

THE GRAND DRAGOMAN AND THE BIBLIOPHILE:
THOUGHTS ON AN UNKNOWN FRAGMENT FROM THE GREEK
TRANSLATION OF *MEMORIE ISTORICHE DE' MONARCHI OTTOMANI*

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A Greek translation of the *Memorie istoriche de' monarchi ottomani* authored by the Venetian diplomat Giovanni Sagredo was produced in the eighteenth century by the grand dragoman and future lord of Wallachia Nikolaos Karatzas. The Greek intellectual made his translation not from the original Italian but from the French translation by Jacques Laurent, which was printed in seven volumes in 1724 (Paris) with a second edition in 1732 (Amsterdam). The Greek translation circulated only in manuscript, and it was considered lost. However, a hitherto unknown miscellaneous Phanariot codex from Princeton University Library (*Sarakēnika*, Princeton University Library, MS Gr. 112) features a brief fragment from the translation. This paper offers a discussion about the fragment and intends to bring it into the scholarly circuit by providing in the appendices a semi-diplomatic edition of the Greek text in parallel with the corresponding passage from the French edition.

Keywords: Greek Translations, Nikolaos Karatzas, *Sarakēnika*, Giovanni Sagredo, Venetian Chronicle, Anti-Islamic Polemics, Histories of the Ottoman Porte, Prophet Muḥammad.

PRELIMINARIES

On June 10, 1777, the Swedish orientalist and bibliophile Jakob Jonas Björnståhl (1731–1779) met in Tarabya near Constantinople the grand dragoman of the Ottoman Porte and future lord of Wallachia Nikolaos Karatzas (1737–1784; r. January 15, 1782–July 17, 1783).¹ Björnståhl briefly noted in his *Journal* Karatzas'

* I thank Mihail Mitrea (Institute for South-East European Studies, Bucharest) and Stavros Grimanis (The Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece – MIET, Athens) for their valuable suggestions and corrections that shaped the final version of this study and edition. All remaining errors are my own.

¹ On this erudite and his travels, see Jakob Jonas Björnståhl, *Resa til Frankrike, Italien, Sweitz, Tyskland, Holland, England, Turkiet och Grekland*, 6 vols., ed. Carl Christof Gjørwell, Stockholm, 1782 [German edition in Jakob Jonas Björnståhl, *Briefe aus seinen ausländischen Reisen*, 6 vols., ed. Christian Heinrich Groskurd, Leipzig–Rostock, 1783]; Carl-Gösta Lagerfelt, *Jacob Jonas Björnståhl. Orientalisten, Forskningsresanden, Brevskrivaren: En minnesruna*, Klippan, 1940; Erik Esking, *Jacob Jonas Björnståhl: Filosof och Kristen*, Skellefteå, 1989; Johan Stenström, Carla Killander Cariboni, Catharina Raudvere and Vassilios Sabatakakis, *Björnståhls resa, Europa och Konstantinopel, 1767–1779*, Göteborg, 2021.

diplomatic activity and listed some of his translations of French works into Greek: Voltaire's *Histoire générale* in seven volumes, Gaspard de Réal's *Traité politique* in two tomes, and all the seven volumes of the French edition of *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman* by Giovanni Sagredo (1617–1682), translated from the original Italian by Mgr. Jacques Laurent (c. 1641–1726). Further, Björnståhl mentions about Sagredo's translation that "because [in the Ottoman lands] there is no printing house [...] it is still in manuscript."² In her detailed study on the translations from French of the Phanariot grand dragoman, A. Camariano-Cioran took into account Björnståhl's testimony.³ She argued that the Swedish orientalist counted together the translations of the *Essai sur les mœurs* (4 vols.) and *Le Siècle de Louis XIV* (3 vols.) when he referred to them as the seven volumes of Voltaire's *Histoire Générale*, and she corrected the inaccurate identification of the author of the *Traité politique* as Gaspard de Réal de Curban (1682–1752) instead of César Vichard de Saint-Réal (1639–1692). But besides the information about the original author and his chronicle, for the Greek translation of Sagredo's *Histoire ottomane*, she mentions only that it is lost today.⁴

However, this *status quo* changes now due to the discovery of a hitherto unknown miscellaneous codex from Princeton University Library (*Sarakēnika*, Princeton University Library, MS Gr. 112) that contains a fragment from Sagredo's Greek translation by Nikolaos Karatzas. The main purpose of this paper is to bring to light this fragment and to include it in the discussions of the scholarly circuit about the influence of French works into the Greek milieu. In this brief paper, I will discuss aspects concerning the fragment and I will offer in the appendices the Greek text as rendered in the Princeton codex in parallel with the one from the French edition by J. Laurent.

THE CODEX AND ITS FRAGMENT

During the eighteenth century, the works of French philosophers sparked a growing interest among Greek scholars, who began to translate into their own language treatises that are not only sources for the cultural transfer(s) that took place between the French and Greek worlds, but also played a substantial role in

² J. Björnståhl, *Resa til Frankrike*, vol. 5, p. 66. From the extensive bibliography about printing in the Ottoman lands, see Orlin Sabev, *Waiting for Müteferrika: Glimpses of Ottoman Print Culture*, Boston, 2018; Ioana Feodorov, *Arabic Printing for the Christians in Ottoman Lands: The East-European Connection*, Berlin–Boston, 2023; Radu-Andrei Dipratu and Sam Noble (eds.), *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond*, Berlin–Boston, 2024.

³ Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, "Nicolas Caragea, prince de Valachie, traducteur de la langue française", in *Λειμωνάριον: Τιμητική προσφορά τῷ καθηγητῇ Νικολάῳ Β. Τομαδάκη* [= *Αθηνᾶ* 73–74], Athens, 1972–1973, p. 245–266 [reprinted in Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *Relații româno-elene: Studii istorice și filologice (secolele XIV–XIX)*, ed. Leonidas Rados, Bucharest, 2008, p. 601–614].

⁴ Camariano-Cioran, "Nicolas Caragea, prince de Valachie", p. 260.

the emergence of the Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment (*Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*).⁵ Nikolaos Karatzas was one of the first translators of French authors into Greek who aligned himself with this cultural trend. As a member of one of the most renowned families of Constantinople, this “well-born of the Polis” noble hailed from the Phanar neighborhood.⁶ Trained at the Patriarchal Academy of Constantinople as a pupil of the renowned teacher and grand sacristan of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, Nikolaos Kritias of Bursa (fl. 18th century),⁷ Karatzas became versed in many European and Oriental languages, which proved essential for his office as grand dragoman of the Porte. As Camariano-Cioran showed, the date of Björnståhl’s meeting with Karatzas is crucial for dating the translations, which were produced before June 1777, most probably, from the period when he occupied the office of grand dragoman. According to all probabilities, this is the case of Sagredo’s translation as well.

Born in Venice on February 2, 1617, in a noble Venetian family – his father, Agostino, was a senator – Giovanni Sagredo remarked himself as a diplomat, statesman and writer. He studied first in Padova and after at the Clementine College of Rome for four years.⁸ He entered the Grand Council of Venice in 1638. Between

⁵ A. Camariano, *Spiritul revoluționar francez și Voltaire în limbile greacă și română*, Bucharest, 1946; Konstantinos Dimaras, *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, Athens, 1993; Jean Caravolas, “Les Grecs et l’étude du français (1750–1814)”, *Documents pour l’histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde* 18, 1996, p. 163–172; Paschalis M. Kitromilides, *Enlightenment and Revolution: The Making of Modern Greece*, Cambridge MA, 2013; P. Kitromilides (ed.), *Enlightenment and Religion in the Orthodox World*, Oxford, 2016.

⁶ The expression was coined by Radu G. Păun, “»Well-Born of the Polis«: The Ottoman Conquest and the Reconstruction of the Greek Orthodox Elites under Ottoman Rule (15th–17th Centuries)”, in Robert Born and Sabine Jagodzinski (eds.), *Türkenkriege und Adelskultur in Ostmitteleuropa vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Ostfildern, 2014, p. 59–85. On Karatzas, see Epaminodas I. Stamatiadis, *Βιογραφία τῶν Ἑλλήνων μεγάλων διεργημένων τοῦ ὀθωμανικοῦ κράτους*, Athens, 1865, p. 143–144; Mihail-Dimitri Sturdza, *Dictionnaire historique et généalogique des grandes familles de Grèce d’Albanie et de Constantinople*, 2nd edition, Paris, 1999, p. 257–259; Mihai Țipău, *Domnii fanarioți în Țările române, 1711–1821: Mică enciclopedie*, Bucharest, 2004, p. 62–63.

⁷ On Kritias, see Vangelis Skouvaras, “Νικόλαος Κριτίας Προυσαεύς: Συμβολή στη βιογραφία του”, *Μικρασιατικά Χρονικά* 9, 1961, p. 53–112; Eleni-Niki Angelomati-Tsougaraki, “Νικόλαος Κριτίας: Βιογραφικά και εργογραφικά”, *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά* 1, 1984, p. 281–402 and 2, 1986, p. 197–303.

⁸ On Giovanni Sagredo and his career, see Samuele Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*, vol. 7, Venice, 1858, p. 469–481; Adam Wolf, “Drei diplomatische Relationen aus der Zeit Kaiser Leopold’s I”, *Archiv für Kunde österreichischen Geschichtsquellen* 20, 1859, p. 305–320; Nicolò Barozzi and Guglielmo Berchet, *Relazioni degli Stati europei lette al Senato dagli ambasciatori veneti*, vol. 2/1: *Francia*, Venice, 1859, p. 525–555, and vol. 4: *Inghilterra*, Venice, 1863, p. 363–400; Guglielmo Berchet, *Cromwell e la Repubblica di Venezia*, Venice, 1864, p. 65–88; Pietro Orsi, “Mazzarino e Cromwell nei dispacci dell’ambasciatore veneto Giovanni Sagredo”, *Atti del Reale Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere et arti* 94, no. 1, 1934–1935, p. 19–50; Luigi Firpo, *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al Senato: Tratte dalle migliori edizioni disponibili e ordinate cronologicamente*, vol. 1, Torino, 1965, p. 850–890; Paolo Preto, “I turchi e la cultura veneziana del Seicento”, in Gianfranco Folena (ed.), *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 4/2, Vicenza, 1984, p. 313–341; Cristiana Mazza, *I Sagredo: Committenti e collezionisti d’arte nella Venezia del Sei e Settecento*, Venice, 2004; Quinto Marini, “Immagini di capitali Europee dell’età barocca nei *Bischizzi* di un ambasciatore della Serenissima”, *Italianistica: Rivista di letteratura italiana* 38, no. 2, 2009, p. 315–329; Simona Negruzzo, “Sagredo, Giovanni”, in Lorenzo Gennaro Bianconi (ed.), *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 89:

1652 and 1655, Sagredo was ambassador to France at the court of Louis XIV (r. 1643–1715) and, in October 1655, he moved to London where he collaborated with Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) for about a year to strengthen the relations between England and Venice. Sagredo's diplomatic activity took him to Vienna too, where he was appointed ambassador at the Habsburg court of Leopold I (r. 1658–1705), a close ally of the Venetians against the Turks, where he was active until 1664. After his return to Venice, Sagredo occupied multiple offices (corrector of laws, 1667; prosecutor of St. Marco, 1676). In 1676, he announced his intention to succeed Nicolò Sagredo (r. 1675–1676) as doge of Venice – Giovanni was not related in any way to Nicolò as indicated by some contemporary sources – but his adversaries opposed him, and he lost the position to Alvise Contarini (r. 1676–1684). As compensation, Sagredo was offered again the position of corrector of laws. He died on August 10, 1682, in Venice. But besides his diplomatic activity and the offices he occupied throughout his career, Giovanni Sagredo was a man of letters too. Although he published *Oratio divi Lucae* in 1630, Sagredo came to fame with *Arcadia in Brenta* (Venice 1667), a collection of novels and anecdotes about the European manners in the eighteenth century, dedicated to the Bolognese senator Cesare Bianchetti Gambalunga, and published in fact under the pseudonym Ginnasio Gavardo Vacalerio.⁹

Memorie istoriche de' monarchi ottomani is a massive historical work that Sagredo composed after 1660 while in Conselve (Padova). With a very negative attitude towards the Turks based, most probably, on his diplomatic experience, the Venetian diplomat narrates the history of the House of Osman from the fourteenth century until 1646, basing his account on Western works (e.g., travelogues, chronicles) and diplomatic documents. It was printed in Venice in 1673 by Presso Combi & La Noù, and since then it enjoyed a wide popularity among European audiences through its subsequent editions (e.g., Venice 1677, 1679, 1688; Bologna 1674, 1686, 1750) and translations into French and Spanish.¹⁰ Concerning the translation into Greek, there are still many unknown aspects regarding Karatzas' text. He used the French edition by J. Laurent in 7 volumes but whether he had in his hands the Paris (1724), or the Amsterdam edition (1732) is still to be determined by future archival discoveries. How did he manage to acquire a copy of the French translation of Sagredo's work is also unknown, but it is not hard to

Rovereto–Salvemini, Rome, 2017, [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-sagredo_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-sagredo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (accessed May 10, 2024).

⁹ Ginnasio Gavardo Vacalerio, *L'Arcadia in Brenta ovvero la melanconia sbándita*, Venice, 1667 [modern edition in Giovanni Sagredo, *L'Arcadia in Brenta*, ed. Quinto Marini, Rome, 2004].

¹⁰ *Memorie istoriche de' monarchi ottomani di Giovanni Sagredo, Cavaliere, e Procurator di S. Marco*, Venice, 1673; *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman traduite de l'italien de Sagredo par Monsieur Laurent*, 7 vols., Paris, 1724 [republished Amsterdam, 1732]; *Memorias historicas de los monarcas othomanos que escrivio en lengua toscana Iuan Sagredo Cavallero, y Produrador de San Marcos. Traduzidas en castellano por don Francisco de Olivares Murillo. Teniente de Conductor de Embaxadores, Cavallerizo de la Reyna Madre nuestra Señora Dona Mariana de Austria. Dedicadas a Su Magestad*, Madrid, 1684.

imagine that, given the editions' wide circulation, Karatzas owned copies of the seven volumes in his library. The Phanariot world was connected to the *commercium litterarium* that connected Eastern and South-Eastern European intellectuals with the European Republic of Letters and eased the circulation of books and knowledge on the West-East route.¹¹ The reasons why the grand dragoman turned towards Sagredo's history are not completely known either. Whereas the reputation of this chronicle is undeniable, Karatzas must have found in it a perspective over the history of the Ottomans that aligned with his political and religious beliefs. In this case too, the testimony of Björnsthåhl is useful, as he mentions that Karatzas translated the text for the interest of his own people ("han har gjordt denna Öfverfatning for at gagna fin nation").¹² If Björnsthåhl is correct, then Karatzas translated it in a "simple [Greek] language" ("μεταφρασθεῖσα ἐκ τῆς Γαλλικῆς διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπλῆν") in order to reach more easily to his contemporaries, which he already adopted for the translations of Voltaire's works. Nevertheless, it is impossible to assume at this point if the Greek translation circulated in more than one manuscript or if the grand dragoman had a larger audience in his mind apart from his own literary interests, as all his surviving translations from French are preserved only in single manuscript copies. In plus, Camariano-Cioran argued that Karatzas' interests in the Ottoman culture did not end with this massive translation but he authored a work *About the Customs of the Porte* (Περὶ τῶν ἐθίμων τῆς Πόρτας), which might have supplemented the translation of Sagredo with detailed information about the Ottoman customs, institutions, language and ceremonial, which he knew very well.¹³

Having the manuscript of the Greek translation lost – or still to be discovered – scholars were aware so far only of the existence of this literary piece through the testimony of Björnsthåhl. A hitherto unknown miscellaneous codex preserved in the collections of Princeton University Library (MS Gr. 112) contains a fragment from Karatzas' lost translation of Sagredo's history, confirming thus the Swedish scholar's statement. Simply entitled *Sarakēnika* (Σαρακηνικά, fol. 1r), this codex is a compilation of Greek anti-Islamic texts directed against the Prophet Muḥammad, the Qur'ān, and the Islamic tenets and religious practices.¹⁴ Moreover, the codex is

¹¹ See Radu G. Păun, "Réseaux de livres et réseaux de pouvoir dans le sud-est de l'Europe: Le monde des dragomans (XVII^e-XVIII^e siècles)", in Frédéric Barbier and István Monok (eds.), *Contribution à l'histoire intellectuelle de l'Europe: Réseaux du livre, réseaux des lecteurs*, Budapest, 2008, p. 63–108; Kostas Sarris, Nicholas Pissis and Miltos Pechlivanos, "Accumulating Cultural Capital: Intellectual Networks and Political Power of the Mavrokordatos Dynasty (1641–1730)", in D. Stamatopoulos (ed.), *Power Networks in the Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Balkans (18th-20th c.)*, London (forthcoming). For the concept of *commercium litterarium*, see Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet, *La République des Lettres*, Paris, 1997, and H. Bots and F. Waquet (eds.), *Commercium Litterarium: La communication dans la République des Lettres 1600–1750*, Amsterdam and Maarssen, 1994.

¹² J. Björnsthåhl, *Resa til Frankrike*, p. 66.

¹³ Camariano-Cioran, "Nicolas Caragea, prince de Valachie", p. 260–261.

¹⁴ Apart from this brief title, the compiler provided the codex with a more elaborate title on fol. 1v: Κατὰ Μωάμεθ φυλάρχου καὶ διδασκάλου Ἰσμοαλιτῶν καὶ Σαρακηνῶν τοῦ ψευδοπροφήτου καὶ εἰσηγητοῦ τῆς

contemporary to the translation. It was compiled between 1770 and 1780 by Nikolaos Karatzas (c. 1705–1787), a renowned Phanariot erudite and bibliophile from the same noble family as the grand dragoman, who served first as grand logothete of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and later held several offices at the Wallachian court.¹⁵ The bibliophile Nikolaos Karatzas was not only the grand dragoman’s namesake but also his second uncle.¹⁶ Besides being a member of the same Phanariot family, this Nikolaos Karatzas was also a pupil of Nikolaos Kritias of Bursa at the Patriarchal Academy of Constantinople. Björnsthål recounts in his *Journal* meeting the bibliophile Karatzas too, whom he called “an old Greek erudite” (“Nicolao Carazia, en gammal lård Grek”) interested in Greek history and literature but with a poor command of Latin.¹⁷ In this scenario, it is safe to assume that the two Nikolaos knew each other very well as members of the same Phanariot family, activating, most probably, in the same literary circles. Unlike his nephew, the grand dragoman, Nikolaos Karatzas the bibliophile never produced any original works of his own but spent his time and money collecting manuscripts, compiling and commenting upon texts. As such, he must have received the manuscript of the Greek translation of Sagredo directly from his nephew, the grand dragoman.

However, one can wonder why was a fragment from Sagredo’s history included in this codex of anti-Islamic texts? The Phanariot bibliophile Nikolaos Karatzas produced a massive codex in which he compiled some of the most circulated and authoritative works that informed Greek-speaking audiences about Islam during the Ottoman times. In this regard, he operated a series of editorial choices that helped him organizing his material according to specific criteria that characterizes his unique compilatory style. Karatzas compiled his texts either in full or excerpt, and he was constantly interested in providing them with explanatory excerpts from other works about their author or to offer marginal comments that would aid the reader in navigating throughout the codex. Moreover, he arranged his material not only based on textual authority but also on genre and topics, which

αίρέσεως αὐτῶν. Τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μωάμεθ νομοθετηθέντα περὶ τῆς θρησκείας τῶν Τούρκων, παρεκβληθέντα ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ βιβλίου καλουμένης Κοράν καὶ εἰς αὐτὰ ἀντιρήσεις [“Against Muḥammad, ruler and teacher of the Ishmaelites and Saracens, the pseudo-prophet and interpreter of their heresy; the laws established by Muḥammad on the religion of the Turks, extracted from his book called Qur’ān, and their refutations”]. The codex was purchased in 2015 by Princeton University with the financial support of the Stanley J. Seeger Hellenic Fund. The codex features 440 fols. Because of some brittle folios, it is preserved into two volumes: 1) fols. 1–196, 387–440; and 2) fols. 197–386. It can be consulted online at <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9989154683506421> (accessed May 10, 2024). For a discussion of the codex, see Octavian-Adrian Negoită, “Anti-Islamic Polemics, Scholarship and Encyclopedism in the Greek Orthodox World: Nikolaos Karatzas and His *Summa Saracenicā*”, in Octavian-Adrian Negoită (ed.), *Eastern Christians’ Engagement with Islam and the Qur’ān: Texts, Contexts and Knowledge Regimes*, Berlin–Boston, 2025 (forthcoming).

¹⁵ On the bibliophile Nikolaos Karatzas, see G. Papazoglou, *Ὁ λόγιος Φαναριώτης Νικόλαος Καρατζῆς καὶ ἡ βιβλιοθήκη τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων του*, 2 vols., Thessaloniki, 2016–2019.

¹⁶ Mihail-Dimitri Sturdza, *Dictionnaire historique*, p. 257.

¹⁷ J. Björnsthål, *Resa til Frankrike*, vol. 5, p. 60.

made of *Sarakēnika*, in this case, a *summa saracēnica* that systematically addresses Islam and its holy Scripture.¹⁸

Entitled *From the Ottoman History of Giovanni Sagredo, Lord of Venice, Translated from French: About Muḥammad* (“Ἐκ τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς ἱστορί(ας) Ἰωάννου Σαγρέδου ἡγεμόνος τ(ῶν) Ἑνετ(ῶν) μεταφρασθείσης ἐκ τῆς Γαλλικῆς διαλέκτου: Περὶ τοῦ Μωάμεθ”), the Greek fragment of Sagredo’s translation features in *Sarakēnika* on fols. 21r–22r. It is part of the first section of the codex, in which Nikolaos Karatzas compiled six excerpts from Greek chronicles that narrate about Muḥammad’s emergence as the prophet of Islam:

- 1) Pseudo-Georgios Sphrantzes [Macarios Melissinos, fl. 1570], fols. 12r–13v;
- 2) Pseudo-Dorotheos of Monemvasia (fl. 16th century), *Book of Histories (Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν)*, fols. 17r–17v;
- 3) Matthew Kigalas (1580–1640), *New Synopsis (Νέα σύνοψις)*, fol. 17v–18v;
- 4) Nektarios of Jerusalem (1602–1676), *Compendium of Sacred-Secular History (Ἐπιτομή τῆς ἱεροκοσμικῆς ἱστορίας)*, fols. 19r–20r;
- 5) Giovanni Sagredo, *Ottoman History (Ὀθωμανικῆς Ἱστορίας)*, fols. 21r–22r;
- 6) Meletios of Athens (1661–1714), *Ecclesiastical History (Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία)*, fols. 24r–26r.¹⁹

In the French edition, this fragment is included in the first volume of the edition, where Sagredo presents Muḥammad as a religious model for the Turks.²⁰ It is possible that the discourse infused with polemical tropes and invectives of the Venetian historian aligned also with the bibliophile’s compilatory interests for *Sarakēnika*. The paragraph tackles aspects about Muḥammad’s origins, the role of monk Sergius [Baḥīra] in the rise of Islam, Muḥammad’s preaching of Islam, the Qur’ān, and few of the Islamic tenets. The grand dragoman’s translation of the text is indeed in a simple Greek language and does not divert from the French model. In

¹⁸ On Karatzas’ style, see Dimitris Apostolopoulos “Ὁ κώδικας “Κριτίου” εἶναι τοῦ Νικόλαου Καρατζᾶ: Προβλήματα πατρότητας τοῦ χρ. 974 τῆς Ῥουμανικῆς Ἀκαδημίας”, *Ὁ Εραμιστής* 24, 2003, p. 125–137; Machi Paizi-Apostolopoulos, “Γνωστά και ἀγνωστα ἱστορικά ἔργα τῆς Τουρκοκρατίας σε χειρόγραφο κώδικα του Νικόλαου Καρατζᾶ”, *Ὁ Εραμιστής* 28, 2011, p. 193–210; Dimitris Apostolopoulos, “Ἀρμογὴ παραγραμμάτων: Νεότερα γιὰ τὴ βιβλιοθήκη Νικόλαου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου Καρατζᾶ”, *Ὁ Εραμιστής* 29, 2016, p. 89–132; Georgios Koutzakiotis, “Συμπληρωματικά γιὰ τὸν Νικόλαο Καρατζᾶ καὶ τὴ βιβλιοθήκη του”, *Ὁ Εραμιστής* 29, 2016, p. 310–318; G. Papazoglou, *Ὁ Λόγιος Φαναριώτης*, vol. 1, p. 235–373; and O.-A. Negoită, “Anti-Islamic Polemics”.

¹⁹ Vasile Grecu (ed.), *Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii (1401–1477). În anexă Pseudo-Phrantzes-Macarie Melissenos, Cronica (1258–1481)*, Bucharest, 1966, p. 436–438, 444–446; Dorotheos of Monemvasia, *Βιβλίον ἱστορικόν: Περιέχον ἐν συνόψει διαφόρους καὶ ἐξόχους ἱστορίας*, Venice, 1631, p. 365–366; Matthaios Kigalas, *Νέα σύνοψις διαφόρων ἱστοριῶν ἀρχομένη ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου καὶ λήγουσα ἕως τῆ νῦν ἔχρονία*, Venice, 1637, p. 420–421; Nektarios of Jerusalem, *Ἐπιτομή τῆς ἱεροκοσμικῆς ἱστορίας, εἰς πέντε μερισθείσα τμήματα*, Venice, 1677, p. 267–268; Meletios of Athens, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία*, vol. 2, Vienna, 1783, p. 154–157.

²⁰ *Histoire de l’Empire Ottoman*, vol. 1, p. 7–11.

the margins, Karatzas the bibliophile copied the translations of the notes as rendered by the grand dragoman in his manuscript: οἱ γονεῖς του (*son pere & mere*); ὁ μετὰ Σεργίου δεσμός (*sa liaison avec Sergius*); περιστέρα τοῦ Μωάμεθ (*pigeon de Mahomet*); the grand dragoman omitted some notes from the French edition and translated only seven. Unfortunately, the bibliophile Karatzas did not offer in the margins any additional information that would offer more content about the manuscript he used.

FINAL REMARKS

The discovery of this unknown Greek fragment of the grand dragoman Nikolaos Karatzas' translation of Sagredo – considered completely lost – is notable for the intellectual and literary history of the early modern Greek-speaking world. Its inclusion in the *Sarakēnika* codex of Princeton, especially in the section where the Phanariot bibliophile compiled excerpts from renowned Greek chronicles, is indicative of the wide circulation of Sagredo's history throughout Europe. Moreover, the transmission of Sagredo's work from the original Italian to the Greek translation *via* the French edition, is a strong proof of the cultural transfer(s) and the *commercium litterarium* that took place between the European Republic of Letters and the early modern Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. Having discovered this brief fragment of Sagredo's translation into Greek, it is only desirable that in the future the entire manuscript(s) of the grand dragoman's translation will be discovered in the manuscript collections from Greece. Such a discovery would offer the chance to evaluate even more Nikolaos Karatzas' translating activity and would help towards the completion of a literary corpus that eased the transmission of French political ideas into the Greek-speaking world and laid the path for the Neo-Hellenic Enlightenment.

THE EDITION

In the appendix of this brief study, I offer a semi-diplomatic edition of the Greek text of the fragment from the *Sarakēnika* codex in parallel with the French text of the corresponding passage from the Parisian edition (1724) of Sagredo's *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, translated by J. Laurent. I have followed closely the manuscript in transcribing the Greek text of Karatzas' translation, including the punctuation and the division of paragraphs. Small changes have been made tacitly concerning accents, while all the other editorial additions have been marked by angle brackets (<...>) (e.g., ἱστορί(ας)). I have made no changes in the French text.



Figure 1: Portrait of Giovanni Sagredo engraved by Léon Hechenauer from a painting by Sebastiano Bombelli, attached to the 1679 Venetian edition of *Memorie istoriche de' monarchi ottomani* © Public Domain.

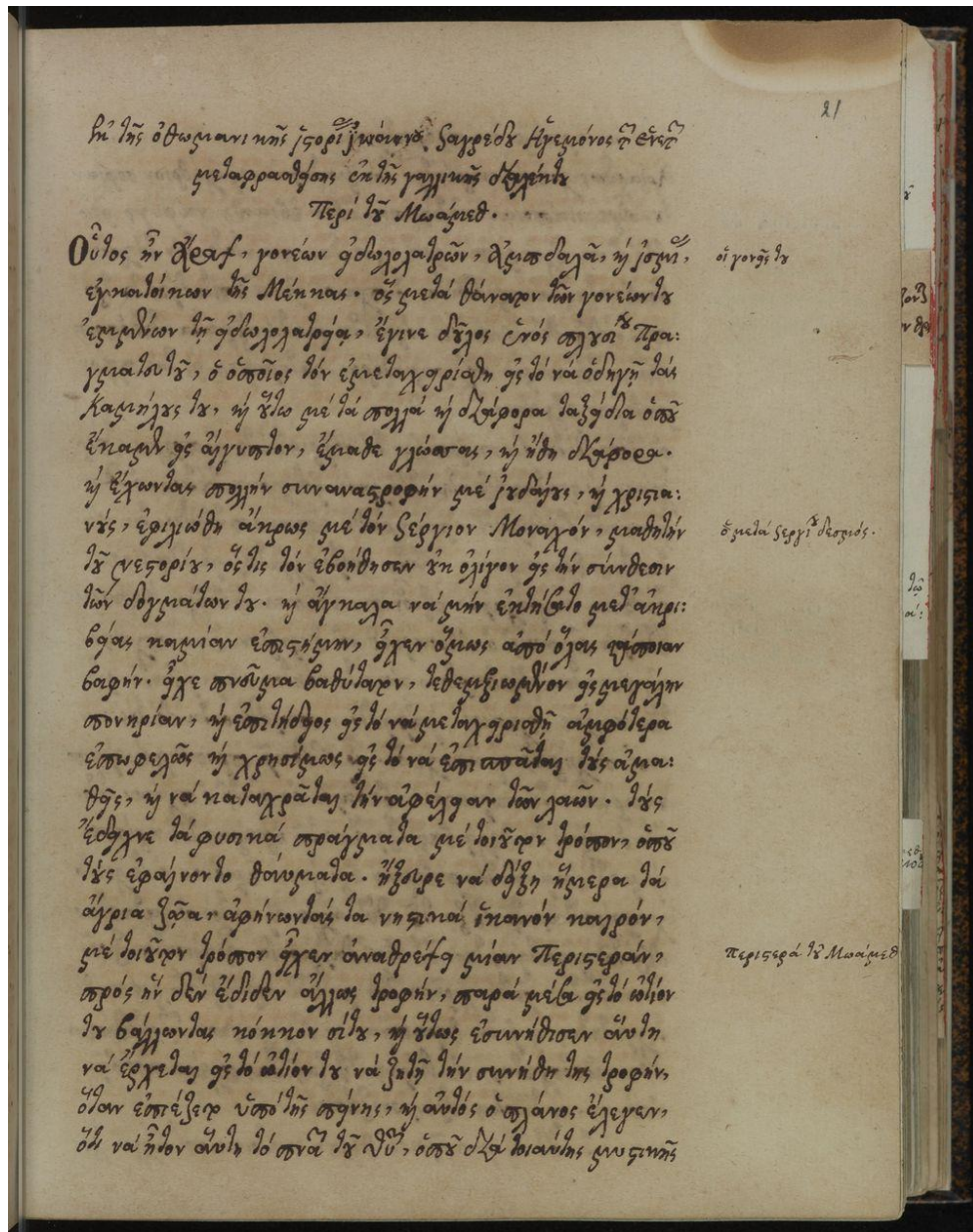


Figure 2: The Beginning of the Fragment from Sagredo’s Greek Translation.
 © Princeton, Princeton University Library, MS Gr. 112 [Sarakēnika], fol. 21r.

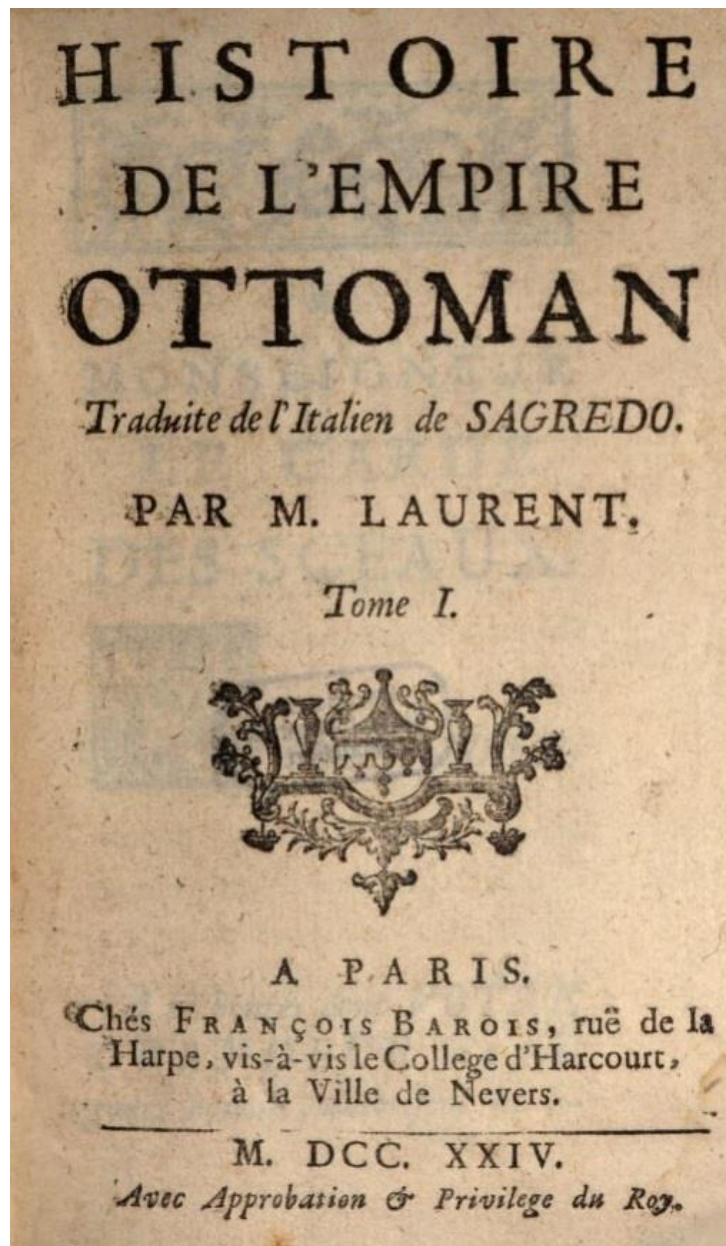


Figure 3: The Title Page of the Paris Edition of Sagredo's *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, vol.1, Translated into French by J. Laurent, Paris, 1724. © Public Domain.

Fols.	Nikolaos Karatzas, <i>Sarakēnikā</i> Princeton MS Gr. 112, fols. 21r–22r	Karatzas' notes	Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman traduite de l'italien de Sagredo par Monsteur Laurent, vol. 1, Paris, 1724, p. 7–11.	Notes in the French edition
fol. 21r	<p>Εκ τῆς Ὀθωμανικῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου Σερπέδου ἠγεμόνος τῆς (ὄν) Ever(ὄν) μεταφρασθεῖσης ἐκ τῆς Γαλλικῆς διαλέκτου Περὶ τοῦ Μωάμεθ.</p> <p>Ὅντος ἦν ἄραν, γονεῖον εἰδιολογάρων, Ἀμπδάλ, καὶ Ταμ(ῶς) ἑκατοικον τῆς Μέκκας. Ὅς μετὰ θάνατον τῶν γονεῶν του εἰμένον τῆ εἰδιολογαρεία, ἔγνε δοῦλος ἐνός πλουσί(ου) πραγματοῦτο, ὁ ὁποῖος τὸν εμεταχειρίσθη εἰς τὸ νὰ δόμητ τὰς καμηλούς του, καὶ ὅπου μετὰ τὰ πλοῖα καὶ διάφορα ταξείδια ὁποῦ ἔκαμιν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, εὐμαθὲ γλώσσας, καὶ ἴσην διάφορα. Καὶ ἔχοντας πολλὴν συνεισαστροφήν μετὰ τοῦ εἰδίου, καὶ Χριστιανούς, ἐφιλοσόφ ἄκρος, μετὰ τὸν Σέργιον μοναχόν, μαθητὴν τοῦ Νεκτορίου, ὁστις τὸν ἐβοήθησεν ὅτις ὀλίγον εἰς τὴν συνέθεσιν τῶν δογμάτων του. Καὶ ἀναλά να μὴν ἐκτίησται μετ' ἀκριβείας, καμῖαν ἐπιστήμην, ἔγνε ὅμοι ἀπὸ ὅλων κάποιαν βοσῆν. Ἐγνε πνεῦμα βαθέτατον, τεθεμελιωμένον εἰς μεγάλην πονηρίαν, καὶ ἐπιτηδεῖος εἰς τὸ νὰ μεταχειρίσθη ἀμφοτέρω ἑποφελῶς, καὶ χρησίμως, εἰς τὸ νὰ ἐπιστήσται τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς, καὶ νὰ καταγράφῃ τὴν ἀσέλειαν τῶν λαῶν. Τοὺς ἔδειξε τὰ φυσικὰ πράγματα μετὰ τοῦτον τρόπον, ὁποῦ τοὺς εἰσάγοντο θαύματα. Ἦξευρε νὰ δέξη ἡμέρα τὰ ἄγρια ζῷα, ἀφῆνοντάς τα νηστικά ἱκανόν καρπόν, μετὰ τοῦτον τρόπον ἔγνε ἀναδρῆσαι μίαν περιστερᾶν, πρὸς ἣν δὲν εἶδεν ἄλλως τροφὴν, παρὰ μέσα εἰς τὸ ὄντων του βάλλωντας κόκκον σίτου, καὶ οὕτως ἐσυνήθισεν αὐτὴ νὰ ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ ὄντων του νὰ ζητῆ τὴν συνήθη τῆς τροφῆς, ὅταν ἐπέλετο ὑπὸ τῆς πετῆς, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πλάνος ἔλεγεν, ὅτι νὰ ἦτον αὐτὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θε(ο)ῦ, ὁποῦ δια τούτῃς μυστικῆς, ἰδοὺ τὸν ἐφορτῆς τὴν προσηγείαν.</p> <p>Ἀρξάμενος λοιπὸν κληρῦττεν τὴν ματαίαν, καὶ ὀλέθρον σοσῖαν του, εἴπε κάποιαν ἀντίστασιν, ὁδὲν ἐβίασθη νὰ φύγῃ εἰς τὸ Μέδινα Ἐλνεμῆ. Μὰ ἔχοντας πάντοτε τὴν τύχην βοηθὸν του, ἀκουμβήντας ὁ πλάνος, εἰς τοὺς ἐπιτηδεύτους του τρόπους, διαφένευσσε τοὺς νόμους του μετὰ τὰ ἄρματα, τοὺς ὁποίους, δια νὰ τοὺς κάμη περισημιότερους, κατέσθηνεν εἰς τὰς πλέον φοβερὰς ἐξουσίας.</p> <p>Οἱ ὁπαδοὶ του διεσκόρπισαν τὰ δόγματα του εἰς πολλὰς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ καταστήσαντες τὸν λαὸν εἰδήμονα τούτων, ὁ Δαυισσοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐσυνεσφῆθη ἐπισκερτέμενος τὴν νέαν ταύτην φηροσῖαν. Αὐτὴ περιπέλειαν εἰς διακόσια ἐνῶσα κεφάλαια, ἐξ ὧν συνέθεσαν τὸν βιβλίον Ἐλκουρον. Ἐτάξεν ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ Μωάμεθ ὡς θεμέλιον ἕνα πλάστην ἀνενηντὸν ἀσθάρων, ἀκατανοήτων, ἀμειβοντα μὲν τοῖς καλοῖς πλοῦσιος, καὶ ἀπειλῶς, παύσονται δὲ τοὺς κακοὺς σκληρῶς καὶ ἀνυπερῶς. Ὅ εὐλόκει προσεῖνῃ, καὶ ἀπενέκρωσι τοῦ σώματος. Βεβαῖος ἐν αὐτῇ ὁ πλάνος οὗτος, ὅτι ὁ νόμος, του θελεῖ βρατάξει ἐός τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς κρίσεως, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνην τὴν φοβερᾶν ἡμέραν οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ γαρῖσσονται τῆ</p>	<p>Οἱ γονεῖς, του</p> <p>Ὁ μετὰ Σερπί(ου) δεσπότης.</p> <p>Περιστερὰ τοῦ Μωάμεθ</p> <p>Φωνὴ αὐτοῦ, ἦτις ἐστὶ τὸ θεμέλιον τ(ὸν) ὀθωμανῶν.</p> <p>Κουρᾶν, ἐν ὄνομα βιβλίου, ἢ ὡς ἐξέμετος, γροσῆ.</p>	<p>(Livre I)</p> <p>Il (Muhammad) étoit Arabe fils d' Abdala & d' Ismaïa tous deux Idolâtres, & qui demeuroient à la Méque. Ayant perdu ceux qui lui avoient donné la vie, il resta dans leurs erreurs & s' engagea au service d' un riche Marchand qui le chargea de la conduit de ses Chameaux. Il sit divers voyages en Egypte, & dans leurs cours, il apprit des langues & des mœurs différentes.</p> <p>Il eut un commerce particulier avec les Juifs & les Chrétiens, & lia une étroite amitié avec le Moine Sergius, disciple de Nestorius, & qui lui prêta la main pour la composition de ses dogmes.</p> <p>Il ne posséda parfaitement aucune science, mais il n' y en eut pas une dont il n' eut quelque teinture. Il avoit un esprit des plus pénétrans, joint à un grand fond de malice, & il eut l' adresse de les employer utilement pour attirer les ignorans à son parti, & pour abuser de la simplicité des peuples. Il se servit de l' amour & de quelques autres effets naturels, qu' il leur saisoit passer pour des miracles. Il avoit l' industrie d' approvoiser les animaux les plus sarouches en les saisant jetter. Ce fut ainsi qu' il éleva un pigeon, à qui il ne donnoit du grain que dans son oreille, de sorte qu' il venoit y chercher sa nourriture, lorsqu' il se sentoit pressé par la faim, & cet imposteur disoit que ce pigeon étoit l' Esprit de Dieu qui lui inspiroit la prophète par cette voye secrète.</p> <p>Il trouva quelque contradiction lorsqu' il commença à publier sa vaine & pernicieuse doctrine, & il fut obligé de s' enfuir à *Medina Elmubi: mais la fortune ne l' abandonna pas; cet imposteur se soutenant toujours par ses adresses, autorisa ses Loix par les armes, & pour leur donner plus de reputation, il eut recours aux puissances les plus formidables.</p> <p>Ses Sectateurs répandirent ses dogmes dans plusieurs Provinces, & les peuples en avant été imbus, le Roi de Damas se déclara le protecteur de cette nouvelle Religion. Elle fut ensuite renfermée en deux cens onze chapitres, dont on forma le livre de l' Alcoran. Mahomet y établit pour fondement un Créateur qui n' a point été engender, qui est incorruptible, qu' on ne peut pénétrer, qui recompense les bons avec usure, qui punit sévèrement les méchans, & à qui les prières & les mortifications du corps sont très- agréables. Il assure dans ce livre que sa Loi durera jusqu' au jour du Jugement, & qu' après ce jour terrible les Etais ne seront pas les seuls qui jouiront de la gloire, mais que les damnéz mêmes seront sauvéz par son</p>	<p>Ses pere & mere.</p> <p>Ses premiers emplois.</p> <p>Sa liaison avec Sergius.</p> <p>Pigeon de Mahomet</p> <p>Cette suite est le fondement de l' Egre des Mahometans.</p> <p>* Village du Prophete</p> <p>Il pluge sa nouvelle doctrine.</p> <p>622.</p> <p>Commencement de l' Egre Mahometane.</p> <p>Alcoran. Livre Glorieux ou ecriture excellente.</p> <p>Fondement du Mahometisme.</p>
fol. 21v				

<p>f. 22r</p>	<p>δόξη τοῦ Θεοῦ), ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ κατ'οἶκον διὰ τῆς μισσητείας του. Ὅτι ἡ εὐδομία τῆς ἀνομίας ζωῆς συννιτάρται εἰς τὴν γῆρα τῶν φυσικῶν πραγμάτων μετὰ τὴν τελειότητα, καὶ εἰς τὴν θρησκείαν καὶ εὐχαριστήριον τῶν ἀθῶν ἀποθήσεων. Ὅθεν ὑποσέεται ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ζωῇ τὰς πλεονασθείας ἡθῶν, καὶ ταύτας διαποικίλους.</p> <p>Λέγει ἐπι, ὅτι αἱ γυναῖκες θέλον κατακίχησι ἄλλων ἔργουσι τὴν Παράδεισον, παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐκτείνε(ται) εἰς μισθ(α) ἄλλας φιλίας, καὶ ἀντιφίσεις. Αὐτὰ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δοξάζουσι, καθὼς εἰς τὸ περὶ πολέμου κερῶν φανίται, πῶς ὁ νομοθέτης τοῦς ἔργουσι καθ' αὐτὸ τέλος, καὶ ὅρον τὸ νὰ ἐκτείνῃ τὴν πίστιν τοῦς, ἐμπατριεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα τὰ δύο πρὸς τοῦς ἄλλους ἀποφορῆς τροπῆς, εἰς μὲν τοῦς ἀφελῆς καὶ ἐπελατήτους τὴν διδασκαλίαν καὶ δημηγορίαν, πρὸς (δὲ) τοῦς ἀπειθῶντας ἰσχυρονομίως, καὶ μὴ ὑποτασσόμενους τὴν γῆρα τῶν ὄπλων, λέγοντας πῶς δὲν πρέπει νὰ εὐπατριεῖσθαι(ται) ἐκείνουσ τῶν χριστιανῶν ὅπου δὲν καταβάλλουν ἐκουσίως τὰ τέλη, οὐτε ὑπομένουσιν ἀγογγύσας τὸν ζῆλον τῆς δουλείας.</p> <p>Λέγουσιν οἱ ὀδοιμοὶ περὶ τοῦ Μωάμεθ, ὅτι εἶναι μετ'ὸν παντ(ὸν) τῶν Προφητῶν, ὅτι κατάρτεται ἀπὸ τῶν Χαϊδάρ, υἱὸν τοῦ Ἰσμαήλ, καὶ ὅτι ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ ἀκοδόμησε τὸν ναὸν τῆς Μεκκῆς. Ὅτι ἐγενήθη εἰδωλολάτρη, ἀλλ' ἰσθεὶς τοῦ πάθους τοῦτου ὑπὸ μετὰ οὐ(ρα)νοῦ ἐλλειψασθείας εἰσέλασαν εἰς ἓνα μονώτατον λόγον, ὅπου ἐρίσαστο κατοικίᾳ ἐν ἐπιπλάτω, ὅπου σὺληρωτορήσασ, τὸ σῶμα τοῦ διὰ μετὰ συνευθῶς ἐγκρατείας(α), ἤγητο πολλάκι, εἰς ἐκτασιν, γάνωντας καὶ τὴν γῆρα τῶν ἀποθήσεων. Ἐκτείνον(ται) δηγούμενοι πολλὰς του ὀπτασίας ἀλλοκότους, αἰ ὀπταῖα καὶ τὸν ἔκαμαν νὰ ἀθετήσῃ μὲν τὴν εἰδωλολατρίαν(α), νὰ αὐτομολήσῃ δὲ εἰς τῆ(ν) τοῦ ἀληθοῦ Θεοῦ λατρείαν. Καὶ ὅτι ἐτὸν τεσσαράκοντα ἔλαβε τὴν γῆρα τῆς προσητείας διὰ τοῦ Ἰαβρήλ, ὅστις ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον κερῶν τῶν Κουρῶν, καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν δωρεάν τῆς ποταμῆς γῆρας, καὶ αὐτὰ αἰ κορυφαί τῶν δένδρων ἔκλιναν εἰς προσκνήσιν τοῦ ὄταν ἐπερυόσε. Κατὰ τέλος, ὅτι ἐβδόμηκοντα δύο ἐτὸν ἀπέθανε, τελευτῶσας καὶ τὰ θάματα τοῦ, καὶ μάλιστα εἰσέβη τὰς νεφελῶν(α) εἰς τὸ Ἀλμωδίν, ἀπέχον τῆς Μεκκῆς τῶνον ὀκτώ ἡμέρων.</p>	<p>Τροίκοι ὅπου μεταχειρίζον(ται) πρ(ὸς) ἀσέβητον τῆ(ν) νεφελῶς τὸν θρησκείας.</p> <p>Θάνατος Μωάμεθ 631 τουτ(ου) 17.</p>	<p>intercession. Que la félicité de la vie éternelle consiste dans l'usage des choses naturelles en leur perfection, & dans la satisfaction même des sens. C'est par cette raison qu'il promet dans l'autre vie la jouissance des plus infâmes plaisirs, & qui doit durer toute l'éternité.</p> <p>Il dit que les femmes auront un Paradis séparé de celui des hommes; & il avance mille autres sortes d'absurditez & de contradictions. On lit dans l'Alcoran le chapitre de la Bataille, où ces infidèles se persuadent que leur Législateur a eu pour unique but d'étendre leur Religion, de se servir pour ce sujet de tous les moyens d'imaginables, de la persuader aux plus simples par les predications, & d'employer la force des armes contre ceux qui, refúsent obstinément à s'y soumettre. Il ajoute qu'ils n'edroient avoir aucune miséricorde pour les Chrétiens, mais qu'ils doivent les traiter avec une rigueur inexorable, quand ils ne payent pas volontairement le tribut, ou qu'ils ne portent pas avec assez de patience le joug de la servitude.</p> <p>Ils disent que Mahomet est le plus grand de tous les Prophètes, qu'il est descendu de Caïdar, fils d'Ismaël, & que le pere de celui-ci bâtit le Temple de la Meque. Qu'il étoit né idolâtre, mais qu'une Lumiere celeste l'ayant guéri de cet aveuglement, il se retira dans une Forêt solitaire où une caverne lui servoit de demeure; & qu'y mortifiant son corps par une abstinence continuelle, il étoit souvent en extase, & perdoit absolument l'usage des sens. Ils s'étendent fort sur le récit de plusieurs visions extravagantes, après lesquelles ils prétendent qu'il abjura son idolâtrie, & se donna au culte du vrai Dieu. Qu'à l'âge de quarante ans il reçut le don de la Prophétie par le ministère de l'Ange Gabriel, qui lui donna le premier chapitre de l'Alcoran, qu'après une grace si singuliere, les têtes des arbres s'inclinèrent devant lui lorsqu'il passoit. Qu'enfin à soixante & douze ans, il finit ses jours & ses impostures, dans Almedin, à huit journées de la Meque.</p>	<p>Ce que l'Alcoran enseigne de Dieu. De la beatitude & en quoi elle consiste.</p> <p>Moyens dont il se sert pour étendre leur fausse Religion.</p> <p>Ce que les Mahométians crovent de leur faux Prophete.</p> <p>Mort de Mahomet 17 juin 631.</p>
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