# The *Qur'ān* in Medieval Slavic Writings. Fragmentary Translations and Transmission Traces<sup>2</sup>

#### 1. Introduction

Most likely, there has never been a complete translation of the *Qur'ān* into the Church Slavic language. Not a single medieval manuscript from the area of *Slavia Orthodoxa*, containing at least a fragment of this work has survived to this day. Moreover, source material from the era in question

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dr hab. Zofia A. Brzozowska, assistant professor at the Department of Slavic Philology, Faculty of Philology, University of Lodz; email: zofia.brzozowska@uni.lodz.pl; ORCID: 0000-0001-5951-3781. Prof. dr hab. Mirosław J. Leszka, full professor at the Department of Byzantine History, Faculty of Philosophy and History, University of Lodz; email: miroslaw.leszka@uni.lodz.pl; ORCID: 0000-0003-2643-4520.

This article has been written under the research project financed by the National Science Centre (Poland). Decision number: DEC-2016/23/B/HS3/01891 (Muhammad and the Origin of Islam – Stereotypes, Knowledge and Notions in the Byzantine-Russian Culture) and the research project financed by the National Science Centre, decision number: DEC-2017/26/M/HS2/00335 (Orthodox Slavic Polemical Writings in the Middle Ages). The Polish version of the preliminary remarks: Z.A. Brzozowska, Koran w piśmiennictwie cerkiewnosłowiańskim? Fragmenty tłumaczeń i ślady recepcji (uwagi wstępne), in: Contributions to the 22<sup>nd</sup> Annual Scientific Conference of the Association of Slavists (Polyslav), ed. E. Gutiérrez Rubio – D. Kruk – I. Pálosi, T. Speed – Z. Týrová – D. Vashchenko – A. Wysocka, Wiesbaden 2020, p. 46-56. The paragraph about Byzantine translation of the Our 'an and its reminiscences in Church Slavic literature has been already published, expanded by additional source material, as a separate article: Z.A. Brzozowska, A Translation of a Translation: the Byzantine Greek Version of the Quran in Church Slavic Writings (a Ritual of Renunciation of Islam and the Panoplia dogmatica by Euthymios Zigabenos), in: New Trends in Slavic Studies 2, ed. S.J. Suárez Cuadros - E.J. Vercher García - B. Barros García – P. Marynenko – E.F. Quero Gervilla, Moskva 2021, p. 874-879.

provides no information that would justify a conclusion that the translation of the Muslim holy book into the language of liturgy and literature of Orthodox Slavs has ever been done. It can be assumed that translations of the full text of the *Qur'ān* into Slavic languages began to appear only in the early modern era. Most probably the oldest of them was the Western Belarusian translation, made directly from the Arabic original, in the fifteenth–seventeenth centuries, in the community of the Tatars (Lipkas), who stayed in the service of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The holy book of Islam was translated into Russian for the first time in 1716 at the request of Tsar Peter I. This translation was based on an earlier French translation<sup>3</sup>. In the first decades of the nineteenth century, in the Philomath *milieu*, a translation of the *Qur'ān* into Polish was also made, which was later used by Jan Murza Buczacki in his own work on the Polish version of the discussed text in 1858<sup>4</sup>.

The fact that there was no comprehensive translation of the *Qur'ān* into Church Slavic does not mean, however, that the work was completely unknown in the area of *Slavia Orthodoxa*. According to research by experts in the field<sup>5</sup>, medieval authors usually learned about the content of the holy book of Islam while reading the works of earlier Christian writers (apologists), often intertwining more or less faithful quotations from the text in question into their narration. Thus, this research was inspired by the *Corpus Coranicum Christianum* project, carried out by a team led by Manolis M. Ulbricht (Freie Universität Berlin), which involves the collection, systematization and digitalization of all the fragments of the *Qur'ān* quoted by medieval Christian authors and thus translated into the literary languages: Syriac (*Corpus Coranicum Syriacum*, CCS), Byzantine Greek (*Corpus Coranicum Byzantium*, CCB) and Latin (*Corpus Coranicum Latinum*, CCL)<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> P.A. Grjaznevich, *Koran v Rossii (izuchenie, perevody i izdanija)*, in: *Islam. Religija, obshchestvo, gosudarstvo*, ed. P.A. Grjaznevich – S.M. Prozorov, Moskva 1984, p. 76-77.

Cf. M.M. Dziekan, *Pisarze muzułmańscy. VII–XX w.*, Warszawa 2003, p. 28-29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cf. E. Trapp E., Gab es eine byzantinische Koranübersetzung?, "Diptycha" 2 (1980/1981) p. 7-17; A. Argyriou, Perception de l'Islam et traductions du Coran dans le monde Byzantin Grec, "Byzantion" 75 (2005) p. 25-69; K. Förstel, Schriften zum Islam von Arethas und Euthymios Zigabenos und Fragmente der griechischen Koranübersetzung, Wiesbaden 2009; Ch. Høgel, An early anonymous Greek translation of the Qur'ān. The fragments from Niketas Byzantios' Refutatio and the anonymous Abjuratio, "Collectanea Christiana Orientalia" 7 (2010) p. 65-119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> M. Ulbricht, *The Byzantine Translation of the Qur'ān from the 8th/9th century CE and Its Role in the Polemic of Nicetas of Byzantium*, "Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter" 8 (2014) p. 5-6.

The above mentioned project does not take into account the Church Slavic literature. This article is therefore an attempt to fill this gap. The aim of my research is to try to answer the question whether there were any quotations from the *Qur'ān* in the *Slavia Orthodoxa* texts and which fragments of the holy book of Islam were translated into the Church Slavic language. Both original medieval Slavic works and the so-called 'translation literature' will be analyzed here. The latter refers primarily to translations from Greek and Latin. In the Slavic tradition, Syriac texts were known mainly through the Byzantine language, and translations from Arabic were extremely rare.

# 2. Byzantine translation of the *Qur'ān* and its reminiscences in Church Slavic literature

The holy book of Islam was translated into Byzantine Greek most probably in the middle of the ninth century in Constantinople, in the circle of Patriarch Photius (ca. 820-891). The literature on the subject usually assumes that the translator could not have been a native speaker of either Arabic or Greek. In his work he used a language so incorrect and so colloquial, that he offended some of his later readers, including the refined Euthymius Zigabenus (twelfth century). It can also be assumed that the author of the translation did not profess Islam and did not have access to Muslim exegetical texts. Most probably he was a Jacobite Syrian Christian<sup>7</sup>. Interestingly, there is also a controversial thesis that St. Constantine-Cyril (ca. 825-869) himself was responsible for the translation<sup>8</sup>. It is, however, undermined by the fact that the Apostle of the Slavs spoke Greek much better than the author of the discussed text.

The Byzantine translation of the  $Qur'\bar{a}n$  is regarded by experts as faithful. However, there were more or less serious lexical errors, resulting from the misunderstanding of the original. For example, in surah 96,2 the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Cf. Trapp, *Gab es eine*, p. 11; K. Versteegh, *Greek Translations of the Qur'ān in Christian Polemics (9th century A.D.)*, "Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft" 141 (1991) p. 60-65; Høgel, *An early*, p. 66-72; Ju.V. Maksimov, *Vizantijjcy i Koran* 2011, in: http://halkidon2006.orthodoxy.ru/do/bogoslovie\_1/962\_ Vizantiytzy\_i\_Koran.htm (accessed: 15.03.2022); Ch. Simelidis, *The Byzantine Understanding of the Qur'anic Term 'al-Şamad' and the Greek Translation of the Qur'an*, "Speculum" 86 (2011) p. 888-900.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Versteegh, *Greek*, p. 66; Maksimov, *Vizantijjcy*.

Arabic term 'alaq ('a clinging mass' – according to the contemporary English translation by 'Alī Qulī Qarā'ī)<sup>9</sup> was confused with the noun 'alaqa ('leech')<sup>10</sup>. In the Greek translation of the Muslim holy book, a different segmentation of the text was used: it was divided into 113 surahs, while surah 1 (Al-Fātiḥah/The Opening) was considered an introduction. A similar arrangement can be found in some early Arabic copies of the  $Qur'\bar{a}n^{11}$ .

Unfortunately, not a single manuscript with the analyzed translation has survived to our days. However, we have many quotations from it, preserved in two Byzantine works from the second half of the ninth century: the treatise of Nicetas of Byzantium and a ritual of renunciation of Islam by an anonymous author. The former, entitled *Refutation of the teachings of Muḥammad* (ca. 870), contains a comprehensive discussion of the content of the *Qur'ān*, supported by numerous, often very detailed and extensive quotations from the Greek translation of the holy book of Islam<sup>12</sup>. Most probably, however, it was never translated into Church Slavic.

An anonymous ritual of renunciation of Islam, compiled in the second half of the ninth century, contains 13 free quotations from the *Qur'ān* (surahs: 2,25-26; 2,158; 3,49; 4,43; 5,6; 22,5; 31,29; 38,73-74; 47,15; 56,20-21; 70,4; 83,25-28; 112,1-4). It was translated twice into Church Slavic:

- in Bulgaria during the reign of Simeon I the Great (893-927), as an integral part of the *Nomocanon in Fourteen Titles* in Rus', this text was known as early as the 1040s within the so-called Old Rus' *Kormchaia Book* preserved in its later copies, including the fifteenth century PHE, Солов. 1056/1165, fol. 356'-359'<sup>13</sup>;
- in Serbia after 1219, in the *Nomocanon of St. Sava*; widespread in Rus' since the 1270s; preserved in fragments in the Ilovitsa manuscript from 1262 (HAZU III c. 9, fol. 396b-398d), and in its entire-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *Coranus*, p. 855.

The consequence of this error was a misconception in Eastern Christian polemic literature that Muslims believe that God created man from a leech (J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Views of Islam*, "Dumbarton Oaks Papers" 18 (1964) p. 122).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Cf. Versteegh, *Greek*, p. 64; Maksimov, *Vizantijjcy*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Cf. Trapp, *Gab es eine*, p. 8; Versteegh, *Greek*, p. 54; Argyriou, *Perception*, p. 32-38, 60-64; Forstel, *Schriften*, p. 86-122; *Christian-Muslim Relations*. *A Bibliographical History*, v. 1: 600–900, ed. D. Thomas – B. Roggema, Leiden – Boston 2009, p. 55; Høgel, *An early*, p. 65-68; Maksimov, *Vizantijjcy*; Simelidis, *The Byzantine*, p. 891-892.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Syntagma XIV titulorum sine scholiis secundum versionem Palaeo-Slovenicam, adjecto textu Graeco e vetustissimis codicibus manuscriptis exarato, v. 2, ed. V.N. Beneshevich – J.N. Shchapov, Serdica 1987, p. 135-147.

ty – in the Sarajevo copy from the fourteenth century: MSPC, 222, fol. 361b–364a<sup>14</sup>.

It is worth mentioning here that Nicetas of Byzantium and the anonymous author of the ritual used the Greek translation of the  $Qur'\bar{a}n$  independently of each other (in both texts we can find a different selection of quoted fragments).

Among the later Byzantine polemical texts, based on the treatise of Nicetas of Byzantium, only the *Panoplia dogmatica* by Euthymius Zigabenus (twelfth century) was most probably known in the area of Slavia Orthodoxa. It is devoted to the discussion of heterodox religious trends in Christianity (e.g. dualistic heresy), and among them... Islam (the last, 28<sup>th</sup> chapter of the text). The Slavic translation of this work may have been written at the end of the fourteen century or in the first decades of the fifteenth century in Bulgaria<sup>15</sup>. The chapter on Saracens (Islam) has been preserved in one Slavic manuscript only, currently stored in the National Scientific Library in Odessa (ΟΓΗΕ, 1/108, fol. 24-35'). The text is incomplete. The manuscript had to be separated and then sewn back together again without following the correct order of pages. In its present form, one of them is missing. The analysis of the contents of the manuscript, however, allows us to assume that the chapter on Islam was most probably translated in its entirety, except for the last paragraph, which contains a recapitulation of the author's views. Panoplia dogmatica contains 51 quotations from the *Qur'ān*, taken directly from the treatise of Nicetas of Byzantium<sup>16</sup>, including:

• 38 preserved in the Slavic version – surahs: 2,158; 2,168; 2,187; 2,191; 2,223; 2,230; 2,256; 4,3; 4,43; 4,153; 5,6; 5,46-47; 5,51; 5,68; 5,116; 6,142; 7,158; 7,178; 7,188; 9,30; 13,43; 15,6-8; 15,16-18; 17,16-17; 17,40; 18,86; 19,22-25; 21,80-81; 22,5; 26,155-157; 27,16-19; 31,29; 47,15; 53,1-7; 61,6; 108,1-2; 113,1-5; 114,1-6;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Zakonopravilo or the Nomocanon of Saint Sava. The Ilovica Manuscript from 1262. Photoprint reproduction, ed. M.M. Petrović, Gornji Milanovac 1991, fol. 396b-398d; J. Gardović, Sarajevo Rudder Zakonopravilo of St. Sava from the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, Dobrun 2013, fol. 361b-364a; M.M. Petrović, Saint Sava's Zakonopravilo on the Teachings of Muhammed, Beograd 1997, p. 51-61.

M. Cibranska-Kostova, Belezhki v"rchu slavjanskija prevod na Panoplia Dogmatica v BAR Ms. Slav. 296 i negovija prevodach, "Palaeobulgarica" 41/4 (2017) p. 4-6; Z.A. Brzozowska – M.J. Leszka – T. Wolińska, Muhammad and the Origin of Islam in the Byzantine-Slavic Literary Context. A Bibliographical History, Łódź – Kraków 2020, p. 281-288.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Cf. Argyriou, *Perception*, p. 40-41; Forstel, *Schriften*, p. 44-83.

• 13 not preserved in the Slavic version – surahs: 37,1-5; 51,1-4; 52,1-6; 68,1; 69,1-3; 77,1-6; 79,1-6; 85,1-3; 86,1-3; 89,1-4; 95,1-3; 100,1-4; 103,1.

The history of Qur'ānic fragments in the OFHB, 1/108 manuscript is as follows: Arabic original of the  $Qur'\bar{a}n \to Greek$  translation of the  $Qur'\bar{a}n \to Fraction$  reduction by Nicetas of Byzantium (Greek)  $\to Fraction$  reduction by Euthymius Zigabenus (Greek)  $\to Fraction$  translation into Church Slavic.

# 3. Byzantine authors, quoting the *Qur'ān* from the original, known in the Church Slavic tradition

#### 3.1. John of Damascus (ca. 675-ca. 750)

This author came from a Christian family from Damascus, knew the Arabic language and culture. Moreover, at one time in his life he had to maintain direct contact with Muslims, serving in the administration under the rule of the caliphs of the Umayyad dynasty. The last chapter of his famous polemical treatise *On Heresies* is devoted to Islam. It is worth noting that in later centuries the above-mentioned work was a source of inspiration and information about the religion founded by Muḥammad for many other Eastern Christian authors<sup>17</sup>.

The chapter of the treatise *On Heresies* dedicated to Islam was translated into Church Slavic in Serbia after 1219, as an integral part of the *Nomocanon of St. Sava*. What is interesting, both in the Ilovitsa manuscript from 1262 (HAZU III c. 9, fol. 369d-373d), as well as in later copies, the text by John of Damascus is quite mechanically interwoven with the polemical work of Michael Syncellus<sup>18</sup>. At this point it is worth noting that the oldest

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> T. Wolińska, *The Arabs and Islam in the Eyes of the Byzantines*, in: *Byzantium and the Arabs: the Encounter of Civilizations from Sixth to Mid-Eighth Century*, ed. T. Wolińska – P. Filipczak, Łódź 2015, p. 432-433.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Zakonopravilo or the Nomocanon, fol. 369d-373d; Gardović, Sarajevo, fol. 338b-341d; H. Miklas, Zur kirchenslavischen Überlieferung der Häresiengeschichte des Johannes von Damaskus, in: Festschrift für Linda Sadnik zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. E. Weiher, Freiburg 1981, p. 338-343; Petrović, Saint Sava's, p. 7; S. Prodić, Knjiga 'O jeresima' prepodobnog Jovana Damaskina kao 61. poglavlje sarajevskog rukopisa 'Zakonopravila' svetog Save Srpskog, Šibenik 2016, p. 9-14.

Slavic translation of the work *On Heresies* was made in Bulgaria at the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries in the *Nomocanon in Fourteen Titles*<sup>19</sup>. However, this translation did not contain the original chapter on Islam – instead the aforementioned text by Michael Syncellus was included<sup>20</sup>.

The treatise by John of Damascus contains nine quotations from the *Qur'ān*: 2,223; 2,230; 4,157-158; 4,171; 5,114-115; 5,116; 26,155-157; 47,15; 112,1-4<sup>21</sup>. The author of *On Heresies* also mentions the holy book of Islam in several places in his narrative, recalling, however, fragments that are not present in its contemporary version (e.g. an extensive story about two camels, a mother and a daughter)<sup>22</sup>. Where did he get his passages from, then? It is worth remembering that according to Muslim tradition, the canonical version of the Book was made during the reign of Caliph Usman (644-656). Some modern scholars assume, however, that it could be compiled much later, even in the beginning of the ninth century. While working on his treatise, John of Damascus may have used some earlier variant, than no longer exists<sup>23</sup>.

### 3.2. Dialog between a Christian and a Saracen

The author of this work is either John of Damascus, or his Arabic-speaking pupil, Theodore Abū Ķurra (ca. 740/750-ca. 820/830)<sup>24</sup>. The Church Slavic translation of this text can be found in several Rus' manuscripts from the seventeenth century, e.g. PFB, 304.I.201 (fol. 263-267) and PHB, Q.I.264 (fol. 321'-324')<sup>25</sup>. The text contains two free quotations from the *Our'ān*: 3,42 and 4,171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> P. Bushkovitch, *Orthodoxy and Islam in Russia 988–1725*, in: *Religion und Integration im Moskauer Russland. Konzepte und Praktiken, Potentiale und Grenzen 14.–17. Jahrhundert*, ed. L. Steindorff, Wiesbaden 2010, p. 125.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Syntagma XIV titulorum sine scholiis secundum versionem Palaeo-Slovenicam, adjecto textu Graeco e vetustissimis codicibus manuscriptis exarato, v. 1, ed. V.N. Beneshevich, Saint Petersburg 1906, p. 701-704.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Argyriou, *Perception*, p. 28-30; Simelidis, *The Byzantine*, p. 909.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Christian-Muslim Relations, p. 298; Wolińska, The Arabs, p. 434.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Dziekan, *Pisarze*, p. 78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Cf. W. Eichner, *Die Nachrichten über den Islam bei den Byzantinern*, "Der Islam. Journal of the History and Culture of the Middle East" 23/3 (1936) p. 136; Meyendorff, *Byzantine*, p. 117; *Christian-Muslim Relations*, p. 439-440.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Bushkovitch, *Orthodoxy*, p. 129-130; Brzozowska – Leszka – Wolińska, *Muhammad*, p. 132-138.

### 3.3. Michael Syncellus (ca. 761/762-846).

The anti-Muslim polemical text by Michael Syncellus has not survived to our times in its entirety. Only fragments that were included in the *Nomocanon in Fourteen Titles* in the Byzantine context have been preserved, as well as passages woven into the Greek text of the chronicle by George the Monk (Hamartolus)<sup>26</sup>. This work, like the treatise *On Heresies* by John of Damascus, was translated twice into Church Slavic: for the first time in Bulgaria, during the reign of Simeon I the Great (893-927), as part of the *Nomocanon in Fourteen Titles* (this variant has been preserved in the Old Rus' *Efrem Kormchaia Book* from the beginning of the twelfth century – ΓИМ, Син. 227, fol. 273'-274')<sup>27</sup>, and again in Serbia, after 1219, as part of the *Nomocanon of St. Sava*. In the Ilovitsa manuscript from 1262 (HAZU III c. 9, fol. 369d-373d) it was, as I mentioned above, contaminated with the work by John of Damascus. Michael Syncellus wove two free quotations from the *Qur'ān* into his narration: 5,116 and 47,15.

### 3.4. George the Monk/Hamartolus (mid-ninth century)

This author wrote his chronicle in Constantinople during the reign of Emperor Michael III (842-867). Since it was about 200 years after the era when Muḥammad taught and the first attack on Byzantium was launched by the Arabs who professed Islam, while working on the part in question he used the accounts of earlier authors, including Theophanes, John of Damascus, Michael Syncellus and Theodore Abū Ķurra<sup>28</sup>. Hamartolus' text was translated into Church Slavic in Bulgaria as early as the end of the tenth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, v. 1: *Philosophie, Rhetorik, Epistolographie, Geschichtsschreibung, Geographie*, München 1978, p. 261; *Christian-Muslim Relations*, p. 632, 731.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Syntagma XIV titulorum, v. 1, p. 701-704; K. Maksimovich, Byzantine Law in Old Slavonic Translations and the Nomocanon of Methodius, "Byzantinoslavica" 65 (2007) p. 9-18; Brzozowska – Leszka – Wolińska, Muhammad, p. 124-131.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Cf. Eichner, Die Nachrichten, p. 143; A.-T. Khoury, Les Theologiens byzantins et l'Islam. Textes et auteurs (VIIIe–XIIIe s.), Louvain – Paris 1969, p. 181-182; R.G. Hoyland, Seeing Islam as Others Saw It. A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam, Princeton 1997, p. 401-406, 452; A. Ziaka, Le regard que port la recherche grecque conte, "Le Courrier du GERI. Recherches d'islamologie et de théologie musulmane" 5/6 (2002/2003) p. 127; Christian-Muslim Relations, p. 305-306, 426-440, 729-731; J.V. Maksimov, Vizantijjskie sochinenija ob islame, Mosk-

century or in the first decades of the eleventh century, and then brought to Rus'. It has been preserved in many Rus' manuscripts. It contains two free quotations from the  $Qur'\bar{a}n$  (5,116 and 47,15), taken directly from the treatise by Michael Syncellus.

# 4. Contra legem Sarracenorum by Riccoldo of Monte di Croce in Church Slavic translation

The Dominican monk Riccoldo of Monte di Croce (ca. 1243-1320) was a Western European missionary and traveler. Between 1286 and 1300 he stayed in the Middle East, visiting Acre, the Holy Land, Mosul and Baghdad. Most likely, this author spoke Arabic. In the literature on the subject, one can assume that he read the *Qur'ān* in its original form: an Arabic copy of the holy book of Islam with his handwritten notes was even supposedly preserved (BnF, MS Ar. 384). The treatise *Contra legem Sarracenorum* was written after Riccoldo's return to Europe, in Florence ca. 1300. It was written in Latin, and ca. 1360 – translated into Byzantine Greek by Demetrius Cydonius<sup>29</sup>.

At the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a Church Slavic translation of the work in question was most probably made<sup>30</sup>. It can be found in several Rus' manuscripts from the sixteenth century, including the July volumes of the *Great Lectionary Menaion* (*Великие Четьи-Минеи*) by the Metropolitan Macarius (Начало сеи книз'ь изложено бы<sup>с</sup> ѿ латын"іна Риклада. сущу ему бывшу в чину оучитель по закону саракиньскому – РНБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 453а-464a; ГИМ, Син. 996, fol. 462-476; ГИМ, Син. 182, fol. 810-828' – under the date of July 31) and in one of the copies of *Palaea Interpretata* (РГБ, 304.I.730, fol. 363-394'). The analysis of the text in all the above mentioned manuscripts suggests that the Slavic translation of *Contra legem Sarracenorum* was not comprehensive and included the introduction, chapter 1, the beginning of chapter 2 and chapters 13-17 (including the interpolated fragment of chapter 7).

In the Slavic text of the treatise of Riccoldo of Monte di Croce we find as many as 33 quotations from the *Qur'ān*: 2,32; 2,87; 2,117; 3,7; 3,42;

va 2012, p. 65-66; E. Lauzi, *Bizantini versus Saraceni: un'accusa d'idolatria*, "Aevum" 88/2 (2014) p. 283, 301; Wolińska, *The Arabs*, p. 433.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Argyriou, *Perception*, p. 46-47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Bushkovitch, *Orthodoxy*, p. 121, 130-131; Brzozowska – Leszka – Wolińska, *Muhammad*, p. 289-301.

3,45; 3,59; 3,118; 3,135; 4,48; 4,157-158; 4,171 (three times); 5,46-47 (two times); 5,110; 5,117 (twice); 8,7-8; 10,41; 15,9; 17,1; 21,5; 21,16; 21,91; 34,24; 35,1; 38,73-74; 44,38; 61,6; 109,6 (twice). An additional advantage of all language versions of the work are the original Arabic titles of some surahs appearing on its pages, written phonetically in Latin, Greek and Cyrillic alphabets respectively.

The history of the Qur'ānic fragments in the Rus' copies of *Contra legem Sarracenorum* (PH5, Coф. 1323; ГИМ, Син. 996; ГИМ, Син. 182 and РГБ, 304.I.730) is as follows: Arabic original of the *Qur'ān*  $\rightarrow$  Latin original of *Contra legem Sarracenorum* treatise  $\rightarrow$  Greek translation by Demetrius Cydonius  $\rightarrow$  Church Slavic translation.

# 5. Orations against Muḥammad by John Cantacuzene in Church Slavic translation

The Byzantine Emperor John VI Cantacuzene (1347-1354) left behind a rich literary legacy, in which polemical texts play a significant part. One of the most important sources of inspiration and knowledge about the religious ideas of Muslims for John Cantacuzene was the treatise *Contra legem Sarracenorum* by Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, already known in Byzantium in Greek translation by Demetrius Cydonius<sup>31</sup>.

The complete translation of the above-mentioned works into Church Slavic was done in the fifteenth century, most probably in Bulgaria. It has survived in several manuscripts of South Slavic provenance, including the manuscript from Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 1-178<sup>32</sup>.

In the four *Orations against Muḥammad* we find as many as 26 quotations from the *Qur'ān*: 2,62; 2,256; 3,19; 3,118; 4,82; 4,171 (twice); 5,18; 5,68; 5,89; 5,110; 5,117; 9,29; 10,41; 10,94; 17,1; 21,91; 23,91; 27,16-19; 33,56; 34,14; 38,73-74; 38,76; 42,6; 59,21; 109,6. John Cantacuzene also drew on the Byzantine translation of the work by Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, which provided original Arabic titles of several surahs. In *Orations*,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> J.G. Turner, *A Slavonic Version of John Cantacuzenus's Against Islam*, "Slavonic and East European Review" 51 (1973) p. 115; Argyriou, *Orthodoxy*, p. 49-52, 64-69.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Cf. Turner, A Slavonic, p. 117; K.P. Todt, Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und der Islam: politische Realität und theologische Polemik im palaiologenzeitlichen Byzanz, Würzburg – Altenberge 1991, p. 175-176; Brzozowska – Leszka – Wolińska, Muhammad, p. 312-316.

they were written in the Greek alphabet (in the Slavic translation they were transliterated into the Cyrillic alphabet).

The history of Qur'ānic fragments in the ÖN manuscript, Cod. Slav. 34 can therefore be reconstructed as follows: Arabic original of the  $Qur'\bar{a}n \rightarrow$  Latin original of the  $Contra\ legem\ Sarracenorum\ treatise \rightarrow Greek\ translation$  by Demetrius Cydonius  $\rightarrow$  John Cantacuzene's redaction (Greek)  $\rightarrow$  Church Slavic translation.

# 6. *Qur'ān* in original literary texts from the area of Slavia Orthodoxa

### 6.1. The Life of St. Constantine-Cyril

This hagiographical work was written in the Church Slavic language, most probably soon after the death of the Slavic Apostle in 869. On its pages, in chapters 6 and 11, we can find extensive descriptions of the theological disputes that St. Constantine-Cyril supposedly had in person with Muslims during two diplomatic missions: to Baghdad, to the court of the Caliph Al-Mutawakkil of the Abbasid dynasty (early sixth decade of the ninth century) and to the seat of the Khazar khagan (860). It is worth mentioning here that the participation of the saint in these two expeditions is considered by some scholars to be a fairly likely event: in the mid-ninth century, the Byzantine Empire authorities intensified their diplomatic contacts with the Caliphate, and the successive envoys from Constantinople to Baghdad and their participation in theological disputes with Muslims is also recorded in Arab sources.

In the *Life of St. Constantine-Cyril* we find two short references to the text of the *Qur'ān*. Let us quote them here according to the manuscript  $P\Gamma B$ , 173.I.19 from the last quarter of the fifteenth century:

- (1) Chapter 6, fol. 370': послахом дух нашь къ двѣ и изволше да родит
  - Surah 19,17: whereupon We sent to her Our Spirit (transl. 'Alī Qulī Qarā'ī);
- (2) Chapter 11, fol. 380': мрътвым въскрѣшалъ, и всмку яѕю цѣлилъ, силою великою

Surah 3,49: And I heal the blind and the leper / and I revive the dead by Allah's leave (transl. 'Alī Qulī Qarā'ī).

Where could the author of the analyzed work obtained these quotations from? As we remember, a comprehensive Greek translation of the holy book of Islam was written in Constantinople in the mid-ninth century, i.e. exactly at the time when the later Slavic Apostle went on diplomatic missions to the Arabs and the Khazars. What is more, the most likely anonymous author of this translation, Nicetas of Byzantium, who drew on this text, and St. Constantine-Cyril belonged to the same intellectual circle, centered around Photius. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that the future Slavic evangelizer had the opportunity to read the Greek translation of the *Qur'ān* before going to Baghdad or Semender. He could also, in preparing for the ensuing disputes with Muslims there, make some notes on the text he had read, which were then used by the author of his *Life*.

This proposition is also supported by another early Slavic source, i.e. the *Praise of St. Constantine-Cyril and St. Methodius*, attributed to one of the disciples of the Slavic Apostles, St. Clement of Ohrid (ca. 840-916), and thus created at the end of the ninth century or in the first years of the following century. The text includes a significant statement that during his stay with the Arabs and the Khazars, St. Constantine-Cyril, while discussing theological issues with them, countered the arguments of his adversaries, referring to "their own books" (своими имъ книгами)<sup>33</sup>. One of these writings could, and indeed, under such circumstances, must have been the *Our 'ān*.

### 6.2. Qur'ān in Old Bulgarian culture

The emergence of Muslim literature in Bulgaria in the days before the baptism (866), under the rule of Boris I (852-889), is debated in scholarly sources. This discussion is based on one source message, namely the reply (103) of Pope Nicholas I to a question put to him by the Bulgarian envoys in 866 on behalf of the above-mentioned Boris. It reads as follows: "De libris profanis, quos a Sarracenis vos abstulisse ac apud vos habere perhibetis, quid faciendum sit, inquiritis. Qui nimirum non sunt reservandi: «Corrumpunt» enim, sicut scriptum est, «mores bonos colloquia mala» [1 Corinthians 15:33], sed utpote noxli et blasphemi iqui tradendi"<sup>34</sup>. Already

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Laudatio SS. Cyrilli et Methodii, p. 240.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Nicolai Papae Responsa ad consulta Bulgaroroum, p. 599: "You ask what should be done with the profane books which you say that you have taken from the Saracens and have with you. These should, of course, not be kept: for, as it is written, Evil

Dimitr Dečev suggested that the term *libris profanes* should probably be interpreted as meaning writings received from Muslims that were used in worship<sup>35</sup>. Vasil Zlatarski assumed that the appearance of these books was the result of Muslim missionary activity. The Bulgarian researcher pointed out that at that time the latter was carried out among the Khazars and it was from their country that the Arab missionaries arrived in Bulgaria. Zlatarski believed that the missionary efforts did not yield any results in Bulgaria. Perhaps the missionaries confined themselves to trying to convince Boris I and leave свещените си книги, вероятно, корана<sup>36</sup>. Zlatarski's view, which was accepted by Bulgarian historians, met with criticism from Ivan Dujčev in the early 1950s. This outstanding Bulgarian historian pointed out that the phrase Sarracenis... abstulisse should be understood as follows: *отняли от сарацин*<sup>37</sup>. If this is the case, there can be no talk of the missionary activity of the Arabs. Dujčev also questions whether the term libri profani should be taken to mean books of a religious nature, since it can mean светские книги<sup>38</sup>. He also suggests that the Bulgarian envoys, who were not well understood by the papal officials, may not have meant so much books of a religious nature as those devoted to astrological issues. The latter were said to be popular in pre-Christian Bulgaria. Dujčev's position, although noted, did not lead to the rejection of Zlatarski's theory. Not so long ago, Vasil Gyuzelev suggested that the emergence of Arab missionaries in Bulgaria, which they reached through Khazaria, was a consequence of the interest of the Baghdad Caliphate in the religious changes taking place in the Bulgarian state, which the Arabs felt threatened by them to some extent, because they strengthened Byzantium<sup>39</sup>. It seems that the enigmatic nature of Pope Nicholas I's 103 responses, as well as the objections expressed in the discussion so far, make it necessary to build with some caution the belief in the emergence of the *Qur'ān* in Bulgaria in the first phase of Boris' rule.

conversation corrupts good behavior, but, as harmful and blasphemous, it should be thrown into the fire".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Cf. D. Dechev, *Otgovorite na papa Nikolaj po dopitvanijata na b''lgarite*, Sofija 1922, p. 99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> V.N. Zlatarski, *Istorija na b''lgarskata d''rzhava prez srednite vekove*, v. 1/2, Sofija 1927, p. 267-268.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> I. Dujchev, *Eshche o slavjano-bolgarskich drevnostjach IX v.*, "Byzantinoslavica" 12 (1951) p. 90.

Dujchev, Eshche o slavjano-bolgarskich drevnostjach IX v., p. 91.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> V. Gjuzelev, *Pokr"stvane i christijanizacija na b"lgarite. Izvorovedchesko izsledvane s prilozhenie*, Sofija 2006, p. 43.

### 6.3. Qur'ān in Old Rus' historical texts

It is interesting to note that Islam and the teachings laid out in the *Qur'ān* were also of interest to the authors of Old Rus' historiographic compilations containing a more or less synthetic lecture on common history, based mainly on the texts by Byzantine authors, known in the Church Slavic translation. A story with the much-telling title *On Muḥammad the Heretic* (© Бохмите еретицѣ), textologically dependent on the chronicle of George the Monk (Hamartolus), is woven into the text of: *Troitsky Chronograph* (thirteen-fourteen centuries), the second redaction of the *Hellenic and Roman Chronicle* (first half of fifteenth century), *Rogozhsky Chronograph* (fifteenth century), *Resurrection Chronicle* (sixteenth century) and *Illuminated Chronicle of Tsar Ivan the Terrible* (sixteenth century). In most of the works mentioned here, we find two quotations from the *Qur'ān*, taken from the Slavic translation of George the Monk's work: 5,116 and 47,15. The exception is the sixteenth century *Resurrection Chronicle*, in which only one passus appears (47,15).

A different discussion of the views of the Muslim prophet was woven into the text of the *Nikon Chronicle*, a vast relic of Moscow historiography, written in the 1550s. This narrative, entitled the *Tale of the Shameful Saracen Faith* (Сказание о хулнъи въръ Срациньстъи), is in fact a compilation of three separate works known in the area of *Slavia Orthodoxa*: the treatise *On Heresies* by John of Damascus, a polemic text by Michael Syncellus, and the ritual of renunciation of Islam from the second half of the ninth century. It can be assumed that the authors of this story used one of the Old Rus' copies of the *Nomocanon of St. Sava* (e.g. *Kormchaia Book from Ryazan*, 1284 – PHБ, F.п.II,1, fol. 374-378, 399'-402'), which contained the Slavic versions of all the above-mentioned sources. In *Nikon Chronicle* we find 19 quotations from the *Qur'ān*, taken from the three above-mentioned works: 2,25-26; 2,158; 2,223; 2,230; 3,49; 4,43; 4,157-158; 4,171; 5,6; 5,114-115; 5,116; 22,5; 26,155-157; 38,73-74; 47,15; 56,20-21; 70,4; 83,25-28; 112,1-4.

An interesting variant of the story analyzed here has been included in the second redaction of the *Russian Chronograph* (sixteenth century), textologically dependent on the *Nikon Chronicle*. It contains two different quotes from the holy book of Islam. One of them come from the Slavic translation the chronicle of George the Monk (47,15), and one (70,4) probably from the ritual of renunciation of Islam.

## 6.4. The Qur'an in Afanasy Nikitin's the Journey Beyond Three Seas

A merchant form Tver, Afanasy Nikitin left behind an extensive itinerary, which is a colorful description of the journey he made personally through the Middle East to India in 1468-1475<sup>40</sup>. At the end of this work there is a peculiar prayer, which is a compilation of Qur'ānic fragments, reconstructed by the Old Rus' author "by ear" in Arabic and written in Cyrillic alphabet<sup>41</sup>. Perhaps they should be identified as follows:

**Table 1.** Quotations from the *Qur'ān* in the *Journey Beyond Three Seas* 

Afanasy Nikitin Journey Beyond Three Seas (PΓБ, 173.I.195.2, fol. 392')	Qur'ān – Arabic text (transcription)	Qur'ān – English Translation (transl. 'Alī Qulī Qarā'ī)
бисмилна. ги рахмам ррагым	Surah 1,1: Bismi Allahi alrrahmani alrraheemi	Surah 1,1: In the Name of Allah, the All-beneficent, the All-merciful.
Їса () рухомо	Surah 4,171: <u>AAeesa</u> ibnu Maryama rasoolu Allahu wakalimatuhu alqaha ila Maryama wa <u>roohun</u> minhu faami- noo bi <u>Allahi</u>	Surah 4,171: The Messiah, <u>Jesus</u> son of Mary, was only an apostle of Allah, and His Word that He cast toward Mary and a spirit from Him.
хуво мугоу лези. ла лаїлага. ильла гуа.	Surah 59,22-23: Huwa Allahu allathee la ilaha illa huwa	Surah 59,22-23: He is Allah – there is no god except Him –
алиму <sup>л</sup> . гљиби. вашагадити.	AAalimu alghaybi waal- shshahadati	Knower of the sensible and the Unseen,
хоуа ра <sup>х</sup> ману. рагыму. хоуво могу. льзи. ль ильга. ильль хуь. альмелику. алакудосу.	huwa alrrahmanu alr- raheemu. Huwa Allahu allathee la ilaha illa huwa almaliku alquddoosu	He is the All-beneficent, the All-merciful.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> A.V. Riasanovsky, *A Fifteenth Century Russian Traveller in India: Comments in Connection with a New Edition of Afanasii Nikitin's Journal*, "Journal of the American Oriental Society" 81/2 (1961) p. 126-130; A.S. Morris, *The Journey beyond Three Seas*, "The Geographical Journal" 133/4 (1967) p. 502-508; M.J. Maxwell, *Afanasii Nikitin: An Orthodox Russian's Spiritual Voyage in the Dar al-Islam, 1468–1475*, "Journal of World History" 17/3 (2006) p. 243-266; Bushkovitch 2010, p. 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Maxwell, *Afanasii*, p. 258-259.

асалому. альмоуминоу. альмоугамину. альазизу. альчебароу. Альмоутаканъбироу alssalamu almuminu almuhayminu alAAazeezu aljabbaru almutakabbiru He is Allah – there is no god except Him – the Sovereign, the All-holy, the All-benign, the Securer, the All-conserver, the All-mighty, the All-compeller, the All-magnanimous.

#### 7. Conclusions

Quotations from the *Our 'ān* can be found in many Church Slavic texts. Most of them are translated from Byzantine Greek and Latin. In the rite of renunciation of Islam, 13 fragments of the Book are recalled; in the treatise by Euthymius Zigabenus titled *Panoplia dogmatica* – as many as 51 (including 38 passages preserved in the Slavic version); in the work by John of Damascus – 9; in a *Dialog between a Christian and a Saracen* – 2; in the currently known fragment of the polemical text of Michael Syncellus – 2; in the chronicle by George the Monk (Hamartolus) – 2; in the Slavic version of Contra legem Sarracenorum by Riccoldo of Monte di Croce – 33; in four *Orations against Muhammad* by Emperor John Cantacuzene – 26. The Our 'an is also quoted in texts written in the area of Slavia Orthodoxa. Among them, we should list: the Life of St. Constantine-Cyril (2), Troitsky Chronograph (2), the second redaction of the Hellenic and Roman Chronicle (2), Rogozhsky Chronograph (2), Russian Chronograph in the mid-sixteenth century redaction (2), the Resurrection Chronicle (1), the Illuminated Chronicle of Tsar Ivan the Terrible (2), the Nikon Chronicle (19), and the *Journey Beyond Three Seas* by Afanasy Nikitin (3).

Taking into account the fact that many of the Qur'ānic fragments appear on the pages of several interdependent texts, it can be assumed that in the medieval Slavic tradition only about 2% of the text of the holy book of Islam was known. In the area of *Slavia Orthodoxa*, the work in question was not included in the intellectual circulation to the same extent as in Byzantium or Western Europe. However, the *Qur'ān* was not completely unknown to Orthodox Slavs: they were aware of the existence of the Muslim holy book, they quoted it most often *via* Byzantine authors, on occasion even trying to cite its fragments in the Arabic original (the case of Afanasy Nikitin).

Table 2. Qur'ānic fragments in the Church Slavic translation

	Surah 2 – The Heifer		
2,25-26		Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 1st translation – PHБ, Солов. собр. 1056/1165, fol. 357: съвокуплающем же са несытно предыбломъ зане Бъреч не срамлаитеса Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 2nd translation – MSPC, 222, fol. 362b: съмъщающесе несытно пръдъб Боб понеже Бъреч не срамляетсе  Nikon Chronicle, AM 6494 (AD 990): смъщающеся несытно предъ Богомъ, понеже Богъ, рече, не срамляется	
2,34	And when We said to the angels, 'Prostrate before Adam'	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem Sarracenorum, 15 – PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 457d: рекохомъ агтлмъ поклонитисм Адаму	
2,62	Indeed the faithful, the Jews, the Christians, and the Sabaeans  - those of them who have faith in Allah and the Last Day and act righteously — they shall have their reward near their Lord, and they will have no fear, nor will they grieve.	John Cantacuzene, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Oration against Muḥammad, 10 – Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 136: Їуден и хр <sup>с</sup> тїане, спсти се хоте <sup>т</sup>	
2,87	and We gave Jesus, the son of Mary, manifest proofs, and confirmed him with the Holy Spirit.	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem Sarracenorum, 15 – PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 458b: дахомъ Їсоў сну Мрыну творити чюдеса, и диве саявлена. и съврышихом его дхмъ стмъ	
2,117	and when He decides on a mat- ter, He just says to it, 'Be!' and it is.	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem Sarracenorum, 15 – РНБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 459a: ре <sup>ч</sup> да будуть и быша	
2,158	Indeed Safa and Marwah are among Allah's sacraments.	Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 1st translation – PHБ, Солов. собр. 1056/1165, fol. 357': Цава и Маруа. ихже $\ddot{w}$ ч°тных быти бжійхь силь  Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 2nd translation – MSPC, 222, fol. 362b: Тзафа и Мароува, ихже $\ddot{w}$ ч°тныхь бжиихь быти	

2,168	Eat of what is lawful and pure in the earth, and do not follow in Satan's steps.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 8 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 30': Цафа и Маруа, ѿ чьстныих быти гле́ть Ба́ <i>Nikon Chronicle</i> , АМ 6494 (AD 990): Тызафа и Марува, ихже отъ честныхъ и Божіихъ быти  Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 16 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 33': ядите бо рече ѿ вьсѣх ихже на земли. чиста бо суть и добра. и не сьпослѣдствуи те стопамь Сатаны
2,187	You are permitted, on the night of the fast, to go into your wives: they are a garment for you, and you are a garment for them.  Allah knew that you used to betray yourselves, so He pardoned you and excused you.  So now consort with them, and seek what Allah has ordained for you, and eat and drink until the white streak becomes manifest to you from the dark streak at the crack of dawn.1  Then complete the fast until nightfall, and do not consort with them while you dwell in confinement in the mosques.  These are Allah's bounds, so do not approach them.	Еиthymius Zigabenus, Panoplia dogmatica, 17 — ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 33': довлеть вам нощь поста! вь смъшенїе жень вашых. тые бо вам суть покривала! и вы тъм есте покривала. разумъ бо Бъ яко униваете! дшамы вашыми вь постъ, и милостивь вам будеть.! смъсите се тъм вь утъшенїе. и ядите сь вечера и пыи!те, дондеже нощи чрьное явит се бъло ради дне. и! пакы испльните по даже до вечера. и смъсите се тъм вамь честещем вь поклоненїи, сь е законь Бжіїи
2,191	And kill them wherever you confront them	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 19 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 31: убиваите и <sup>х</sup> , и деже аще сре <sup>ше</sup> те <sup>с</sup> имь
2,223	Your women are a tillage for you, so come to your tillage whenever you like	John of Damascus, <i>On Heresies</i> – HAZU III с. 9, fol. 372b: дѣлаи землю юже ти даль Бъ и помети ю, и се твори сиицево

2,230	And if he divorces her,	Еиthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmati-ca</i> , 17 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 31: жени ваше кровь ва <sup>м</sup>   вьнидѣте вь кровы ваше ѿнуду же хощете, и сьнидѣте <sup>с</sup>   дша́мь вашим сьврышыте, и прикоснѣте <sup>с</sup> жена <sup>м</sup> вашымь wбоюду <i>Nikon Chronicle</i> , АМ 6494 (AD 990): дѣлаи землю, юже ти далъ Богъ, и памятію се твори  John of Damascus, <i>On Heresies</i> – HAZU
	she will not be lawful for him	III с. 9, fol. 372a: хотеи да поущаеть
	until she marries	женоу свою. аще же по поущении
	a husband other than him,	ее вызвратитьсе, да поиметь ю инь.
	and if he divorces her, there is no sin upon them to	недостоино бо есть поети ее аще не
	remarry	лежить сь дроугымь Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmat-</i>
	if they think that they can	<i>ica</i> , 18 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 31: аще кто
	maintain Allah's bounds.	
		другому, и сице аще въсхоще т ѿпусти
		вы но мужь ее, да вьзвратит се кь нему. недостоит же еи пръжае да жене посагнутис
		и кому възвратити <sup>с</sup> къ нем <sup>у</sup>
		Nikon Chronicle, AM 6494 (AD 990): xo-
		тяи да пущаеть жену свою. аще же по
		пущенїи възвратится, да поиметь ю инъ.
		недостоино бо есть пояти ея, аще не ле- жить съ другымъ
2,256	There is no compulsion in re-	Euthymius Zigabenus, Panoplia dog-
2,230	ligion:	<i>matica</i> , 20 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 31': Да
	rectitude has become distinct	не понудите рече вь вѣру, яви бо се
	from error.	блгоприетное w погръши телнаго
		John Cantacuzene, <i>I</i> <sup>st</sup> <i>Oration against Muhammad</i> , 12 – Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 129: вь
		законѣ Бжі́и нѣ <sup>с</sup> нуж <sup>д</sup> а
	Surah 3 – F	Family of Imran
3,7	'We believe in it;	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem
	all of it is from our Lord'.	Sarracenorum, 13 – PHB, Coф. 1323, fol.
		456с: вѣруемъ тому все бо е° ѿ нашаго Бга
3,19	Indeed, with Allah religion is	John Cantacuzene, 2nd Oration against
	Islam,	<i>Muḥammad</i> , 10 – Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 136:
	and those who were given the Book did not differ	никто же може <sup>т</sup> спсти се кромѣ ихже вь законѣ Їзмаилїтѣнь
	Book ala not allier	законъ ізмаилітънь

	except after knowledge had	
	come to them,	
	out of envy among themselves.	
	And whoever defies Allah's	
	signs	
	[should know that] Allah is	
	swift at reckoning.	
3,42	And when the angels said,	Dialog between a Christian and a Saracen
- /	'O Mary, Allah has chosen you	– РГБ, 304.I.201, fol. 264: предизбраль Бгъ
	and purified you,	Марію свою паче всакіа плоти женьскіа,
	and He has chosen you above	їсшелъ дхъ и слово Бжіїе в нее.
	the world's women'.	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem
		Sarracenorum, 15 –PHБ, Coф. 1323, fol.
		458c: рекоша аггли бла*ннои Мрїи. w
		Мріа Бгъ предложи та пач вса жены
3,45	When the angels said,	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem
] 3,13	'O Mary,	Sarracenorum, 15 –PHB, Cop. 1323, fol.
	Allah gives you the good news	458с-d: рекоша аттли w Мри блговъствует
	of a Word from Him	ти Бъ. или възвъщает ти слво свое. има
	whose name is Messiah, Jesus,	его Їє Хєєнъ Мрїинъ
	son of Mary'.	ero te zie enb impininb
3,49	I will create for you out of clay	Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 1st transla-
3,77	the form of a bird.	tion – РНБ, Солов. собр. 1056/1165, fol.
	then I will breathe into it,	358: и еще мла <sup>д</sup> сыи птицѣ ѿ калу здаше.
	and it will become a bird by	и дуновенїє твора на на. и ѿлѣтаху. и
	Allah's leave.	твораше животнаа и слъпыа исцълаа и
	And I heal the blind and the	мертвыа въскр <sup>с</sup> ам
	leper	Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 2 <sup>nd</sup> transla-
	and I revive the dead by Al-	tion – MSPC, 222, fol. 362d: ии еще младь
	lah's leave.	сыи птыце вь калѣ лѣпляше и доуноувь
	ian s iouve.	на не творяше е живы. и слъпые ицъляше,
		и мртьыи вьставляще
		Life of St. Constantine-Cyril, 11 – РГБ,
		173.I.19, fol. 380': мрътвым въскрѣшалъ,
		и всаку яѕю цѣлилъ, силою великою
		Nikon Chronicle, AM 6494 (AD 990): и
		еще младъ сыи, птица въ калъ лъпляше,
		и дунувъ на ня, творяше я живы. слъпыа
		исцъляще, и мертвыа воставляще
3,59	Indeed the case of Jesus with	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem
","	Allah	Sarracenorum, 15 –PHB, Cop. 1323, fol.
	is like the case of Adam:	459b: Їс́ се е <sup>°</sup> к Бгу́ я <sup>к</sup> же Адамъ егоже
	He created him from dust,	създа $\overline{w}$ земла. и реч ему боуд и се
	then said to him, 'Be', and he	
	was.	
	vi 45.	

3,118	Do not take your confidants from others than yourselves	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, <i>Contra legem Sarracenorum</i> , 15 – PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 460a: не вѣровати никомуже ра³вѣ оученїа нашаго закона  John Cantacuzene, 4 <sup>th</sup> Oration against <i>Muḥammad</i> , 1 – Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 173': да <sup>не</sup> имете вѣры иному развѣ
3,135	and who forgives sins except	послъдующому моемоу закону Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem
	Allah?	Sarracenorum, 15 – РНБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 458c: единъ Бъ гръхи оставлаеть
	Surah	4 – Women
4,3	then marry [other] women that you like, two, three, or four.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 18 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 31: узаконоположи жени убо четири вьзиматы ком <sup>у</sup> ж <sup>д</sup> о  поса <sup>д</sup> ниц же ти сущу, или еликыи <sup>х</sup> питаты можеть
4,43	and you cannot find water, then make your ablution on clean ground and wipe a part of your faces and your hands.	Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 1st translation – PHБ, Солов. собр. 1056/1165, fol. 358': аще не обръщетсь вода прїимъ перьсть тонку труть, руцѣ и лице Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 2nd translation – MSPC, 222, fol. 363b: аще не wбрѣтають готови воды, да приемлють прьсть дребноу и тою потирають лица своя и роуцѣ Euthymius Zigabenus, Panoplia dogmatica, 12 – lacuna Nikon Chronicle, AM 6494 (AD 990): аще не обрѣтають готови воды, таковы обрѣтше персть добру и тою потирають лица своя и руцѣ
4,48	Indeed Allah does not forgive that any partner should be ascribed to Him.	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, <i>Contra legem Sarracenorum</i> , 15 – PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 460b: не пощ <sup>л</sup> ать Бъ аще кто ему дае <sup>т</sup> примбъщникъ
4,82	Do they not contemplate the Qur'ān? Had it been from [someone] other than Allah, they would have surely found much discrepancy in it.	John Cantacuzene, Ist Oration against Muḥammad, 12 — Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 130: аще не би ѿ Ба Корран, многа соупротивленїа обрѣтала се би убо вь немь

4,153	The People of the Book ask you to bring down for them a Book from the sky.  Certainly they asked Moses for [something] greater than that, for they said, 'Show us Allah visibly', whereat a thunderbolt seized them for their wrongdoing.	Еиthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 23 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 27: просет тебѣ своиствнїй пи санїа сирѣчь иже Бюгосланное твое писанїе прие мшей, еже сънести на них писанїе съ небсе, писанїе вто рое явѣ яко извѣствующее о ихже ѿ него догматисо ванныйм, яко истинна и Бюўголна на суть. таже прила гаеть о евремх, яко просише Мусеовы болшаа сего, и ре коше покажи нам Ба́ явленно. и възет их бжевное за непрау дних, сирѣчь поразних, за бессловесное сїе прошенїе ихъ
4,157- 158	and for their saying, 'We killed the Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, the apostle of Allah'  - though they did not kill him nor did they crucify him, but so it was made to appear to them. Indeed those who differ concerning him are surely in doubt about him: they do not have any knowledge of that beyond following conjectures, and certainly they did not kill him. Rather Allah raised him up toward Himself.	Јоhn of Damascus, On Heresies — НАZU III с. 9, fol. 370b: и яко  Июдъи безаконовавше въсхо тъше его распети, имше и ра спеше стънь его сам же Х°ь не ра спеть бысть ни оумръ. Бъ бо вь зеть его к себъ на нбса  Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem Sarracenorum, 15 – PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 460d: не оумръ. но въм¹ его Бъ  Nikon Chronicle, АМ 6494 (АД 990): и яко  Їюдъи беззаконовавше восхотъша его распяти, и емше и распяша стънь его. самъ же Христосъ не распять бысть, ни умре.  Богъ бо его взять къ себъ на небеса
4,171	O People of the Book! Do not exceed the bounds in your religion, and do not attribute anything to Allah except the truth. The Messiah, Jesus son of Mary, was only an apostle of Allah, and His Word that He cast toward Mary and a spirit from Him.	John of Damascus, On Heresies — HAZU III c. 9, fol. 370b: глеть X°a слово быти Бжие и дхъ его Dialog between a Christian and a Saracen — РГБ, 304.I.201, fol. 263: дхъ и слово Бжіе глетсм  Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem Sarracenorum, 2—PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 455b: не глите три Бгы. и ѿдавають ѿвѣть слову абіе гля, едінь е° Бгъ

So have faith in Allah and His apostles, and do not say, '[God is] a trinity'.

Relinquish [such a creed]! That is better for you.

Allah is but the One God.

Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, 15, fol. 458b: не оупражнаите<sup>с</sup> в законъ нашемъ и не глите w Бѕъ кромъ имъти истінны яко Хс Їє снъ е Мрінь и аполь Бжін, и слово Бжіе, егоже в неа положи дхмъ стым (...) не речте три, яко Бъ, Бъ е с единъ Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, 15, fol. 458d: не речеши w Бѕѣ кромѣ истинны. яко Хс Їє Мриинъ посланникъ еже е Бжій и сліво Бжіе, егоже самъ положи в неи дхімъ стімъ Nikon Chronicle, AM 6494 (AD 990): глаголеть Христа Слово быти Божіе и духъ его John Cantacuzene, 3rd Oration against Muhammad, 3 - Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 155': Xc Їє сні Марїинь, слово Бжіе е<sup>с</sup>, и діша Бжіа е<sup>с</sup> лыханіе Бжіе

John Cantacuzene, 4th Oration against Muḥammad, 3 — Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 176: w единомысльник низъ сиръчь върнїи, не глите о Бзть развъ истины, яко Хс Їс, снь е Марїинь, и ап ль Бжїи, и слово Бжіе, еже вь неи положи дхомь стымь, се оубо Ба именовавь, и слово Бжіе, и лхъ сть

#### Surah 5 – *The Table*

5,6 and you cannot find water, then make tayammum with clean ground and wipe a part of your faces and your hands with it.

Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 1st translation – PHБ, Солов. собр. 1056/1165, fol. 358': аще не обръщетсь вода прїимъ перьсть тонку труть, руцѣ и лице Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 2nd translation – MSPC, 222, fol. 363b: аще не wбрѣтають готови воды, да приемлють прьсть дребноу и тою потирають лица своя и роуцѣ Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia dogmatica*,

12 – lacuna
Nikon Chronicle, AM 6494 (AD 990): аще
не обрътають готови воды, таковы обрътше персть добру и тою потирають лица
своя и руцъ

5,18	The Jews and the Christians say, 'We are Allah's children and His beloved ones'. Say, 'Then why does He punish you for your sins?' Rather you are humans from among His creatures.	John Cantacuzene, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Oration against Muḥammad, 25 — Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 146': не быти хр°тїанwмь или евреwмь, сн́wмь или другw <sup>м</sup> Бжіймь. за еж <sup>е</sup> показовати се грѣхь ради ихь
5,46-47	And We followed them with Jesus son of Mary, to confirm that which was be- fore him of the Torah, and We gave him the Evangel containing guidance and light, confirming what was before it of the Torah, and as guidance and advice for the Godwary. Let the people of the Evangel judge by what Allah has sent down in it.	Еиthymius Zigabenus, Panoplia dogmatica, 9 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 28: послахw <sup>м</sup> послѣдователя сим вьсѣм явѣ яко пррокум, Іса́ сна Марїина, вь еже истинна сътвориты яже прѣжде его, яже закона, сънесше къ нему еуглїе, въ немже е на ставленіе, свѣть и прауда, по силѣ егоже прѣ де его закона, въ наставленіе и убѣщаніе, боещыим се его. и въ еже судиты своимь еугліу.  Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem Sarracenorum, 15 – PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 459d: хвальеть и еуаглие в немъ ре есть спеніе и наставленіе  Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, 16, fol. 461а- в: повѣдахомъ путь члікум Їс Хемъ сномъ Мрїинымъ, и їстиннь проркмъ. и дахом ему еугліе в нем же е наставленіе и свѣть и їстинна явлена
5,51	Do not take the Jews and the Christians for allies: they are allies of each other. Any of you who allies with them is indeed one of them.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , $20 - O\Gamma H \bar{b}$ , $1/108$ , fol. $31$ ': не бываите заступници $ $ жидов $w^{M}$ и хрїстїан $o^{M}$ , аще бо кто заступаєть $u^{X} \bar{w}  $ ва $^{c}$ , так $w$ выи $\bar{w}$ н $u^{X}$ е $^{c}$
5,68	'O People of the Book! You do not stand on anything until you observe the Torah and the Evangel and what was sent down to you from your Lord'.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 20 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 26: горе вамь своиствни гле, ничтоже вам е слондеже послѣдствуете закону и еуглїу John Cantacuzene, 2nd <i>Oration against Muḥammad</i> , 1 – Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 134: книжное единомышленїе, никакоже въсма е с, аще не испльне еуглїе же и законь

5,89	Allah shall not take you to task for what is frivolous in your oaths; but He shall take you to task for what you pledge in earnest. The atonement for it is to feed ten needy persons with the average food you give to your families, or their clothing, or the freeing of a slave. He who cannot afford [any of these]	Јоhn Cantacuzene, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Oration against Muḥammad, 7 — Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 135': не вьмѣняе <sup>т</sup> Бѣ нашь прѣльсть клетвѣ. за прѣступленіе же се, доволно ес десет убогых пища и одежла толицѣх, или вь мѣсто сих единого роба избавленіе. а иже ѿ сих не могы сътворити, трищи да постит се таковы
5,110	shall fast for three days.  O Jesus son of Mary, remember My blessing upon	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem Sarracenorum, 15 – PHB, Coф. 1323, fol.
	you and upon your mother, when I strengthened you with the Holy Spirit, so you would speak to the peo- ple in the cradle and in adulthood, and when I taught you the Book and wisdom, the Torah and the Evangel, [] and you would heal the blind and the leper, with My leave.	460с-d: о X°t, разсмотри како ти дахъ дхъ стъ, еже бесъ зати еще въ младенствъ лежащю ти. и наоучих та кнїгу и м р°ть, Моусъ иска закона и еу ліа () Х с слъпыа просвъти. прокаженыа оч ти и мртвыа въскр и John Cantacuzene, 4 Oration against Миḥаттад, 3 – Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 176': Х с слъпыхь просвъти, прокаженные очисти, мрътвы въскръси
5,114- 115	Said Jesus son of Mary, 'O Allah! Our Lord! Send down to us a table from the sky, to be a festival for us, for the first ones and the last ones among us and as a sign from You, and provide for us; for You are the best of providers'. Allah said, 'I will indeed send it down to you'.	Јоhn of Damascus, On Heresies – HAZU III с. 9, fol. 373а: гле́ть же яко Х <sup>с</sup> ы оу Ба́ просиль есть трапезы и дасть се емоу. ибо Бъ́ рече гла́ е моу, яко вдахь тебѣ и твоимы трапезоу нетлѣнноу Nikon Chronicle, AM 6494 (AD 990): глаголеть же яко Христось убо просиль трапезы, и дасться ему. ибо Богъ, рече, глагола ему, яко вдахъ тебѣ и твоимъ трапезу нетлѣнну

John of Damascus. On Heresies – HAZU III с. 9, fol. 370b: выпроси его Бы гле. 60 Исе, ты ли еси реклы снь есмь Бжи и Бъ. и ѿвѣша рече Ісь. мл°тивь ми Ги мои ты въси яко не рекохь, ниже стыждоу се быти рабь твои. нь члвци пръстоупници написаше яко рекохь слово се. Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia dogmatica*, 2 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 25: выпроси Бы гле. w Иїсе, ты рече слово се яко сть есмь Бжій и Бы. и wвъща Іс яко не рекох азь. и стижду се быти рабь твои, ини члии глію ть яко реко<sup>х</sup> слову се. Michael Syncellus, 1<sup>st</sup> translation – ΓИМ, Син. 227, fol. 274: абие же Иссоу пръдъстати, и **жвръщис** пръдъ Бмъ, яко не нарече себе сна Бжия Michael Syncellus, 2<sup>nd</sup> translation – HAZU III с. 9, fol. 373b: по том же Їсви пръдьстати рече и ймътати се пръдь Бмъ, яко не нареч се снъ Бжи George the Monk/Hamartolus, Chronicle – РГБ, 310.1289, fol. 316: абие же Їс<sup>с</sup>оу предстоати и Ѿврещиса пред Бгмъ, яко не глахъ себе соуща сна Бжиа Troitsky Chronograph: абие же Исус престояти и отврещиса пред Богомь, яко не глаголахь себе сына Божия Hellenic and Roman Chronicle (2nd redaction) – PΓB, 228.162, fol. 342': aδïe жe Icov пръдъстом ти **w**врещисм пръдъ Бгмь, яко не глахь себе соуща Сна Божа Rogozhsky Chronograph: абїе же Їсоу предстоати и жвръщиса пред Бмъ, яко не глахъ себе сна Бжіа Nikon Chronicle, AM 6494 (AD 990): въпроси его Богъ, глаголя, о Їсусе, или еси реклъ сынъ есмь Божій и Богъ. и отвъщавъ Їсусъ, рече, милостивъ ми Господи мои, ты въси, яко не рекохъ, ниже стыжуся быти рабъ твои. но человъци преступници написаша яко рекохъ слово се [...] потомъ же Їсусови предстати, рече, и отмѣтатися предъ Богомъ, яко не наречеся сынъ Божїи Illuminated Chronicle of Tsar Ivan the Terrible: абїе же Їсоу предстолти ї врещи пред Бгом, яко не глах себе соуща сна Бжії а

5,117	'Worship Allah, my Lord and your Lord'.	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem Sarracenorum, 1—PHБ, Coф. 1323, fol. 454b: поклонаитеса Бгу моему и Бгу вашему Г°у моему и Г°у вашему Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, 15, fol. 459c: поклонитеса Бу моему и Бгу вашему Г°у моему и Г°у вашему Јоhn Cantacuzene, 3 <sup>rd</sup> Oration against Muhammad, 4—Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 160°: кланяите се Бу моему и Бу вашему, и Гу моему и Гоў вашему
	Surah	6 – Cattle
6,142	and do not follow in Satan's footsteps.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dog-matica</i> , 16 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 33': и не сьпослѣ <sup>д</sup> ствуи те стопамь Сатаны
	Surah 7 –	The Elevations
7,158	'O mankind! I am the Apostle of Allah to you all, [of Him].	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 24 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 27°: горе чліци азь апо <sup>с</sup> ль есмь бо!жій
7,178	Whomever Allah guides is rightly guided, and whomever He leads astray – it is they who are the losers.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dog-matica</i> , 9 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 35: ero <sup>ж</sup> наставляеть Бъ, wнь e <sup>c</sup> наставленїи, и и <sup>x</sup> же прѣлыщаеть, wни суть прѣлыщаемы
7,188	'I have no control over any benefit for myself nor [over] any harm except what Allah may wish.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 9 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 35: не wбладаю дішею моею, вь полізу или врѣд, развѣ еже хощеть Бь
	Surah 8	– The Spoils
8,7-8	But Allah desires to confirm the truth with His words, and to root out the faithless, 8 so that He may confirm the truth and bring falsehood to naught.	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem Sarracenorum, 16 – PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 461b: хощеть бо истиньствовать истинну своимъ словомъ. и пресекати начало еретичское. яко да истинна истиньствуеть. и суету суетовати
		- Repentance
9,29	Fight those who do not have faith in Allah nor [believe] in the Last Day, nor forbid	John Cantacuzene, $I^{\text{st}}$ Oration against Muḥammad, 12 — Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 129: не повинующим се нашимь ученїемь, сьмрьт да будет томленїе, или дани даяти

9,30	what Allah and His Apostle have forbidden, nor practise the true religion, from among those who were given the Book, until they pay the tribute out of hand, degraded.  The Jews say, 'Ezra is the son of Allah', and the Christians say, 'Christ is the son of Allah'.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 9 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 35': глють Іудеи яко І°риль не° єнь бжіи. и глють хрістіане   яко хє не° єнь бжіи. сіе не° слово их устниих
	That is an opinion that they	no to this ownii. Old to choose if yourinin
	mouth.	
	Surah	10 – Jonah
10,41	you are absolved of what I do and I am absolved of what you do'.	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem Sarracenorum, 15 – РНБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 460a: вы свободни есте, ои* азъ съдъваю. и азъ ѿ них же вы John Cantacuzene, 4th Oration against Миḥаттаd, 1 – Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 173': вы свободни есте ихже азъ дъю. и азъ, ихже вы
10,94	So if you are in doubt about what We have sent down to you, ask those who read the Book [revealed] before you.  The truth has certainly come to you from your Lord; so do not be among the skeptics.	Јоhn Cantacuzene, <i>I</i> <sup>st</sup> <i>Oration against Миḥаттаd</i> , 4 – Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 124': яко w ихже вамь ѿкрихомь аще сумнитесе, выпросѣте ѿ ихже прѣж <sup>л</sup> е мене книгы прочьтши <sup>х</sup> , и обрѣщете истину
	Surah 1	3 – Thunder
13,43	The faithless say, 'You have not been sent [by Allah]'. Say, 'Allah suffices as a witness between me and you, and he who possesses the knowledge of the Book'.	Euthymius Zigabenus, Panoplia dog- matica, 24 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 32: глют шімътающей се, нъси аполь. доволень мнъ Бызь свъ тельство будет, иже ео свъдътель мнъ убо, яко есмы аполь его, вам же яко шступисте мене

	Surah	15 – <u>H</u> ijr
15,6-8	They said, 'O you, to whom the Reminder has been sent down, you are indeed crazy. Why do you not bring us the angels should you be truthful?'. We do not send down the angels except with due reason, and then they will not be granted any respite.	Еuthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 25 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 32: реку <sup>т</sup> тебѣ яко бѣснуеи се еси гле, і ѿ Ба приеты сїа, аще бо истиньнь би быль аггела убо сывель бы. вины же полагаеть еже нелѣпо быти сьходиты аггелу, и рече яко су <sup>т</sup> нѣцїи и <sup>х</sup> же ради сїе вьзбраняе тсе. и яко аггелу сьходещем вьсе съврышис, и какова бліго дѣт члкум
15,9	Indeed We have sent down the Reminder, and indeed We will preserve it.	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem Sarracenorum, 13 – PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 456b: сътворихомъ въспоминанїе и мы сїє съхранихомъ
15,16- 18	Certainly We have appointed houses in the sky and adorned them for the onlookers, and We have guarded them from every outcast Satan, except someone who may eavesdrop, whereat there pursues him a manifest flame.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 26 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 32: видите рече ѕвѣздострѣлянїа, вьнегда же и вьсходи Сатана слышати хоте яже на небси глемаа
15.1		The Night Journey
17,1	Immaculate is He who carried His servant on a journey by night from the Sacred Mosque to the Farthest Mosque whose environs We have blessed.	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem Sarracenorum, 14 – PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 456d: хвала сътворшему преити рабоу своему. въ едину нощь ѿ молбища Еларамъскаго еже е° домъ Мекисеwвъ, да* до долнъго молбища, еже е° домъ стыи Гер°лмъ, егоже блгословихомъ John Cantacuzene, 4 <sup>th</sup> Oration against Muḥammad, 1 – Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 168-168': хвала сътворшому пръити рабу своему въ едину нощь ѿ мольбнаго еже Еларам еже е° дом Макке, до далечаишаго мольбн³го еже е° домь стъ Гер°лмъ егоже бл°вихом

17,16- 17	And when We desire to destroy a town We command its affluent ones [to obey Allah]. But they commit transgression in it, and so the word becomes due against it, and We destroy it utterly. How many generations We have destroyed since Noah!	Еuthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 9 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 28: егда хотъхwм погубы <sup>т</sup> селw, повелявааlхw <sup>м</sup> стоещимь вь нем, и блудъху вь не <sup>м</sup> . и wпраvдо вааше <sup>с</sup> на ни <sup>х</sup> словw, погыбъли и <sup>х</sup> явъ яко, негоже  на ни <sup>х</sup> осуж <sup>л</sup> енїа. и раздъляахw <sup>м</sup> и <sup>х</sup> раздъленїемы  и многы и <sup>х</sup> погубляхомь й родwвь сь Нweмь
17,40	Did your Lord prefer you for sons, and [Himself] adopt females from among the angels? Indeed you say a monstrous word!	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 9 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 28': изьбра Гь вамь чеда. и вьземь
		8 – The Cave
18,86	When he reached the place where the sun sets, he found it setting in a muddy spring.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 13 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 33: Слінце рече вь тwплѣ вwдѣ погружати <sup>с</sup> кь концу ве чера, и изміваему вьсходиты и вьссіаваты
		19 – <i>Mary</i>
19,17	whereupon We sent to her Our Spirit.	<i>Life of St. Constantine-Cyril</i> , 6 – РГБ, 173.I.19, fol. 370': послахом ду <sup>х</sup> нашь къ двѣ и изволше да роди <sup>т</sup>
19,22- 25	Thus she conceived him, then withdrew with him to a distant place.  The birth pangs brought her to the trunk of a date palm. She said, 'I wish I had died before this and become a forgotten thing, beyond recall'.  Thereupon he called her from below her [saying,] 'Do not grieve!  Your Lord has made a spring to flow at your feet.  Shake the trunk of the palm tree, freshly picked dates will drop upon you.	Еиthymius Zigabenus, Panoplia dogmatica, 13 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 33: глет бо Мwyсеову и Аарwнову сестру Марїамь, при финїку раж <sup>а</sup> ты Ха́ ѿринающуу се своее діше ради бользнеи. и Ха́ ѿ утробие и провъщаты, и повельты потрести финїкь и сьнѣюсти ѿ плидове его.

	Surah 21 – The Prophets		
21,5	'[They are] confused night- mares!'. 'Rather he has fabricated it!'. 'Rather he is a poet!'.	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, <i>Contra legem Sarracenorum</i> , 14 – PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 457b: рѣша ж <sup>e</sup> w Моамеюе слышалъ еси сонїа, собралъ еси хуленїа	
21,16	We did not create the sky and the earth and whatever is between them for play.	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, <i>Contra legem Sarracenorum</i> , 15 – PHE, Соф. 1323, fol. 457d: мы реч съдътельствовахомъ нбо и землю, и яже посред не бездълно	
21,80-	We taught him the making of coats of mail for you, to protect you from your [own] violence.  Will you then be grateful?  And for Solomon [We disposed] the tempestuous wind which blew by his command toward the land which We have blessed.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 13 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 33: и вѣтром на чельствоваты его [] и брьне желѣзнїе ѿ Давида ґлеть прѣжде умислытис	
21,91	We breathed into her Our spir- it.	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, <i>Contra legem Sarracenorum</i> , 15 – PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 458b: вдохнухw <sup>м</sup> на неа ѿ сто дха John Cantacuzene, 4 <sup>th</sup> <i>Oration against Миḥаттаd</i> , 1 – Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 176: въдъхнухомь вь ню ѿ дха ста	
	Surah 22 –	The Pilgrimage	
22,5	We indeed created you from dust, then from a drop of [seminal] fluid, then from a clinging mass, then from a fleshy tissue, partly formed and partly unformed.	Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 1st translation – PHБ, Солов. собр. 1056/1165, fol. 358': създанъ бысть члкъ w персти, и камени, и пиавици и соживанїа Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 2nd translation – MSPC, 222, fol. 363b: създань быс члякь w прьсти и wть каме, и w пиявиць и w смъщения Euthymius Zigabenus, Panoplia dogmatica, 15 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 33': w пїавице члка бываты глеть Nikon Chronicle, AM 6494 (AD 990): человъка же глаголеть создана быти оть персти, и оть кала, и оть пїавиць и оть смъщенїа	

	Surah 23	– The Faithful
23,91	Allah has not taken any off-	John Cantacuzene, 3rd Oration against
	spring,	<i>Muḥammad</i> , 2 – Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 155: аще
	neither is there any god besides	ли же и сна имѣал би Бъ́, и разлѣленїа убо
	Him,	были би посрѣд ихь
	for then each god would take	
	away what he created,	
	and some of them would surely	
	rise up against others.	26 P 4
	Suran	26 – Poets
26,155-	'This is a she-camel;	John of Damascus, <i>On Heresies</i> – HAZU
157	she shall drink and you shall	III с. 9, fol. 372b: глеты яко бъще
	drink on known days.	велблоудица w Баі и испиваше всоу рѣкоу,
	Do not cause her any harm,	и не можаше проходити скрозъ двъ горъ
	for then you shall be seized by	понеже вымъщашеть се. люди еже бъхоу
	the punishment	рече на мъстъ томь, и единь оубо днъ ти
	of a terrible day'.	пияху водоу, вельблоудица же дроугы
	But they hamstrung her,	днь. пиющи же водоу крьмля шеть
	whereupon they became re-	ихь млѣко дающи имы вь воды мѣсто.
	gretful.	Вьсташе оубо лю/дии wни лоукавии соуще и оу/бише вельблоудицоу. родила
		же бъта малоу вельблоудицоу. ма тери
		же оубиенъ бывши мала я вьзьпи кь Боу,
		и вьзеть ю Бь кы себъ.
		Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dog-matica</i> , 20 – OFHE, 1/108, fol. 26-26':
		Баснословьствова камилїу быти
		нѣкоторуу, могущуу испиваты вьсу
		мимо тичущуу рѣку. быти же сїу
		пръвелику и невьмъщаему просръдъ
		двои <sup>х</sup> великыи <sup>х</sup> горь. люді еже бѣіху на
		мъстъ рече онwм, и единь убо днъ wни
		испи вааху вуду ръкы, другыи же днь
		камилїа wна испиваю∥[fol. 26']щи же
		вжду напаяаше и <sup>х</sup> свое млѣко подавающи
		вымъсто вwди. вьста[]ше же убо wни
		лукави сущену быше камиліу. бъще
		же сеи рожденїе малаа ка милица, еиже матери убыень возупикь Бу и поет ту кь
		себъ
		CCUB

		Nikon Chronicle, AM 6494 (AD 990): глаголеть яко бѣше вельблудица отъ Бога и испиваше всю рѣку и не можаше проходити сквозѣ двѣ горѣ, понеже не вмѣщашеся. людїе же бяху, рече, на мѣстѣ томъ, и единъ убо день тїи пїаху воду, вельблудица же другыи день. пїюща же воду, кормля ихъ млекомъ, въ воды мѣсто. воставше убо людїе они, лукави суще, и убиша велблудицу. родила же бѣ та велблудицу малу. матери же убъенѣ бывши малаа възопи къ Богу, и взять ю Богъ къ себѣ
	Surah 2	7 – The Ant
27, 16-19	Solomon inherited from David, and he said, 'O people!  We have been taught the speech of the birds, and we have been given out of everything.  Indeed this is a manifest advantage'.  [Once] Solomon's hosts were marched out for him, comprising jinn, humans, and birds, and they were held in check.  When they came to the Valley of Ants, an ant said, 'O ants!  Enter your dwellings, lest Solomon and his hosts should trample on you while they are unaware'.  Whereat he smiled, amused at its words.	Еиthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 13 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 33: Давида же и Соломwна бѣсовw <sup>м</sup> и птища <sup>м</sup> присьбесѣдоваты, бѣси же сьдѣиствникы! Соломwну сыпрѣбываты. и гу <sup>н</sup> ди нѣкые и вѣтро <sup>м</sup> на чельствоваты его. и мравїамь разумѣть таины ства  Јоhn Cantacuzene, 2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>Oration against Muḥammad</i> , 13 – Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 139'-140: Со <sup>ло</sup> мwну велико агѓлско събравшу воинство и члҡь и бесловесных живwтных. и ѿшьдшим и обрѣтшимь якоже нѣкую рѣкоу мухь. рече муха, w мухе, вы вьнидѣте вь жилища ваша да не погубит ва Соломw и воинство его. и муха подсмїа се
	Surah 31 – Luqmān	
21.20	111.112 1.21	D'4_1 C '4' CT 1 1et 1
31,29 = 35,13	and He has disposed the sun and the moon, each moving for a specified term.	Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 1st translation – РНБ, Солов. собр. 1056/1165, fol. 357': о слици и о лунъ, гла адащема быти
	,	OBITII

		Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 2 <sup>nd</sup> translation – MSPC, 222, fol. 362b-c: w слици и лоунъ гле сима коньникома быти Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 14 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 33': Слице и лу ну яздещыих на конех быти рече
		The Confederates
33,56	Indeed Allah and His angels bless the Prophet; O you who have faith! Invoke blessings on him and invoke Peace upon him in a worthy manner.	John Cantacuzene, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Oration against Muḥammad, 24 – Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 143: Бъ и аттли его вину млет се о Мwамеөу и о единомудрьны <sup>х</sup> ему
		34 – Sheba
34,14	And when We decreed death for him, nothing apprised them of his death except a worm which gnawed away at his staff.	John Cantacuzene, 2 <sup>nd</sup> <i>Oration against Muḥammad</i> , 14 – Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 140: чрьвїу назнаменавшу Соломwновоу сьмрь <sup>™</sup> бѣсовw <sup>™</sup>
34,24	Indeed either we or you are rightly guided or in manifest error'.	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, <i>Contra legem Sarracenorum</i> , 15 – PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 460 <b>c</b> : не разумѣю оубо азъ аще вы прости есте
	Surah 35 –	The Originator
35,1	All praise belongs to Allah, originator of the heavens and the earth, maker of the angels [His] messengers.	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem Sarracenorum, 15 – PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 458c: Бъ́ творить а́гтлы дх́ы и наша ап <sup>о</sup> лы рекше посланнїки
		The Ranged Ones
37,1-5	By the [angels] ranged in ranks, by the ones who drive vigorously, by the ones who recite the reminder:	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 10 – <i>lacuna</i>
	indeed your God is certainly One, the Lord of the heavens and the earth and whatever is between them, and the Lord of the easts.	

	Surah 38 – <i>Ṣād</i>		
38,73-74	Thereat the angels prostrated, all of them together, but not Iblis.	Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 1st translation — PHБ, Солов. собр. 1056/1165, fol. 358': яко егда създа бы члкъ инїи вси агтлы повельнїемъ Бжїимъ поклонишасему а еди дїавм не поклониса Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 2nd translation — MSPC, 222, fol. 363b—с: яко члвкоу съз ноу бывшю, инии оубо англы вси повельниемъ Бжиемъ поклонише се емоу единъ же сотона не покори се поклонити се Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem Sarracenorum, 15 −PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 457d: вси агти поклоніша Адаму, развѣе дїавола Nikon Chronicle, AM 6494 (AD 990): и яко человѣку создану бывшу, инїи убо вси агтели Божїи повельнїем Божїимъ поклонишася ему, единъ же сатана не покорися поклонитися ему John Cantacuzene, 2nd Oration against Muḥammad, 19 — Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 141: агтли суще бѣсове, и повелѣни бывше ѿ Ба поклонити се Адаму, не въсхотѣше сътворити се якоже и вси агтли поклонишестому. и сего рад быше бѣсове	
38,76	'I am better than him', he said. 'You created me from fire and You created him from clay'.	John Cantacuzene, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Oration against Muḥammad, 12 – Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 139: агтли убо, ѿ огня сьз <sup>д</sup> ани быше, члкь же, ѿ прьсти	
	Surah 4	2 – Counsel	
42,6	As for those who have taken guardians besides Him, Allah is watchful over them, and it is not your duty to watch over them.	John Cantacuzene, Ist Oration against Muḥammad, 12 — Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 130: приемлющимь Ба иного развѣ Ба сего, не ти ли еси наказатель или тыцател ни, елма се сьблюде Бъ себѣ	
		44 – Smoke	
44,38	We did not create the heavens and the earth and whatever is between them for play.	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, <i>Contra legem Sarracenorum</i> , 15 – PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 457d: мы реч съдътельствовахомъ нбо и землю, и яже посред не бездълно	

47.15

#### Surah 47 – Muhammad

A description of the paradise promised to the Godwary: therein are streams of unstaling water, and streams of milk unchanging in flavour, and streams of wine delicious to the drinkers, and streams of purified honey.

John of Damascus, On Heresies — HAZU III с. 9, fol. 372c: три бо глеїте рѣкы вь раи вамь потекоу ть, водна и винна и млѣчна Michael Syncellus, 1st translation — ГИМ, Син. 227, fol. 274: трьмъ же рече рѣкамъ быти въ раи. единоу медоу, а дроугоую млѣка, а третиюю вина Michael Syncellus, 2nd translation — HAZU III с. 9, fol. 373c: трии же реч рѣкы

боудоуть вь раlи, едина медьвна, и дроугая млѣчна, и третия виньна George the Monk/Hamartolus, *Chronicle* – РГБ, 310.1289, fol. 316': соу<sup>т</sup> же три рѣкы в раи, ре<sup>ч</sup>, едина медвенаа, едина молочна, етера винна

Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 2<sup>nd</sup> translation – MSPC, 222, fol. 362а: вь немже быти глеть четыремь рѣкамь едина воды чисты немоутещесе, дроугая млѣка неизьмѣняющааго сладости своее третия вина сладька, четврьтая медоу цѣждена Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia dogmatica*, 22 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 26'-27: Раи глеть четири рѣкы имѣты [fol. 27] ѿ воды немутнїе, и млѣка чистѣиша, и вина сладка и меда съгущена

*Troitsky Chronograph*: суть же и 3 рѣки в раи, 1. медвена, 2. молочьна, 3. виньна *Hellenic and Roman Chronicle* (2<sup>nd</sup> redaction) – РГБ, 228.162, fol. 343: три рѣкы ре<sup>ч</sup> в раи. едина медвена, в. молочьна, г. м

Rogozhsky Chronograph: соуть\* и три рѣкы въ раи, реч, едина медвенаа, едина млѣчна, едина винна Russian Chronograph (mid-sixteenth century redaction): в раи же четыремъ рекамъ быти глаголетъ. едина воды чисты немутящияся, другая млека неизменяема сладости своеа, третъя вина сладка, четвертая медъ уцыжен

	Surah 51 –	Resurrection Chronicle: въ раю суть три рѣкы, едина медвяна, едина молочна, едина виннаа Nikon Chronicle, АМ 6494 (АД 990): глаголете три рѣки въ раи вамъ потекутъ, водна и винна и млечна [] въ раи же четыремъ рѣкамъ глаголете, едина воды чисты и не мутящаяся, другая млека неизмѣняемаго сладости своея, третья вина сладка, четвертая медъ уциженъ Illuminated Chronicle of Tsar Ivan the Terrible: соу <sup>т</sup> же и три рѣкы рече в раи, едіна медвена, в ѧ молочна, г ѧ виннаѧ The Scatterers
<i>E</i> 1 1 <i>A</i>		
51,1-4	By the scattering [winds] that scatter [the clouds]; by the [rain] bearing [clouds] laden [with water]; by [the ships] which move gently [on the sea]; by [the angels] who dispense [livelihood] by [His] command.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 10 – lacuna
		– The Mount
52,1-6	By the Mount [Sinai], by the Book inscribed on an unrolled parchment; by the House greatly frequented; by the vault raised high, by the surging sea.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 10 – <i>lacuna</i>
		3 – The Star
53,1-7	By the star when it sets: your companion has neither gone astray, nor gone amiss. Nor does he speak out of [his own] desire: it is just a revelation that is revealed [to him], taught him by One of great powers, possessed of sound judgement. He settled, while he was on the highest horizon.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 26 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 32': тако мы ѕвѣзды заходимые, не прѣльсти <sup>с</sup> др <sup>у</sup> гь вашь ниже безако ва <sup>н</sup> ниже провѣща ѿ воле, нѣ <sup>с</sup> ем <sup>у</sup> развѣ ѿкрьвенїа ѿкри вати, еже показа ему крѣпкыи вь силѣ невидимыи

	Surah 56 -	- The Imminent
56,20- 21	and such fruits as they prefer and such flesh of fowls as they desire.	Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 1st translation – PHБ, Солов. собр. 1056/1165, fol. 357': и маса ѣдуче птича ихже хотать, и овощь всакъ Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 2nd translation – MSPC, 222, fol. 362a: меса ядоущемь птиць ихже въсхотеть и wвощие всакое Nikon Chronicle, AM 6494 (AD 990): мяса ядущимь птиць, ихже хотять, и овощёе всякое
	Surah 59 –	The Banishment
59,21	Had We sent down this Qur'ān upon a mountain, you would have surely seen it humbled [and] go to pieces with the fear of Allah. We draw such comparisons for mankind, so that they may reflect.	John Cantacuzene, Ist Oration against Muḥammad, 9 — Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 127: аще послали быхомь сїи Корран вь едину ї горь, рассела би ї страха и еже кь нему бліго говънїа
	Surah	61 – Ranks
61,6	And when Jesus son of Mary said,  'O Children of Israel! Indeed I am the apostle of Allah to you, to confirm what is before me of the Torah, and to give the good news of an apostle who will come after me, whose name is Ahmad'.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 26 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 32': Рече прро чьствовавша Іса сна Марїина, w себъ рекша, азь апо пь есмь Бжій кь вам, истинно творе яже пръж емене иже за кона, и бліговъствуе апо па гредущаго по мнь, име ем Мамаевь Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, <i>Contra legem Sarracenorum</i> , 1 – PHБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 455а: бліговъствую вамъ ап па Бжил прійти хотливаго по мнь. и имл его Моамевь
Surah 68 – The Pen		
68,1	By the Pen and what they write.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 10 – <i>lacuna</i>
		- The Besieger
69,1-3	The Besieger! What is the Besieger? What will show you what is the Besieger?	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 10 – <i>lacuna</i>

	Surah 70 -	- Lofty Stations
70,4	in a day whose span is fifty thousand years.	Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 1st translation – PHБ, Солов. собр. 1056/1165, fol. 357': въ днь придущи и раздѣлѧѧ въ 50 000 лѣт Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 2nd translation – MSPC, 222, fol. 362a: быти днь въ ньже оуставляеть петьдесеть тисоущ лѣть Russian Chronograph (mid-sixteenth century redaction): 50 тысящъ лѣть пребывати в раи Nikon Chronicle, AM 6494 (AD 990): и пятдесять тысящь лѣть пребывати въ раи
	Surah 77 –	The Emissaries
77,1-6	By the successive emissaries, by the raging hurricanes, by the sweeping spreaders, by the decisive separators, by the inspirers of remembrance, to excuse or to warn.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 10 – <i>lacuna</i>
	Surah 79 -	- The Wresters
79,1-6	By those [angels] who wrest [the soul] violently, by those who draw [it] out gently, by those who swim smoothly, by those who take the lead, racing, by those who direct the affairs [of creatures]: the day when the Quaker quakes.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 10 – <i>lacuna</i>
	Surah 83 –	The Defrauders
83,25. 27-28	as they are served with a sealed wine, [] and whose seasoning is from Tasnim, a spring where those brought near [to Allah] drink.	Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 1st translation – PHБ, Солов. собр. 1056/1165, fol. 357': и вино приносъщимъ, егоже черпаніе ї источника фезнима Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 2nd translation – MSPC, 222, fol. 362a-b: и винь приньещемь егоже чрыпание ї источника нарицаемааго соенимь Nikon Chronicle, AM 6494 (AD 990): и вино приносящи, его же черпаніе отъ источника нарицаемаго Сдѣнима

	Surah 85	– The Houses
85,1-3	By the sky with its houses, by the Promised Day, by the Witness and the Wit- nessed.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 10 – <i>lacuna</i>
	Surah 86 – <i>T</i> .	he Nightly Visitor
86,1-3	By the sky, by the nightly visitor, (and what will show you what is the nightly visitor? It is the brilliant star).	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 10 – <i>lacuna</i>
	Surah 89	0 – The Dawn
89,1-4	By the Dawn, by the ten nights, by the Even and the Odd, by the night when it departs!	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 10 – <i>lacuna</i>
	Surah 9	95 – The Fig
95,1-3	By the fig and the olive, by Mount Sinai, by this secure town.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 10 – <i>lacuna</i>
	Surah 100	–The Chargers
100,1-4	By the snorting chargers, by the strikers of sparks [with their hoofs], by the raiders at dawn, raising therein a trail of dust.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 10 – <i>lacuna</i>
	Surah	103 – <i>Time</i>
103,1	By Time!	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 10 – <i>lacuna</i>
	Surah 108	3 – Abundance
108,1-2	Indeed We have given you abundance. So pray to your Lord, and sacrifice [the sacrificial camel].	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 12 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 33: мы дадохw <sup>м</sup> тебѣ язьвца, и помоли се къ Бу́ свое м <sup>у</sup> и заколи
	Surah 109	– The Faithless
109,6	To you your religion, and to me my religion'.	Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, Contra legem Sarracenorum, 15 – РНБ, Соф. 1323, fol. 460a: намъ нашь законъ, и вамъ вашь Riccoldo of Monte di Croce, 16, fol. 463a: мнѣ вѣра моа и вамъ ваша

		John Cantacuzene, 4 <sup>th</sup> Oration against Muḥammad, 1 — Cod. Slav. 34, fol. 173': мнѣ мои зако <sup>н</sup> , и вамь вашь
	Surah 112	- Monotheism
112,1-4	Say, 'He is Allah, the One. Allah is the All-embracing. He neither begat, nor was begotten, nor has He any equal'.	Јоhn of Damascus, <i>On Heresies</i> – HAZU III с. 9, fol. 370b: Глеть единого Ба творца бы ти всемоу, ни рождена же, ни родивша Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 1st translation – PHБ, Солов. собр. 1056/1165, fol. 358': то и е Бъ единъ Бъ сдракыи не роди ни родиса ни бы подубен ему кто Ritual of renunciation of Islam, 2nd translation – MSPC, 222, fol. 363c: ть е Бъ единъ Бъ всьсыковань. не роди ниже роди се. ни бы же подбнь емоу кто <i>Nikon Chronicle</i> , AM 6494 (AD 990): глаголет единаго Бога творца быти всему, ни рождену же, ни родивша
	Surah 11	3 – Daybreak
113,1-5	'I seek the protection of the Lord of the daybreak from the evil of what He has created, and from the evil of the dark night when it settles, and from the evil of the witches who blow on knots, and from the evil of the envi- ous one when he envies'.	Еиthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 27 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 32 <sup>7</sup> : аще пощеж <sup>а</sup> у вь Га его <sup>а</sup> ради мь чтаніа по ї фреченіу сьзда, и по ї фречені у ѕвѣздострѣ [] егда протеѕаеть, и по ї фречені у вь грьдини и по ї фречені у завидещаго
	Surah 114 – Humans	
114,1-6	'I seek the protection of the Lord of humans, Sovereign of humans, God of humans, from the evil of the sneaky tempter who puts temptations into the breasts of humans, from among the jinn and humans'.	Euthymius Zigabenus, <i>Panoplia dogmatica</i> , 27 – ОГНБ, 1/108, fol. 34: аще пощеж <sup>а</sup> у вь Га́ члч <sup>c</sup> каго, цр́а чл́кw <sup>м</sup> , Бъ́ чл́кw <sup>м</sup> по ѿреченїу шыптанїа бѣсовьскаго егоже шьпще <sup>т</sup> во срц́а чл́кw <sup>м</sup> ѿ бѣсовы и чл́кь

#### **Abreviations**

BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris)
HAZU	Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti (Zagreb)
MSPC	Muzej Stare pravoslavne crkve (Sarajevo)
ÖN	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Vienna)
ГИМ	Государственный исторический музей (Moscow)
ОГНБ	Одеська національна наукова бібліотека (Odessa)
РГБ	Российская государственная библиотека (Moscow)
РНБ	Российская национальная библиотека (St. Petersburg)

### The *Qur'ān* in Medieval Slavic Writings. Fragmentary Translations and Transmission Traces

(summary)

The *Qur'ān* was never translated into Church Slavic in its entirety; still, in the writings of some mediaeval Christian authors (Byzantine and Latin) quite extensive quotations and borrowings from it can be found. Many of these texts were transmitted in the *Slavia Orthodoxa* area. The aim of this article is to present the Church Slavic literary sources which contain quotations from the *Qur'ān*. The analysis covers Slavic translations of Byzantine and Latin authors as well as original texts of Slavic provenance. The main conclusion of the research is that only ca. 2% of the text of the *Qur'ān* has been preserved in the Church Slavic material.

**Keywords:** *Qur'ān*; Church Slavic; religious polemic; translations; Medieval Slavic literatures

### **Bibliography**

### Manuscripts

BnF, MS Ar. 384 $Qur'\bar{a}n$ , $12^{th}$ – $13^{th}$ century	<i>Qur'ān</i> , 12 <sup>th</sup> –13 <sup>th</sup> century
HAZU III c. 9 Kormchaia Book, 13th cen	Kormchaia Book, 13th century
MSPC, 222 Kormchaia Book, 14 <sup>th</sup> cer	Kormchaia Book, 14th century
ÖN, Cod. Slav. 34 miscellanea manuscript,	miscellanea manuscript, 15th century
ГИМ, Син. 182 Great Lectionary Menaio	Great Lectionary Menaion, 16th century
ГИМ, Син. 227 Kormchaia Book, 12 <sup>th</sup> cer	Kormchaia Book, 12th century
ГИМ, Син. 996 Great Lectionary Menaio	Great Lectionary Menaion, 16th century
OΓΗΕ, 1/108 miscellanea manuscript,	miscellanea manuscript, 15th century
РГБ, 173.I.19 <i>miscellanea</i> manuscript,	miscellanea manuscript, 15th century

РГБ, 173.І.195.2 [178.І.8656]	chronicle, 16th century
РГБ, 228.162	chronicle, 1485
РГБ, 304.І.201	miscellanea manuscript, 17th century
РГБ, 304.І.730	Palaea Interpretata, 16th century
РГБ, 310.1289	chronicle, 15 <sup>th</sup> /16 <sup>th</sup> century
РНБ, Ғ.п.ІІ,1	Kormchaia Book, 1284
РНБ, Q.I.264	miscellanea manuscript, 17th century
РНБ, Солов. 1056/1165	Kormchaia Book, 15th century
РНБ, Соф. 1323	Great Lectionary Menaion, 16th century

#### Sources

- Nicolai Papae Responsa ad consulta Bulgaroroum: Nicolai Papae Responsa ad consulta Bulgaroroum, in: Monumenta Germaniae historica. Epistolarum, v. 6: Epistolae Karolini aevi IV, ed. E. Perels, Berolini 1925, p. 568-600.
- Coranus: The Qur'ān with a Phrase-by-Phrase English Translation, tr. 'Alī Qulī Qarā'ī, London 2005.
- Laudatio SS. Cyrilli et Methodii: Pochval'noe slovo Kirillu i Mefodiju, in: Žitija Kirilla i Mefodija, ed. P.N. Dinekov D.S. Likhachev I.S. Dujchev B.N. Florja, Moskva 1986, p. 230-246.
- Sarajevo Rudder Zakonopravilo of St. Sava from the 14<sup>th</sup> Century, ed. J. Gardović, Dobrun 2013.
- Syntagma XIV titulorum sine scholiis secundum versionem Palaeo-Slovenicam, adjecto textu Graeco e vetustissimis codicibus manuscriptis exarato, v. 1, ed. V.N. Beneshevich, Saint Petersburg 1906.
- Syntagma XIV titulorum sine scholiis secundum versionem Palaeo-Slovenicam, adjecto textu Graeco e vetustissimis codicibus manuscriptis exarato, v. 2, ed. V.N. Beneshevich J.N. Shchapov, Serdica 1987.
- Zakonopravilo or the Nomocanon of Saint Sava. The Ilovica Manuscript from 1262. Photoprint reproduction, ed. M.M. Petrović, Gornji Milanovac 1991.

#### **Studies**

- Argyriou A., Perception de l'Islam et traductions du Coran dans le monde Byzantin Grec, "Byzantion" 75 (2005) p. 25-69.
- Brzozowska Z.A., Koran w piśmiennictwie cerkiewnosłowiańskim? Fragmenty tłumaczeń i ślady recepcji (uwagi wstępne), in: Contributions to the 22nd Annual Scientific Conference of the Association of Slavists (Polyslav), ed. E. Gutiérrez Rubio D. Kruk I. Pálosi T. Speed Z. Týrová D. Vashchenko A. Wysocka, Wiesbaden 2020, p. 46-56.
- Brzozowska Z.A., A Translation of a Translation: the Byzantine Greek Version of the Quran in Church Slavic Writings (a Ritual of Renunciation of Islam and the Pan-

- oplia dogmatica by Euthymios Zigabenos), in: New Trends in Slavic Studies 2, ed. S.J. Suárez Cuadros E.J. Vercher García B. Barros García P. Marynenko E.F. Quero Gervilla, Moskva 2021, p. 874-879.
- Brzozowska Z.A. Leszka M.J. Wolińska T., Muhammad and the Origin of Islam in the Byzantine-Slavic Literary Context. A Bibliographical History, Łódź Kraków 2020.
- Bushkovitch P., *Orthodoxy and Islam in Russia 988–1725*, in: *Religion und Integration im Moskauer Russland. Konzepte und Praktiken, Potentiale und Grenzen 14.–17. Jahrhundert*, ed. L. Steindorff, Wiesbaden 2010, p. 117-143.
- Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History, v. 1: 600–900, ed. D. Thomas B. Roggema, Leiden Boston 2009.
- Cibranska-Kostova M., Belezhki v"rchu slavjanskija prevod na Panoplia Dogmatica v BAR Ms. Slav. 296 i negovija prevodach, "Palaeobulgarica" 41/4 (2017) p. 3-26.
- Dechev D., Otgovorite na papa Nikolaj po dopitvanijata na b"lgarite, Sofija 1922.
- Dujchev I., Eshche o slavjano-bolgarskich drevnostjach IX v., "Byzantinoslavica" 12 (1951) p. 75-93.
- Dziekan M.M., Pisarze muzułmańscy. VII–XX w., Warszawa 2003.
- Eichner W., *Die Nachrichten über den Islam bei den Byzantinern*, "Der Islam. Journal of the History and Culture of the Middle East" 23/3 (1936) p. 133-162.
- Förstel K., Schriften zum Islam von Arethas und Euthymios Zigabenos und Fragmente der griechischen Koranübersetzung, Wiesbaden 2009.
- Gjuzelev V., *Pokr"stvane i christijanizacija na b"lgarite. Izvorovedchesko izsledvane s prilozhenie*, Sofija 2006.
- Grjaznevich P.A., Koran v Rossii (izuchenie, perevody i izdanija), in: Islam. Religija, obshchestvo, gosudarstvo, ed. P.A. Grjaznevich S.M. Prozorov, Moskva 1984, p. 76-82.
- Hoyland R.G., Seeing Islam as Others Saw It. A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam, Princeton 1997.
- Høgel Ch., An early anonymous Greek translation of the Qur'ān. The fragments from Niketas Byzantios' Refutatio and the anonymous Abjuratio, "Collectanea Christiana Orientalia" 7 (2010) p. 65-119.
- Hunger H., Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner, v. 1: Philosophie, Rhetorik, Epistolographie, Geschichtsschreibung, Geographie, München 1978.
- Khoury A.-T., Les Theologiens byzantins et l'Islam. Textes et auteurs (VIIIe-XIIIe s.), Louvain – Paris 1969.
- Lauzi E., Bizantini versus Saraceni: un'accusa d'idolatria, "Aevum" 88/2 (2014) p. 283-309.
- Maksimov J.V., Vizantijiskie sochinenija ob islame, Moskva 2012.
- Maksimov J.V., *Vizantijjcy i Koran* 2011, in: http://halkidon2006.orthodoxy.ru/do/bogoslovie\_1/962\_ Vizantiytzy\_i\_Koran.htm (accessed: 15.03.2022).
- Maksimovich K., Byzantine Law in Old Slavonic Translations and the Nomocanon of Methodius, "Byzantinoslavica" 65 (2007) p. 9-18.

- Maxwell M.J., Afanasii Nikitin: An Orthodox Russian's Spiritual Voyage in the Dar al-Islam, 1468–1475, "Journal of World History" 17/3 (2006) p. 243-266.
- Meyendorff J., Byzantine Views of Islam, "Dumbarton Oaks Papers" 18 (1964) p. 113-132.
- Miklas H., Zur kirchenslavischen Überlieferung der Häresiengeschichte des Johannes von Damaskus, in: Festschrift für Linda Sadnik zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. E. Weiher, Freiburg 1981, p. 338-343.
- Morris A.S., *The Journey beyond Three Seas*, "The Geographical Journal" 133/4 (1967) p. 502-508.
- Petrović M.M., Saint Sava's Zakonopravilo on the Teachings of Muhammed, Beograd 1997.
- Prodić S., Knjiga 'O jeresima' prepodobnog Jovana Damaskina kao 61. poglavlje sarajevskog rukopisa 'Zakonopravila' svetog Save Srpskog, Šibenik 2016.
- Riasanovsky A.V., A Fifteenth Century Russian Traveller in India: Comments in Connection with a New Edition of Afanasii Nikitin's Journal, "Journal of the American Oriental Society" 81/2 (1961) p. 126-130.
- Simelidis Ch., The Byzantine Understanding of the Qur'anic Term 'al-Şamad' and the Greek Translation of the Qur'an, "Speculum" 86 (2011) p. 887-913.
- Todt K.P., Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und der Islam: politische Realität und theologische Polemik im palaiologenzeitlichen Byzanz, Würzburg Altenberge 1991.
- Trapp E., Gab es eine byzantinische Koranübersetzung?, "Diptycha" 2 (1980/1981) p. 7-17.
- Turner J.G., A Slavonic Version of John Cantacuzenus's Against Islam, "Slavonic and East European Review" 51 (1973) p. 113-117.
- Ulbricht M., The Byzantine Translation of the Qur'ān from the 8<sup>th</sup>/9<sup>th</sup> century CE and Its Role in the Polemic of Nicetas of Byzantium, "Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter" 8 (2014) p. 5-6.
- Versteegh K., *Greek Translations of the Qur'ān in Christian Polemics (9th century A.D.)*, "Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft" 141 (1991) p. 52-68.
- Wolińska T., The Arabs and Islam in the Eyes of the Byzantines, in: Byzantium and the Arabs: the Encounter of Civilizations from Sixth to Mid-Eighth Century, ed. T. Wolińska P. Filipczak, Łódź 2015, p. 418-438.
- Ziaka A., *Le regard que port la recherche grecque conte*, "Le Courrier du GERI. Recherches d'islamologie et de théologie musulmane" 5/6 (2002/2003) p. 119-142.
- Zlatarski V.N., Istorija na b"lgarskata d"rzhava prez srednite vekove, v. 1/2, Sofija 1927.