

RAMON LLULL,
LIBER ALQUINDI AND LIBER TELIF

In his *Liber de fine*, a work written in 1305 proposing a plan for the Crusade, Ramon Lull recommends that Clerics of the Military Order learn the Arabic language in order that they might lead Saracen captives to the Christian faith. In this context he says:

Et si nolebant converti, saltem ipsos doceant fidem nostram et rationes quas habemus difficiles contra ipsos, et probent eis quod Macometus non fuit verus propheta. Quod si bene velint avertere, facile multum est ad probandum per unum librum, qui vocatur *Alquindi*, et per alium, qui *Telif* nominatur, et per alium, quem fecimus, *De gentili*.¹

This text is important because it has generally been thought that Lull is referring here to three works which he composed against the Muslims. Since the time of Ivo Salzinger, the great 18th century editor of Lull's works, there have been included among the list of lost works a *Liber Alchindi* and a *Liber Teliph*. Salzinger was the first to use Lull's self citations to determine the chronology and authenticity of the many works attributed to him. It was no doubt on the basis of this citation that he included these two works among the libri adhuc

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¹ A. GOTTRON, *Ramon Lulls Kreuzzugsideen* (Berlin-Leipzig 1912) 88. An edition of the *Liber de fine* appears on pp. 65-93 of this work. The above text has been emended in accordance with a new critical edition prepared by Dr. A. MADRE for the series *Raimundi Lulli opera latina* (Palma de Mallorca 1959—). The reading *Alquindi* is certain, but the second name appears in almost as many forms as there are manuscripts: *Telif*, *Teliff*, *Teliph*, *Celif*, *Relif* (?).

² I. SALZINGER, *Raimundi Lulli opera* I (Mainz 1721; repr. Frankfurt a. M. 1965) 72 (= catalogus librorum, p. 26).

desiderati.² Pasqual followed him in this attribution, adding that the works were written in Arabic.³ Rosselló placed their composition in the period 1276-86 in Mallorca.⁴ In this regard he was followed by the editors of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*,⁵ although their great discovery, the Electorium bibliography of Lull's works, makes mention only of the *De gentili*.⁶ Golubovich was the first to attempt an identification of the works. He conjectured that the works in question were two works of Lull written in refutation of two Muslim philosophers, al-Kindî (+ ca. 873) and Ibn Tufail (+ 1185).⁷ Gottron marked a new beginning in the treatment of the question. In his edition of the *Liber de fine* he noted that it does not follow from the text cited that Lull wrote both of these works. He emphasized the fact that these books, in contrast to all the other books cited in the *Liber de fine*, are not otherwise attested. As to the author he suggested that the *Liber Alchindi* might be not a work of Lull himself but rather a work of the Arab philosopher al-Kindî who was, he says, regarded by orthodox Muslims as a heretic.⁸ Longpré accordingly listed the two works as doubtful or apocryphal, while suggesting that the *Liber Teliph* refers to a work of Ibn Tufail, "que les chrétiens peuvent lire pour s'aider dans la réfutation du mahométisme".⁹ Ottaviano¹⁰ and Glorieux¹¹ follow Longpré, listing the works as doubtful, and Avinyó omits them from his list of authentic works.¹² Platzeck, in the latest catalogue of Lull's works, includes both works as authentic, placing their composition in the period 1273-75 at Palma. He con-

³ A. R. PASQUAL, O. Cist., *Vindiciae Lullianae* I (Avignon 1778), *Vita et librorum catalogus*, p. 377.

⁴ G. ROSSELLÓ, *Obras rimadas de Ramon Lull* (Palma de Mallorca 1859) 47.

⁵ E. LITTRÉ et B. HAURÉAU, *Histoire littéraire de la France* XXIX (Paris 1885) 12.

⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 72.

⁷ G. GOLUBOVICH, O.F.M., *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano* I (Quaracchi 1906) 365.

⁸ *Op. cit.* (above n. 1) 88 n. 1.

⁹ E. LONGPRÉ, 'Lulle, Raymond', *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* IX (Paris 1926) col. 1110.

¹⁰ C. OTTAVIANO, *L'Ars compendiosa de R. Lulle* (Paris 1930) 97.

¹¹ P. GLORIEUX, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle* II (Paris 1933) 180.

¹² J. AVINYÓ, *Les obres autèntiques del beat Ramon Llull: repertori bibliografic* (Barcelona 1935).

jectures that Lull made excerpts of the works of the philosopher al-Kindî like those which he made from al-Ghazâlî's logic, and that traces of Ibn Tufail's *Hayy Ibn Yaqzân* might possibly be found in *Blanquerna* or *Felix*.¹³

1. *Liber Alquindi*

When we consider the text from *Liber de fine* carefully, however, we see that Lull's intention is to give a sort of bibliography for controversy with the Saracens. He does not say that he wrote all the works himself, but clearly distinguishes between the first two works — *Liber Alquindi* and *Liber Telif* — and his own *Liber de gentili* — quem fecimus.

Furthermore, according to the context, Lull is referring to works which would teach the Christian faith to the Saracens, and explain the arguments which the Christians have against them, proving especially that Muhammad was not a true prophet. Because he has in mind works for the Clerics of the Military Order, who do not at least as yet have a command of the Arabic language, it would seem most probable that the books to which he refers are works available in Latin.

These considerations would eliminate the famous Arab philosopher Abû Yûsuf Ya 'qûb b. Ishâq al-Kindî (+ ca. 873)¹⁴ as a possible author for the type of treatise to which Lull is referring. Al-Kindî is best known for his early interpretation of the Aristotelian works for the Muslim world. While it is true that in theology, in so far as his views bear a Mu 'tazilite stamp, he could have been regarded as a heretic by strict Muslim orthodoxy, there is known no work by him in which he gives arguments against Islâm or shows that Muhammad was not a true prophet. In fact, he wrote a polemical work against the Christian doctrine of the Trinity.¹⁵

¹³ E. W. PLATZECK, *Raimund Lull... II* (Düsseldorf 1964) 7* nn. 14-15.

¹⁴ For literature concerning this al-Kindî, see P. J. DE MENACE, O.P., *Arabishe Philosophie* (Bibliographische Einführungen in das Studium der Philosophie 6 ; Bern 1948) 26f.; N. RESCHER, *The Development of Arabic Logic* (Pineburgh 1964) 100-103.

¹⁵ T. J. DE BOER, 'Kindî wider die Trinität', *Orientalische Studien, Theodor-Nöldeke ... gewidmet* (ed. C. Bezold; Giessen 1906) I 279-81; cf. M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache ...* (Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes VI 3; Leipzig 1877) 130.

There was, however, a polemical work directed against the Saracens and associated with the name of an al-Kindî which was well known to Latin Scholasticism. The *Risâlat al-Kindî*, or to quote its full title, *Risâlat ‘Abdallâh Ibn Ismâ‘il al-Hâshimî ilâ ‘Abd al-Masîh Ibn Ishâq al-Kindî wa-Risâlat al-Kindî ilâ al-Hâshimî* (‘the epistle of ‘Abdallâh Ibn Ismâ‘il al-Hâshimî to ‘Abd al-Masîh Ibn Ishâq al-Kindî and the epistle of al-Kindî to al-Hâshimî’)¹⁶ was originally composed in Arabic, translated into Latin in the 12th century and fits Lull’s description perfectly. The intention of the work is first to justify the fundamental Christian dogma of the Trinity against false conceptions and to set the positive value of the Gospels’ teaching in the proper light. These two purposes are pursued at the beginning and the end of the work respectively. Secondly, the author aims at exposing the weakness of Islâm on its historical and moral side. Muhammad’s prophetic office and the lax Muslim ethic are emphatically rejected.

The work is conceived under the form of two letters exchanged by friends — both of whom are described in the short prologue as being close to the caliph al-Ma’mûn (813-33) — regarding the relative merits of Christianity and Islâm, and then presented for judgement before the caliph. The work accordingly has two parts: the epistle of the Muslim inviting his friend to accept Islâm, and the response of the Christian — which is five times the length of the Muslim’s epistle.

The Muslim, though recognizing the many positive aspects of Christianity, invites his adversary to belief in the one true God and Muhammad his prophet, and to the ritual obligations of the Muslims, prayers, fasting, pilgrimage and the holy war. He emphasizes the sensual delights of paradise as well as the privileges of polygamy and divorce.

The Christian’s answer is made with close reference to the Muslim’s requests. (1) As to the confession of the unity of God the appeal to Abraham as the first Muslim is rejected. The author then discusses the various meanings of the concept ‘one’, speculates about

¹⁶ Arabic text: ed. A. TIEN (London 1880), reprinted London 1885, Cairo 1895, London 1912; English paraphrase and translation: W. MUIR, *The Apology of Al-Kindy, written at the Court of Al-Mamûn (A. H. 215 - A.D. 830) in Defense of Christianity against Islam, with an essay on its age and authorship* (London 1882); cf. STEINSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.* (above n. 15) 131, n. 112b, 96 n. 75, 415.

the relations and the absolute attributes (life, wisdom, etc.) and collects scriptural testimonies for the doctrine of the Trinity. (2) Muhammad's prophetic office is scrutinized with great irony on the basis of his biography and morality. His "holy war" consisted in Beduin raids. His immorality, revengefulness and polygamy contradict his mission. The criteria of a true mission — prophecy and miracles — are completely lacking. (3) The inferiority of the Qur'ân's moral teaching is then emphasized. The Qur'ân arose under the influence of the Christian monk Sergius-Nestorius from whom the young Muhammad derived false notions of Christianity. Its authenticity is often uncertain. The various traditions out of which it arose have given rise to internal contradictions which rob it of a claim to inspiration. Defective language and loanwords refute the claim that the Qur'ân's beauty is unsurpassed. Its success is due to the promise of a sensual paradise to uncultured elements among the Arabs. The author ridicules the notion that Muhammad's name is inscribed on God's throne. (4) Turning to ritual obligations, the author contrasts circumcision, the pilgrimage and the holy war with the Christian law of love. He proudly rejects becoming a Muslim for material advantages like divorce and the pleasures of the Muhammadan paradise. (5) Finally, after a defense of the Christian veneration of the Cross, he gives an account of the origin of the Gospel, a narration of the life of Christ, emphasizing the messianic prophecies, Jesus' moral preaching and the mission of the Apostles. (6) In conclusion he tells us his purpose: to encourage his friends to persevere in their faith and affirm it with religious fervor. At the end there is a brief anecdote relating al-Ma'mûn's curious judgment: Islâm is the faith of this world and Christianity that of the next.

This may suffice for an idea of the contents of the work. As to the personality of the author and the date of composition modern research has made but little progress. Although in the prologue the Christian is described as belonging to the tribe of Kinda, the work itself is anonymous. The names of the two disputants, 'Abdallâh Ibn Ismâ'îl and 'Abd al-Masîh Ibn Ishâq, are known only from a citation by al-Bîrûnî (973-1048).¹⁷ Earlier authors, basing themselves on the accuracy of the historical details and the well-known tolerance

¹⁷ AL-BIRUNI, *The Chronology of the Ancient Nations* (English translation by E. Sachau; London 1879) 187.

of al-Ma'mûn, regarded the work as an authentic work of an al-Kindî, written under that caliph.¹⁸ But since the work of Massignon this attribution is generally rejected. The latter pointed out that the names given by al-Bîrûnî are obviously invented ('servant of Allah, son of Ishmael'; 'servant of Christ, son of Isaac') and that various theological problems discussed, especially the distinction between absolute and relative attributes and the thesis that the name of Muhammad is inscribed on God's throne, would indicate a date later than the year 300/912.¹⁹ Kraus later noted parallels in Ibn al-Râwandî († 910), concluding that the work was probably written at the beginning of the 10th century.²⁰ Graf suggested a Nestorian origin and pointed out that the theological speculations concerning the Trinity depend on the first epistle of the Jacobite *Habîb Abû Râ'ita* (fl. 825). He too inclines to a later date on the ground that a Nestorian could hardly make use of a contemporary Jacobite.²¹

The date is, in any case, definite within 200 years, the two limits being the mention in the first epistle of the Nestorian Patriarch Timotheus (780-823) and al-Bîrûnî's citation. The author was highly literate and, though the Muslim's epistle is composed in an irenic style, the reply is often sharp and aggressive. His interest is in undermining the foundations of the Muslim propaganda; a missionary intent appears only in the conclusion. His strength lies less in speculation than in polemic skill and historical knowledge. He is perfectly at home in the legendary traditions surrounding the life of Muhammad and the history of the first caliphs. His attack on the Qur'ân amounts to a first sketch for a critical history of the gradual evolution of the text. The epistle of the Muslim is so obviously tendentious that it is in all likelihood to be regarded as a fiction to serve as a basis for the apology. It is questionable whether the prolo-

¹⁸ MUIR, *op. cit.* (above n. 16); P. CASANOVA, *Mohammed et la fin du monde* (Paris 1911-13) 110-22, 228f.

¹⁹ L. MASSIGNON, "Al-Kindî, 'Abd al-Masih b. Ishâk', *Enzyklopaedie des Islâm* II (Leiden-Leipzig 1927) 1097.

²⁰ P. KRAUS, 'Beiträge zur islamischen Ketzergeschichte: VI. Das Kitâb azzumurrud des Ibn ar-Râwandî und die Apologie des Kindî', *Rivista degli Studi orientali* 14 (1933) 335-41; cf. C. BROCKELMANN, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* Suppl. I (Leiden 1937) 344f.

²¹ G. GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur II* (Studi e testi 133; Città del Vaticano 1947) 135-45.

gue and conclusion belonged to the original work. The latter is lacking in some Arabic manuscripts.

In the Latin world the *Risālat al-Kindī* became known toward the end of the first half of the 12th century through the translation made by Peter of Toledo with the assistance of Peter of Poitiers.²² This translation was made at the instance of Peter the Venerable as a part of his intellectual crusade against Islām and forms a part of a collection of Latin translations from the Arabic, including a translation of the Qur'ān. The 'Toledan Collection' enjoyed the success of a rich manuscript tradition and several printed editions in the 16th century.²³

The popularity of the *Liber Alquindi* in particular is confirmed by the many references to it found in the Middle Ages. The work was

²² The Latin translation of the *Risālat al-Kindī* has been edited by J. MUÑOZ SENDINO, 'Al-Kindi Apologia del Cristianesimo', *Miscelanea Comillas* 11-12 (1949) 337-460; concerning this edition, see the review of W. CASSEL, *Oriens* 4 (1951) 153-8. Shorter excerpts from the translation have also been published by M. T. D'ALVERNY, 'Deux traductions latines du Coran au moyen âge', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 16 (1947-48) 69-131 at 91-5, and E. CERULLI, *Il "Libro della scala" e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Commedia* (Studi a testi 150; Città del Vaticano 1949) 386-91.

²³ Concerning Peter the Venerable's Toledan Collection there is a considerable literatur ("esp." indicates where *Liber Alquindi* is treated): M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *op. cit.* (above n. 15) 227-34, esp. 230 and 403 n. 152; *id.*, 'Die europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem arabischen', *Sb. Wien* 149/4 (1904) 59f.; P. MANDONNET, O.P., 'Pierre le Vénéral et son activité littéraire contra l'Islam', *Revue thomiste* 1 (1893) 328-42; U. MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Lo Studio del l'Islām in Europa nel XII e nel XIII secolo* (Studi e testi 110; Città del Vaticano 1944) esp. 12-15; M.-T. D'ALVERNY, *art. cit.* (above n. 22) esp. 87-108; J. MUÑOZ SENDINO, *La Escala de Mahoma* (Madrid 1949) 128-47; M.-T. D'ALVERNY, 'Pierre le Vénéral et la légende du Mahomet', *À Cluny: Congrès scientifique ... 9-11 Juillet 1949* (Dijon 1950) 161-70 esp. 167f.; J. KRITZECK, 'Robert of Ketton's translation of the Qur'ān', *Islamic Quarterly* 2 (1955) 309-12; C. J. BISHKO, 'Peter the Venerable's journey to Spain', *Studia Anselmiana* 40 (1956) 163-75 esp. 166-8; J. KRITZECK, 'Peter the Venerable and the Toledan Collection', *ibid.*, 176-201 (see *passim* for al-Kindī); M.-T. D'ALVERNY, 'Quelques manuscrits de la "Collectio Toletana"', *ibid.*, 202-18; N. DANIEL, *Islam and the West: the Making of an Image* (Edinburgh 1960) *passim* esp. 230-5; J. KRITZECK, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton 1964) esp. 31-5, 101-7 and *passim*; M.-T. D'ALVERNY, 'La connaissance de l'Islam en Occident du IXe au milieu du XIIe siècle', *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto medioevo: 2-8 aprile 1964* (Spoleto 1965) II 557-602 esp. 592f.; G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, 'I Mozarabi tra Occidente e Islam', *ibid.* II 667-95 esp. 677.

used in the refutation of Islâm as early as William of Auvergne.²⁴ In his *Speculum historiale* Vincent of Beauvais includes an excerpt which became the source of most knowledge of the work in the later Middle Ages.²⁵ To the great apologists of the late 13th century the work was well known. Pedro Pascual (1227-1300), for example, who had a broad Islâmic culture, including an intimate knowledge of the language, cites not only the Qur'ân, but also the text of the Christian al-Kindî.²⁶ In the 15th century, with the renewed crusading zeal occasioned by the Turkish peril, the *Liber Alquindi* was much used. A copy of the work was in the library of Nicholas of Cusa²⁷ and he appears to have used it in his *Cribatio Alcoran*.²⁸ Dionysius the Carthusian draws long passages from it for the life of Muhammad in his *Contra perfidiam Mahometi*.²⁹ Jean Germain's principal polemic work, the *Dialogue du chrétien et du sarrazin* was based in large measure on the translation of the two epistles included in Peter the Venerable's collection.³⁰ In the 16th century an excerpt taken from Vincent of Beauvais was printed by T. Bibliander in his *Mahumeti saracenorum principis eiusque successorum vita, doctrina ac ipse Alcoran*.³¹ This edition was patronized by Luther and Melanchthon.³²

²⁴ GUILLELMUS ALVERNUS, *Opera Omnia* (Paris 1674 [repr. Frankfurt 1963] I 50.

²⁵ VINCENTIUS BELLOVACENSIS, *Speculum historiale* lib. XXIII, cap. 39-67 (ed. Douay 1624 [repr. Graz 1965] IV 912-22 esp. 913, 922).

²⁶ PEDRO PASCUAL, *Obras* (ed. P. Armengol Valenzuela; Rome 1905-08) IV 34, 41, 46, 66 (cited by MONNERET DE VILLARD, *op. cit.* [above n. 23] 58). On Pedro Pascual see G. SARTON, *Introduction to the History of Science* II (Baltimore 1931) 893; MONNERET DE VILLARD, *op. cit.* 54-8; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*² 8 (1963) 375. For the influence of al-Kindî on him see DANIEL, *op. cit.* (note 23 above) 235.

²⁷ Bernkastel-Kues, Hospital 108 (s. XV) f. 109r-131v. Cf. J. MARX, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung des Hospitals zu Cues* (Trier 1905) 107f.; d'ALVERNY, *art. cit.* (above n. 23 'Quelques manuscrits') 210.

²⁸ P. NAUMANN AND G. HÖLSCHER, *Sichtung des Alkorans: Cribatio Alcoran* I (Leipzig 1943) 36; d'ALVERNY, *art. cit.* (above n. 22) 105f.

²⁹ DIONYSIUS CARTUSIANUS, *Opera omnia* XXXVI (Tournai 1908) 272-4.

³⁰ D. CABANELAS RODRÍGUEZ, O.F.M., *Juan de Segovia y el problema islámico* (Madrid 1952) 194; d'ALVERNY, *art. cit.* (above n. 22) 106-8.

³¹ Basel 1543, 1550. The text printed in BIBLIANDER II 1-20 is an excerpt (derived from Vincent of Beauvais) of al-Kindî's response under the title, *De haeresi Heraclii et principatu ac lege Mahometi*.

³² W. KÖHLER, "Zu Bibliander Koran-Ausgabe", *Zwingliana* 3 (1918) 349f.

It is in this context that we must see Ramon Lull's citation in the *Liber de fine*. He is not referring to a work of his own, nor to a work of the philosopher al-Kindî, but rather to the *Risâlat al-Kindî* which the clerics of the Military Order may use to help themselves in the refutation of Islâm and his indication of the contents shows a thorough acquaintance with the work. He is referring no doubt to the Latin version, although the fact that he cites it according to the name al-Kindî would seem to indicate that he also knew the Arabic original. The name of the author was not generally known in the Latin West. William of Auvergne, for example, has: "Libellus disputationum, cuiusdam Christiani et cuiusdam Saraceni, qui tacitis nominibus...".³³ Of Latin authors only Pascual and Lull, both of whom were acquainted with Arabic, cite the work according to the name al-Kindî.³⁴

2. *Liber Telif*

It has been conjectured that the second work cited by Lull, the *Liber Telif*, is a work of the Spanish Muslim philosopher, Ibn Tufail.³⁵ The latter's *Hayy Ibn Yaqzân* is, however, hardly a polemical work — such as we have found in the *Risâlat al-Kindî* — which should teach the Saracens the Christian arguments against Islâm. *Hayy* is rather the history of a sort of metaphysical Robinson Crusoe aimed at proving the identity of revealed (Muhammadan) religion and (Neoplatonic) philosophy.³⁶ Furthermore, it seems impossible to see the name Tufail in Lull's *Telif*. Not only was Ibn Tufail known in the medieval period as Abubacer (Abû Bakr),³⁷ but also "Ibn" forms a part of the name and was regularly included in Latin transcriptions (e. g., Averroes = Ibn Rushd).

³³ *Loc. cit.* (above n. 24).

³⁴ The first to note the true identity of the book to which Lull refers was MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Lo Studio* 58 n. 3.

³⁵ See above n. 7, 9 and 13.

³⁶ IBN TUFAIL, *El filósofo autodidacto (Risâla Hayy Ibn Yaqzân)* (nueva trad. española por A. González Palencia; Madrid 1934). On Ibn Tufail see SARTON, *Introduction* II 354f.; DE MENASCE, *op. cit.* (above n. 14) 39; M. CRUZ HERNÁNDEZ, *Historia de la filosofía española: Filosofía hispano-musulmana* I (Madrid 1957) 369-418; M. M. SHARIF, *A History of Muslim Philosophy* I (Wiesbaden 1963) 526-40.

³⁷ SARTON, *Introduction* II 354.

A more adequate point of departure for a possible identification of the *Liber Telif* is provided by the identification of the *Risâlat al-Kindî* as the first of the works to which Lull makes reference in the *Liber de fine*. Here we have a positive indication of the type of literature to which Lull is referring and the tradition within which his own apologetic and polemical works arose. As we have seen, the translation of the *Risâlat al-Kindî* was undertaken as a part of Peter the Venerable's intellectual crusade against Islâm, and represents the beginning of tradition of better informed polemic. Earlier controversial works had been based on the meager information regarding Muhammad found in Anastasius Bibliothecarius' (+ 879) translatio of Theophanes the Confessor's (+ 817) *Chronographia*.³⁸ The brief chapter against the Muslims in Petrus Alfonsi's (+ ca. 1140) *Dialogi* is based on a far superior knowledge of Muhammad and Islâm.³⁹ But Peter the Venerable's Toledan Collection made available for the first time materials originally composed in Arabic. The collection is made up of the following works: a translation of the Qur'ân,⁴⁰ two Muslim treatises on the genealogy and life of the Prophet,⁴¹ a Muslim polemical treatise entitled *De doctrina Mahometi*, and finally the *Risâlat al-Kindî*. The *De doctrina Mahometi* is an imaginary dialogue between Muhammad and a Jewish Rabbi, 'Abdallâh Ibn Salâm, who puts to Muhammad a great variety of questions on all sorts of subjects, religion, history, cosmology, etc. Composed in the form of a catechism, the work concludes with "Abdallâh declaring himself convinced and recognizing the mission of the Prophet."⁴²

Around the beginning of the 13th century these materials were supplemented by the activity of another translator, Mark of Toledo. In addition to a new, apparently independent translation of the Qur'ân, he provided translations of two treatises by the Almohad leader Ibn Tûmart and a further anonymous polemical work with the enigmatical title, *Contrarietas alfolica*. Reflecting in all likelihood a tradition of

³⁸ PG 108, 55-1010 at 683-8.

³⁹ PL 157, 535-672 at 597-606.

⁴⁰ D'ALVERNY, *Deux traductions* 85, 108f.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 79-82.

⁴² *Ibid.* 82-5. See also N. DAVIS, transl., *The Errors of Mohammedanism Exposed, or a Dialogue between the Arabian Prophet and a Jew* (Malta 1847); STEINSCHNEIDER, *Europ. Übers.* 33; CERULLI, *Il Libro* 391-400.

Christian Arabic polemic against Islâm, this last work takes up much the same material as the *Risâlat al-Kindi*. To Muhammad's claim of the prophetic office is opposed his biography and his inability to perform miracles. Contradictions in the Qur'ân are used as an argument for its frequent revision. In addition, the author maintains the superiority of Christ to Muhammad and is concerned to correct false impressions about Christianity which appear to have been current among the Muslims.⁴³

About 1260 was translated a work which was of great importance for Western ideas of Muslim eschatology. At the Court of Alfonso X a Jewish physician, Abraham Alfaquim, translated the *Kitâb al-mi'râj*, an account of Muhammad's ascension into heaven, from Arabic into Castilian, and this version was shortly afterwards put into Latin and French by Bonaventure of Siena.⁴⁴

Finally, in the 14th century some further materials were made available by Alfonsus Bonihominis (+ 1353).⁴⁵ The *Epistola Samuelis Marocani*, a pretended translation of a letter of a Jewish convert to Christianity is his best known work. But he is also responsible for a work entitled *Disputatio Abutalib Saraceni et Samuelis Judaei, quae fides praecellat, an Christianorum, an Saracenorum vel Judaeorum*. This work, which is later than the *Epistola* (1339), purports to be a translation of an exchange of letters in which the disputants conclude that their respective laws agree that Christianity is the true religion. In the fourth epistle Samuel maintains that Muhammad could not have been a true prophet, because of his conception (of Agar), his birth (of sinners), his teachers (for the Old Testament a perverse Jew, for the

⁴³ D'ALVERNY, *Deux traductions* 113-31 esp. 125-7. See also STEINSCHNEIDER, *Europ. Übers.* 54; MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Lo Studio* 21-4; M.-T. D'ALVERNY and G. VAJDA, 'Marc de Tolède, traducteur d'Ibn Tûmart', *Al-Andalus* 16 (1951) 99-140, 259-307; 17 (1952) 1-56 (for *Contrarietas* esp. 16, 124-32).

⁴⁴ D'ALVERNY, *Deux traductions* 109f.; CERULLI, *Il Libro*. See also STEINSCHNEIDER, *Polemische und apol. Lit.* 421; *id.*, *Die hebraeischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters* (Berlin 1893) 591; *id.*, *Europ. Übers.* 2; MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Lo Studio* 53-8; MUÑOZ SENDINO, *La Escala*.

⁴⁵ STEINSCHNEIDER, *Pol. u. apol. Lit.* 137f.; TON, *Introduction* II 401f., III 417-19, 1841; MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Lo Studio* 75 n. 6 (lit.); A. PARDO VILLAR, 'El arabista Fr. Alfonso Bonhome', *Boletín, Real Academia Gallega (La Coruña)* 27 (1956) 380-3; B. BLUMENKRANZ, 'Anti-Jewish Polemics and Legislation in the Middle Ages: Literary Fiction or Reality?', *Journal of Jewish Studies* 15 (1964) 125-40 at 132f.

New a heretical Christian) and his lack of holiness. The various excellencies of the Qur'ân are refuted by its many contradictions. It can, however, be used to show that Christ is the true Messiah.⁴⁶ Although the *Disputatio* must, like the *Epistola*, be regarded as a forgery, this fourth letter shows a good knowledge of Islâm and the Qur'ân, and is to be situated in the same tradition of polemic as the *Risâlat al-Kindî*.

This is the literature amid which we must seek the work to which Lull refers under the title, *Liber Telif*. The titles of the works he cites — *Liber Alquindi*, *Liber Telif* — would indicate that the texts he has in mind were originally published in Arabic. The fact that he recommends them to the Clerks of the Military Order who do not as yet know Arabic would indicate that the works were available in Latin. The description which he gives of their contents would indicate that both are works of controversy directed against Islâm. Now among the Christian Arabic polemical literature available in Latin which we have described above,⁴⁷ the two books which would fulfill these conditions are the *Risâlat al-Kindî* and the *Contrarietas alfolica*. And in fact, both seem to have been very popular with the great controversialists of the late 13th century. We have seen the use made of the *Risâlat* by Pedro Pascual. The *Contrarietas alfolica* was, for its part, the principal source of the famous Franciscan traveller and missionary, Ricoldo da Monte Croce (ca. 1243-1320).⁴⁸ His *Confutatio alchorani* is so dependent on the *Contrarietas*⁴⁹ that it has been conjectured that the work

⁴⁶ Wien, Nationalbibliothek cod. lat. 930 (XV) f. 222r-233v.

⁴⁷ The sources of Latin knowledge of Islâm are discussed in: MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Lo Studio*; J. FÜCK, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa* (Leipzig 1955); DANIEL, *Islam and the West*; R. W. SOUTHERN, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass. 1962). For a general picture of medieval polemical literature see STEINSCHNEIDER, *Pol. u. apol. Lit.*; for Christian Arabic literature against Islam see GRAF, *op. cit.* (above n. 21); for Latin literature against Islam see B. ALTANER, 'Zur Geschichte der anti-islamischen Polemik während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 56 (1936) 227-33; for Muslim literature against Christianity see E. FRITSCH, *Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte der muslimischen Polemik gegen das Christentum in arabischer Sprache* (Breslau 1930).

⁴⁸ On Ricoldo see SARTON, *Introduction* II 1061f.; MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Lo Studio* passim; *id.*, *Il Libro della Peregrinazione nelle parti dell'Oriente* (Rome 1948); *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*² 8 (1963) 1303f. (lit.).

⁴⁹ DANIEL, *Islam and the West* passim.

was used as a text-book in the training of missionaries for work among the Saracens.⁵⁰

It would appear therefore very possible that Lull's *Liber Telif* is the work translated by Mark of Toledo under the title, *Contrarietas alfolica*. A more detailed account of its contents will show how well it fits Lull's description. The work may be divided into five sections: chapters 1-2 are an introduction, chapters 3-5 are concerned with Muhammad, chapters 6-9 with the Qur'ân, chapter 10 wishes to correct some misapprehensions regarding Christianity, and chapters 11-12 form a sort of appendix, dealing with the pilgrimage and the mi'râj respectively. After an invocation in which he thanks God for the grace of conversion (c. 1), the author divides those who remain faithful to Islâm into four classes: those compelled by the sword, those deceived by the devil, those who recognize their error but regard Islâm as the lesser evil, and those attracted by the lax morality of Muhammadanism (c. 2). Taking up Muhammad's claims, the author maintains that his mission is attested neither by prophecies in Scripture nor by his own miracles (c. 3), that his success was due to recourse to the sword, and that his claimed visions were probably epileptical fits (c. 4). Muhammad's errors are ascribed to his teachers, a heretical Christian and two renegade Jews (c. 5). Turning then to the Qur'ân, the author argues that the Qur'ân underwent various revisions which have given rise to contradictions and obscurity and lead one to question its authenticity (c. 6). It is, moreover, filled with impurities. What is of value has been plagiarized from other sources (c. 7). Its claim to be divine is refuted by its inept language (c. 8) and its many contradictions (c. 9). Finally, Christ is compared to Muhammad. Whereas the latter lived as an infidel until he began to teach, Christ was — as the Qur'ân itself confesses — the Son of God whose coming was foretold and whose mission is confirmed by his miracles and personal holiness. Two objections to this teaching — how could God enter the womb of a virgin, how could God be crucified — are answered (c. 10). In a sort of appendix the author rejects the pilgrimage and the veneration of the Black Stone as idolatry (c. 11) and the story of Muhammad's ascent into heaven as a fiction (c. 12).

This may suffice as a sketch of the contents of the *Contrarietas alfolica*. As to the author very little is known. His claim to be a

⁵⁰ D'ALVERNY, *art. cit.* (above n. 43 "Marc").

convert from Islâm is perhaps a fiction,⁵¹ although he appears to be quite at home in Islâmic theology. His frequent references to Dâwûd Ibn 'Ali (+ 884), the founder of the Zâhirite legal school, which flourished particularly in Muslim Spain, point to al-Andalus as the place of the work's origin.⁵² The eleventh century can possibly be given as the date of the work.⁵³ This would correspond with the beginnings of Zâhirism in Spain.⁵⁴ The work is known only in a poor manuscript of the 17th century, Paris B.N. lat. 3394, f. 239v-263v. The text has been annotated by another hand and the explicit could give rise to doubts as to the state of the text: Explicit. Benedictus Deus. Interpretem qui verbum de verbo transtulerat sum secutus, sensum potius quam verba tenendo, et multa breviando. The corrector adds: Superiora sunt ex Marci canonici versione, plerisque tamen a nobis immutatis, ut legentium captui omnia accommodaremus. However, since the last chapter, dealing with the mi'râj, is found almost verbatim in Ricoldo da Monte Croce,⁵⁵ we may conclude that the text at least of this chapter is substantially the same as in the 13th century.⁵⁶

Finally, with reference to the title, the expression, *contrarietas alfolica*, has been connected with the Arabic technical term, *ikhtilâf al-fuqahâ*, 'disagreement of the legists',⁵⁷ and is so interpreted by the annotator of the manuscript.⁵⁸ Lull's *Telif* can possibly be a corruption of *ikhtilâf*, or perhaps the actual title of the polemic was something like *Tâlif al-fuqahâ*, 'the destroyer of the legists', with a play on the technical term taken from jurisprudence.⁵⁹

⁵¹ DANIEL, *Islam and the West* 6, 12.

⁵² D'ALVERNY, *Deux traductions* 126.

⁵³ Fol. 254r (cf. D'ALVERNY, *Deux traductions* 125).

⁵⁴ I. GOLDZIHNER, *Die Zâhiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte* (Leipzig 1884) 113f.

⁵⁵ CERULLI, *Il Libro* 346-54 esp. 354 n. 1.

⁵⁶ It is, of course, also possible that the editor of the *Contrarietas* added this 12th chapter from Ricoldo, as he did a 13th chapter (f. 263v-266v) from Petrus Alfonsi, *Dialogi* (tit. V [PL 157. 599f]). This would seem, however, to be less likely, since Ricoldo is otherwise dependent on the *Contrarietas*, and the text indicates the source both for the material taken from Mark of Toledo and that taken from Petrus Alfonsi.

⁵⁷ D'ALVERNY, *Deux traductions* 125. For the term see *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden-London 1961) 161f.

⁵⁸ Fol. 239v.

⁵⁹ The standard medieval transcription for â was e (e. g., Algazel = al-Ghazâlî).

3. *Liber de gentili*

In the *Liber de fine* Lull refers not only to the *Liber Alquindi* and the *Liber Telif*, but also to his own *Liber de Gentili*. It has been thought⁶⁰ that this reference is to the *Liber de Gentili et tribus Sapientibus*, in which three wise men, a Saracen, a Jew and a Christian, explain their beliefs to a pagan, who is converted by belief in God, but makes no further decision between the religions.⁶¹ Since, however, in this work the wise men simply explain their own beliefs and no attempt is made to give arguments against Islâm or the other religions, it seems more likely that the reference in *Liber de fine* is to the *alter liber gentilis*, attested by the Electorium catalogue.⁶² This was one of Lull's earliest works, prior to the *Libre de contemplació*, and composed at least originally in Arabic.⁶³ It was also known as *Libre de questions et de demandes*,⁶⁴ and possibly also as *Libre de raons en les tres ligs*.⁶⁵ From several references in the *Libre de contemplació* we can get some idea of its contents. Not only are the three religions compared,⁶⁶ but it is shown by true proofs and manifest reasons⁶⁷ that Christianity is the true religion.⁶⁸ This would correspond better to the description in the *Liber de fine*, according to which the *Liber de Gentili* should explain the Christian faith to the Saracens and present the arguments the Christians have against Islâm. To judge by the title, *Libre de questions et de demandes*, this first *Liber de Gentili* would have been written in a form similar to the *De doctrina Mahometi*. From the very beginning Lull seems to have chosen from

⁶⁰ PLATZECK, *Raimund Lull* II 5*.

⁶¹ See E. A. PEERS, *Raimund Lull: A Biography* (London 1929) 82-100.

⁶² See LITTRÉ-HAURÉAU, *op. cit.* (above n. 5) 72; PLATZECK, *Raimund Lull* II 115*.

⁶³ *Liber de Gentili et tribus Sapientibus*, prologue (Raimundi Lulli *Opera* [Mainz 1722 (Frankfurt 1965)] 21).

⁶⁴ *Libre de contemplació* c. 366 (*Obres de Ramon Lull VIII* [Palma 1914] 636).

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* c. 11 (*Obres* II [Palma 1906] 56) and c. 188 (*Obres* V [Palma 1911] 184). Cf. Peers, *op. cit.* (above n. 61) 39, 82f.; Platzeck, *Raimund Lull* II 92*, 3*, 5*.

⁶⁶ *Libre de contemplació* c. 188 (*Obres* V 184).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* c. 77 (*Obres* III [Palma 1906] 98).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* c. 188 (*Obres* V 184). Cf. c. 11 (*Obres* II 56) and c. 366 (*Obres* VIII 636).

among the literary forms in which polemical works were written — the treatise, correspondence, question and answer, disputation⁶⁹ — the form in which the exchange of ideas could appear most prominently.

The original *Liber de Gentili*, then, would have arisen out of a polemical tradition in which the *Risâlat al-Kindî* and the *Contrarietas alfolica* were landmarks. But his own inclination to dialogue would have led him to his transcending of this tradition in the *Liber de Gentili et tribus Sapientibus* and the *Liber de quinque Sapientibus* (1294), works charitable, tolerant and well-informed, works written in a genuinely ecumenical spirit. Later, however, as his hopes for the conversion of the Saracens were gradually broken down — the *Liber de quinque Sapientibus* already voiced fears of what would happen if the Tatars adopted Islâm rather than Christianity⁷⁰ —, he would have returned to a harsher attitude. The *Liber de fine* (1305) recommends not only persuasion, but also the Crusade.

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⁶⁹ For the antecedents of these forms see L. W. DALY and W. SUCHIER, *Altercatio Hadriani Augusti et Epicteti philosophi* (Urbana, Ill. 1939); G. GRAF, 'Christliche Polemik gegen den Islam', *Gelbe Hefte* 2 (1926) 825-42 esp. 826-33; A. ABEL, *Abû 'Isâ Muhammad b. Harûn al-Warrâq: Le Livre pour la réfutation des trois sects chrétiennes* (Bruxelles 1949); SARTON, *Introduction* II 186; R. BRUMMER, 'Un poème latin de controverse religieuse et le Libre del gentil e los tres savis', *Estudios Iulianos* 6 (1962) 275-81.

⁷⁰ *Liber de quinque Sapientibus, prologue* (Raimundi Lulli Opera [Mainz 1722 (Frankfurt 1965)] 125).