predictably pejorative tone of the refutations, there are bits of relevant information about certain aspects of Arab-Islamic culture, as well as minor observations as to the translator's decisions (see previous note).

## 4 The Birth of a *Bestseller*: The Versions of José Gerber de Robles and of Vicente Ortiz de la Puebla

The multiple versions, editions and reprints of the Qur'an from the nineteenth century up to the present have proven it to be a safe bet for publishers. While there may be other factors, in general it can be said that a bestseller depends on at least four factors: 1) the name/fame of the author or book, 2) the size of the publisher; 3) timing; and 4) the book's marketing campaign.

In the specific case of the Qur'an, there are other concrete motivations behind its success among all sorts of audiences:

1. The desire for a scientific/intellectual approach in order to better understand the most important aspects of Arab-Islamic civilization in the past (when it included al-Andalus) or present.
2. An approach to the sacred text of Islam in contrast (including refutation) with other religions, especially Judaism and Christianity, or with other expressions of a new religiosity, as a counter-cultural phenomenon combining a growing interest in Eastern thought (Buddhism, Taoism and, of course, Sufism or Islamic mysticism) with esoteric, psychological, scientific and ecological elements, a trend best represented by the New Age movement.<sup>41</sup>
3. The notion that the Qur'an is the paramount text of Arabic literature and, by extension, is a classic of Universal Literature.
4. Also, over the course of the last century, the number of Spanish-speaking Muslims in Spain and America has steadily risen, and with it the demand for Spanish translations of the Qur'an for devotional purposes.<sup>42</sup>

In Spain, this publishing phenomenon got off to a mild start with the version of José Gerber de Robles,<sup>43</sup> who justified the publication of his translation in the following terms (III–IV):

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<sup>41</sup> On this new religiosity, see e.g. the pioneering work of Antonio Jiménez Ortiz, "New Age: el espejismo de una religiosidad sin Dios," *Revista de Fomento Social* 48 (1993).

<sup>42</sup> On early Spanish translations in Argentine for muslim communities see Juan Pablo Arias Torres, "El Alcorán viaja a ultramar: las traducciones argentinas de mediados del siglo XX," *De Homero a Pavese: hacia un canon iberoamericano de clásicos universales*, ed. Juan Jesús Zaro and Salvador Peña (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2017).

<sup>43</sup> José Gerber de Robles, *Al Koran o Dogmas y doctrinas civiles, morales, políticas y religiosas de los musulmanes precedido de la vida de Mahoma. Traducido exactamente del original árabe por Mr. Kazimirski* (Madrid: Imprenta de D. Dionisio Hidalgo, 1844). In the bibliographic repertoires

It is pertinent to everyone if the political and religious laws of the sons of Ishmael may be of some use to the Spanish; if it can show us their true principles and destroy the absurd errors circulating about them; if it can help illustrate the most outstanding period of our own history; if it can give us an idea as to that of the Arabs, as well as their habits, customs and religion prior to the appearance of the Prophet; if it can serve, lastly, as a sample of a literature with which we are wholly unfamiliar.

The cover of his *Elementos de Historia Natural* (Cáceres, 1843) outlines the translator's curriculum vitae: a doctorate in medical science, chair of natural history at the Instituto de Enseñanza Secundaria in Cáceres, and member of the Sociedad de Amigos del País of Cáceres, as well as other scientific and literary societies. He also translated from French the *Nueva clasificación de las facultades cerebrales o la frenología*, by G. L. Bessières (Valencia, 1837), as well as the *Compendio práctico de las enfermedades de la piel*, by A. Cazenave and H. E. Schedel (Valencia, 1839).

We have no information about who commissioned the translation, other than the brief note from the translator (containing the passage quoted above), which mentions the success of Kazimirski's 1841 version. The version online (scanned from a copy held by the National Library of Israel),<sup>44</sup> which is the only one we have been able to access, presents the translation of the first six suras (up to Q. 6:61), preceded by Kazimirski's prologue (III–IV) and a short biographical sketch of Muḥammad (V–XXI). The dependence on the original French translation is absolute, both in the main text and in the notes. The French transcriptions are reproduced without any attempt to adapt them to Spanish phonetics. The scarce number of extant copies in public libraries speaks to the project's limited success.

By contrast, in the version of Vicente Ortiz de la Puebla,<sup>45</sup> the desire for the book to be a success is more palpable. Pseudonym of Francisco Nacente y Soler (1841–94),<sup>46</sup> was a man of letters, publisher, historian and translator born in Reus (Catalonia), where he studied through secondary school with excellent grades, especially in Latin and Greek. He later moved with his family to Barcelona, where he worked at the publishing house Espasa as literary director and

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on Qur'an translations this version was erroneously cited as being published by Editorial Cuesta. See e.g. Juan Pablo Arias Torres, "Bibliografía sobre las traducciones del Alcorán en el ámbito hispano," *Trans* 11 (2007).

<sup>44</sup> José Gerber de Robles, *Al Koran*. Available on Google Books. I am grateful to Isabel Boyano for bringing it to my attention.

<sup>45</sup> Vicente Ortiz de la Puebla, *El Corán o Biblia mahometana*.

<sup>46</sup> See his biography in Francisco Gras y Elías, *Hijos ilustres de Reus* (Barcelona: Imprenta F. Giró, 1899), 131–33.

translator. In 1880 he founded his own publishing house, Nacente y Monrós. A pioneer in the world of bookmaking, he was the first publisher in Barcelona to insert printed images within text. Likewise, in line with his entrepreneurial spirit (he was vice president of the Industrial Center of Catalonia, and honorary chairman for Industrial Development), he published translations of the first books on engineering to appear in Barcelona (*Tratado general de mecánica para uso de ingenieros, Química industrial y agrícola: tratado teórico-práctico, Zoología*). He wrote a well-known tract on anthropology (*Antropología*) and, as a historian, wrote general histories of various countries (France, England, the United States, and others), as well as the curious *Historia Universal de la Mujer*, and translated Cesare Cantù's *Storia universale* from the Italian. As literary translator, apart from overseeing the publication of Shakespeare's dramas, he translated into Spanish Victor Hugo's *The Hunchback of Notre-Dame* (as *La Esmeralda: Nuestra Señora de París*). A prolific author in his own right, he wrote a novel, *La esposa enamorada*, and a grammar of Latin American Spanish, *Gramática hispano-americana*. He died in Sant Genís dels Agudells, on the outskirts of Barcelona.

Ortiz de la Puebla writes in his introduction that he has followed the 1869 edition of Kazimirski's French translation ("more than a mere translation, a true masterwork")<sup>47</sup> although with the help of other versions, in particular George Sale's English translation. He asserts that his version is "the most accurate of any published abroad, because wherever we have lacked talent, we have made up for it with work."<sup>48</sup> The result, however, is a translation that closely follows both the French text<sup>49</sup> and the corresponding notes, with very few original contributions.<sup>50</sup> Even the French transcriptions of Arabic terms are maintained, without adapting them at all to Spanish spelling conventions.

In practical terms, this translation amounts to the first attempt at a scientific approach to the Qur'an ("a study source for the learned and erudite") from a stance of respect —within the context of the nineteenth century— toward the holy text, which "does not contain any of the immoralities that some would be-

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47 Ortiz de la Puebla, *El Corán*, VII.

48 Ortiz de la Puebla, *El Corán*, VIII.

49 However, he does not maintain the italics of the French version, which Kazimirski used to signal his own insertions in the main text.

50 In all of sura 2, we have found just one minor reworking of two notes: one on the Shebans (Q. 2:59) and the addition of note 53 (Q. 2:118), of debatable accuracy, about the term 'imam': "he is the Mohammedan priest who recites the prayers, reads out the Koran, preaches, aids the sick and says the blessing at weddings."

lieve before having read it.”<sup>51</sup> It is this desire that led him to base his Spanish version on a praiseworthy intermediate translation reputed to be the best available, and particularly useful in light of its many notes, which Kazimirski translated directly from the best Arabic commentators. To highlight this claim to quality, the cover of Ortiz de Puebla’s version reads: “First Spanish version, with notes and commentary in accordance with the most distinguished commentators of the Koran.” The translator’s brief résumé aims in the same direction, framing him as “author of the History of Switzerland and of other books on history and science.” In pursuit of commercial success, the book was published both in a thrift edition “so it may be purchased by all social classes,” as well as another luxury edition “adorned with [fifteen] plates by the reputed artist Mr. Puiggari,” executed in an orientalist style very much in tune with the Romantic tastes of the period (see Appendix). The plates are inserted in the text in passages that discuss the figures or events portrayed in the prints, ranging from the Ḥajj, to Moses, Jesus, Satan, Muḥammad and his wives, Paradise, and Hell, or even Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, depicted on one plate titled “Lifting her skirts.”

Indeed, the illustrations were no doubt intended to allure a public eager to read versions of the Qur’an and other works from the Arab-Islamic sphere. The influence of these translations can be seen in the work of the late-century Spanish Modernists, who, as a form of rejecting the reality around them, found in an exoticized Islamic realm a refuge and constant source of inspiration. In Spain the work of Granadan author Isaac Muñoz is paradigmatic in this respect.<sup>52</sup> But he is far from the only example. In the words of Litvak,<sup>53</sup> “Islamic phrases open and close chapters and narrations... Paragraphs of the Koran and other Islamic holy books are scattered throughout texts, along with psalmodies recited while thumbing the rosary.” Because of its singularity and relation to our topic, take by way of example the reimagined version of the first sura of the Qur’an in “Al-Fa-teha” (*sic*), the opening chapter of Juan García Goyena’s book *Al-lanhh-bar (Alá es el más grande), Leyendas árabes*:<sup>54</sup>

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51 The quoted fragments that follow are all taken from the presentation of the Biblioteca Escogida de Juan Aleu collection, with which the book opens.

52 See, for example, Amelina Correa, “Ensoñación y conocimiento del oriente islámico. El caso de Isaac Muñoz, escritor y periodista finisecular,” in *Orientalismo, exotismo y traducción*, ed. Gonzalo Fernández Parrilla and Manuel C. Feria García (Cuenca: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Univ. Castilla-La Mancha, 2000), 93–108.

53 Lily Litvak, *El jardín de Alá. Temas del exotismo musulmán en España (1880–1913)* (Granada: Don Quijote, 1985), 144.

54 “¡En el nombre de Alá clemente y misericordioso! ¡Alabado sea Alá, señor del Universo! ¡Al clementísimo, al piadosísimo, al soberano, a quien está sujeto el día del Juicio! ¡Juez supremo, nosotros te veneramos e imploramos tu protección! ¡Guíanos por el camino recto, por el camino

In the name of Allāh, the compassionate and merciful! Praise be to Allāh, Lord of the Universe! To the most merciful, the most pious, the sovereign, the master of Judgment Day! Supreme judge, we worship you and beg for your protection! Guide us along the straight path, along the path of those whom you have showered with benefits, of those who stray not!

But in Spain there were other reasons behind the Islamic fad. On the one hand, as we have already mentioned, there was the Andalusí past, which had for decades received the sole attention of Spanish Arabists, who were keen to highlight the importance of al-Andalus for the formation of Spain as a nation and for Western culture more generally, and also to argue for the existence of a unique Andalusí Islam. However, with the focus solely on the particulars of the Andalusí experience, the study of the Qur'an was not a top priority, although there were some scholars who sought to integrate al-Andalus within a broader Islamic context, such as Eduardo Saavedra, who discussed the issue in his essays.<sup>55</sup>

On the other hand, the public's interest in Islamic affairs was inextricable from Spain's colonial policies in North Africa. Everyone is familiar with Europe's easy shift from the Romantic exaltation of the Orient to the political project of subjugating 'the Other'. Authors such as Montero Vidal put forward Spain's colonial interests in Morocco as a justification for studying the biography of Muḥammad. In his own words: "In our relations with the Moroccans we mustn't overlook religion, which is even more important than politics";<sup>56</sup> "from a political standpoint, it would prove impossible to govern any Muslim people without understanding the key aspects of their religion, which is the basis of their social system."<sup>57</sup> The conditions for new versions of the Qur'an were finally right.

## 5 Echoes of Colonialism: The Translation of Joaquín García Bravo

It is within this framework, at the turn of the twentieth century, that we find the last retranslation of Kazimirski's Qur'an, carried out by Joaquín García Bravo description of pre-Islamic Arabia and a series of stereotypical attribute in 1907.<sup>58</sup>

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de aquellos a quienes has colmado de beneficios, de aquellos que no yerran!"; Juan García Goyena, *Al-lanĥ-bar (Alá es el más grande) Leyendas árabes* (Madrid: Impr. Barea, 1905), 7.

55 Eduardo Saavedra y Moragas, "El Alcorán," in *Conferencias* (Madrid: Inst. Libre de Enseñanza, 1877–78), 123–38.

56 Montero, *Mahoma*, 106.

57 Montero, *Mahoma*, 110.

58 Joaquín García Bravo, *El Corán* (Barcelona: Impr. Viuda de Luis Tasso, 1907).

After a brief description of pre-Islamic Arabia and a series of stereotypical attributes of the Hagarenes (“faithful guardians of their genealogy,” “independent and pure of any union with foreigners and of any yoke,” “savages”) and an introduction to the life of Muḥammad extracted from the work of Kazimirski,<sup>59</sup> the prologue ends on the following illustrative terms:<sup>60</sup>

The general message is that the Qur'an presents a wholly imperfect moral code and religion, and it is nearly impossible to explain the immense revolution it brought about in an entire people, or the respect and faith it is accorded, without first coming to terms with this people's prior state and the peculiar nature of the Arab race.

The Qur'an did away with idolatry and prescribed a furious monotheism, prayers, ablu-tions, charity, respect for the elderly, women and children, pilgrimage to Mecca and fasts at specific times of the year; but, in exchange, it instituted polygamy, eye-for-an-eye justice, and holy war, and as such is the cause of the backwardness and semi-savage state of the nations that have not managed to free themselves of the Mohammedan faith.

We have very little information about this translator. The cover presents him as holding a doctorate in Philosophy and Letters, and it seems that he was a professional translator, as with the same publisher he translated various works by French authors such as Honoré Balzac, Alexandre Dumas or Guy de Maupassant. He also wrote a French grammar book, *Gramática francesa, ó Método práctico-teórico para aprender á leer, hablar y escribir... el idioma francés* (1902).

He is extremely faithful —much more so than his predecessors— to the French version, not only in terms of his word-for-word translation of its content,<sup>61</sup> but also in terms of page layout, with the exact same arrangement of

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**59** This unsigned prologue is a heavily summarized version of Kazimirski's original (1859), which has been reorganized and worded in a tone that is generally more pejorative than the original, e. g. “Selon ces récits (de la piété musulmane)” p. vii; “According to these accounts (of devout Muslims)” is translated into Spanish as, “Al decir de los secuaces del pseudo profeta de los árabes” p. xii; “According to the henchmen of the false prophet of the Arabs”.

**60** García Bravo, *El Corán*, xvi.

**61** García Bravo has the striking habit, throughout the text, but not systematically, of choosing the terms most graphically similar to the French over other viable synonyms. For example (Q. 2:2) [my emphasis]:

- Kazimirski: De ceux qui croient aux choses cachées, qui observent exactement la prière et font des *largesses* des biens que nous leur *dispensons*.
- García Bravo: De los que creen en las cosas ocultas y de los que observan puntualmente la oración y hacen *larguezas* con los bienes que nosotros les *dispensamos*.
- Gerber de Robles: De los que creen en las cosas ocultas, de los que observan exactamente la oración, de los que son *liberales* con los bienes que les hemos *concedido*.
- Ortiz de la Puebla: De los que creen en las cosas ocultas, que hacen con exactitud la oración y son *pródigos* de los bienes que les *concedemos*.



text and notes on the page, an equivalent typeface, and a rigorous adherence to Kazimirski's use of italics for his inline notes.<sup>62</sup> The final product is something of a Spanish clone of the French version.

As proof that translations enjoy a life of their own once they have left the hands of the translator, with minor changes García Bravo's version is the source of the abundant Qur'anic quotes in the legal tract *Derecho Musulmán* by Nido y Torres (1927),<sup>63</sup> which was officially sanctioned by the *qaḍī al-quḍāt* and Justice Minister, Sidi Hamed ben Mohamed el Erhoni,<sup>64</sup> making it essentially the "official translation" of the Spanish colonial apparatus in Morocco.

And yet, years before, this same colonial apparatus had already spawned an attempt to translate the Qur'an directly into Spanish: the version of Aníbal Rinaldi, with which we will close this chapter.<sup>65</sup>

## 6 Aníbal Rinaldi: The Spanish Kazimirski

In his article "Galería de antiguos tangerinos," Ruiz Orsatti<sup>66</sup> writes: "Don Aníbal has left us a Spanish translation of the Koran, which he spent his whole life

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– Murguiondo: De los que creen en las cosas ocultas, cumplen exactamente con la oración, y hacen la *limosna conveniente* de los bienes, que les hemos *dispensado*.

**62** However, unlike his predecessors, he adapts the French phonetic transcriptions to the Spanish vowel system, and substitutes the term "sura" with "chapter" (*capítulo*).

**63** Manuel Nido y Torres. *Derecho musulmán* (Tétouan: Ed. Hispano-Africana, 1927). On this law manual, see Manuel C. Feria García, "Conflictos de legitimidad jurídica en Marruecos: el impacto del Protectorado," in *El Protectorado español en Marruecos: Gestión colonial e identidades*, ed. Fernando Rodríguez Mediano and Helena de Felipe (Madrid: CSIC, 2003).

**64** In his report, Erhoni states that the book "has provided an accurate translation of the quotes [from the Qur'an and Hadith]." Moreover, in the absence of direct translations into Spanish, these indirect translations via French became an indispensable source for studies on Islam by the so-called Spanish Africanists, and are thus cited in the bibliographies of authors such as Tomás García Figueras.

**65** In 1913, the journal *África española* (30–7–1913) announced a serialized and ready-to-bind direct translation of the Qur'an from the Arabic, accompanied by a biography of the Prophet by Augusto Vivero (Madrid: Impr. J. Martínez). However, based on the copies available through the Biblioteca Nacional de España's Hemeroteca Digital online periodicals archive, it appears that only the biography was ever actually published, between the months of July 1913 and May 1914. In the same journal (15–9–1913) we also find a review of García Bravo's indirect translation, about which it is said, "If a translation is like the reverse side of a tapestry, what is the translation of a translation? We find it unfortunate that we are still faced with just this." I am grateful to Fernando Rodríguez Mediano and Isabel Boyano for this information.

**66** Ricardo Ruiz Orsatti, "Galería de antiguos tangerinos," *Mauritania* 18, no. 211 (1945), 174–75.

working on, and it has yet to be published. We are unaware of any other direct Spanish translation of The Book, par excellence, with the authority of someone like Kazimirski.”

Immortalized by Benito Pérez Galdós in the novel *Aita Tettauén* and by Pedro Antonio de Alarcón in his *Diario de un testigo de la Guerra de África*, he had until recently remained a little-known figure.<sup>67</sup> There are clear parallels between the life of Aníbal Rinaldi (also Rinaldy or Reinaldi) (1829–1923) and that of Kazimirski. Both men not only translated the Qur'an, but also spent their lives working in diplomacy. Rinaldi was the head interpreter and backbone of the Spanish Legation in Morocco, in which capacity he became a key figure in Spanish-Moroccan negotiations from 1859–60 until his retirement in 1893.

Born in Damascus,<sup>68</sup> from an early age he began to work as an official in the language interpretation division of the Spanish Ministry of State, and was posted to the Consulate General of Spain in Jerusalem in 1857. Two years later he was sent to Morocco as interpreter to the Headquarters of the Army of Africa, a post that would become permanent in 1866, after a brief interlude in Beirut and Syria. In addition to his official activities, he worked as secretary of the editorial team at the paper *El Eco de Tetuán*, and as an interpreter for various expeditions to Morocco, such as the one led by Granadan painter Mariano Bertuchi.

His mastery of both Spanish and Arabic are beyond question. He is described as an astute interpreter who, in the course of diplomatic negotiations, was able to engage with his Moroccan counterparts in an in-depth linguistic debate as to the political ramifications of various Arabic legal terms' semantic valences. He was not only an extraordinary polyglot, but also a devout bibliophile. He must have owned an impressive collection of Qur'ans and books on Morocco, and is known to have bought the best copies available by mail-order catalogue from antique book dealers in Paris. Both qualities afforded him a privileged starting point from which to take on the task of translating the core text of Islam.

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**67** Since being rediscovered by Jaume Bover, “Hoja de servicios del intérprete y arabista tangerino Aníbal Rinaldy, s. XIX,” *Kasbah* 7 (1996), 26–27, in recent years he has been studied by Manuel C. Feria García, “La traducción fehaciente del árabe: fundamentos históricos, jurídicos y metodológicos” (PhD diss., Universidad de Málaga, 2001), and especially by Mourad Zarrouk, *Los traductores de España en Marruecos (1859–1939)* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2009), which are the two main sources for the biographical information about him that appears in this paper.

**68** According to the certificate of his marriage to Esperanza Parisi (4 October 1869): “Aníbal Rinaldy, of Damascus, widower of Mrs. Dorlisca Guarnani, [...] legitimate son of Mr. Miguel [Rinaldi], of Naples, and of Mrs. Teresa de Fabri, of Malta,” in *Registros matrimoniales de la iglesia de Tánger* (Libro tercero de Matrimonios, fol. 42, no. 192) published by P. José López in the journal *Mauritania* (1942).

But, once again, history seems to repeat itself, and his version has yet to resurface. The former medic of the Spanish Legation in Tangier, Felipe Ovilo y Canales, in a brief book on Moroccan women, offers a succinct description of, in his words, Rinaldi's "magnificent translation":<sup>69</sup>

The many years the translator has lived in Morocco and in the East, his vast philological knowledge, the languages he has mastered, which make him a true polyglot, his scrupulous study of the Qur'an, to which one could say he has dedicated his existence, endow Mr. Rinaldy with authority. He has not simply translated into our language as literally as possible the book of Mohamed: the translation is accompanied by a great number of erudite notes, some of them his own, others taken from Muslim commentators, and others extracted from the ideas about the matter issued by the most distinguished historians, philosophers and writers of Europe and the Americas. As a whole it provides a detailed overview of the religious status of Arabia prior to Mohamed, the results and changes obtained and introduced by the latter, and the history of his life and mission and his wars. When it is complete, this work is bound to powerfully draw the attention of all those working in this field of study.

The handful of translated and commented ayas cited in Ovilo y Canales's essay offer a tiny glimpse of Rinaldi's work,<sup>70</sup> demonstrating on the whole that the translator had a firm command of Spanish, and took a literal approach, in the best sense of the word, to the original Arabic.<sup>71</sup> The insertions not present in the original are set in parentheses in the text. Some of his most apparent choices as translator are to translate *Allāh* as *Dios* ("God"), the use of the phrase *en verdad* ("truly") to translate the Arabic particle *inna*, and the use of personal solutions that are infrequent among other translators, and thus speak to his version's independence from those that came before it, e. g. *rahīm* as *hacedor de misericordia* ("maker of mercy"), or *mushrikūn* as *los que asocian* ("those who associate").

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**69** Felipe Ovilo y Canales, *La mujer marroquí. Estudio social* (Madrid: Impr. M.G. Hernández, 1886), 28–29.

**70** Index of the ayas translated and commented (according to his own numbering): Q. 2: 220, 222, 223, 226–36, 238; Q. 4: 1, 3, 8, 12–14, 19, 23–24, 26–30, 38–39; Q. 24: 2–4, 6–9, 23, 26, 31, 59; Q.30: 20; Q. 33: 35, 49, 51–52, 55; Q. 60: 12. In P. Antonio de Alarcón's *Diario de un testigo de la Guerra de África* (Madrid: Ediciones del Centro, 1974, 260) alongside various allusions to Rinaldi we find the following ayas translated: Q. 16: 106–8, 111.

**71** See, for example, Ovilo, *La mujer marroquí*, 41–42: "Del capítulo IV, Sura *de las Mujeres*": "Versículo 3. Y si temiereis que no seréis equitativos con los huérfanos, casaos, entre las mujeres que os agraden, con dos, ó tres, ó cuatro (*note*); y si aún temiereis que no sereis justos, entonces con una, ó con lo que posea vuestra diestra (*note*); esto será más propio para que no os torzáis. Y dad á las mujeres su dote (*note*) libremente, pero si las pluguiere dejaros algo de él, de buen grado, gozadlo á gusto y solaz."

The content and abundance of the notes is striking,<sup>72</sup> showcasing Rinaldi's profound knowledge not only of the Arabic language, but also of *Tafsir* (Islamic exegesis) and the *Sunna* (tradition). They also show that he was familiar with the bibliography on Aljamiado literature.<sup>73</sup> Lastly, he makes recourse to a tactic common to the period and used by Kazimirski as well (and, by extension, Ortiz de la Puebla and García Bravo): the use of Latin in notes commenting on morally delicate subject matter (e. g. Q. 2:223, 230).

Unfortunately, his was a sad fate for a great translator. His longstanding and irreplaceable services as a translator were not rewarded in his later years with the position of consul that he so eagerly sought, and which was granted to many other fellow interpreters of Spanish origin. What is more, as his life's work, the translation of the Qur'an, remains unpublished and missing, in the academic world he has likewise been unjustly forgotten.

## Appendix

Illustrations in Ortiz de la Puebla (1872):

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<sup>72</sup> The notes that appear in Ovilo y Canales's book may very well not be exactly the same as those that Rinaldi intended to accompany his version, as they may have been adapted for the purposes of the former's arguments.

<sup>73</sup> In addition to a reference indicating that in Aljamiado "dowry" was called *acidaque* (Ovilo, *La mujer marroquí*, 43, n.1), he reproduces (Ovilo, *La mujer marroquí*, 76–77, n.1) verses by the "Morisco poet Mohamed Rabadán, from Rueda del Río Jalón" attributing men's privilege over women in inheritances to Eve's disobedience.





Fig. 1: "Mahoma y una de sus mujeres".





Fig. 2: “Levantándose las faldas”.

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