

istence. Moreover, a copy of the Basel edition of *Contra legem*, dating to 1507, can be found in the Volodymyr Ivanovich Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine (Ukrainian: Національна бібліотека України імені Володимира Івановича Вернадського) in Kiev.⁷

However, long before Riccoldo's original Latin text appeared in print for the first time in 1500,⁸ and Bartholomaeus Picens' Latin retranslation was printed that same year, Riccoldo's book had become known among Orthodox Christians in Eastern Europe thanks to the aforementioned Dimítrios Kidónis who had translated the original Latin text into Greek.

Dimitrios Kidónis (Δημήτριος Κυδώνης, Thessaloniki c. 1324/5–1397 Crete) was a Greek diplomat and theologian, translator and prolific writer.⁹ When, and by what way he came across Riccoldo's book, we do not know. His Greek translation of the Latin text, bearing the title Ῥικάρδου τοῦ τῷ τάγματι τῶν παρὰ Λατίνοις καλουμένων Ἀδελφῶν Πρεδικατόρων κατειλεγμένου ἀνασκευῇ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ καταράτου Μαχουμέθ τοῖς Σαῦρρακηνοῖς τεθείσης νομοθεσίας, was completed somewhere between the years 1354 and 1360. Only a few years later, in 1386, Dimítrios handed it over to an unnamed friend in Thessaloniki who subsequently made it known.

According to the title, Dimítrios called the author Ρικάρδος (*Rikárdos*),¹⁰ and this name appears in Russian literature as well. In the later Russian translation of his work, however, Riccoldo's Italian name was transliterated differently, and Riccoldo became, "somewhat Russianized"—Риклад (*Riklad*).

From the early 15th century onwards, Dimítrios' translation was copied several times and circulated in various manuscripts in the Orthodox Christian world, including Russia. But it took almost two more centuries before the Greek text was printed for the first time. It was the famous book printer Theodor Bibliander (born Buchmann,

7 Shelfmark: IA-273.

8 The *editio princeps* of Riccoldo's book was printed in Sevilla in 1500; cf. note 1 above.

9 Cf. Dunaev, 'Кидонис Димитрий' (note 2), 640–656, by the way, the most informative article on him.

10 Likewise, from the Greek Ρικάρδος derived is the German *Richard* or *Reichard* by which Riccoldo is named and referred to in German literature since the middle of the sixteenth century. Thus, e.g., Martin Luther calls him "Bruder Richard" in his German translation of Riccoldo's *Confutatio Alcorani*; see his *Verlegung des Alcoran Bruder Richardi / Prediger Ordens / Anno 1300* (1542), in *D. Martin Luthers Werke* (Weimar, 1920), LIII, 261–396. Interestingly, in his re-translation of Riccoldo's *Confutatio Alcorani* from Greek into Latin, Bartholomaeus Picens de Monte Arduo follows the Greek version and likewise gives Riccoldo the name *Ricardus* or *Richardus* (see, e.g.: *Ricardi ex Ordine Fratrum qui apud Lationos 'Praedicatores' appellantur Confutatio Legis latae Saracenis à maledicto Mahometo*, Rome: apud Aloysium Zannettum, 1606).

1504?–1564) in Basel who published Riccoldo's work in Dimítrios' Greek version in his well-known Qur'an edition *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran*¹¹ along with Bartholomeo Piceno de Montearduo's (15th-/16th-century) retranslation of the Greek text into Latin,¹² and an appended—likewise in its Greek original with Latin translation—tractate on *Christianae fidei confessio, facta Saracenis* by an anonymous author (*incerto autore*), but according to the editor's introductory note exhibiting some similarities with Riccoldo's text.¹³

The questions, however, of by whom, and when, Dimítrios' Greek translation came to Russia, cannot be answered, at least yet. In any case, Dimítrios' translation must have reached the Russian Empire not later than the middle or second half of the 15th century, and it is very likely that in the following years it was copied there several times, as can be inferred from the various copies preserved in collections of Greek manuscripts stored in libraries of cathedrals and monasteries, such as in the former Patriarchal [later Synod's] Library (Патриаршая [later Синодальная] Библиотека) in Moscow. Among its many Greek manuscripts,¹⁴ there is quite a number containing anti-Islamic

11 *Machumetis Saracenorum principis, eiusque successorum vitae, ac doctrina, ipseque Alcoran [...]*, opera & studio Theodori Bibliandri, 3 vols [Basel: Nikolaus Brylinger for Johannes Oporin], 1543. On Bibliander's Qur'an edition, see, Victor Segesvary, *L'Islam et la Reforme. Etudes sur l'attitude des réformateurs zurichois envers l'Islam 1510–1550* (Lausanne: Éditions L'Âge d'homme, 1978; San Francisco: ISP, 1998), chapter VII; Hartmut Bobzin, *Der Qur'an im Zeitalter der Reformation. Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa* (Beiruter Texte und Studien, 42) (Beirut, 1995), esp. chapter III; Lucia Felici, 'L'Islam in Europa. L'edizione del Corano di Theodor Bibliander (1543)', *Cromohs* 12 (2007), 1–13; *Alcoran latinus*, III: *Editiones Theodori Bibliandri (1543 & 1550)*, ed. Anthony John Lappin (Rome: Aracne, 2011), XI–XX.

12 *Machumetis Saracenorum principis* (note 11), II, 83–165; Richardi [Ricoldus de Monte Crucis] [...], *Confutatio legis latae Saracenis a maledicto Mahometo*, translata ex Romana linguam in Graecam per Demetrium Cydonium, deinde per Bartholomaeum Picenum de Montearduo rursus e Graeco in Latinum conversa. Bibliander's 2nd Qur'an edition, printed in Basel in 1550, has the Latin text only (II, cols. 122–184). Bartholomeo Picerno de Montearduo's translation in turn served Martin Luther as basic text for his translation of Riccoldo's work; see Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, *Confutatio Alcorani* (1300). Martin Luther, *Verlegung des Alcoran* (1542), kommentierte lateinisch-deutsche Textausgabe von Johannes Ehmann (Corpus Islamo-Christianum, Series Latina, 6) (Würzburg: Echter, 1999).

13 [Theodor Bibliander:] *Machumetis Saracenorum principis* (note 11), II, 166–178: *Christianae fidei exomolegesis, sive confessio, Sarracenis facta, cum primis quidem pia, & spiritum planè apostolicum redolens, è Graeco conversa, incerto autore*. Bibliander's 2nd Qur'an edition, printed in Basel in 1550, has the Latin text only (II, cols. 183–192); cf. also Dunaev, 'Кидонис Димитрий' (note 2), col. 649c.

14 The Greek manuscripts of that library have been catalogued several times. The first catalogue was compiled by Christian Friedrich von Matthäi (Gröst 1744–1811 Moskva), *Accurata codi-*

polemical writings by various authors. In his catalogue of these Greek manuscripts, Archimandrite Vladimir (Filantropov, Vladimir 1842–1916 Moskva) lists no fewer than a dozen voluminous bundles of such Greek anti-Islamic polemical writings.¹⁵

Without going into details of these Greek manuscripts, manuscript no. 235 of Archimandrite Vladimir's catalogue titled "Сборникъ большею частию полемическаго содержанія противъ Магометанъ" ["Collection of mostly polemical texts against the Mahometans"] deserves special attention. According to the data obtainable from it and the respective catalogue description, the collection, consisting of 324 folios (in 4°), was completed in the year 1627.¹⁶ From among its various texts, of particular interest in our context is text no. 3 copied on ff. 4–163, and titled: Βίβλιον Ρικάρδου τοῦ Λατίνου κατὰ Μωάμεθ ἐξηγηθὲν παρὰ Γεωργίου ῥήτορος τῆς μητροπόλεως Αἰνῶν.

That this text is the Greek version of Riccoldo's book, despite its attribution to a certain (otherwise unknown) Γεώργιος ῥήτωρ τῆς μετροπόλεως Αἰνῶν,¹⁷ becomes clear from its last page, as well as its first sentence as quoted in the catalogue. On the last page of the text (f. 164v), in a note titled 'Εγκώμιον', it is said that this Γεώργιος was not the "author" of the work, but the one who copied it, and it was "Димитрій, который перевелъ сіе сочиненіе съ латинскаго на гречесый [*sic*] языкъ" ["it was Dimitrij who translated that work from the Latin into the Greek language"].¹⁸ In addition to

cum graecorum mss, bibliothecarum mosquensium sanctissimae synodi, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1805), the second by Archimandrite Savva, *Указатель для обозрѣнія Московской Патриаршей (ныне Синодальной) ризницы и библиотеки* (Moskva, 1855; ²1858; ³1859; 41872; 51883), and the third by Archimandrite Vladimir (Filantropov), *Систематическое описаніе рукописей Московской Синодальной (Патриаршей) Библиотеки*, pt. I: *Рукописи греческія* (Moskva, 1894), 807. This catalogue was translated into Modern Greek and published in 1896; later augmented by N. P. Popov, *Рукописи Московской Синодальной (Патриаршей) библиотеки*, I: *Новоспасское собрание*, II: *Собрание рукописей Московскаго Симонова монастыря* (Moskva, 1905–1910), and Fëdor B. Polyakov, Boris L. Fonkič, *Греческіе рукописи Московской Синодальной библиотеки: Палеографическіе, кодикологическіе и библиографическіе дополненія к каталогу архимандрита Владимира (Филантропова)* (Moskva, 1993).

15 See, e.g., Archimandrite Vladimir, *Систематическое описаніе* (note 14), pt. I, 284 (Ms. no. 225, ff. 258–260, and 260–265), 285 (Ms. no. 226, ff. 251–261), 286 (Ms. no. 227, ff. 501–512), 298 (Ms. no. 231, ff. 62–69), 301 (Ms. no. 232, ff. 1–20), 305 (Ms. no. 234, ff. 7–48), 435 (Ms. no. 317, ff. 160–176), 436 (Ms. no. 315, ff. 184–185, and 216–240), 448 (Ms. no. 317, ff. 160–176), 452 (Ms. no. 318, ff. 166–169), 592 (Ms. no. 393, ff. 170–171), and 598 (Ms. no. 436, ff. 304–334). For further references see also the volume's *Index* under противъ Магомета и Измаильтянь [against Mahomet and the Ishmaelites].

16 Archimandrite Vladimir, *Систематическое описаніе* (note 14), pt. I, 306–307.

17 Archimandrite Vladimir, *Систематическое описаніе* (note 14), pt. I, 306; cf. Dunaev, 'Кидонис Димитрій' (note 2), col. 649c.

18 In the catalogue's *index of authors*, Dimítrios is given the honorary name and "title" of

that, convincing proof concerning the identity of the text is provided by the sentence quoted from the beginning of the Greek text (f. 4): Πόσαι εἰσὶν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ δούσχου σου etc., that is identical with the beginning of Dimitrios' translation as printed in Bibliander's Qur'an edition as well as in its later reprint (in both Greek and Latin) in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* (154, cols 1035–1170).¹⁹

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As mentioned above, this and similar copies of the Greek version of Riccoldo's work, which can be found in manuscript collections of other monasteries and/or cathedral libraries as well, are however not the only examples affirming the presence of Riccoldo and his work in Russia. One more example is supplied by Maximos the Greek (Μάξιμος ὁ Γραικός), alias Maksim Grek (Максим Грек) as he is known in Russia, who more than likely contributed to the dissemination of Riccoldo's anti-Islamic polemical ideas in Russia as well.

Maximos or Maksim, born Michail Trivolis (Μιχαήλ Τρίβολης, Arta [Greece] c. 1475–1556 Sergiev Posad) and known also as Maximos the Hagiorite (Μάξιμος ὁ Ἁγιορίτης) or Maximos the Philosopher (Μάξιμος ὁ Φιλόσοφος), was a Greek monk who had studied in Italy (in Bologna, Florence, Ferrara, Milan, Padua and Venice) and was greatly influenced by Italian philosophers such as Marsilio Ficino (Marsilius Ficinus, Figline Valdarno 1433–1499 Careggi/Firenze), Angelo Poliziano (Agnolo Ambrogini or Angelus Politianus, Montepulciano 1454–1494 Firenze), Pico della Mirandola (Mirandola 1463–1494 Firenze) and others, but lived for a while in Russia and eventually died there.²⁰

“Димитрій σοφώτατος [Dimitrij the Wiser]” and likewise identified as the one who “перевелъ с латинскаго сочиненіе Рихарда противъ Магомета [who translated from Latin Richard's work against Mahomet].”

- 19 No less interesting, by the way, are the two texts following Dimitrios' translation in this MS no. 235, i.e., texts no. 4 (ff. 165–199): Βιβλίον κατὰ Σαρακηνῶν, ὅπερ ἐξήγησε Γεώργιος ῥήτωρ μητροπόλεως Αἰῶνου [Book against the Saracens as explained by [the same] Georgios rhetor of the city of Ainos] and no. 5 (ff. 200–229): Неизвѣстнаго διάλεξις οὐ ἐν ᾧ Χριστιανισμῷ съ Измаилияниномъ [An anonymous' διάλεξις of a Christian with an Ismaelite about faith], that, after a longer introduction, begins with Ἀρχὴ τῆς διάλεξεως, Ὁ Χριστιανὸς λέγει πρὸς τὸν Σαρακηνὸν ὃ Ἰσмаηλίτα. Ἀγαρηνὲ, εἶπε μοι, ἂν ὁμολογῇς τὸν Χριστὸν βέβαια πῶς εἶναι λόγος Θεοῦ (f. 206).
- 20 On him see, e.g., Jack V. Haney, *From Italy to Muscovy. The Life and Works of Maxim the Greek* (Humanistische Bibliothek; Texte und Abhandlungen, Reihe 1: Abhandlungen, 19) (München: Fink, 1973); and on his time in Russia: Nina V. Sinitsyna, ‘Новые данные о российском периоде жизни преподобного Максима Грека (материалы для научной

In Russia, Maksim became, and still is, famous for his many theological and philosophical writings, not least for his translations of sacred texts into Church Slavonic (among others, he translated the Psalms). In our context, however, Maksim deserves attention as the author of a number of polemical treatises and pamphlets, for example, against all sorts of Christian heresies, including, from his perspective, Armenians, Latins (Catholics), Lutherans,²¹ and foremost, Muhammad and Islam. Still well known today, the following three tractates are examples of his anti-Islamic writings: (1) “Слово обличительно на агарянскую прелесть и умысливагося ея скверного пса Моамефа” [“Word of rebuke against the Hagarenes’ temptation and the mangy dog Mahomet who concocted it”];²² (2) “Слово 2-е о том же к благоверным на богоборца же Моамефа” [“A Second Word to the pious against the theomachist Mahomet”];²³ and (3) “Ответы христианам противу агарян, хулящих нашу православную веру христианскую” [“Answers for Christians against the Hagarenes who insult our Christian Orthodox faith”].²⁴

More than a hundred years ago, the Russian historian and bibliographer Vladimir Stepanovič Ikonnikov (Kiev 1841–1923 Kiev)²⁵ observed in his monumental study on Maksim Grek’s life and works that in Maksim’s anti-Islamic writings ideas can be traced that suggest that he was not only familiar with, but also influenced by, Riccoldo’s work, which he even may have used as a source of inspiration, as Ikonnikov assumed.²⁶ Though discernible traces are there, the question, however, remains unanswered, thus far at least: did Maksim use Dimitrios’ Greek version of Riccoldo’s work when writing his anti-Islamic treatises, or had he access to a Russian translation of it? To answer that question, further research is needed.

Dimitrios’ Greek version of Riccoldo’s work must have been translated into Russian at the latest at the turn of the 15th to 16th century, as from that time it spread in

биографии), *Вестник церковной истории* 4 (2006), 221–236.

21 Maksim Grek, *Сочинения*, I: *Догматические сочинения*. Maximos’ respective polemical writings are accessible online through https://www.biblioteka3.ru/biblioteka/maksim_grek/dogm_soch/index.html.

22 Maksim Grek, *Сочинения*, I: *Догматические сочинения* (VI), 77ff. (accessible online through https://www.biblioteka3.ru/biblioteka/maksim_grek/dogm_soch/txt03.html).

23 Maksim Grek, *Сочинения*, I: *Догматические сочинения* (VII), 131ff. (accessible online through https://www.biblioteka3.ru/biblioteka/maksim_grek/dogm_soch/txt04.html).

24 Maksim Grek, *Сочинения*, I: *Догматические сочинения* (VIII), 151ff. (accessible online through https://www.biblioteka3.ru/biblioteka/maksim_grek/dogm_soch/txt05.html).

25 On him see Raisa A. Kireeva, ‘Иконников (Ikonnikov)’, in *Православная энциклопедия*, XXII (Moskva, 2009), 30–31.

26 See, Vladimir S. Ikonnikov, *Максимъ Грекъ и его время. Историческое изслѣдованіе* (Kiev, 1915), 247.

that language under the title “Сказаніе о срацынской вѣрѣ” [“Account of the Saracen faith”]. Further information that corroborates this assumption can be found in a manuscript that once belonged to the private library of Graf (Count) Nikolai Petrovič Rummyancev and is listed in the printed catalogue of his library.

The statesman Graf (Count) Rummyancev (St Petersburg 1754–1826 St Petersburg), Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chancellor of the Russian Empire under Czar Alexander I, was, and still is, widely known and famous for his huge private library. In addition to innumerable printed books, he owned an impressively rich collection of historical documents, manuscripts, coins, maps and incunabula which were to form the nucleus of the Rummyancev Museum in Moscow, opened after his death and transformed later into the Russian State Library.²⁷

Rummyancev’s library is not only well known, but also well catalogued. In the first half of the 19th century, Aleksander Christoforovič Vostokov (born Alexander Woldemar Osteneck, Arensburg 1781–1864 St Petersburg), one of the many Germans who lived and worked in St Petersburg in the 19th century, compiled a monumental 902-page (in 4°) catalogue of Rummyancev’s library that was printed in St Petersburg in 1842.²⁸ In his catalogue, Vostokov mentions a Russian translation of Riccoldo’s work forming the last part of a manuscript that to date, however, has not yet been researched.²⁹ In Vostokov’s catalogue, this manuscript is listed under no. 204, and consists of 491 folios containing a great variety of texts. The Russian translation of Riccoldo’s work is copied at the very end on folios 454a to 491a.³⁰

27 See, e.g., Galina V. Aksenova, ‘Шедевры книгописного собрания графа Н. П. Румянцева из истории скриптория Соловецкого монастыря в первой половине XVII века’, *Альманах «Соловецкое море»* 12 (2013), 41–45; Svetlana Skrydlevskaia, ‘Граф Н. П. Румянцев – коллекционер и нумизмат’, in *Банкаўскі веснік* (Minsk, 2010), 8–14; М. М. Kleveniskij, *История библиотеки Московского публичного Румянцевского музея. 1862–1917: очерк / Государственная б-ка СССР им. В. И. Ленина* (Moskva, 1953).

28 Aleksander Ch. Vostokov, *Описание русских и словенских рукописей Румянцевского музея* (St Petersburg, 1842).

29 On this manuscript, see also Konstantin V. Veršinin, *Мерило Праведное как памятник древнерусской книжности и права*, PhD Diss. (Moskva, 2016), 46–47, note 212: “Среди читающихся здесь памятников – «Сказание о срацынской вере», до сих пор не исследованный перевод антимусульманского сочинения Рикольдо да Монтекроче” [“Among the manuscripts – «Сказание о срацынской вере» [Account of the Saracen faith], until today not researched translation of an anti-Islamic work by Riccoldo da Montecroce”].

30 Manuscript description in Vostokov, *Описание русских и словенских рукописей* (note 28), 273a–274a. This manuscript is referred to also by the theologian and church historian Evgenij E. Golubinskij, *История Русской Церкви*; I, pt. 1–2: *Период первый, Киевский или Домонгольский*, II, pt. 1–2: *Период второй, Московский или от нашествия Монголов до митрополита Макария включительно* (Moskva, 1880 [1901–1904], 1900–1911 [Reprint

At the beginning of his two-page entry on this Russian translation, Vostokov wrote:

л. 454. Начало сей книзѣ изложено бысть от латинина Риклада. Сущу ему бывшу в чину учителя по закону саракиньскому и паки възвратившуся ему к своей вѣрѣ латиньстеи. Здѣсь, в 17 главахъ содержится обличеніе Магометовыхъ лжеученій [f. 454. Beginning of this book authored (or: narrated) by the Latin (Catholic) Riklad (i.e., Riccoldo). He had been in the position of a teacher of the Saracen religion and then again returned to his Latin (Catholic) faith. Here, in 17 chapters, one can find the refutation of the Mohammedan (or: Mohammed's) false teachings (or: misbeliefs)].³¹

As to the origin of that manuscript, the author of the catalogue states that it was written, i.e., copied, around the year 1517 and afterwards presented to the then Archbishop of Novgorod Macarius (Makarij), the later Metropolitan of Moscow and all Russia.³² This information finds confirmation in a recent study by F. Voronin where he writes that

Эта рукопись была собственностью Макария еще в бытность его Новгородским архиепископом, что показывает следующая приписка к ней: «Книга на новгородцких еретиков, архиепископа Макария великого Новгорода и Пскова» (Описание рукописи Румянцев, муз., с. 273) [This manuscript was possession of Macarius when he still was Archbishop of Novgorod, as the following footnote proves: “Book about Novgorod’s heretics, by Archbishop Macarius of Great Novgorod and Pskov” (see *Description of the manuscripts in the Rumyantsev Library*, 273)].³³

The quality of the Russian translation, however, was already a matter of dispute more than a hundred years ago. The Russian linguist and historian of Slavic languages and literatures, Aleksej Ivanovič Sobolevskij (Moskva 1856–1929 Moskva), who undertook the first comprehensive study on the translations into Russian made from the

2010]), II, pt. 2, 274. The manuscript is accessible online under the URL: <https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/256/f256-204/#images-461-498>.

31 Vostokov, *Описание русских и словенскихъ рукописей* (note 28), 273a–b.

32 Vostokov, *Описание русских и словенскихъ рукописей* (note 28), 273b.

33 F. Voronin, ‘Святитель Макарий, митрополит Московский и всяя Руси, и его литературная деятельность’, in *Богословские труды* 32 (St Petersburg, 1996), 121–222, here 163.

14th to the 17th centuries,³⁴ stated bluntly: “язык—плохой церковнославянский; изложение—нескладное” [“language—bad Church Slavonic; translation—inadequate”]. Whether Sobolevskij is right or not, however, should be left to the experts on Byzantine Greek and Old Church Slavonic languages to judge.

Regardless, this Russian translation of Riccoldo’s tractate apparently must have been copied several times, for a few more copies (manuscripts) of it are extant, for example, in the library of the St Troickaya Sergieva Lavra (Sergiev Posad) and described in its catalogue, published in the second half of the 19th century.³⁵ According to this catalogue, the manuscript, or rather the collection of various texts completed in the first half of the 16th century and listed under no. 730 [no. 1855] “Палея с прибавлениями”, contains on folios 363 to 394³⁶ a tractate that has no title, but is introduced with the same words as the text in manuscript no. 204 of the Rumyancev Library quoted above:

Начало книзѣ сей сложено бысть отъ латынина Риклада, сущу ему бывъша въ чину учитель по закону саракинскому, и пакы възвративъшуся ему къ своей вѣрѣ къ латыньской въ свою си, имуще предсловіе сицево [Beginning of this book authored (or: narrated) by the Latin (Catholic) Riklad, he had been in the position of a teacher of the Saracen religion and then again returned to his Latin (Catholic) faith].³⁷

and, in addition to that, starts (нач[ало]) with the same sentence of the Russian translation of Riccoldo’s work that likewise can be read in manuscript no. 204 (ff. 454a–491a) of the Rumyancev Library:³⁸

Колико есть дни раба твоего, когда сътвориши ми отъ гонящихъ мя судъ [= Πόσαι εἰσὶν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ δοῦσχου σου etc.].

34 Aleksej I. Sobolevskij, *Переводная литература Московской Руси XIV–XVII вв. Библиографические материалы* (St Petersburg, 1903), 325.

35 Friars Arsenij / Pajij, *Описание Славянскихъ рукописей Библиотеки Свято-Троицкой Сергиевой Лавры*, 3 vols (Moskva, 1878–1879).

36 Ms. no. 730 [no. 1855], ff. 363–394, in *Описание Славянскихъ рукописей Библиотеки Свято-Троицкой Сергиевой Лавры* (note 35), III, 119–122, here 121. The manuscript is accessible online under the URL: <https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/304-i/f-304i-730/>.

37 *Описание Славянскихъ рукописей Библиотеки Свято-Троицкой Сергиевой Лавры* (note 35), III, 119–122, here 121.

38 Vostokov, *Описание русскихъ и словенскихъ рукописей* (note 28), 273a–274a, here 273b.

as the author of the catalogue of the St Troickaya Sergieva Lavra library already noticed characterizing the text as

Обличеніе Магометовыхъ лжеученій, раздѣл. на 17 главъ [Refutation of Mahomet's false teachings (or: misbeliefs), divided into 17 chapters]

and redirecting the reader to “Оп. Рум. Муз. стр. 273” [“the Catalogue of the Rumyantsev Museum, 273”] for further information.

Thus, there can be no doubt that the text contained in manuscript no. 730 [no. 1855], ff. 363–394, of the St Troickaya Sergieva Lavra library is but a copy of the same text being part of the manuscript no. 204, ff. 454a–491a, of the Rumyantsev Library.

One more copy of Riccoldo's text in Russian can be found also in a bundle of 22 different manuscripts (texts) stored in the library of the Monastery of St Paphnutius in Borovsk (Kaluga region) under the shelf mark Рук. no. 1. The manuscripts were copied on paper in the second half of the 16th century. The voluminous bundle consists of 491 leaves. Riccoldo's text (no. 22) is the very last work being part of that bundle and comprises the leaves 454a to 491a. The manuscript was identified and described in 1891 by Pavel Mikhailovič Stroeв (Moskva 1796–1876 Moskva).³⁹

Interestingly, the catalogue of the St Troickaya Sergieva Lavra library quoted here mentions on the same page in its description of manuscript no. 730 [no. 1855] one more text, copied on ff. 418–426, that bears almost the same title: “Сказаніе о вѣрѣ срациньстѣй” [“Account of the Saracen faith”], but begins (нач[ало]) differently with the words:

Есть же и донынѣ дръжащій преліцающе люди служба исмаилтеска, рекше вѣра срацинска [Until now, there are countless people of the Ismaelite religion or Saracen faith respectively].⁴⁰

However, to answer the question whether this text is another translation of Riccoldo's work or a completely different tractate, further comparative studies of both texts are needed.

An abbreviated version (“выписаны строки по нужѣ вкратцѣ вѣдѣнія ради”) of the Russian translation of Riccoldo's work can also be found in another manuscript

39 See Pavel M. Stroeв, *Описание рукописей монастырей Волоколамского, Новый Иерусалим, Саввина-Сторожевского и Пафнутиева-Боровского*, with introduction and indices by Nicolai Barsukov, St Petersburg 1891, 294–296, here p. 296 no. 1 (22).

40 Ms. no. 730 [no. 1855], ff. 418–426, in *Описание Славянскихъ рукописей Библиотеки Свято-Троицкой Сергіевой Лавры* (note 35), III, 121.

that is also preserved in the library of the St Troickaya Sergieva Lavra, i.e., in manuscript no. 812 [no. 1923] “Лампада или Сборник”, ff. 407a–412b, which according to its colophon was completed in the year 1665.⁴¹ The respective text on f. 407a begins with:

Сказаніе о срацыньской вѣрѣ, изложено бысть отъ латынина Риклада, и проч. [Account of the Saracen faith, authored by the Latin Riklad etc.]

To identify this tractate, the author of the catalogue refers the reader to his entry on the aforementioned manuscript no. 730: См. no. 730, л. 363 (see no. 730, f. 363) and explains that

Все эти строки, прибавимъ въ заключеніе, показываютъ огромную начитанность, обширныя свѣденія владельца рукописи [all these lines which we are quoting here, prove the enormous erudition and comprehensive knowledge of the master of the manuscript].⁴²

Unfortunately, wherever this Russian translation (or: translations?) of Riccoldo’s work is (are) mentioned, quoted or referred to, no name of a translator is given. Therefore, it (they) is (are) regarded to be the work of an anonymous scholar.

Nonetheless, the “Сказаніе о срацыньской вѣрѣ” [“Account of the Saracen faith”] was often used and widely spread; the above-mentioned Metropolitan Macarius was in part responsible for its dissemination.⁴³

Macarius/Makarij, born Mikhail (Moskva c. 1482–1563 Moskva), was the most notable cleric, theologian, historian and icon painter as well as high-ranking political figure in the first half of the 16th century in Russia. In 1523 appointed Archimandrite of the famous monastery in Mozhaysk, and in 1526 Archbishop of Novgorod and Pskov, in March 1542 he was elected Metropolitan of Moscow and all Russia and soon became one of the closest advisers to Czar Ivan IV Groznyi [“the Terrible”] (1530/1547–1584). During his campaign against the Kazan khanate, Ivan IV left Macarius in Moscow to “protect the czardom”, which made him a *de facto* temporary head of state.

41 Ms. no. 812 [no. 1923], ff. 407a–412b, in *Описание Славянскихъ рукописей Библиотеки Свято-Троицкой Сергіевой Лавры* (note 35), III, 263–264, here 264. The manuscript is accessible online under the URL: <https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/304-i/f-304i-812/#images-414-420>.

42 *Описание Славянскихъ рукописей Библиотеки Свято-Троицкой Сергіевой Лавры* (note 35), III, 264.

43 The literature about Macarius is too extensive to be summarized here.

In our context, however, Macarius deserves attention for his *opus magnum*, his “Великія Минеи Четїи” or, in modern orthography, “Великие Минеи Четїи” (*Veli-kiye Minei Čet’i*), sometimes also called “Четїи-Минеи” (“Čet’i-Minei”) or referred to as “Макарьевские Минеи (*Makar’evskiye Minei*): *The Great Menaion* (*Menaia*) or *Great Monthly Readings*”.⁴⁴

These *Great Monthly Readings* may be regarded as an official, authoritative collection of works relevant to the Russian Orthodox Church and its theological tradition and consist of a great variety of works including biblical books (with prologues and commentaries), *Paterika* (πατερικόν βιβλίον “father’s book”), i.e., “Lives of the Fathers”, original and/or translated hagiographic writings, works of Church Fathers and all sorts of theological (including polemical) writings of Greek and Russian ecclesiastical authors, and also translations of “Western” writings. All the works included into these *Great Monthly Readings* were selected by Macarius himself.

The *Great Monthly Readings* are arranged in twelve handwritten volumes with 1,500 to 2,000 folios each; each volume corresponds to a certain month (beginning with September, ending with August), and is subdivided into days. Today, several versions (recensions) of Macarius’ *Great Monthly Readings*, compiled and completed in the 1530s, 1540s and 1550s, are known:

The first version goes back to Macarius himself, who compiled it between the years 1529 and 1541 and handed it over to the St Sofia Cathedral in Novgorod; hence its name, *Sophia collection* (Софійский свод).⁴⁵ The second—augmented and most authoritative—version, completed in 1552,⁴⁶ was stored in the Library of the Cathedral

44 The Russian word минея (pl. минеи) is derived from the Greek μηναιον.

45 See the catalogue by Dimitrij I. Abramovič, *Софійская библиотечка (Описание рукописей)*, 3 vols (St Petersburg, 1905–1910), II (1907), 319, index s. v. Макарий, Московскій митрополигъ 9, 15, 41, 100, 109, 115, 124, 140, 144, 153; III (1910), 367, index s. v. Макарий, Московскій митрополигъ 11, 20, 21, 52, 54, 62, 111, 129, 134, 135, 136, 142, 144, 183, 232, 282.

46 This version was edited and published by the “Imperial Archaeographic Commission” (Императорская археографическая комиссия) under the title *Великие Минеи Четїи собранные всероссийским митрополитом Макарием*, 16 vols, St Petersburg, 1868–1916 (not complete, months May to August are missing). New edition: *Великие Минеи Четїи митрополита Макария. Поучения в Неделю святых Праотец* (St Petersburg, 2009 ff.) (to be completed). – A very ambitious German-Russian project to publish all monumental volumes in scholarly editions (including respective textual, philological etc. studies) that meet the requirements of modern text-critical editions, was launched at the beginning of the 1990s; but thus far, very few volumes came out of the press only. For further information see <https://www2.slavistik.uni-freiburg.de/Forschungsprojekte/lesemnaeen.htm>. – On the significance of Macarius’ *Great Monthly Readings* as monuments of old Russian religious literature see, Igumen Makarij (Veretennikov), ‘Великие Макарьевские Четїи-Минеи – сокровище духовной письменности Древней Руси’, in *Богословские труды* 29 (Moskva, 1989), 106–126.

of the Dormition of the Moscow Kremlin⁴⁷ and therefore is called *Dormition collection* (Успенский свод or Успенские Макарьевские Четвы Миней). A third version, the so-called *Czar's collection* or the *Czar's Monthly Readings* (Царский список or Царские Четвы Миней), was copied between the years 1559 and 1564 for presentation to Czar Ivan IV. This version, however, is not complete, as March and April are missing.⁴⁸ The fourth and fifth versions, the so-called *St Troickaya Sergieva Lavra copy* (Список Свято-Троицкой Сергиевой Лавры), because it is stored in the library of the St Troickaya Sergieva Lavra in Sergiev Posad,⁴⁹ and the *Chudov monastery copy* (Список Чудова монастыря), both copied in 1600,⁵⁰ are likewise incomplete. During the 17th and 18th centuries, the *Great Monthly Readings* were revised several times, among others, by German Tulupov, I. I. Milyutin and St Dimitryj of Rostov (Makarov 1665–1709 Rostov). St Dimitryj's version of the *Great Monthly Readings* is still in use today.

Here, in Macarius' *Great Monthly Readings*, Riccoldo's work can be found among the writings recommended to be read on 31 July, as F. Voronin observed:⁵¹

47 See the catalogue by Aleksandr V. Gorskij / Kapiton I. Nevostruev, *Описание славянских рукописей Московской Синодальной (Патриаршей) библиотеки*, 3 pts. in 6 vols (Moskva, 1855–1917; reprint: Monumenta linguae slavicae dialicti veteris, 2) (Wiesbaden, 1964), contains the description of Slavic manuscripts no. 1–576, continued by Tatyana N. Protas'eva, *Описание рукописей Синодального собрания (не вошедших в описание А. В. Горского и К. И. Невоструева)*, ed. M. V. Ščepkin, 2 vols (Moskva, 1970–1973), containing the description of manuscripts no. 577–1051. Cf. also the comprehensive indices compiled by Emel'yan M. Vitošinskij, *Указатель именной и предметный к труду А. В. Горского и К. И. Невоструева «Описание славянских рукописей Московской Синодальной библиотеки»* (Warszawa, 1915) [Reprint in Wiesbaden, 1964 (Monumenta linguae slavicae dialecti veteris, 6)].

48 See the catalogue by Aleksandr V. Gorskij – Kapiton I. Nevostruev, *Описание Великих Четвехъ-Миней Макария* (Чтения въ Императорскомъ Обществѣ Истории и Древностей Россійскихъ при Московскомъ Университетѣ (Moskva, 1884, no. 1; 1886, no. 1); and *Описание рукописей синодального собрания (не вошедших в описание А. В. Горского и К. И. Невоструева)*, ed. Tatyana N. Protas'eva, I: *Mss. no. 577–819*, II: *Mss. no. 820–1051* (Moskva, 1970–1973), I, 191–211: “Великие Миней-Четы Царские,” here MS no. 182: 203–205.

49 See the catalogue *Описание Славянскихъ рукописей Библиотеки Свято-Троицкой Сергиевой Лавры* (note 35).

50 See the catalogues by Nikolaj P. Petrov, ‘Книгохранилище Чудова монастыря’, *Памятники древней письменности* 5/4 (1897) 141–199, and Tatyana N. Protas'eva, *Описание рукописей Чудовского собрания*, ed. Nikolaj N. Pokrovskij (Novosibirsk, 1986), containing the description of 372 manuscripts of the Chudov Monastery, which once were part of the Patriarchal Library.

51 Vopoin, ‘Святитель Макарий, митрополит Московский и всяя Руси’ (note 33), 163.

Под 31 июля помещены: переводное сочинение Риклада Латинянина о сарацинской вере, содержащее в себе обличение магометанства [Under 31 July included: the translated work of the Latin [Catholic] Riklad on the Saracen faith, which contains a refutation of Islam].

Voronin, however, was not the first to make that observation. The same was already said by Vladimir Stepanovič Ikonnikov in his book on Maksim Grek:

Уже въ Минеяхъ Макарія новгород[ской] и москов[ской] ред[акцій] встрѣчается “Сказаніе о срацынской вѣрѣ,” о которомъ замѣчено: „Начало сей книзѣ изложено бысть отъ латынянина Риклада, сущу ему бывшу въ чину учителя по закону срачиньскому и паки возвратившюся ему къ своей вѣрѣ латыньстѣй“ (въ Великіе Минеи-Четьи „Царскіе“, см. мѣс. іюль № 182, л. 810–829, отд. въ 17 главахъ, Троицкой лав. № 730, XVI в.). Оригиналъ его греческій переводъ сочиненія Рихарда (XIII в.), сдѣланный Димитріемъ Кидонскимъ (спис. ориг. Синод, библ., № 360 [= по. 235]). Далѣе, появляются переводныя статьи, касающіяся Магомета, турокъ и ихъ завоеваніи (XV–XVI).⁵²

Already in the Novgorod and Moskva versions of Macarius' *Monthly Readings* the “Сказаніе о срацынской вѣрѣ” [“Account of the Saracen faith”] can be found, about which it is said: “Beginning of this book authored (or: narrated) by the Latin (Catholic) Riklad (i.e., Riccoldo); he had been in the position of a teacher of the Saracen religion and then returned to his Latin (Catholic) faith again” (in the Czar's' *Great Monthly Readings*, see mo[nth] July no. 182, ff. 810–829, div[ided] into 17 chapters, in the Troickaya Lavra [version] no. 730, 16th century). Its original is the Greek translation of a work by Riccoldo (13th century) that was done by Dimítrios Kidónis (for the original see Synodalnaya Biblioteka [Patriarchal Library], no. 360 [= no. 235]). Then follow translated treatises concerning Mahomet, the Turks and their conquests (15th/16th centuries).

Similar information is also given by the above-quoted Aleksej Ivanovič Sobolevskij. In his *Переводная литература Московской Руси XIV–XVII вв.* (*Translated Literature of the Moscovian Rus' 15th–16th Centuries*), Sobolevskij wrote:

52 Ikonnikov, *Максимъ Грекъ и его время* (note 26), 247; cf. Sobolevskij, *Переводная литература* (note 34), 235, 238.

Сказаніе о срацынской вѣрѣ. Начало сей книзѣ изложено бысть отъ латынина Риклада, сущу ему бывшую въ чину учителя по закону срачиньскому и паки возвратившюся ему къ своей вѣрѣ латыньстѣй вѣвсѣси (sic). Имущу предсловіе сицево. Начало: Колико есть днѣй раба твоего, когда сътвориши ми отъ гонящихъ мя судъ [...]. Извѣстно намъ по спискамъ іюльской книги Макарьевскихъ Миней, обѣихъ – новгородской и московской – редакцій (подъ 31 числомъ). Одинъ изъ списковъ – Троицкой Лавры № 730 – относится къ XVI вѣку. Переведено съ греческаго языка. Оригиналъ – греческій переводъ сочиненія нѣкогого Рихарда (XIII вѣка), сдѣланный Димитріємъ Кидонскимъ (списокъ оригинала – Синод. № 360 [= № 235])

Account of the Saracen faith. Beginning of this book authored [or: narrated] by the Latin (Catholic) Riklad (i.e., Riccoldo); he had been in the position of a teacher of the Saracen religion and then returned to his Latin (Catholic) faith again. That is what the preface says: Beginning [of the book]: Πόσαι εἰσὶν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ δούλου σου; πότε ποιήσεις μοι [...]. It [the book] is known to us from the compilations of the July volume of both Macarius' *Monthly Readings*, the Novgorod and Moskva recensions (under 31 July). One of these compilations, Troickaya Lavra no. 730, dates back to the 16th century [The book] is translated from the Greek language. The original, the Greek translation of the work of a certain Richard (13th century) was made by Dimitrij Kidonskij (copy of the original – Synodalnaya library no. 360 [= no. 235]).⁵³

As already observed (see pages 338–341), manuscript no. 204 of the Rumyantsev library was part of Macarius' library when he still was Archbishop in Novgorod. Therefore, it is very likely to assume that this manuscript served him as the source not only for his study of Riccoldo's work, but also as the text which he decided to include into his *Great Monthly Readings*, thus making it an official text of the Russian Orthodox Church.⁵⁴

However, Macarius did not include the complete Russian translation of Riccoldo's work into his *Monthly Readings*, for as Sobolevskij and others already noticed:

53 Sobolevskij, *Переводная литература* (note 34), 325.

54 Vohonin, 'Святитель Макарий, митрополит Московский и всяя Руси' (note 33), 213, note 442.

русский переводъ – неполный; въ немъ находятся только предсловіе, главы 1-я, 2-я, 13-17-я (всѣхъ главъ 17), именно главы съ историческимъ содержаніемъ [Russian translation – not complete; it contains the preface and chapters 1, 2 and 13 to 17 (from among 17 chapters) only, that is, those chapters that are of primarily historical content].⁵⁵

For what reason Macarius decided to select these chapters only, we do not know. Nevertheless, this abridged Russian version of Riccoldo's work found its way into all three major compilations (and subsequently most important printed editions) of the Metropolitan's *Great Monthly Readings*: (1) the *Sophia collection* (Софійское собрание), MS no. 1323 (completed in 1538), ff. 453a–464d;⁵⁶ (2) the *Dormition or Uspenskij Collection* (Успенский своД), MS no. 996 (completed in the early 16th century), ff. 462–476; and (3) the *Czar's collection* (Царский список), MS no. 182 (completed in 1559), ff. 810–829.⁵⁷

Archimandrite Iosif (Ivan Levickij, 1831–1891) is responsible for including both a comprehensive annotated overview of the contents and a detailed description of all texts in Macarius' *Great Monthly Readings*.⁵⁸ Based on the *Dormition or Uspenskij Collection* of Macarius' *Great Monthly Readings*, Archimandrite Iosif offers an exposé of the abridged version of Riccoldo's book that, after a short introduction:⁵⁹

ф. 462 Начало сей книзѣ изложено бысть отъ латынїна Риклада, сущу ему бывшу въ чину оучителя по закону саракиньскому. и паки възвратившюся ему къ своей вѣрѣ латыньстей въ вся си. имущу пресловіе сицево. Нач[ало]: Колико е[сть] дній раба твоего, ког[д]а сътвориши ми отъ гонящихъ мя соу[дѣ] etc. [Beginning of this book authored [or: narrated] by the Latin (Catholic) Riklad (i.e., Riccoldo); he had been in the position of a teacher of the Saracen religion and then returned to

55 Sobolevskij, *Переводная литература* (note 34), 325.

56 See, Abramovič, *Софійская библиотека* (note 47), II: *Четьи Миней*, no. 1323, 131–154: “Великая Миней Четья на м. июль [Great Monthly Readings for the month July],” and here 153–154: “под 31 июля [31st July].” Today, this manuscript (Соф. no. 1323) is stored in the Russian National Library (Российская национальная библиотека) and accessible online under the URL: <https://kp.rusneb.ru/item/material/velikie-minei-cheti-iyul>.

57 See note 47 above.

58 Archimandrite Iosif (Levickij), *Подробное оглавление Великих Четиих-Миней Всероссийского Митрополита Макария, хранящихся в Московской Патриаршей (ныне Синодальной) библиотеке*, 2 vols (Moskva, 1892).

59 Archimandrite Iosif, *Подробное оглавление* (note 58), II, col. 338–339.

his Latin (Catholic) faith again. That is what the preface says: Beginning [of the book]: Πόσαι εἰσὶν αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ δούσχου σου; πότε ποιήσεις μοι etc.]

lists the seven selected chapters, giving the number of the respective chapter, and then quoting from the Russian (i.e., Church Slavonic) translation, its title and its first two sentences: f. 463, ch. 1; f. 464, ch. 2; f. 465, ch. 13; f. 466, ch. 14; ff. 467–470, ch. 15; f. 471, ch. 16; ff. 472–473, ch. 17 (first part);⁶⁰ f. 474, ch. 17 (remainder). The exposé concludes with the paragraph: “Въ концѣ книги приписано: О прѣвнѣ св. Алексія митрополита въ Ордѣ, и о лѣтахъ Магомета” [“At the end of the book appended are (texts) on a Metropolitan St Alexius’s visit to the [Golden] Horde, and on Mahomet’s life”].⁶¹

This reference to the two texts appended to Riccoldo’s work convincingly proves that the manuscript that Metropolitan Macarius had at hand when selecting the chapters to be included into his *Monthly Readings* was indeed the manuscript that later belonged to Graf Romyancev’s library and is listed in its catalogue under no. 204, ff. 454a–491a (see pages 338–341),⁶² for, according to Vostokov’s description, in MS no. 204 the same two texts are copied at its very end.⁶³ Unfortunately, neither Archimandrite Iosif nor Aleksander Christoforovič Vostokov give any further information about which version of “Mahomet’s life” is referred to here. Thus, only further study of the manuscript will allow anything to be said about its identity and origin.⁶⁴

The other writing, however, retells a well-known story or rather legend related to St Alexius (born Elephtherius Fëdorovič Byakont, Moskva ?1304–1378 Moskva), who from 1354 was Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia.⁶⁵ According to the version of the

60 Here Archimandrite Iosif adds: “according to its content, it belongs to chapter 16;” see his *Подробное оглавление* (note 58), II, col. 339.

61 Archimandrite Iosif *Подробное оглавление* (note 58), II, col. 339.

62 Vostokov, *Описание русских и словенскихъ рукописей* (note 28), 270b–274b.

63 Vostokov, *Описание русских и словенскихъ рукописей* (note 28), 273b.

64 However, it might not be excluded that it is a Russian version of a text like *Vita Machometae* of uncertain origin and attributed to a certain twelfth century Adelphus (?); see, Bernhard Bischoff, ‘Ein Leben Mohammeds (Adelphus?) (Zwölftes Jahrhundert)’, in *Anecdota novissima. Texte des vierten bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 7) (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1984), 106–122, Latin text 113–122; on this text see Hans-Werner Goetz, *Die Wahrnehmung anderer Religion und christlich-abendländisches Selbstverständnis im frühen und hohen Mittelalter (5.–12. Jahrhundert)*, 2 vols (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013), I, 313–314. For the first time translated into German with commentary by Paul Dräger: ‘Ein Leben Mohammeds. Von einem unbekannten Verfasser (*Incerti auctoris Vita Machometae*)’, *Millennium* 15 (2004), 177–231.

65 A. A. Turilov / R. A. Sedova, ‘Алексий (Alexius)’, in *Православная энциклопедия*, I (Moskva, 2000), 637–648.

story transmitted in the *First Sofijskaya Chronicle* (Софийская первая летопись),⁶⁶ in August 1357, the Khan of the Golden Horde, Jani Beg (Джанибек or Жанибек, d. 1357), after having successfully conducted a military campaign against Azerbaijan that culminated in the conquest of the city of Tabriz, summoned the Metropolitan to his residence and asked him to cure his mother Taidula or Taitugly-Khatun (d. 1361) who was suffering from a serious eye disease, possibly blindness. Metropolitan St Alexius went to the Khan's residence and miraculously healed his mother. As a token of appreciation and expression of his thankfulness, the Khan—as the story relates—freed the Orthodox Church from taxes and granted the Metropolitan a piece of land in the Moscow Kremlin, on which St Alexius together with the Venerable Sergius of Radonezh (1314–1392) founded the later famous Chudov Monastery.⁶⁷

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It was, however, not only Riccoldo's anti-Islamic polemic *Contra legem Sarracenorum* or *Improbatio Alcorani* that was known and spread in Russia and—as we will see—in Poland as well. His *Liber peregrinationis*,⁶⁸ his itinerary to the countries of the East, was no less known, finding its way to Russia and Poland in a French translation rather than in its original Latin version.

Riccoldo had written his itinerary in Latin, but long before the Latin text was ever printed, it appeared on the market translated into other languages. Whereas the itinerary's original Latin version, based on its Berlin manuscript (Staatsbibliothek lat. 4°.466, ff. 1r–24r: *Liber peregrinationis fratris Ricculdi Ordinis Predicatorum*), was published for the first time only in 1864,⁶⁹ it was made accessible much earlier through

66 See, *Полное собрание русских летописей*, I, pt. 1: *Софийская первая летопись* (Moskva, 2000), cols. 432–433; cf. Elena Lebedeva, 'Чудов монастырь в Москве', in *Православие* (internet journal), <https://www.pravoslavie.ru/53.html>.

67 The Chudov Monastery was destroyed by the Soviets in 1929–1930.

68 Riccoldo de Monte Croce, *Pérégrination en Terre Sainte et au Proche Orient : texte latin et traduction. Lettres sur la chute de Saint-Jean d'Acre*. Traduction par René Kappler (Textes et traductions des classiques français du Moyen Âge, 4), Paris: Honoré Champion, 1997. Cf. Pietro Amat di San Filippo, *Biografia dei viaggiatori italiani colla bibliografia delle loro opere* (Studi biografici e bibliografici sulla storia della geografia in Italia, 1) (Rome, 1882), 687–690; Jacobus Quétif et Jacobus Échard, *Scriptores ordinis Predicatorum recensiti, notisque historicis et criticis illustrati*, 2 vols (Paris, 1719–1721), I, 504–506; Titus Tobler, *Bibliographia geographica Palaestinae. Zunächst kritische Übersicht gedruckter und ungedruckter Beschreibungen der Reisen ins Heilige Land* (Leipzig: Verlag von SD. Hirzel, 1867), 30–31.

69 *Peregrinatores medii aevi quatuor, Burchardus de Monte Sion, Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, Odoricus de Foro Julii, Wilbrandus de Oldenborg*, quorum duos nunc primum edidit, duos ad fidem

its French and Italian translations. Its (first) French translation, completed as early as 1351, circulated in several manuscripts under different titles (e.g., *Le ytineraire de la peregrination frere Riculd de l'ordre des freres precheurs*),⁷⁰ before its *editio princeps* came out of the press in Paris in 1529 (*recte* 1530). The first Italian translation of the itinerary was made in 1783 and the second in 1794.⁷¹ Finally, in 2006, Riccoldo's itinerary appeared in a modern Russian translation.⁷²

The (first) French translation of Riccoldo's itinerary was the work of the Benedictine monk Jean le Long d'Ypres (Jean de Longdit, Johannes Longus Yperius or Iperius, c. 1340 [?]1315]–1383), Abbott of the famous Saint-Bertin Monastery in Saint Omer,⁷³ who is also known for his translations (from Latin into French) of some other travelogues and related books written in the 13th century, among them

- the Franciscan monk Odoric de Pordenone's (Pordenone c. 1286–1331 Udine) *Relation du Frère Odoric de Frioul (Itinerarium de mirabilibus orientalium Tartarorum)*, written in 1329–1330 about his travels to China;
- the Armenian historian Hayton or Héthoum de Korykos's (c. 1230 [1245?])–c. 1309) *La fleur des estoires d'Orient*, written in 1307 and translated on the basis of its Latin version prepared by Niccolò Falconi;⁷⁴

librorum manuscriptorum recensuit Johann Christian Moritz Laurent (Leipzig, 1864; ²1873), 101–141; cf. the commentary thereon by Pierre Mandonnet, 'Fra Ricoldo de Monte-Croce, pèlerin en Terre Sainte et missionnaire en orient. XIIIe siècle', *Revue Biblique* 2 (1893), 44–61, 182–202, 584–607.

⁷⁰ On the extant manuscripts see, Marco Robecchi's article in this volume.

⁷¹ *Itinerario ai paesi orientali di fra Riccoldo da Monte di Croce Domenicano scritto del XIII secolo*, dato ora in luce da fra Vincenzio Fineschi Sacerdote dello stesso ordine (Florence: nella stamperia di Francesco Mouïcke, 1783; ²1794); ne edition: *Il libro delle peregrinazioni nelle parti d'Oriente di fra Ricoldo da Montecroce*, ed. Ugo Monneret de Villard (Rome: Ist. Storico Domenicano, 1948).

⁷² *Миссия проповедника [The Mission of the Preacher]*, in Nikolai S. Gorelov, *Книга странствий* (St Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo «Azbyka-klassika», 2006), 140–200.

⁷³ On him see, Henri de Laplane, *Les abbés de Saint-Bertin d'après les anciens monuments de ce monastère* (Saint-Omer, 1854), I, 329–346; Gillette Tyl-Labory, 'Jean Le Long', in *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le Moyen Âge*, ed. Geneviève Hasenohr et Michel Zink (Paris: Fayard, 1992 [²1994]), 805–806, and Steven Vanderputten, 'Jean de Langhe', in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy and Cristian Bratu (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 909.

⁷⁴ Cf. Sven Dörper, *Die Geschichte der Mongolen des Hethum von Korykos (1307) in der Rückübersetzung durch Jean le Long, Traitiez des estas et des conditions de quatorze royaumes de Aise (1351), kritische Edition mit parallelem Abdruck des lateinischen Manuskripts Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, R 262* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1998).

- the Dominican friar Guillaume or Wilhelm de Boldensele's (born Otto de Nyenhusen, d. c. 1339 Cologne) *L'estat de la Terre sainte et aussi en partie de la terre de Egipte (Liber de quibusdam ultramarinis partibus et praecipue de Terra sancta)*
- *L'estat et gouvernance du grant kaan de Cathay, souverain empereur des Tartres (De statu, conditione ac regimine magni Canis)*, an account of the Mongol Empire in China and the Franciscan missions there, written between 1316 and 1334 and attributed to the Archbishop of Sultaniyeh, and finally
- the Emperor of China's *Lettres du Grand Khan au souverain pontife aux chrétiens d'Orient*, dispatched by his embassy in 1338 to Pope Benedict XII (born Jacobus Novelli or Jaume Nouvel/Jacques de Nouvelles, Savardun c. 1285/1334–1342 Avignon).

Together with his French translation of Riccoldo's *Liber peregrinationis*, Le Long's collection of translations was first published by Julien Hubert and Jean Saint-Denis in Paris in 1529 (*recte* 1530) under the title *L'hystoire merveilleuse, plaisante et recreative du grand empereur de Tartarie, seigneur des tartares, nommé le Grand chan*.⁷⁵

One of the manuscripts (copies) of Le Long's French translation of Riccoldo's *Liber peregrinationis* is stored until today in the Russian State Library (Российская Государственная Библиотека) under item number Ф.256 no. 602, ff. 2a–75b (the manuscript is accessible online: <https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/256/f256-602/#images-7-81>). In the library's catalogue, the manuscript is described as

Путешествие на Ближний восток монаха Рикюльда де Монтекруа, 1296 г. Книга о путешествии брата Рикюльда на Восток была написана на латинском языке и переведена на французский братом Жаном Лелонгом из Ипра, в 1351 г. Сохранность: полная [Journey of Friar Rikuld de Montekruya to the Near East, in the year 1296. The Book on Friar Rikuld's journey to the East was written in Latin and translated into French by Friar Jean Lelong of Ypres in the year 1351. State of preservation (of the manuscript): complete (i.e. 76 II leaves in folio)].

⁷⁵ Re-edition of Jean le Long's French translation in Louis de Backer, *L'Extrême Orient au Moyen Âge d'après les manuscrits d'un flamand de Belgique moine de Saint-Bertin à Saint-Omer et d'un prince d'Arménie moine de Prémontré à Poitiers* (Paris, 1877), 256–334. Cf. the description of the edition in Arthur Dinaux et al., *Archives historiques et littéraires*, I: *Les hommes et les choses du nord de la France et du midi de la Belgique* (Valenciennes: Archives du Nord, 1783), 521a–522b, s.v. "Jehan de Long Dit."

In addition to that, the entry in the library catalogue informs that the manuscript once also belonged to the private library of the aforementioned Graf (Count) Nikolai Petrovič Rumyantsev. On the occasion of a travel to France, Graf Rumyantsev (himself a “fan” of French literature) had commissioned the copy and brought it to Russia to store it in his private library, nowadays part of the Russian State Library.⁷⁶ However, Aleksander Christoforovič Vostokov’s catalogue of Rumyantsev’s private library does not contain any entry on this manuscript, simply because he catalogued only manuscripts written in [Old] Slavonic and/or in Russian, as he explicitly stated on the title page. Nevertheless, the existence of the manuscript was made known in Russia in the 1830s and 1840s.

One of the first scholars—if not *the* first—to study that manuscript was the German-born Russian historian, linguist, philosopher and bibliographer Friedrich von Adelung (1768–1843), alias Fëdor Pavlovič Adelung (Stettin 1768–1843 St Petersburg), as he called himself in Russian. In addition to a number of other books that he authored, he also wrote (in German) an analysis of travel writings (itineraries and memoirs) about Russia prior to 1700 that was published posthumously in two volumes in St Petersburg in 1846.⁷⁷ Some 15 years later, these two volumes were translated into Russian and printed in Moscow.⁷⁸ In the first volume, there is a chapter on Riccoldo’s itinerary.⁷⁹

Interestingly, an English translation of von Adelung’s chapter on Riccoldo appeared in print as early as in 1851, authored and published by Richard Henry Major (1818–1891), geographer and curator of the map collection of the British Museum. Preparing for print the edition of an English translation of Siegmund (Sigismund) Freiherr von Herberstein’s (Wippach 1486–1566 Wien) most important *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii*,⁸⁰ Major not only studied von Adelung’s work, but translated several of

76 Cf. Klevenskij, *История библиотеки Московского публичного Румянцевского музея* (note 27).

77 Friedrich von Adelung, *Kritisch-literarische Übersicht der Reisenden in Rußland bis 1700*, 2 vols (St Petersburg, 1846).

78 Friedrich von Adelung, *Критико-литературное обозрение путешественников по России до 1700 г. и их сочинений*, 2 vols (Moskva, 1864).

79 Adelung, *Kritisch-literarische Übersicht der Reisenden in Rußland* (note 77), I, 121–122; in the Russian translation (note 78), I, 79–81.

80 Sigismund von Herberstein, *Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii. Synoptische Edition der lateinischen und der deutschen Fassung letzter Hand Basel 1556 und Wien 1557*, erstellt von Eva Maurer und Andreas Fülberth, redigiert und herausgegeben von Hermann Beyer-Thoma (München: Osteuropa Institut, 2007). On the author see, Friedrich von Adelung, *Siegmund Freiherr von Herberstein. Mit besonderer Ruecksicht auf seine Reisen in Russland* (St Petersburg, 1818); Egor E. Zamyslovskij, *Герберштейнъ и его историко-географическія извѣстія о Россіи съ приложеніемъ матеріаловъ для историко-географическаго атласа Россіи XVI в.* (St Pe-

its chapters and included them in full into the *Introduction* to his edition; among them von Adelung's chapter 12

on Riccoldo da Montecroce. 1296.

In 1296, Riccoldo da Montecroce, or Ricaldus de Monte Crucis, a Dominican of Florence, Sanctius de Bolea, Guillelmus Bernardi, Bernardus Guille, and several other monks, were sent by Pope Boniface VIII to the Saracens, Bulgarians, Kumans, Alans, Chazars, Goths, Russians, Nestorians, Georgians, Tatars, and other oriental and northern people; and Riccoldo left [p. XLVIII] an "Itinerarium peregrinationis" of his travels, the original text of which is not, however, extant. Jean Lelong, a Benedictine monk of Ypres, translated the work into French in 1351, and through this translation we are acquainted with Riccoldo's travels.

Four copies of Lelong's translation are known, which correspond with each other pretty well. One, which contains, with the travels of Haitho, those of Oderic, Boldensel, and the Archbishop of Sultanieh, in folio, adorned with miniatures, is to be found in the Royal Library of Paris, marked No. 7500 C. A copy of this was made by the Chancellor Baron Rumänzow, which is to be found in the library of the Rumänzow Museum, under No. 40. This translation bears the following title –

Cy commence le livre de peregrination de l'itineraire et du voyage que fist ung bon preu d'omme des freres precheurs qui ot nom frere Riculd, qui par le commendement du Saint Pere ala oultre mer pour prechier aux mescreans la foy de Dieu, et sont en ce traictié par ordonnance contenuz les royaumes pays et provinces, les manieres diverses des gens, les loys, les sectes, les creances, etc. Et fut ce livre translatez du Latin en François en l'an de grâce mil cccii fait et compilé par frere Jehan Lelong d'Ypre, moine de l'eveschée de taroenne. Folio.

It was printed with Haitho's work, entitled –

tersburg, 1884); *450 Jahre Sigismund von Herbersteins Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii: 1549–1999*, ed. Frank Kämpfer (Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des östlichen Europa, 24) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002).

L'hystore merueilleuse plaisante et recreative du grand empereur de Tartarie, seigneur des Tartares, nomme le grand Can, etc. Paris, 1529; sm. f.

The second copy of Lelong's translation is to be [p. xlix] found in the City Library of Berne, in the same manuscript containing Marco Polo.

The third, in the Cotton Collection of manuscripts, British Museum, with the press-mark, Otho D. II.

The fourth, in the Archiepiscopal Library of Mentz. An extract of the "Peregrination" will be found in Murray's "Discoveries and Travels in Asia", vol. I, p. 197, etc.

Ricold de Montecroix, voyageur et missionnaire en Asie. In *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques* par M. Abel-Rémusat, vol. II, p. 199–202.⁸¹

In our context, it is worthwhile to notice that Friedrich von Adelung, the author of this chapter, though living and writing in St Petersburg in the first decades of the 19th century, had not only information of, but apparently also access to, the 1529 Paris edition of Riccoldo's travelogue, which he quotes word for word.

From among the chapters of Riccoldo's *Liber peregrinationis*, for the readers in the Eastern part of Europe of particular interest were, of course, chapters IX to XII, containing Riccoldo's account of the peoples and countries of the East, and foremost his reports on the Tatars and Mongols,⁸² and it certainly would be an interesting subject for further studies to search systematically for traces of Riccoldo's itinerary in Russian and Polish historiographical, geographical and travel writings.⁸³

81 [Richard Henry Major (ed.)] *Notes upon Russia: Being a Translation of the Earliest Account of that Country, entitled Rerum Moscovitarum Commentarii by the Baron Sigismund von Herberstein, Ambassador from the Court of Germany to the Grand Prince Vasiliev Ivanovich, in the years 1517 and 1526*, translated and edited with Notes and Introduction by R[ichard] H[enry] Major, 2 vols (London, 1851), I, 47–49.

82 That in that regard to this day nothing has changed, can be inferred from the modern Russian reception of Riccoldo's itinerary; cf. Gorelov's translation as printed in his *Книга странствий* (note 72) that focuses on the same chapters, too (140–200).

83 See the material collected by Zamyslovskij, *Герберштейн и его историко-географическія извѣстія о Россіи* (note 80), esp. 316ff., 329ff., 341ff., 353ff.; cf. also Roman Hautala, 'Католические миссионеры в империи монголов (XIII–XIV вв.)', *Східний світ* 2–3 (2013) 74–80.

RICCOLDO IN POLISH

In the Polish context, i.e., in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, Riccoldo became known primarily through imported editions of his works, comprising individual editions of his writings, as well as editions containing one or more of them, such as Theodor Bibliander's Qur'an edition (see above note 11), which found their way first into private collections and later on into public libraries. From the 15th and 16th centuries, a number of Polish and Lithuanian noble families had owned sometimes rich private libraries with many manuscripts and printed books; and from the 18th century some of them were made public libraries and, thus, opened to the public. In addition, from the early 18th century catalogues of these libraries were arranged, and many of them appeared as printed books.

The most famous of these libraries to mention but one only, was undoubtedly the library founded by the Załuski brothers, i.e., Bishop Andrzej Stanisław Załuski (Jedlińsk 1695–1758 Kielce), Bishop of Płock (from 1723), Łuck (1736), Chełmno (1739) and finally Kraków (1746), politician, senator and in the years 1735 to 1746 Chancellor of the Great Crown, and Bishop Józef Andrzej Załuski (Warszawa 1702–1774 [he died imprisoned in Kaluga, Russia]), Bishop of Kiev, politician and diplomat, and not least a renowned bibliophile and bibliographer, and author of many books. Together, the two brothers collected a library of more than 450,000 books and manuscripts that in the 18th century was one of the largest book collections in the world. On 8 August 1747 they opened their library and made it accessible to the public, thus, founding the first public library in the Eastern part of Europe.⁸⁴

An impressive, alphabetically arranged lexicon of the most important private and public libraries and archives, which down to the second half of the 19th century existed in the territory of the Polish Kingdom, Galicia, the Grand Duchy of Poznań and the Western provinces of the Russian Empire (that is, those territories that prior to its partition at the end of the 18th century were part of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth), was compiled by Franciszek Radziszewski (1817–1885), librarian, bibliographer and teacher in Radziszewo Króle (Podlasie). In this lexicon, the author not only presented the public and private libraries and archives, outlining their history

84 The first catalogue of that library was compiled by its first librarian Jan Daniel Janocki (alias Johann Daniel Jänisch or Janozki; Międzychód 1720–1786 Warszawa) and published in German: *Nachricht von denen in der Hochgräflich Zaluskischen Bibliothek sich befindenden raren polnischen Büchern*, I (Dreßden [Dresden]: bey George Conrad Walther, 1747); II–V (Breßlau [Wrocław]: bey Johann Jacob Korn, 1749–1753); and Jan Daniel Janocki, *Specimen catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Zaluscianae* (Dresdae [Dresden], bey George Conrad Walther, 1752).

and developments, but also provided valuable bibliographical information about their treasures and catalogues.⁸⁵ However, many of these libraries did not survive, being destroyed during wars or taken away by the victors,⁸⁶ or, as after the partitions of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, were removed to Prussia, Austria, and, above all, to Russia, such as the Załuski Library which in 1794/5 Czarina Ekatarina II ordered to be transferred to St Petersburg, where it became the nucleus of the Imperial Public Library (opened in 1814 and today the Russian National Library, St Petersburg).⁸⁷ In addition, the later destruction of libraries during World War I and World War II must not be overlooked.⁸⁸ This is, however, not the right place to go into more detail; but the reference to these libraries and their catalogues allows us to maintain that Riccoldo was present in the Polish–Lithuanian context as well: Riccoldo's works are listed in a number of (printed) catalogues, and despite their often tragic history and vicissitudes of their fate, in some libraries at least they are still extant and accessible today. To give just a few examples:

A copy of the *editio princeps* of Riccoldo's refutation of the Qur'an printed in Seville in 1500 under the title *Improbatio Alcorani* (with its Spanish translation *Reprobación del Alcorán* following a year later in 1501, and reprinted in Toledo 1502) can be found

85 Franciszek Radziszewski, *Wiadomość historyczno-statystyczna o znakomitszych bibliotekach i archiwach publicznych i prywatnych tak niegdyś byłych jako i obecnie istniejących w krajach dawną Polskę składających, a mianowicie: w Królestwie Polskim, Galicyi, W. Ks. Poznańskiem i zachodnich guberniach Państwa Rossyjskiego* (Wilno, 1875); cf. also *Kolekcje historyczne: Księgozbiory szlacheckie XVI–XVII wieku*, I, ed. Ewa Wyszynska, II, ed. Krystyna Opalińska & Marianna Czapnik (Prace Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie, 30, 32), Warszawa: WUW, 2004–2009, and the website "Biblioteki XVII wieku w Polsce" (<https://www.whk.up.krakow.pl/biblioteki/bib17/index.html>).

86 Like the library of the once famous Jesuit Seminar in Braniewo that is now part of the University Library in Uppsala (Sweden); see, Michał Spandowski, 'Biblioteka dawnego Kolegium Jezuickiego w Braniewie w zbiorach biblioteki uniwersyteckiej w Uppsali', in *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. Wojciech Walczak – Karol Łopatecki, thus far vols I–VI (Zachowanie polskiego dziedzictwa narodowego, 2–3, 6, 10–12; Białystok, 2010ff.), II, 93–102.

87 See, e.g., *The Inventory of Manuscripts from the Załuski Library in the Imperial Public Library*, ed. Olga N. Bleskina and Natalia A. Elagina (Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 2013), and Tomasz Szewczyński, *Biblioteka Załuskich w Petersburgu / Библиотека Залуцких в Петербурге*, online: <https://www.polskipetersburg.pl/hasla/biblioteka-zaluskich-w-petersburgu>.

88 Cf., e.g., Jan Świeczyński, *Katalog skradzionych i zaginionych dóbr kultury / Catalogue of stolen and missing cultural achievements*, ed. Wojciech Jaskulski – Piotr Ogrodzki (Warszawa, 1988), and the website of the *Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa / Institute of National Heritage* and the material published in its quarterly *Ochrona Zabytków* (a bibliography of all relevant issues published between 1948 and 2010, in *Ochrona Zabytków* 64 [2011], no. 252–255).

in the National Muzeum of Kraków, stored there among the volumes that once were owned by Count Emeryk Zachariasz Mikołaj Hutten-Czapski (Stańków n. Minsk 1828–1896 Kraków),⁸⁹ a polyglot high-ranking Polish official in the Czarist administration, who was at the same time a passionate bibliophile and well known for his impressive, remarkably rich private library and collection of coins and medals.⁹⁰ In the catalogue of his library, Riccoldo appears under the name *Riccoldus Florentinus*, i.e., as spelled on the title page of the *editio princeps* of his book.

Another copy of the *editio princeps* is part of the collection of the famous Czartoryski Library in Kraków (shelf no. Ink. 278 II). The Czartoryski Library holds also an incunabulum containing Riccoldo's *Confutatio Alcorani seu legis Saracenorum / ex graeco nuper in latrinum traducta* (shelf no. Ink. 225 II), which according to the catalogue entry was printed in Rome in 1485 (34 leaves in 4°).⁹¹ In addition to that, the Czartoryski Library is owner of a fine manuscript (186 leaves in 8° *una manu scriptum*) that was copied in Florence in the 15th century. According to a note on the front page, the manuscript once was part of the private library of the well-known historian Tadeusz Czacki (Poryck [today Pavlivka, Ukraine] 1765–1813 Dubno) and, under the name of *Ricoldus de Florentia*, contains (*inter alia*) two of Riccoldo's works in Latin: on ff. 1r–119v *Liber de redemptione de cautione terrae sanctae Ricoldi de Florentia* (incipit: 'Postquam divino propiciacionis munificencia [...]'), and on ff. 120r–167r *Incipit libellus fratris Ricoldi de Florentia ordinis predicatorum contra legem Sarracenorum et dividitur in 17 capitula*.⁹²

Since in earlier Polish literature Riccoldo is equally referred to as *Ricoldus* or *Ricardus Florenczyk* (*Ricoldus* or *Ricardus Florentinus* or *Riccoldus de Florentia* respectively), it can be assumed that the Seville edition as well as the aforementioned manuscript must have reached Poland well before the 19th century, all the more so, as it was a

89 Riccoldus Florentinus: *Improbatio Alcorani*, ed. Antonio de la Peña (Sevilla: Stanislaus Polonus, 1500), 34 ff. in 4° / shelf no. MNK VIII–XV.104. Cf. the book description in Iwona Długopolska, *Różnimy się w wierze. Dowody koegzystencji wieloreligijnej na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie* (Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 2015), 53–54, and *Inkunabuly w bibliotekach polskich / Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, ed. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa (Wrocław: ex Officina Institutii Ossoliniani, 1970), no. 4764.

90 *Catalogue de la collection des médailles et monnaies polonaises*, 5 vols (St Petersburg, 1871–1916).

91 The incunabulum is accessible online under the URL: <https://cyfrowe.mnk.pl/dlibra/publication/1244> (Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich) (retrieved 28.08.2020).

92 For a detailed description of that manuscript see, Stanisław Kutrzeba, *Catalogus codicum manu scriptorum Musei Principum Czartoryski Cracoviensis*, II, Cracoviae [Kraków] 1908–1913, pp. 199–200. The incunabulum is accessible online under the URL: <https://cyfrowe.mnk.pl/publication/19014> (Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich) (retrieved 28.08.2020).

Polish book printer, Stanislaus Polonus (Stanislao del Reyno de Polonia, Stanisław z Królestwa Polskiego, or Stanisław z Polski, d. after 1552), to whom we owe the *editio princeps* of Riccoldo's original Latin text, printed in Seville in 1500.⁹³ The import of the book from Spain to Poland was undertaken by intermediaries for Polish Jesuits, who were well known for their close contacts with their fellow *fratres* of the *Societas Jesu* in Spain, Italy and France, and contributed significantly to the dissemination of Western anti-Islamic polemical literature in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.⁹⁴

The 1511 Paris edition of Riccoldo's book, that is: Bartholomaeus Picens de Montearduo's Latin retranslation of Riccoldo's work from Dimítrios Kydónis' Greek version and printed under the different title *Contra sectam Mahumeticam*,⁹⁵ is listed by Karol (Józef Teofil) Estreicher (Kraków 1827–1908 Kraków), bibliographer and long-standing director of the Jagiellonian (University) Library and “father of the *Polish National Bibliography*”,⁹⁶ as part of the Polish National Library.⁹⁷

Copies of Theodor Bibliander's Qur'an edition (with Riccoldo's *opus* being part of volume 2) are stored *inter alia* in the Jagiellonian (University) Library in Kraków⁹⁸

93 See Aloys Ruppel, *Stanislaus Polonus, ein polnischer Frühdrucker in Spanien* (München: Oficyna Warszawska im Ausland, 1946); new (enlarged) edition: *Stanislaus Polonus: polski drukarz i wydawca wczesnej doby w Hiszpanii*, transl. by Tadeusz Zapiór (Warszawa, 1970). At the beginning, Stanislaus worked together with the German printer Meinard Ungut (d. 1499 in Seville). Riccoldo's book was the first book that Stanislaus printed alone, after the passing away of his companion, and taking this opportunity to introduce a new signet: *S. Polonus* (see, *Improbatio Alcorani*, f. 34r).

94 Cf. Stefan Schreiner, 'Anti-Islamic Polemics in Eastern European Context: Translation and Reception of "Western Writings" on Islam in Polish Literature (16th–18th Centuries)', in *Esperienza e rappresentazione dell'islam nell'Europa mediterranea (secoli XVI–XVIII)*, a cura di Andrea Celli e Davide Scotto, monographic issue of the *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 51 (2015), 541–584.

95 Ricardus (de) Montecrucis, *Contra Sectam Mahumeticam* (1–18b), *De Moribus, conditionibus et nequitia Turcorum* (19a–62b), *De Vita et Moribus Judeorum Victorie de Carben* (63a–86b) (Parisiis [Paris]: ex officina Henrici Stephani, 1511), 4°, 2b–3a: table of content of Riccoldo's 17 chapters.

96 *Bibliografia Polska*, vols I–XXII (Kraków, 1872–1908), continued by his son Stanisław Ambroży Estreicher (Kraków 1869–1939 Sachsenhausen) and his grandson Karol Estreicher (Kraków 1918–1984 Kraków), until vol. XXXIV (Kraków, 1951).

97 *Bibliografia Polska* (note 96), vol. XXII, 541a; online <https://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/skany/>

98 *Catalogus librorum saeculi XVI qui in Bibliotheca Iagellonica Cracoviensis asservantur / Katalog druków XVI wieku ze zbiorów Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*: BJ 16, curavit Marianus Malicki; confecerunt Margarita Gószka [et al.], 8 vols (Bibliotheca bibliographica Aureliana, 192–199; Baden-Baden: Koerner, 2002–2007), II (2002): *Bibliander – Cz.*; shelf no. 2.430.470 A.

and the Warsaw University Library.⁹⁹ In addition to these, Riccoldo appears under the names *Richardus de Montecrucis* and *Richardus Florentinus* respectively in the printed catalogue of the library of the then-called *St Vladimir Imperial University* (Императорский университет Святого Владимира) in Kiev, which was opened on 8 November 1833. Consulting that catalogue, its reader/user is redirected to the following entries:

No. 9965 *Confutatio Alcorani seu legis Saracenorum*, [a *Richardo de Montecrucis* latine scripta, a *Demetrio Cydonio* graece versa] ex graeco nuper in latinum traducta [a *Bartholomaeo Piceno de Montearduo. S. l., an. et typ. not.*] in-4,¹⁰⁰ and

No. 51450 *Vitae* (Machumetis, Saracenor. principis, eiusq. succeseorum) ipseq. Alcoran, quo velut authentico legum divinar. codice Agareni et Turcae aliiq. Christo adversantes populi reguntur; quae, ante annos 400, vir multis nominib. etc. Petrus abbas cluniacensis, per viros eruditos, ad fidei christiana ac sanctae matris ecclesiae propugnationem, ex arabica lingua in lat. transferri curavit etc. Haec omnia in unum volumen redacta sunt, opera et studio *Th[eo]d[o]r[i]*. *Bibliandri*, qui collatis etiam exemplarib. lat. et arab. Alcorani textum emendavit et marginib. apposuit annotationes, quib. doctrinae Machumeticae absurditas, contradictiones, origines errorum divinaeq. scripturae depravationes atq[ue] alia id genus indicantur etc. [Basil. 1543]. in-f.

Access: Confutationes legis Machumeticae, quam vocant Alcoranum, singulari industria ac pietate a doctissimis atq. optimis viris, partim latine, partim graece etc. olim scriptae, ac magno studio hinc inde conquisitae inq. lucem editae. Quor. catalogum versa pagina continet. Adiecta quoq. est *L. Vivis Valentini*, viri doctiss[imi], de Mahumete et Alcorano eius censura, ex libris

99 *Katalog druków XVI wieku w zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie / Catalogue of the XVI century printed books from the collections of the Warsaw University Library*, ed. Teresa Komender – Halina Mieczkowska, 7 vols (Prace Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie, 26,1–7) (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1994–2017), II, pt. 2, B: *Bibliander* – Bzowski, no. 9331/95, and II, pt. 1, no. 3649/99.

100 *Каталогъ книгъ библиотеки императорскаго университета Св. Владимира / Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Caesariae Universitatis S. Vladimiri*, 5 vols (Kiev, 1854–1858), I (1854–1855): A–C, 312b, no. 9965.

ipsius de veritate fidei christianae decerpta, una cum alijs lectu dignissimis etc.

Historiae de Saracenor[um] a[tque] Turcar[um] origine, morib[us], nequitia, religione, reb[us] gestis etc., deq. itinerib[us] in Turciam; una cum vitis omnium turcicor. imperatorum ad nostra usq. tempora alijsq. lectu dignissimis etc. Quor[um] catalogum proxima statim pagella indicabit etc.

Ioannis Cantacuzeni, constantinopolitani regis, contra Mahometicam fidem christiana et orthodoxa assertio, graece conscripta ante annos fere 200, nunc vero latinitate donata, *Rodolpho Gualthero Tigurino* interprete etc. Basil. [1543].

Του ευσεβεστατου και φιλοχριστου βασιλεως Ιωαννου του Καντακουζηνου του δια του και μοναχικου μετονομασθεντος Ιωασαφ Μοναχου κατα της των Σαρακηνων αιρεσεως απολογιαι δ. Του αυτον κατα του Μωαμεθ λογοι δ. Christianae religionis acerrimi propugnatoris, D. *Ioannis Cantacuzeni*, imperatoris constantinopolitani, qui assumpto monachi habitu *Ioasaph Monachus* est cognominatus, contra Saracenor. haeresim, pro christiana religione apologiae IV. Eiusd[em] contra Mahometem orationes IV, nunc primum in lucem editae [gr.] etc. Basil.¹⁰¹

A systematic study of Central and Eastern European libraries and their extant catalogues certainly would unearth many more examples.

The mere “physical” presence of a book, however, does not yet say anything about its being read and used. But with regard to the Seville edition of Riccoldo’s book as well as Bibliander’s Qur’an edition, we have reason to assume that they were read and used indeed, as can be inferred at least from their quotations in Polish books on anti-Islamic polemics, on which I gave an overview in my 2015 article. An example is that of the Jesuit Teofil (Bogumil) Rutka (Kiev Voivodship 1622–1700 Lwów), philosopher and theologian, who undoubtedly was the most important interpreter-translator of “Western” anti-Islamic polemical writings into Polish and at the same time a remarkably prolific writer and author of polemical literature. He had lived and worked for some time as a missionary in Istanbul, where he learned Turkish and Arabic and studied Turkish his-

101 *Κατάλογος книгъ библиотеки императорскаго университета Св. Владимира / Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Caesariae Universitatis S. Vladimiri*, V (1857–1858): S–Ž, 255b, no. 51450.

tory. He spent the second half of his life in Kraków, where he served as chaplain at the court of the Grand Crown Hetman and committed himself to writing.¹⁰²

As far as Riccoldo's presence in Polish literature is concerned, from among the many books and pamphlets that Teofil Rutka translated into Polish or authored himself, two are in our area of special interest: his abbreviated translation of Tirso González de Santalla SJ's (Arganza, León 1624–1705 Rome) *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum in duas partes divisa*,¹⁰³ and his Polish version of Filippo Guadagnoli's (Magliano 1596–1656 Rome) refutation of the Qur'an and Islam, originally published in 1631 in Rome under the title *Apologia pro Christiana Religione, qua respondetur ad obiectiones Ahmed Filii Zin Alabedin, Persae Asphahensis, contentas in Libro inscripto Politor Speculi*.¹⁰⁴

Rutka's abbreviated translation of González' *Manuductio* appeared in print under the title *Rękoprowadzenie Do nawrócenia Mahometanów*.¹⁰⁵ In the second part (vol-

102 On him and his works see Józef Brown, Władysław Kiejnowski, *Biblioteka pisarzy asystencji polskiej Towarzystwa Jezusowego*, translated from the Latin by Ks. W. Kiejnowski (Poznań, 1862), 352–355; further Jan Reychman, *Znajomość i nauczanie języków orientalnych w Polsce XVIII w.* (Wrocław, 1950), 25–26; *Bibliografia Literatury Polskiej – Nowy Korbut*, III: *Piśmiennictwo Staropolskie* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1965), 188–190; Jerzy Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamiczna XVI, XVII i XVIII w.*, 2 vols (Warszawa, 1974), I, 401–402; Ludwik Grzebień, 'Rutka Teofil (1622–1700)', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXXIII (Kraków, 1991–1992), 203–204; Svetlana V. Sukhareva, 'Литературный мир Теофила Рутки', *Studia Humanitatis* 3 (2014) <https://www.st-hum.ru>; Schreiner, 'Anti-Islamic Polemics in Eastern European Context' (note 94), esp. 562–576.

103 Full title: *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahumetanorum in duas partes divisa. In prima veritas religionis catholicae-romanae manifestis notis demonstratur. In secunda falsitas mahumetanae sectae convincitur*, 2 vols (Madrid, 1687 [2nd ed. Dillingen, 1689]). On the *Manuductio* see Emanuele Colombo, *Convertire i musulmani. L'esperienza di un gesuita spagnolo nel Seicento* (Milano: Bruno Mondadori, 2007); Emanuele Colombo, 'Even among the Turks: Tirso González de Santalla (1624–1705) and Islam', *Studies on Jesuit Spirituality* 44 (2012) 1–41. Cf. also Emanuele Colombo, 'A Muslim Turned Jesuit: Baldassarre Loyola Mandes (1631–1667)', *Journal of Early Modern History* 17 (2013), 479–504.

104 [Filippo Guadagnoli] *Apologia pro Christiana Religione, qua a R. P. Philippo Guadagnolo Malleanens, Clericorum Regulae Minorum S. Theologiae & Arabicæ linguae Professore, respondetur ad obiectiones Ahmed Filii Zin Alabedin, Persae Asphahensis, contentas in Libro inscripto Politor Speculi* (Rome: Typis Sac[rae] Congreg[ationis] de Prop[aganda] Fide, MDCXXXI [1631] Superiorum Permissu).

105 [Tirso González de Santalla] *Rękoprowadzenie Do nawrócenia Mahometanów z Manudukcyi Przewielebnego X. Thyrsa Gonzaleza Generała Societatis IESV, Łacinskim językiem w Madrycie Roku P. 1687 wydany, Innocenciuszkowi XI Najwyższemu Biskupowi Rzymskiemu przypisany, Przez iednego Kapłana tegoż Zakonu [i.e. Teofil Rutka], na Polski język przelożony, Ruku Pańskiego, 1694, we Lwowie w Drukarni Kollegium Societatis IESV, 253. Fragments*

ume) of his *Manuductio*, González de Santalla dealt at length with the *Alcorani et Mahometanorum errores*, but before discussing and eventually rebutting them, he gives a brief account of the sources, authors and their *opera* that he drew upon (Part II, book 1, ch. 1) in his refutation. Among these authors and works, of special importance are Riccoldo and his anti-Islamic polemic that is assigned a prominent place.¹⁰⁶ Though Rutka's translation is only an abbreviated version of González's work, he nevertheless does not omit references to Riccoldo; to the contrary, in Rutka's Polish version, as with González's original, Riccoldo is prominently present.¹⁰⁷

Rutka's other book worthy of mention here is his *Alkoraan na wywrocenia Wiary Chrześcijańskiej od Machometa spisany, y z pocztu Ksiąg Boskich wypisany, abo wyrzucony* (sine loco [possibly Lwów] 1699),¹⁰⁸ which is based on Filippo Guadagnoli's aforementioned *Apologia pro Christiana Religione*.

As stated in the subtitle of the book, with his *Apologia pro Christiana Religione* Guadagnoli responded to a polemic that a certain *Ahmed Filii Zin Alabedin*, i.e., the Persian philosopher and Shi'ite theologian Sayyed Aḥmad b. Zayn al-'Ābedīn 'Alawī 'Āmeli Eṣṣafāhānī (d. between 1644 and 1650), had written under the—not without reason—long, but symbolic title *Meṣqal-e ṣafā' dar taḥlīl va taṣfīa-ye āyīna-ye ḥaqqnomā* ("The polisher of purity to burnish and make clear the mirror showing the truth") to respond to an anti-Islamic polemic that a certain contemporary Jesuit, who was active as a missionary in Persia and/or India, had written and published in Persian under the title *Āyīna-ye ḥaqqnomā* ("The mirror showing the truth").¹⁰⁹

When Aḥmad b. Zayn al-'Ābedīn's book arrived in Rome in 1625 and was presented to Pope Urban VIII, he commissioned Filippo Guadagnoli—at this time certainly one of the leading Italian orientalists, if not *the* leading one among the Jesuits¹¹⁰ and well

of that translation are reprinted in Nosowski, *Polska literatura* (note 102), II, 41–125.

106 González de Santalla, *Manuductio ad conversionem Mahometanorum* (note 103), II, 3 ff.

107 González de Santalla, *Rękoprowadzenie do nawrócenia mahometanów* (note 103), 44–46; see also the fragments reprinted in Nosowski, *Polska literatura* (note 101), II, 47–48.

108 Cf. the introduction in Nosowski, *Polska literatura* (note 102), II, 184–185, and the selected chapters of the book reprinted on pages 185–259.

109 On him and his book see, Henri Corbin, 'Aḥmad 'Alawī', in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, I (1984), 644–646; an updated version, published 2011, is available online: <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ahmad-b-15>.

110 Giovanni Pizzorusso, 'La preparazione linguistica e controversistica dei missionari per l'Oriente islamico: Scuole, testi insegnanti a Roma e in Italia', in *L'Islam visto da Occidente. Cultura e religione del Seicento europeo di fronte all'Islam*, a cura di Bernard Heyberger et al. (Genova: Marietti, 2009), 253–288; *L'Ordine dei chierici regolari minori (Caracciolini): Religione e cultura in età posttridentina*, a cura di Irene Fosi e Giovanni, monographic issue of *Studi medievali e moderni: arte, letteratura, storia* 27 (2010), esp. 245–278; Giovanni Piz-

known not least for his translation of the Bible into Arabic¹¹¹—to provide an answer and come up with a strong refutation of it. Guadagnoli successfully did what he was ordered to do, first in Latin, and few years later again in Arabic,¹¹² using as his prime source of information about Islam and the life of the Arabian prophet a book titled *Confusión o confutación de la secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* (printed in 1615),¹¹³ which

zorusso, 'Filippo Guadagnoli, i Caracciolini e lo studio delle lingue orientali e della controversia con l'Islam a Roma nel XVII secolo', and 297–314; Andrea Trentini, 'Il Caracciolino Filippo Guadagnoli controversista e islamologo. Un'analisi dei suoi scritti apologetici contro l'Islam'. Further, Giovanni Pizzorusso, 'Tra cultura e missione. La congregazione de *Propaganda Fide* e le scuole di lingua araba nel xvii secolo', in *Rome et la science moderne. Entre Renaissance et Lumières*, a cura di Antonella Romano (Rome: École française de Rome, 2008 [2009, 2013]), 121–152.

- 111 *Biblia Sacra Arabica Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide iussu edita ad usum Ecclesiarum Orientalium &c.*, 3 vols (Rome, 1671). Cf. Ronny Vollandt, 'Che portano al ritorno qui una Bibbia Arabica integra. A history of the Biblia Sacra Arabica (1671–1673)', in *Greco-latina et orientalia. Studia in honorem Angeli Urbani Heptagenarii*, ed. Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala et Samir Khalil Samir (Córdoba: CNERU – CEDRAC, 2013), 401–418.
- 112 The *Apologia pro Christianana Religione &c.* was printed in Rome 1631, few years later, Guadagnoli published it in Arabic (Rome, 1637); a revised and enlarged version: *Considerationes ad Mahomettanos cum responsione ad obiectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alabedin, Persae Asphahanensi*, came out in Rome in 1649.
- 113 Juan Andrés, *Confusión o refutación de la secta mahomética y del Alcoran* (1515), ed. Elisa Ruiz García y María Isabel García-Monge, 2 vols (Mérida: Editora Regional de Extremadura, 2003); Italian translation: *Opera chiamata confusione della setta machumetana*, composta in lingua spagnola, per Giouan Andrea gia Moro / Alfacqui etc. [...] tradotta in italiano, per Domenico de Gaztelu (Stampata in Spagna ne la città di Seuiglia [i.e. Venice], 1537); Latin translation: Johannes Andreas, *Confusio sectae Mahometanae*, translated by Johannes Lauterbach von Noskowitz (Waesberg: Officina Johannis, 1656); French translation: *Confusion de la secte de Muhamed. Liure premierement composé en langue Espagnole par Iehan André, iadis More & Alfaqui et tourné d'italien en françois* par Guy le Féure de la Boderie (Paris: chez Martin le Jeune, 1674). On the book and its author see Elisa Ruiz García, 'La confusión de la secta mahomética y la Cazzariasdos obras conflictivas', *Alborayque. Revista de la Biblioteca de Extremadura* 1 (2007) 19–39; Ryan Szpiech, 'Preaching Paul to the Moriscos: The *Confusión o Confutación de la Secta Mahomética y del Alcorán* (1515) of "Juan Andrés"', *La Corónica* 41 (2012), 317–343, and Ryan Szpiech, *Conversion and Narrative. Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Hartmut Bobzin, 'Bemerkungen zu Juan Andrés und zu seinem Buch *Confusion dela secta mahomática* (Valencia 1515)', in *Festgabe für Hans-Rudolf Singer. Zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. April 1990 überreicht von seinen Freunden und Kollegen*, hg. Martin Forstner, pt. 2. (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1991), 529–548. Spanish version: 'Observaciones sobre Juan Andrés y su libro *Confusion dela secta mahomática* (Valencia, 1515)', in *Vitae Mahometi, reescritura e invención en la literatura cristiana de controversia*, ed. Cándida Ferrero Hernández y Óscar de la Cruz Palma, (Madrid: CSIC, 2014), 209–222.

the converted Morisco Juan Andrés (before 1475–after 1504) had written against Islam and the Qur'an in defence and justification of his conversion to Christianity.¹¹⁴ Guadagnoli's book consist of four parts: in its first two parts, the author "proves" that the Bible is of divine origin and its transmission and tradition are fully reliable, whereas the Qur'an is but a forgery of the Arabian prophet; in the third part, he explains the secrets of the divine Trinity; and in the fourth part, he explicates the dogma of divinity of Christ.

Teofil Rutka's book, however, is not a translation of Guadagnoli's *opus* into Polish. Since he knew about the genesis of Guadagnoli's book, in his "introduction to the gentle reader" (pp. A3r–4r), he in detail retells the story of *Philippus Guadagnolus* and his book being a response to Ahmed Filij Zin Alabedin's *Politor speculi* etc. and added that he rendered "this *Apologia* or defence of the Christian Faith" into Polish in order to enable "also in Poland many people to make use of it; therefore, I translated it for the Poles into Polish, abridging it in some places, but enlarging it in some other" (A3v). This applies particularly to its second part. "In order to avoid confusion" and to make clear that his book is more than a "mere" translation, he also did not title it "*Apologia* or defence of the Christian faith" (A4r), but intentionally called it *Alkoran na wywrocenia Wiary Chrześcijańskiej od Machometa spisany, y z pocztu Ksiąg Boskich wypisany, abo wyrzucony*—"The Alkoran written by Machomet to overthrow the Christian faith, but taken out of the list of Divine Books."

Rutka's book consists of three parts: the first part (1–57) explains "what the Qur'an commands the Muslims to believe regarding the Holy Scriptures or Old and New Testaments, but not all who follow Muhammad know." In the second part (58–171), the author deals with "the Qur'an and Muhammad as its inventor", and in the third (172–232) with "Muhammad himself" to prove that he is neither a prophet nor a messenger sent by God.

As noted above, Rutka's book is not a translation of Guadagnoli's work. In many places, Rutka abridged it, or augmented it considerably adding to it quotations, as he said, from works of "*Authorowie, ktorzy przeciwko Alkoranowi pisali*" ["authors who have written against the Qur'an"] (A2r–v). The list of authors to whom he refers or quotes is remarkably long and proves the author's erudition and wide knowledge of relevant polemical literature. It deserves even more attention as quite a number of authors and works mentioned in it likewise appear in Theodor Bibliander's edition of the Qur'an. Though Rutka does not mention any author and/or text printed in

¹¹⁴ Mercedes García-Arenal & Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *The Orient in Spain: Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada, and the Rise of Orientalism* (Studies in the History of Religions, 142) (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 303.

the first volume of Bibliander's edition, it nevertheless cannot be excluded, but seems rather very likely that he had access to a copy of it, as can be inferred from a comparison of Rutka's list of quoted authors with the table of contents in volumes 2 and 3 of Bibliander's edition. Without going into further details,¹¹⁵ it may suffice here to note that from among the 20 authors to whom Rutka referred, three seemed to have been of special interest and importance, for he dedicated a special introductory chapter to them, quoting in detail the headings of all chapters of their respective books and even summarizing them. These three authors are:

firstly, "*Mikoláy de Cusa Kárdynál in Cribatione Alcorani, żył około R. P. 1454* (*Cardinal Nicolaus Cusanus* [Nikolaus of Kues; Kues 1401–1464 Todi] *in his Cribatio Alcorani, lived around A. D. 1454*),"¹¹⁶

but foremost, "*Rikárdo (ábo Rikoldo) Theolog ex Ordine Prædicatorum* (*Ricardo or Riccoldo* [*da Monte di Croce*], *theologian of the Dominican Order*);"¹¹⁷

and finally, *Ian Kantakuzenus Cesarz, á potym Mnich Konstántinopolski w Apologiach y Orácyach przeciwko Máchometowi. Żył około R. P. 1350* (*Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos* [Ἰωάννης VI Καντακουζηνός; Constantinople 1292–1383 Mistra, Byzantine emperor 1347–1354], *afterwards monk in Constantinople* [he named himself *Joasaph Christodoulos*] *in his Apologies and Speeches against Mahomet. Lived around A. D. 1350*).¹¹⁸

Whereas Rutka's exposé of the table of content of Nicolaus of Cusa's *Cribratio Alcorani* (A4r–B2r) appears to be an almost literal translation of the respective table of contents printed in Bibliander's edition (II, 24–26, and in the second printing II, cols 37–38), he offers a much broader summary of Johannes Kantakouzenos' four *Apologiae* (B3v–4r) as well as of his four *Orationes* (B4r–C2v). Compared with the rather brief headings of the 17 chapters in all editions of Riccoldo's *Improbatio Alcorani* or *Confutatio Alcorani*, except for its re-edition by Marcus Antonius Serafinus OP in Venice in 1609,¹¹⁹ which offers a long exposé of its contents (arc. †4 = 10 pp.), Rutka's version

115 See the synopsis in Schreiner: 'Anti-Islamic Polemics in Eastern European Context' (note 94), 569–575.

116 In Bibliander's Qur'an edition (1543) in II, 21–82, and in the second printing (1550) in II, cols. 31–122.

117 In Bibliander's Qur'an edition (1543) in II, 83–178 (Greek and Latin texts), and in the second printing (1550) in II, cols. 122–184 (Latin text only). Cf. Nosowski, *Polska literatura* (note 102), II, 185–186.

118 In Bibliander's Qur'an edition (1543) in IV (Latin text) and V (Greek version), and in the second printing (1550) in II, cols. 193–358 (Latin text only). Cf. Johannes Kantakuzenos, *Christentum und Islam. Apologetische und polemische Schriften. Griechisch-deutsche Textausgabe*, ed. Karl Förstel (Altenberge: Oros, 2005).

119 *Propugnaculum fidei, toti christiane religioni adversum mendacia, & deliramenta Saraceno-*

likewise contains an expanded version of the table of contents. Though the headline of chapter 17 is missing (B2r–3r), his exposé resembles Marcus Antonius Serafinus' exposé in almost every line. Therefore, it seems to be very likely that Rutka not only used Bibliander's edition, but had also access to Serafinus's edition:

Summá Rozdziałów

Propugnaculum fidei (see note 119),
arc. †4

Ktore w sobie Księga Rikárdá / (ábo Rikoldá) Theologá ex Ordine Prædicatorum ná pohánbienie Alkoranu nápisana / zámýka. Te z Łáćínskíego íęzyká przeníosił ná Grecki Demetrius Cydonius, á z Greckiego ná Łáćínski Bartholomæus Píenus de Montearduo.

ROZDZIAŁ 1. *Zámýka w sobie przednieysze tego práwá błędy, to íest Sabelliaństwo, Ariaństwo, Mácedoniaństwo, Nestoriaństwo.* *Mahumetus cum Sabellio, negat Trinitatem. Cum Arrio, & Eunomio, asserit Christum esse puram creaturam. etc.*

R. 2. *Iakiego sposobu trzymać się mamy, gdy z Máhometánami dysputujemy.* [...] *Non est disputandum cum Saracenis de fide nostra, sed ostendere fidem illorum friuolam esse [...].*

R. 3. *Práwo Máchometowe nie íest Boże: bo o nim áni stáry, áni nowy Testáment nie świadczy, że íest Bożym. Także że Saráćeni winni są słuchác stárego Testamentu y Ewangeliey, że Pismo S. nie íest od Chrześcián zepsowane, że Wodz Sáráćeński był Chrześciáninem, ná ktorego pierśiach krzyż po śmierci náleżiony.* [...] *Dicunt Saraceni, quod Iudæi corruperunt legem Moysi, & prophetarum, & Christiani corruperunt Euangelium, & quod non remansit de ueritate legis, & Euangelij, nisi quantum est in Alkorano [...] Calipha de Baldaco moritur Christianus, & ad collum eius, crux inuenta fuit.*

rum, Alchorani præcipuè, maxime utilè. Authore [...] F. Ricoldo, Florentino Ordinis Prædicatorum, impressum denuo. & illustratum Opera [...] F. Marci Antonii Serafini Veneti [...] (Venice: apud Dominicum de Imbertis, 1609).

R. 4. *Ieszcze nie iest Boże: Bo nie ma kształtu mowy y sposobu zgadzającego się z pismem Bożym.* *Lex Saracenorum non est consona legi Dei, quoniam habet stilum metricum; &c.*

R. 5. *Ieszcze nie iest Boże: bo się nie zgadza w sentenciách, ábo wyrozumieniu z pismem Bożym.*

R. 6. *Alkoran w wielu się rzeczách samemu sobie sprzeciwia.* *[...] contrarietates multe inueniuntur in eo; tamen multe in eo repetuntur*

R. 7. *Alkoran żadnym się cudem nie utwierdził.* *Moses, & alij prophetæ fecerunt magna, & inaudita miracula; & Christus venit cum [...] signis maximis; Mahumetus autem nullum signum fecit.*

R. 8. *Alkoran iest przeciwny rozumowi: Bo to przeciwko rozumowi iest, áby práwo tak święte, iáké ony rozumieią być w Alkoranie, od Bogá dáne było człowiekowi wydzierczy, cudzołożnikowi, mężoboycy, krzywoprzyśiężcy, kłamcy, bluźniercy &c. Tákie przeciwko rozumowi iest, żeby Bog tak święte tak sprosne prawo stánowił. Przeciwny rozumowi y ono tych dwóch propozyciy związanie.* *[...] quod lex Saracenorum sit omnino irrationabilis [...]. Est omnino irrationabile, quod lex tam sancta (ut aiunt Saraceni) sit ministrata per tam sceleratum hominem, raptorem &c.*

Nie iest Bog, tylko Bog y Máchomet Prorok iego. Tákie, że różność sekt iest od Bogá różnych Proroków posyłającego, przymuszania do wiary, obmycia zabobonne, błogostáwienie w rokoszách cielesnych, przysięgi Boże przez wierne miásto, przez sad figowy, przez oliwniki, &c. *[...] quod beatitudo constitit precipue in actu gullæ & luxuriæ. [...] Pluries dicitur in Alchorano, quod Deus iurat per urbem fidelem, per ficetum, & oliuetum.*

- R. 9. *Alkoran iáwnie zámyka w sobie klámstwo o sobie samym, o Chrześcianach, o Żydách, o Apostołách, o Pátryárchách, o Diablách, o Aniołách, o Pannie Nayśw., o Bogu. Tamże wspomniona księga Máchometowá máiącá w sobie dwánáście tysięcy propozycji, z których tylko trzy tysiące prawdziwych było.* *Multa falsa Mahumetus de suo intermiscet in Alchorano [...] de seipso, [...] de Christianis, [...] de Iudeis, [...] de Apostolis, [...] de Patriarchis, [...] de Demonibus, [...] de Angelis, [...] de Beata Virgine, [...] de Deo. [...] Mahumetus fecit librum, ubi sunt duodecim millia verba, ex quibus triamillia tantum dicit esse vera.*
- R. 10. *Że Alkoran iest gwałtowny, ábo Tyráński. Támże masz, że dwóch Wuiow swoich chciał Máchomet zábić, ieśliby Alkoranu nie przyjęli. Tenże umárt mówiąc: Pánie ty wieś że dla samey boiázni śmierci Máchometánem zostáie / y Alkoran przyimuie.* *Lex Saracenorum, est lex occisionis, & mortis [...]. Dicit Mahumetus patruí suo, quod si non fieret Saracenus, occideretur [...].*
- R. 11. *Że Alkoran nie ma w sobie porządku, iáko ma Stáry y Nowy Testáment, że w nim Máchomet iáko Sennik, ábo przez sen gada.* *Quæ sunt a Deo, ordinata sunt. Lex vetus, & Euangelica procedunt ordine naturæ, temporis, & historie. Alchoranus, sine ullo ordine procedit.*
- R. 12. *Że Alkoran iest niesprawiedliwy. Bo się diablóm podoba, bo Bogá klámcą czyni, bo do wiela złego prowadzi &c.* *Alchoranus, placet Dæmonibus. Alchoranus, est causa omnium malorum [...].*
- R. 13. *Że Alkoranu wynálezca iest Diabeł, á pomocnicy iego Żydzi y Hereticy. Támże Odmiáná Alkoranow.* *Principalis author Alchorant non fuit. homo, sed Diabolus firmiter a sapientibus creditur. [...] Mahumetus habuit in suo consortio viros hæreticos, & scelestissimos [...].*
- R. 14. *O wymyśle iego, y widzeniu báiká cudownie ućieszna, która się z powieściami prawdziwemi Lucianowemi porównać może.* *Mahumetus composuit fictam, atque ridiculosam visionem [...].*

R. 15. O sześciu pytaniach Alkoranowych, y zacności Chrystusowej względem Máchometá. 1. Czemu w wielkiej liczbie o sobie mówiącego tak wiele razy wprowadza Alkoran? Tąże też Troycá w imionách, Boga, Słowa, y Duchá S. wyraża się. 2. Pytanie o Duchu S. 3. Iako Chrystus SŁOWO Boże? 4. O Księgách Moyżeszowych y Ewángeliey. 5. O Towarzystwie Bożym. 6. Czemu Alkoran wiele chwalebnych rzeczy o Chrystusie powiada, á o sobie mało, y to podłych.

Dubia, & quæstiones sex mouentur in ipso Alchorano. 1. [...] quod Alchoranus, aliquando loquitur de Deo in singulari, aliquando in plurali. [...] 2. mentionem facit de Spiritu Sancto [...]. 3. [...] secundum Alchoranum quod Christus [...] sit Verbum Dei [...]. 4. Mahumetus in Alchorano valde comendat sacram scripturam, & Evangelium [...]. 5. Quid sibi vult Mahumetus [...] scribens, credite in Deum, & nuntium: obdite Deo, & nuntio? 6. Queritur, quare [...] Alchoranus multa magnifica dicit de Christo, & de Mahometo multa vitia [...].

R. 16. O Zacności Ewángeliey względem Alkoranu. Żadney nie masz kontradykcyey w Ewángeliey, ani kłamstwá, ani gwałtu, ani żadney niedoskonłości. Tamże się zbiiá to, że Diabli przez Alkoran zbáwieni będą.

Evangelium preeminet incomparabiliter Alchoranum [...] non est blanditorium, nec fabulam vllam in se continet [...].

Summary of the chapters which are included into the Book of Ricardo (or Ricoldo), the theologian ex Ordine Prædicatorum, written in refutation of the Alcoran. This [book] was rendered by Demetrius Cydonius from the Latin language into Greek, and from the Greek into Latin by Bartholomæaeus Picens de Montearduo.

Ch. 1. *Contains the major errors of that law, that is, Sabellianism, Arianism, Macedonianism, and Nestorianism.*

Ch. 2. *Which way we should behave when we enter a dispute with Mahometans.*

Ch. 3. *The Mohammedan Law is not Divine law, because neither the Old nor the New Testament testify to it that it is Divine. Likewise, that the Saracens have to listen to the Old Testament and the Gospel, that the Holy Scripture has not been falsified by Christians, that the Leader of the Saracens was a Christian, on whose breast after his death a cross was found.*

Ch. 4. *And it is also not Divine, because it has not the forms of speech (language) that is consistent with the Divine Scripture.*

Ch. 5. *And it is also not Divine, because it is not consistent in its sayings or explanations with the Divine Scripture.*

Ch. 6. *The Alcoran is contradicting itself in many instances.*

Ch. 7. *The Alcoran is not certified (evidenced) by any miracle.*

Ch. 8. *The Alcoran is against reason: Since against reason is that such a holy law, as they see in the Alcoran, could be given by God to a man [who is] a thief, a fornicator, a murderer, a false-swearer, a liar, a blasphemer, etc. It is likewise against reason that God instituted such holy and obscene law alike. Against reason are also the two statements bound together: there is no god, but God, and Mahomet is his Prophet. Likewise, that the variety of sects is from God, who has sent different Prophets, coercion to faith, superstitious ablutions, blessings over carnal lusts, Divine oaths by the City of security, by the Fig, by the Olive, etc. (cf. sura 95:1-3)*

Ch. 9. *The Alcoran contains in itself lies regarding itself, the Christians, the Jews, the Apostles, the Patriarchs, the Devils, the Angels, the Holiest Virgin: God. There it also explained that Mahomet's book consists of 12,000 words, of which 3,000 only are true.*

Ch. 10. *That the Alcoran is violent or tyrannical. There you find that Mahomet wanted to kill two of his uncles because they would not accept the Alcoran. One of them died saying: Lord, you know that it is out of fear only that I become a Mohammedan and accept the Alcoran.*

Ch. 11. *That the Alcoran does not have a right order, as the Old and New Testaments have; that Mahomet speaks in it like a Dreamer or in the way of a dream.*

Ch. 12. *That the Alcoran is unjust. Since it pleases the devils, since it makes God a liar, since it leads to much evil etc.*

Ch. 13. *That the inventor of the Alcoran is the Devil, and his helpers are Jews and heretics. Therefore, the variety of Alcorans.*

Ch. 14. *On his fantasy and vision, a wonderfully nice story, that can be compared to Lucian's True Stories.*

Ch. 15. *On six Alcoranic questions and the superiority (pre-eminence) of Christ to Mahomet. 1. Why the Alcoran introduces the speaker (i.e., God) so many times speaking about himself in the plural? Therein is also a Trinity mentioned in the names: God, the Word, and the Holy Spirit. 2. The questions about the Holy Spirit. 3. What is the sense of Christ being Divine WORD? 4. On the Books of Moses and the Gospel. 5. On the Communion with God. 6. Why does the Alcoran say so many praiseworthy things about Christ, but about itself only few, and deplorable ones.*

Ch. 16. *On the superiority (pre-eminence) of the Gospel to the Alcoran. In the Gospel, there is no contradiction, neither lie nor violence nor any imperfection. There, however, a conglomerate that the Devils will be saved through the Alcoran.*

Rutka's books were widely spread; copies of them are listed in many library catalogues, and he and his works are dealt with in almost all histories of Polish literature written in the 19th and early 20th centuries as well as in encyclopaedias. Therefore, it can be taken almost for granted that thanks to Rutka (and others like him), Riccoldo's name and at least an outline of his book were likewise widely spread and known in the Polish context.

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