

Christian-Muslim Relations
A Bibliographical History

History of Christian-Muslim Relations

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VOLUME 32

Christians and Muslims have been involved in exchanges over matters of faith and morality since the founding of Islam. Attitudes between the faiths today are deeply coloured by the legacy of past encounters, and often preserve centuries-old negative views.

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Christian-Muslim Relations A Bibliographical History

Volume 10. Ottoman and Safavid Empires
(1600-1700)

Edited by
David Thomas and John Chesworth

with Lejla Demiri, Emma Gaze Loghin,
Claire Norton, Radu Păun, Reza Pourjavady,
Umar Ryad, Carsten Walbiner



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FOREWORD

David Thomas

This volume of *Christian-Muslim relations. A bibliographical History* (CMR 10) is one of the four that make up the history of relations between Christians and Muslims in the 17th century according to the original sources. CMR 10 focuses on works in the period 1600-1700 from the Muslim Ottoman and Safavid Empires, and also from the Christian kingdoms of Armenia and Georgia. These were all tightly linked together, with the two Muslim empires, one Sunnī the other Shīʿī, constantly at war and holding each other in less regard than they did the Western powers that were interested in commercial and political links, and the two Christian kingdoms repeatedly invaded by one or other of their larger neighbours. In consequence, impacts and influences between them were pervasive. The Christian and Muslim works produced within them show that prejudices familiar from earlier times typically continued as integral elements in their mutual attitudes, and that followers of the two faiths usually assumed without question the other was misguided, wicked and morally corrupt. Entries in the volume frequently picture Ottoman and Safavid rulers cautiously feeling their way forward in talks with Western embassies and resisting missionary efforts to promote Christianity, and document Eastern Christians striving to maintain their faith and communal identities under social and political pressure; this is particularly true of the Armenians, whose many accounts of Christian men and women heroically facing execution for their faith at the hands of Muslims are intended to demonstrate that Christianity is right and also to give heart to waiverers.

The intention of this CMR volume is to provide full accounts of all the known works written by Christians and Muslims about one another and against one another in this region during the course of the 17th century. As in earlier volumes, the editors have been assisted by many new and established scholars, the majority writing at length and in detail to produce a compilation that reflects the latest research and in some instances takes it forward. This is especially true for entries concerning works from Armenia and Georgia.

Like its predecessors, CMR 10 starts with introductory essays that treat details of the political and religious situation in the 17th-century world

in which the works concerned with Christian-Muslim relations were written. Following these come the entries that make up the bulk of the volume. The basic criterion has been to choose works written substantially about or against the other faith, or containing significant information or judgements that cast light on attitudes of adherents of one faith towards the other. By their very nature, apologetic and polemical works are included, while letters, religious treatises and works of travel and history often contain details or insights that also qualify them. Everything that contributes in any significant way towards building impressions about the other appears here.

It should be admitted that, while this principle criterion is easily applicable in many cases, it proves difficult in a number of instances. We have therefore adopted an inclusive approach, especially with respect to works that may contain only small though insightful details or only appear to touch obliquely on relations. Another guiding principle is that inclusion of works within this volume, like its predecessors, has been decided according to the date of their author's death, not the date when the works themselves appeared, although within the sections of the volume the entries are ordered as far as possible according to date. The adoption of this approach has led to evident anomalies at either end, where authors were mainly or almost entirely active in one century but did not die until the beginning of the next, though while this may seem arbitrary, in many instances so would the choice of any other procedure.

Each entry is divided into two main parts. The first is concerned with the author, and it contains basic biographical details, an account of their main intellectual activities and writings, the major primary sources of information about them, and the latest scholarly works on them. A small number of entries are concerned with groups of authors or works, in which case they are situated in their place and time as appropriate. Without aiming to be exhaustive in biographical detail or scholarly study, this section contains sufficient information for readers to pursue further points about authors and their general activities.

The second part of the entry is concerned with the works of the author that are specifically devoted to the other faith. Here the aim is completeness. A work is named and dated (where possible), and then in two important sections its contents are described and its sources identified, and then its significance in the history of Christian-Muslim relations is appraised, including its influence on later works. There follow sections listing publication details (manuscripts where known, and then

editions and translations) and studies, both intended to be fully up to date at the time of going to press.

With this coverage, *CMR* 10 provides sufficient information to enable a work to be identified, its importance appreciated, and editions and studies located. Each work is also placed as far as is possible together with other works from the same region written at the same time, though this grouping should be regarded as more a matter of organisational convenience than anything else. Proximity between works in the bibliography is definitely not an indication of any necessary direct relationship between them, let alone influence (though this may sometimes be discernible). In this period it is as likely that an author would be influenced by a work written hundreds of miles away or hundreds of years before as by another from their immediate locality or time.

The composition of *CMR* 10 has involved numerous contributors who have readily and often enthusiastically agreed to write entries. Under the direction of David Thomas, the work for this volume was led by John Chesworth (Research Officer), Emma Gaze Loghin (Research Associate), Sinéad Cussen (Project Assistant), all in the Birmingham office, Lejla Demiri and Claire Norton (Ottoman Empire), Reza Pourjavady (Safavid Empire), Radu Păun (South-Eastern Europe), Umar Ryad (Muslim Arabic works) and Carsten Walbinder (Christian Arabic works). These are members of a much larger team that comprises 25 specialists in total, covering all parts of the world. Many other scholars from various countries devoted their expertise, energy and time to identifying relevant material in their specialist areas, and also to finding contributors and sharing their expertise. Without their help and interest, the task of assembling the material in this volume would have been much more difficult, if possible at all. Among many others, special gratitude goes to Peter Cowe for writing so many Armenian entries, to George Bournoutian, Dennis Halft, Rudolph Matthee and Ovidiu Olar. In addition, Carol Rowe copy edited the entire volume, Phyllis Chesworth performed the arduous task of compiling the indexes, Louise Bouglass prepared the maps, and Alex Mallett provided links with the staff editors at Brill. The *CMR* team are deeply indebted to everyone who has contributed in any way, particularly Hirotake Maeda, Donald Rayfield, Vlado Rezar and Thomas Welsford for their advice.

The project is funded by a grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Council of Great Britain, and this is acknowledged with gratitude.

While extensive efforts have been made to ensure the information in the volume is both accurate and complete, in a project that crosses as

many geographical as disciplinary boundaries as this it would be totally unrealistic to claim that these have succeeded. Details (hopefully only minor) must have been overlooked, authors and works have maybe been ignored, new works will have come to light, new editions, translations and studies will have appeared, and new dates and interpretations put forward. Corrections, additions and updates are therefore warmly invited. They will be incorporated into the online version of *CMR*, and into any further editions. Please send details of these to David Thomas at d.r.thomas.1@bham.ac.uk.

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ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
DİA	<i>Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi</i> , Ankara, 1988-2013
EIr	<i>Encyclopedia Iranica</i> , http://www.iranicaonline.org
El2	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2nd edition
El3	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam Three</i>
ICMR	<i>Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
MW	<i>Muslim World</i>
Q	Qur'an
Vat	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Introduction: The Ottoman and Safavid Empires in the 17th century

The Ottoman Empire

Claire Norton

The Ottoman Empire was a poly-ethnic, multi-faith, Islamic empire with substantial Christian and Jewish populations that stretched from central Europe east to Mesopotamia, west along the north African coast to Morocco, south to the Hījāz and Yemen and north of the Black Sea to the Crimea. Although the 16th century, especially the reign of Sultan Süleyman (r. 1520-66), has been conventionally interpreted by modern historians and Ottoman chroniclers as a golden age of Ottoman rule, the empire continued to thrive in the 17th century, expanding territorially to its largest extent, flourishing economically and demonstrating institutional and political flexibility in adapting to a changing world, including continuing interaction with early modern European states and its eastern neighbour the Safavid Empire.¹

The century began with the conclusion of the Habsburg-Ottoman Long War (1593-1606), which saw relatively few gains for either side, although the Ottomans secured their continued presence in Hungary with the capture of Egri (1596) and Nagykanizsa (1600) castles. The middle of the century saw the Ottomans, under the political and military guidance of grand viziers from the Köprülü family, capture Uyvar and Novigrad on the Habsburg-Ottoman border, finally take full control over Crete with the Venetian surrender of the capital Candia in 1669, gain control over Mesopotamia from the Safavids, and capture Kamanice from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1672. This town became the administrative centre of a new *eyalet* (province). However, it was not a century of uninterrupted military success. The protracted campaigns and sieges, which generally ended with limited gains for the Ottomans, suggest that the empire had reached its territorial limits, a situation confirmed by the loss of Ottoman Hungary following the unsuccessful second Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1683. The 17th century was also, however, a period of

¹ D. Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and early modern Europe*, Cambridge, 2002, p. 192.

cooperation and interaction between the Ottomans and various European states; their relations reflected a pragmatism that surpassed religious difference to the extent that:

[b]y the last decades of the seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire was as integrated into Europe as it would ever be [...] The Europe of Louis XIV and Charles II [...] considered the Ottomans – as friend or foe – along with the other states of Europe in their diplomatic, commercial, and military policies. This was an Ottoman Europe almost as much as it was a Venetian or Habsburg one.²

It was also a century in which dynastic succession and politics continued to evolve. The succession practice of sultans changed from a short-lived system of what could be considered essentially a form of primogeniture, which was in place for much of the 16th century and had effectively replaced the practice of the sultan's sons battling each other for the throne in previous centuries, to one of agnatic seniority, in which the throne went to the eldest male relative of the sultan, regardless of age or competence.³ Seventeenth-century Ottoman sultans tended to lead more secluded, sedentary lives than their predecessors, a shift reflected in contemporary Ottoman political theory and legitimising strategies that now emphasised the divinely ordained nature of sultanic authority and lineage and the qualities of piety and generosity rather than heroism, military accomplishments and administrative skills.⁴ The exception to this was Murad IV (r. 1623-40), who led Ottoman forces during the Ottoman-Safavid conflict and whose reign tended more towards absolute rule by the sultan rather than by an oligarchy of elites; this was possibly influenced by the death of his brother Osman II (r. 1618-22) at the hands of the janissaries in 1622. Towards the end of the 16th century, following the death of Sokullu Mehmed Pasha, there was increased involvement in the political hierarchy of a new social group centred on the sultan's household and including the sultan's unofficial companions, palace eunuchs and members of the royal family. A degree of stability was provided by Kösem Sultan (1589-1651), who, in her roles as *haseki sultan* (consort) of Ahmed I (r. 1603-17), *valide sultan* (mother of the sultan) of Murad IV and Ibrahim I (r. 1640-8) and regent for her sons, exercised considerable

² Goffman, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 224-5.

³ L.P. Pierce, *The Imperial harem. Women and sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, New York, 1993, see especially ch. 4.

⁴ E. Fetvacı, *Picturing history at the Ottoman court*, Bloomington IN, 2013, especially ch. 4.

influence.⁵ However, during the period when she was banished from the capital by her son Ibrahim I and after her execution in 1651, which followed a brief return to power as regent for her grandson Mehmed I in 1648, there was a rapid turnover of appointments to administrative posts, including that of grand vizier and *şeyhülislam*, resulting in policy fluctuations and a degree of confusion.⁶ This was remedied with the appointment of Mehmed Köprülü to the grand vizierate and a period of administrative stability under the guidance of the Köprülü viziers. They served between 1656 and 1683 and oversaw a period when effective power shifted from the sultan's household to an oligarchy of Ottoman statesmen and administrative elites.

Non-Muslim Ottomans

The Ottoman administration acted in accordance with Islamic precedent regarding the religious rights of their non-Muslim subjects. Under Islamic law, *zimmî* subjects of Islamic states, that is non-Muslim 'people of the book', are afforded the status of 'protected subject' and can practise their religion freely and organise their communities according to their own customary laws.⁷ William Okeley, a captive in the Ottoman North African domains, testified to this religious tolerance in 1675, when he noted that 'they allow that every man may be saved in that religion he professes, provided he walks by its rules and therefore that at last, the Jews, under the banner of Moses, the Christians, under the banner of Christ, and the Turks, under the banner of Mahomet, shall all march over a fair bridge unto I know not what paradise'.⁸ However, non-Muslims in an Islamic state are required under Islamic law to recognise Islamic sovereignty, often have to pay a poll tax (*cizye*) and are also sometimes subject to other restrictions.⁹ Non-Muslim Ottomans were accorded

⁵ Pierce, *Imperial harem*, pp. 105-12.

⁶ Goffman, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 214.

⁷ Some of the following paragraphs are derived from C. Norton '(In)tolerant Ottomans. Polemic, perspective and the reading of primary sources', in D. Pratt et al. (eds), *The character of Christian-Muslim encounter*, Leiden, 2015, 242-63, pp. 244-55. I am grateful to Brill for permission to reproduce some of my work here.

⁸ William Okeley, 'Ebenezer or, A small monument of great mercy, appearing in the miraculous deliverance of William Okeley (1675)', in D. Vitkus, (ed.), *Piracy, slavery, and redemption. Barbary captivity narratives from early modern England*, New York, 2001, 124-92, p. 161.

⁹ See K. Armstrong, *Islam. A short history*, London, 2001, p. 31, and Cl. Cahen, art. 'Dhimma', in *El2*. Restrictions could include various sumptuary laws, a proscription on

freedom of worship in their own churches and synagogues, and significant intra-communal economic, administrative and judicial autonomy. They could perform their religious ceremonies freely, appoint clergy and generally make repairs to existing churches and synagogues.¹⁰ However, the ringing of church bells, attempting to convert Muslims and insulting the Prophet were not permitted.¹¹ While certain official Ottoman documents prohibit the theoretical establishment of new non-Muslim places of worship, in practice the Ottoman state appears to have permitted the building of new synagogues and churches when necessary. For example, new synagogues were built in Salonica and Safed following the migration of Jews from Iberia to the Ottoman Empire, to accommodate expanding congregations and in response to different sects' desires to have their own places of worship.¹² Even non-Muslim slaves were permitted freedom of worship: a 1675 report from Algiers notes that the captives 'haue allsoe liberty to say & and hear mass euery places allowed for that Seruice'.¹³

In addition to the religious freedom discussed above, the various non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman Empire were organised into *millets* and granted significant economic, administrative and judicial autonomy in their internal community affairs. Moreover, through the mediation of religious or institutional leaders, they also actively participated in Ottoman society. A case in point is the Athonite monasteries, which, from the early 15th century, when they were incorporated into the Ottoman polity, negotiated with the Ottomans for protection and also to preserve their position in the socio-cultural hierarchy of Ottoman non-Muslims. As a result, they were granted sizeable tax exemptions on the rural estates affiliated to the monastery complex, and Ottoman officials were directed both to protect the monks' legal rights and to ensure they remained free

the use of fine steeds, and a ban on building new places of worship, but these stipulations were rarely enforced for any length of time, or systematically outside Baghdad and other Islamic centres.

¹⁰ U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552-1615. A study of the firman according to the Mühimme defteri*, Oxford, 1960, pp. 179-80. Document 120 gives permission to the monks of Mār Sābā monastery east of Jerusalem to repair their buildings.

¹¹ Cahen, art. 'Dhimma'. The Ottoman state tolerated a degree of proselytisation by Christian missionaries, on condition that it was directed towards other non-Muslims and did not upset the *status quo*; see Goffman, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 207-13.

¹² M. Demirel, 'Construction of churches in Ottoman provinces', in C. Imber, K. Kiyotaki and R. Murphey (eds), *Frontiers of Ottoman studies*, London, 2005, vol. 2, p. 213. Various churches were also expanded over the years, pp. 213-14.

¹³ SP 71/2/65, quoted in N. Matar, 'Introduction. England and Mediterranean captivity, 1577-1704', in Vitkus (ed.), *Piracy*, p. 18.

from interference.¹⁴ In the 17th century, in accordance with Şeyhülislam Ebussuûd's legal opinion, the monks officially established monastic *vakıfs* (charitable endowments) demonstrating that they were more than capable of using the Islamic judicial system and legal apparatus to defend their interests where appropriate.¹⁵ This tolerance is evidenced in *fermans* which repeatedly demonstrate that the Ottoman state took seriously its duty of protecting the places of worship of non-Muslims and fairly arbitrating in disputes between religious communities concerning ownership of, or access to, sacred places. Many *fermans* command the relevant Ottoman official to investigate in accordance with the law disputes, abuses or requests for repair concerning places of worship, whereas others command that such places should be returned to the rightful community, or prohibit interference in the space by Ottoman state officials, or local Muslim or other non-Muslim communities. An order to the *kadı* of Jerusalem dated 1613, which discusses an Armenian church in Jerusalem, states:

The [re]building of the walls [of this shrine] and their restoration to their original condition and ancient state, the mending of the floor-covering [...] and the repair and restoration of the dome itself are the privilege of the Armenian Christians living and domiciled in Jerusalem [...] And neither the Muslims nor anyone from outside is allowed to interfere and meddle with what they [the Armenians] have in their possession at present. Concerning all this they hold numerous noble firmans, imperial charter[s] [...] and legal certificates. [...] Now, however, some Muslims, solely in order to gain money and to annoy and tyrannize over the said infidels, have come with the intention of living there. [Therefore] the said infidels ... have requested [the sultan's] favour (protection). 'My order has therefore been [issued] that no interference contrary to the sacred law is to take place ...'.¹⁶

In accordance with Islamic principles, the Ottoman state permitted non-Muslim subjects autonomy in law on issues internal to their community and in disputes not involving Muslim subjects. This was not to exclude non-Muslims from appealing to, and making use of, the Ottoman Islamic legal system, which they frequently did, often in defiance of their own religious or political authorities. Molly Greene notes in her study of inter-communal relations in Ottoman Candia in the 17th and 18th centuries

¹⁴ E. Kolovos, 'Negotiating for state protection. *Çiftlik*-holding by the Athonite monasteries (Xeropotamou Monastery, fifteenth-sixteenth centuries)', in Imber, Kiyotaki and Murphey (eds), *Frontiers of Ottoman studies*, vol. 2, 197-209, p. 200.

¹⁵ Kolovos, 'Negotiating for state protection', pp. 201, 206.

¹⁶ Heyd, *Ottoman documents*, pp. 180-1, document 122.

that Christians and Muslims were willing to testify on each other's behalf in court proceedings. For example, the Muslim Mustafa represented his Christian father in court to ensure the latter received his deceased daughter's property, rather than her Muslim husband. Christian testimony was also accepted as legally valid, and on occasion Christians acted as *vekil* or agents for Muslims, as in the case of Georgis who acted as agent for Razie bint Abdullah in her sale of a vineyard.¹⁷

Despite the communal autonomy outlined above, the different religious communities of the empire did not live in separate spheres, but were to a large degree economically and socially integrated. For example, the activities of Muslim and non-Muslim tradesmen and artisans were controlled by the same *hisbe* regulations, and they worked side by side in the bazaars.¹⁸ In Ottoman urban areas, confessional communities tended to congregate around their places of worship, with the result that neighbourhoods were often perceived as being Muslim, Christian or Jewish. However, this was not exclusively the case, and for most of the duration of the empire there was no official topographical segregation; that is, there were no laws requiring non-Muslims to inhabit particular areas or excluding them from others.¹⁹ With the Ottoman capture of Candia in the mid-17th century, Muslims, Christians and Jews were given the right to buy property in the city. This marked a change from earlier Venetian rule, when the Jewish community was confined to a designated quarter.²⁰ The one exception to this was the prohibition on non-Muslims from entering the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and the reciprocal exclusion of Christians, Jews and Muslims from one another's places of worship and holy shrines.²¹

However, exclusionary practices and instances of urban Islamicisation were not completely absent from the Ottoman Empire. The 1660 great fire in Istanbul was used as a catalyst for the creation of a more homogenous Islamic neighbourhood in Eminönü: in order to make space for the building of the Valide Sultan mosque, Christian and Jewish properties were compulsorily purchased, non-Muslim communities were re-located to other neighbourhoods, and the rebuilding of non-Muslim

¹⁷ M. Greene, *A shared world. Christians and Muslims in the early modern Mediterranean*, Princeton NJ, 2000, pp. 106-7.

¹⁸ H. Inalcik, 'Istanbul. An Islamic city', *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990) 1-23, quoting H. Dernschwam, *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*, ed. F. Babinger, Munich, 1923, p. 116.

¹⁹ Goffman, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 84-5.

²⁰ Greene, *Shared world*, pp. 85-6.

²¹ Demirel, 'Construction of churches', pp. 211-12.

places of worship was prohibited. It should be noted here that this process of Islamicisation of space was not primarily undertaken as a result of religious piety and/or intolerance, but was the consequence of a specific intersection of elite religio-political interests and extraordinary pressures on the state following a period of economic, religious, military and political crisis.²² The intention was for the authority of the state to be reasserted and to demonstrate that all Ottomans, regardless of religion, were subject to the law.²³

There were also less religiously tolerant voices or ideologies circulating in the 17th century within and outside the Ottoman administration. The 1630s saw the rise of Kadızâde Mehmed, a puritanical theologian, who, as imam of the sultan's mosque, Hagia Sofia, frequently preached sermons exhorting against innovation, so-called 'un-Islamic' practices including the consumption of coffee and tobacco, and the more pantheistic and syncretic beliefs of Sufism, including their practices of singing and dancing to musical accompaniment.²⁴ Following the death of Kadızâde, his politico-religious influence lived on through his supporters, the *Kadızâdeler*. For example, in the early 1660s Mehmed IV's preacher was Vâni Efendi (d. 1685), a *kadızâdeli* who vied with the Şeyhülislam Minkarizâde for the attention of the sultan on religious and political issues. It is thought that Minkarizâde's *Risâle-yi beyân-ı millet-i İbrahim* was composed in response to the ideological arguments of the *Kadızâdeler*, who were condemning the use of the term *millet-i İbrahim*

²² M.D. Baer, 'The Great Fire of 1660 and the Islamization of Christian and Jewish space in Istanbul', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36 (2004) 159-81, p. 174.

²³ Baer, 'Great Fire', p. 160.

²⁴ M.C. Zilfi, 'The Kadizadelis. Discordant revivalism in seventeenth-century Istanbul', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45 (1986) 251-69. There were, however, critics of the *Kadızâdeler* and the influence they had on Ottoman politics, including the Sufi mystic and author Niyâzî-ı Misrî who was banished to Lemnos as a consequence of his outspoken calls for the state to undertake urgent reforms to perceived injustices. Niyâzî-ı Misrî was one of a number of Sufis who drew on elements from other religions in their writings, although in the case of Misrî these 'Christianizing' borrowings may also have resulted from the close contacts he had with the Greek Orthodox community in both Bursa and Lemnos. In the context of his exile and opposition to both the Ottoman state and the *kadızâdeli* Vâni Efendi, Niyâzî-ı Misrî developed an identification with Jesus Christ, particularly in his diary, the *Mecmû'a-i kelimât-ı kudsîyye-i Hazret-i Misrî*. He also argued that the Ottoman imperial house had been converted by Vâni Efendi to Judaism. As Derin Terzioğlu ('Man in the image of God in the image of the times: Sufi self-narratives and the diary of Niyazi-i Misri (1618-94)', *Studia Islamica* 94 (2002) 139-65, pp. 155, 159-60) has argued, this claim works on a number of levels, equating the puritanism of Vâni Efendi and the *Kadızâdeler* with the perceived stricter laws of Judaism, and also as a veiled criticism of Vâni Efendi and his role in the controversial conversion of Sabbatai Zvi in 1666.

in reference to Islam.²⁵ Moreover, in this work Minkarizâde reiterates more tolerant, classical Ottoman views towards Christians and Jews, and supports the practice of multi-faith (Muslim, Christian, Jewish) public prayers on special days against the arguments of the *kadızâdeli* Vâni Efendi, who was vehemently against this practice.²⁶ Minkarizâde also authored a collection of *fetvas*, the *Fetâvâ-yı Minkarizâde*, more than 200 of which concern (and regulate) relations between Muslim and non-Muslim Ottomans.²⁷ Such collections of *fetvas*, as well as court records and other sources, demonstrate that the integration of communities extended as far as the family unit, either because some family members converted to Islam, or as a result of mixed marriages between Muslim men and Christian or Jewish women.²⁸ Such unions were not necessarily censured by state or religious institutions or local communities. Muslim courts were happy to register such unions, and village priests often blessed such marriages.²⁹ Moreover, the multiple commercial and social ties that existed between Muslims, Christians and Jews who co-existed in urban and rural communities often led to a blurring of the strict lines demarcating the practices of different faiths. For example, it was noted that Ottoman Muslims sometimes venerated local Christian saints, and Muslims and Christians might join together in 'rites of devotion'.³⁰

The arguments of Vâni Efendi can also be seen in the *Dialexis* ('Conversations with Vanli Efendi on the superiority of Christian or Muslim faith'), which records a theological conversation in 1662 between Panayiotis Nicousios, the dragoman or interpreter to the Ottoman Grand Vizier Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, and Vâni Efendi. Vâni Efendi utilises a series of qur'anic quotations and arguments to demonstrate the superiority of Islam, to which Nicousios provides various refutations.³¹ The

²⁵ See C. Sisman, 'Minkarizâde, *Risâle-yi beyân-ı millet-i İbrahim*', in *CMR* 10, pp. 406-8; Zilfi, 'The Kadizadelis', pp. 254-5, 257; Zilfi, *The politics of piety. The Ottoman ulema in the postclassical age (1600-1800)*, Minneapolis MN, 1988, pp. 136-9.

²⁶ Sisman, 'Minkarizâde, *Risâle-yi beyân-ı millet-i İbrahim*', in *CMR* 10, pp. 406-8; Zilfi, 'The Kadizadelis', pp. 264-5.

²⁷ Sisman, 'Minkarizâde, *Fetâvâ-yı Minkarizâde*', in *CMR* 10, pp. 408-10.

²⁸ See, for example, some of the *fetvas* of Minkarizâde that discuss in which cemetery the Christian wife of a Muslim should be buried and also whether marriage vows need to be renewed if a husband converts to Islam but his Christian wife does not; see Sisman, 'Minkarizâde, *Fetâvâ-yı Minkarizâde*', in *CMR* 10, pp. 408-10.

²⁹ Greene, *Shared world*, p. 105.

³⁰ The Sieur du Mont, *A new voyage to the Levant*, London, 1696, p. 191. See also William Biddulph, who described a church where 'both Christians and Turkes pray therein', in *Purchas his pilgrimes*, vol. 8, p. 284, quoted in N. Matar, *Islam in Britain 1558-1685*, Cambridge, 1998, p. 29.

³¹ See G. Koutzakiotis and M. Sariyannis, '*Dialexis*', in *CMR* 10, pp. 425-30.

text therefore not only sets out both Christian and Islamic arguments for the superiority of their respective religions as well as the relevant counter-arguments, but it also describes an Ottoman polity in which religious dispute could take place between Christian and Muslim Ottomans employed in various capacities as part of the government administration.

Despite the widespread assumption that non-Muslims were not permitted to serve in the military, the practice of non-Muslims serving in the Ottoman army established in the early years of the empire continued throughout the 17th century. Although by this time we do not see non-Muslims being granted *timars*, there were considerable numbers of Christian soldiers in *martolosan* and *sekban* units stationed in Ottoman fortresses on the Ottoman-Habsburg frontier.³² Pakalın, in particular, refers to the large number of Christian *sekban* soldiers among the Ottoman forces besieging Vienna in 1683.³³ Even by the mid-17th century, *martolosan* units still comprised 27% of the garrison at Pest and 8% at Esztergom, while in 1683 they represented 10% at Győr.³⁴ These soldiers not only undertook garrison duties in the fortresses, but they also accompanied their Muslim comrades on raids across the frontier and shared the proceeds.³⁵ While the *martolos* unit consisted of Christian soldiers, the officers were generally Muslim. Through the 17th century, we see the religious constitution of the units beginning to change with an increase in the numbers of Muslim soldiers in these nominally Christian units. That this Islamification does not reflect the incorporation of the border regions into more secure central rule and the subsequent substitution of Christian soldiers by more 'loyal' Muslim ones is illustrated in the prevalence of 'convert' names among the Muslims in these units. Six of the 17 Muslim *martolosan* in the province of Buda had the name 'Ibn Abdullah', a name commonly adopted by converts.³⁶ It appears, therefore, that these units became Muslim through conversion, and the newly

³² In the early centuries of Ottoman rule, in some areas up to, or more than, 50% of registered *timars* were held by Christians; see A. Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans*. Kısve bahası *petitions and Ottoman social life, 1670-1730*, Leiden, 2004, p. 98; M. Stein, 'Seventeenth-century Ottoman forts and garrisons on the Habsburg frontier (Hungary)', Chicago IL, 2001 (PhD Diss, University of Chicago), pp. 147-9. The *timar* system was a land-tenure system in which Ottoman military and administrative personnel were allotted the revenues from land and occasionally other tax sources in exchange for state service. A *sipahi* was an Ottoman cavalryman and provincial administrator.

³³ Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, 'Sekban', in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 10, 325-7, p. 326.

³⁴ Stein, 'Seventeenth-century Ottoman forts', pp. 147-9.

³⁵ Stein, 'Seventeenth-century Ottoman forts', p. 145.

³⁶ Stein, 'Seventeenth-century Ottoman forts', p. 147, and M. Stein, *Guarding the frontier. Ottoman border forts and garrisons in Europe*, London, 2007, pp. 89-93.

converted soldiers wished to continue to fight and work alongside their Christian comrades.

Over the centuries, the earlier inclusive attitude towards the incorporation of non-Muslims into the upper echelons of the Ottoman administrative-military structure became less flexible, and by the 17th century conversion to Islam became a prerequisite for the attainment of high office. Such a shift did not necessarily reflect an increase in religious intolerance or exclusionary practices, but rather conversion to Islam was understood as an expression of one's loyalty to the Ottoman state.³⁷ Conversion to Islam did not only offer social advancement to those seeking high office. After the Ottoman conquest of Crete in 1669, Greene notes that an unusually large percentage of the population converted to Islam. Many local Cretan Christians had already been recruited to fight for the Ottomans during the siege. Once the conflict ended, and as a result of the relaxation of entry conditions, many of these young Cretans realised that, if they converted to Islam, they could enter the janissaries and receive a stipend as a member of the *askeri*, or military class, thus providing themselves with a secure financial future.³⁸

All this does not mean that Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman subjects were treated equally. Non-Muslim men could not marry Muslim women; any children of a mixed marriage were assumed to be Muslim; conversion from Islam to another religion was forbidden and technically punishable by death; and non-Muslims often paid more tax, particularly in commercial transactions, and were subject to the *cizye* or poll-tax.³⁹ However, the *cizye*, rather than simply being interpreted as monetary evidence of the subjugation of non-Muslims, can be seen as payment in exchange for exemption from military service. Non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire who provided some form of military service such as *voy-nuks*, *martolos* or *eflaks*, and Christian *timar* holders were exempt from paying it.⁴⁰ In the Ottoman Balkans, the Ottoman state often simply

³⁷ C. Isom-Verhaaren, 'Shifting identities. Foreign state servants in France and the Ottoman Empire', *Journal of Early Modern History* 8 (2004) 109-34, p. 109, particularly her discussion of Hüseyin, the *subaşı* of Lemnos, and Christoph von Roggendorf.

³⁸ Greene, *A shared world*, pp. 41-2.

³⁹ Cahen, art. 'Dhimma'. In theory, non-Muslims were subject to various sumptuary regulations and were not permitted to own Muslim slaves, though these regulations were rarely enforced.

⁴⁰ H. Inalcik, art. 'Djizya: Ottoman', in *El2*, citing H. Inalcik, *Fatih devri*, vol. 1, Ankara, 1954, pp. 176-9. The inhabitants of five Albanian mountain villages were able to negotiate a fixed rate, group discount to the *cizye* at the end of the 15th century in return for guarding mountain passes.

renamed existing pre-Ottoman poll taxes as *cizye*, meaning that non-Muslim populations were rarely financially worse off. In fact, the Ottoman state often reduced the tax burden on newly conquered populations.⁴¹ Moreover, imperial *fermans* attest to the fact that, despite tax abuses occurring on occasion, the state tried to prohibit local Ottoman authorities from exacting more tax than they were legally entitled to.⁴²

During this period, the city republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) on the Dalmatian coast, on the borders of the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg states, retained a certain amount of self-determination, thanks to strategic trading agreements. It became a flourishing centre of arts and literature, and was known as 'the south Slav Athens'. Writers from Dubrovnik who reflected on the relationship between Christians and Muslims include Dživo Gundulić (in his epic poem *Osman*), and Jaketa Palmotić Dionorić (in his *Dubrovnik ponovljen* ['Dubrovnik revived']).

Non-Ottoman non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire

In addition to non-Muslim *zimmî* subjects of the Ottoman Empire, numerous non-Muslims resided in the empire on a more temporary basis, most notably communities of merchants. From the origins of the empire in the 14th century, merchants from various Italian city states, including Venice, Genoa and Florence, had lived and traded within the empire. Such communities of ex-patriot merchants continued to flourish throughout the 17th century. From the end of the 16th century, they were also joined by communities of English merchants after Queen Elizabeth I granted authorisation for the establishment of the Levant Company (1581) to facilitate trade with the Ottoman Empire, and the Ottomans agreed to capitulatory treaties. The Ottomans responded positively to English requests to establish trade relations not because they wanted to sell goods in English markets, but because they wanted access to English silver, tin, gunpowder and ships.⁴³ Capitulatory agreements were also signed with France (1569) and the Netherlands (1600). The capitulatory

⁴¹ C.F. Finkel, 'French mercenaries in the Habsburg-Ottoman war of 1593-1606', *BSOAS* 55 (1992) 451-71, pp. 465-8.

⁴² Heyd, *Ottoman documents*, pp. 182-3; document 124 prohibits the *kadı* of Jerusalem from collecting one *para* from Christian pilgrims at the door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and other officials from collecting irregular tolls and protection fees. It states: 'The pilgrims must not be forced to pay more taxes than was customary in the past and is laid down in the Cadastral register. The protection fee is to be abolished altogether'.

⁴³ Goffman, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 195.

agreements gave permission to reside in the Ottoman Empire not only to traders but also to their dependants, including servants and translators, as well as diplomats and their retinues. By the early 17th century, these three European states and the Italian city states had established significant commercial networks in the Ottoman Empire, which, while they were relatively decentralised in terms of relations to the home governments, were often closely intertwined with Ottoman social and political life. Many young men, keen to seek their fortune or experience adventure, travelled not only to the trading entrepôts of the Ottoman Empire, but also to the North African privateering ports of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli, to seek employment building ships or sailing them. These *müste'min* (foreign residents), like the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire, were permitted to practise their religion freely and to live without interference. Communities of western Europeans were to be found living in most of the major Ottoman cities, including Istanbul, Ankara, Antalya, Cairo, Bursa, Aleppo and Izmir.

Attempting to convert Muslims to another religion was strictly prohibited in the Ottoman Empire, as was apostasy by Muslims. However, missionary work among non-Muslim communities was permitted, to a degree. Catholic monks and priests were granted *ahidnâmes* permitting them to travel through Ottoman lands advising and ministering to Ottoman subjects who were in the Latin (Catholic) *millet* and to collect revenue from them. When they were bothered by Ottoman officials or the leaders of other faiths, they had no hesitation in seeking recourse from the Ottoman judicial system. In 1640 and again two years later, a couple of Catholic monks complained to the Sublime Porte that they were being harassed not only by 'brigands and intriguers' but also by 'eastern monks, monks in other *millets*, priests, bishops and archbishops'. The Ottoman authorities responded that they should be left to wander and preach in peace.⁴⁴

Daniel Goffman gives an illustrative example of the religious life of these western European *müste'min* communities resident in the Ottoman Empire. Robert Frampton was appointed as Anglican chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo in 1655. He successfully integrated himself into the English community and the wider non-Muslim and Muslim Ottoman society: he learnt Arabic and Italian, forged friendships with the Orthodox Patriarch and the chief *kadı*, persuaded the Ottoman authorities to permit the rebuilding of a Greek Orthodox church, and preached

⁴⁴ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Ecnebi Defteri 14/2, pp. 114-5, cited in Goffman, *Ottoman Empire*, p. 207.

Anglicanism among the Ottoman non-Muslim communities.⁴⁵ He even, Goffman suggests, on two occasions encouraged two Christian converts to Islam to return to their original faith, and then helped them to leave Ottoman domains to escape any possible punishment.⁴⁶ Isaac Basire similarly spent nearly 15 years travelling freely through the Ottoman Empire, sometimes in the company of 20 Turks. He preached the Anglican creed to followers of the various Eastern Christian churches, engaged in discussions with both Orthodox and Latin clerics, and prepared Greek and Armenian translations of the Anglican catechism.⁴⁷ Relationships between foreign residents in the Ottoman Empire and Muslim or non-Muslim Ottomans from a variety of backgrounds were not uncommon. Around 1650, when Basire was employed as the Anglican chaplain to Sir Thomas Bendish, the English ambassador in Istanbul, he met Albertus Bobovius (Ali Bey) and introduced him to Bendish, who hired him as a translator. Bobovius was originally from Poland (now part of the Ukraine) but was captured as a young man in about 1632 and sold as a slave in Istanbul, where he converted to Islam and for 21 years was educated at the Ottoman palace as a musician and servant. In 1654, Bobovius translated the Anglican catechism into Ottoman Turkish for Basire. In subsequent years he also produced Ottoman Turkish translations of the *Ianua linguarum* by Johannes Amos Comenius, the Old and New Testaments, and the Apocrypha. In addition, he also prepared an Ottoman Turkish-Latin grammar, a book of Ottoman Turkish songs in western musical notation, and the *Mezâmîr*, 14 Christian psalms set to the Ottoman musical modal system.⁴⁸ In his musical works and translations, Bobovius or Ali Bey demonstrates a degree of syncretism and a blurring of his past Christian and current Muslim identities.

While the Ottoman Empire was certainly not tolerant or unprejudiced in the modern sense of the terms, it did, unlike contemporary western European states, permit sizeable non-Muslim communities to live freely as Ottoman subjects, and also allowed foreign non-Muslims to live, work, worship and even preach freely within its domains.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Goffman, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 210-11.

⁴⁶ Goffman, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 211-12.

⁴⁷ Goffman, *Ottoman Empire*, pp. 208-9.

⁴⁸ H. Neudecker, 'Bobovius' and 'Mezâmîr', in *CMR* 10, pp. 384-6, 401-3.

⁴⁹ Details have recently come to light of a hitherto unknown work in Ottoman Turkish entitled simply *Hikâye* ('Story'), contained in MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi – Laleli 1183/5, fols 103r-106r (catalogued under the modern title, *Müslüman ve Hristiyan din bilginlerinin tartışmaları hakkında*, 'On discussions between Muslim and Christian religious scholars') and dating from 1622. It tells the story of a group of Christian monks and priests who converted to Islam following a theological discussion held

The Safavid Empire

Reza Pourjavady

The Safavids were initially a Sufi order that originated in 1300 in the north-western city of Ardabil, the hometown of the order's founder, Shaykh Ṣaḡī al-Dīn (1252-1334). At the beginning of the 16th century, one of his descendants, Shah Ismāʿīl I (r. 1501-24) transformed the Sufi order into a political entity. Within the first 13 years of his reign, he had unified a large territory that was now directly under his political control. With some occasional regressions, this territory remained unified throughout the next two centuries.⁵⁰

At the beginning of the 17th century, the Safavid Empire's neighbours were the Ottomans to the west and north-west, the Uzbeks of the Khanate of Bukhara to the north-east, the Mughals to the east, and the Portuguese to the south on the Persian Gulf. The reign of Shah ʿAbbās I (r. 1587-1629) is considered to be the golden age of Safavid rule. Shortly before the turn of the century, Isfahan, located in the centre of Iran, was proclaimed the new capital of the Safavids. This change of capital had both political and commercial advantages for the country. Its central location could make the state less vulnerable to the threat of the Ottomans. The Persian Gulf was also in easy reach, particularly for the silk trade, whose merchants flourished in this city.⁵¹

The 17th century started with Shah ʿAbbās launching his first campaign against the Ottomans in 1603 in order to recapture the lands he had ceded to them in 1589-90. His recapture of the Caucasus was achieved with much bloodshed. Shah ʿAbbās continued to expand his territory over the next 25 years of his reign. He captured Baghdad from the Ottomans and Kandahar from the Mughals, and he expelled the Portuguese from Hormuz in the Persian Gulf (1622). By the middle of the 17th century, which corresponds to the reign of ʿAbbās II (r. 1642-66), the Safavids were no longer concerned to expand their territory. Their main

with Muslim scholars at the prompting of the Byzantine emperor. One supposed participant on the Muslim side was the great jurist Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī, who apparently silenced the Christians. This would date the meeting to before 820, when he died. Lejla Demiri is currently preparing an entry for the on-line version of *CMR*.

⁵⁰ K. Babayan, 'The Safavid Empire. From Qizilbash Islam to Imamate Shi'ism', *Iranian Studies* 27 (1994) 135-61; I.M. Lapidus, *Islamic societies to the nineteenth century. A global history*, Cambridge, 2012, pp. 490-3; S.F. Dale, *The Muslim empires of the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals*, Cambridge, 2010, pp. 63-5, 87-91.

⁵¹ See M. Haneda and R. Matthee, 'Isfahan vii: Safavid period', in *Elr*.

aim was instead to secure their current borders. After signing the Treaty of Zuhāb with the Ottomans in 1639, which put an end to the long-term conflict between the two empires, the Safavids felt secure on their western borders. Their other borders, however, were increasingly threatened by their other neighbours. In the North Caucasus, the Safavids fought against the Russians (1651-3). They also had to resist the Mughals who wanted to recapture Kandahar in 1652 and 1653.⁵²

The end of the 17th century corresponds to the reign of Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1694-1722), who is known for his lack of interest in affairs of state, with the result that, during his rule, the Safavid state was in economic downfall. The silk trade with the Europeans, which throughout the 17th century brought Iranian merchants a fortune, stopped some years before the turn of the century, road security lapsed, and border areas became vulnerable. However, it was another two decades before the system irrevocably collapsed. By this time, the Safavids had become so weak that a group of Afghans led by Maḥmūd Ghilzay (d. 1725) were able to defeat a Safavid army and attack the capital. After a six-month siege, the shah submitted to Maḥmūd, conferring on him the title shah.⁵³

Jews and Christians in the Safavid Empire

From the early 16th century, when Shī'ism was declared the state religion of Iran by Shah Ismā'īl I, it appears to have taken about a century for a majority in the country to become Shī'ī. In the 17th century, there were still a large number of Sunnī Muslims in Safavid territory. In addition, there were also other minorities such as Zoroastrians, Jews and Christians (among them Armenians, Assyrians, Chaldeans and Catholics).⁵⁴

Shah 'Abbās was the first Safavid ruler who treated foreign representatives of the Christian faith and Christian states favourably. He welcomed the Augustinians and Carmelites, among others, and allowed them to establish convents in his realm. The Augustinians were the first Christian groups who started diplomatic missions in Iran. In 1602, they

⁵² Dale, *Muslim empires*, pp. 91-6; H. Roemer, 'The Safavid period', in P. Jackson and L. Lockhart (eds), *The Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 6: *The Timurid and Safavid periods*, Cambridge, 1986, 262-347, pp. 262-78, 288-304.

⁵³ R. Matthee, *Persia in crisis. Safavid decline and the fall of Isfahan*, London, 2011, pp. 197-242.

⁵⁴ B.S. Amoretti, 'Religion in the Timurid and Safavid periods', in Jackson and Lockhart (eds), *Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 6, pp. 610-55, outlines the rise of Shī'ism and its relation to other religious groups.

established the Augustinian convent in Isfahan, which remained open until 1748 and acted as an informal Portuguese embassy. The Carmelites came to Iran in 1607 on the orders of Pope Clement VIII and their main focus was to attempt to integrate the Armenian Gregorian Church and members of the Church of the East into the Roman Catholic Church. The Carmelites, who established a library in their convent in Isfahan, had no hesitation in supplying Muslim scholars with the books they possessed and engaged with them in theological debates. The most distinguished Carmelite friar in Iran was Juan Tadeo (d. 1633 or 34) who translated the Psalms of David into Persian with the help of native Jewish and Muslim assistants. Two decades after the Carmelites, in 1628, a group of French Capuchins came. They were also trying to unite the Christian churches of the region, particularly the Armenians, with the Roman Catholic Church. The Jesuits came in 1652 and became active in Isfahan (New Julfa), Tabriz and Shiraz. Perhaps more than the other orders, the Jesuits engaged with Muslim scholars. The most prominent example is perhaps Aimé Chézaud (d. 1664), who is known to have lectured on Christianity at the Safavid court in the presence of Muslim scholars and debated on several occasions with his Muslim counterparts.⁵⁵

The initially welcoming attitude of ‘Abbās I towards Christian missionaries was mainly politically motivated. These missionaries hailed from countries with which the Safavid shah hoped to ally himself in his struggle against his main rivals, the Ottomans. The missionaries also served as intermediaries with the Papacy and major Christian countries such as Spain and France. Despite the claim of some missionaries, it remains doubtful whether ‘Abbās (or any other Safavid shah) had a true affection for Christianity.

Although ‘Abbās I welcomed Christian missionaries and treated them with respect, his record with regard to indigenous Christians was not, with some exceptions, so positive. In 1604, the shah ordered the deportation of hundreds of thousands of people, mainly Armenians but also some Jews, who were living in the north western province of Nakhjavān in historical Armenia, to the central regions of Persia.⁵⁶ Many of them were taken to the two settlements the shah had built near the Caspian Sea, Ashraf and Farahābād, and were involved in manufacturing silk.

⁵⁵ See A. Tiburcio, ‘Aimé Chézaud’, in *CMR* 10, pp. 592-7.

⁵⁶ Many were from the city of ‘old’ Julfa. Shah ‘Abbās I was following a scorched earth policy in order to consolidate the border with the Ottomans; see V.S. Ghougassian, ‘Julfa i. Safavid Period’, in *Elr*.

Some others were brought to Isfahan and settled on the south-western edge of the city, called New Julfa (the original Julfa is an old village in the province of Nakhjavān). Within a short period, the Armenians of New Julfa became successful merchants, trading raw silk with Europe.

In addition to the Armenians, many Christians from Georgia were taken captive by the Safavids and brought to Iran. This process had already started before 1600, but in the 17th century under ‘Abbās I it increased. Georgian women were taken to the royal harem, where they exercised increasing influence, while Georgian men served as slave soldiers (*ghulāms*), or were trained as administrators and sometimes appointed to high office after being forcibly converted to Islam. By the end of the reign of ‘Abbās I, about one-fifth of high-ranking officials were *ghulāms* of Christian origin.⁵⁷

During this time, Georgian authors, often from the royal families, wrote epics and laments reflecting on the situation of their people under Safavid rule or domination.⁵⁸

Safavid rulers, and particularly Shah ‘Abbās I, launched several policies which were designed to encourage the conversion to Islam of Christians and Jews in the Safavid Empire. This was attempted largely through the provision of financial incentives, such as the legal process whereby a convert to Islam would automatically inherit the property of his deceased kin. Discrimination against and oppression of non-Muslims continued in the following decades of the century. For example, under Shah ‘Abbās II, the Armenians of Isfahan were forced to live across the river in New Julfa, while the shah’s grand vizier, Muḥammad Beg, launched a campaign, during the years 1656-62, to convert all the Jews of the kingdom. As a result, most of the major Jewish communities appear to have converted during this period. These Jews outwardly complied with Shī‘ism for about seven years while practising Judaism in secret.

The 17th century was perhaps the first time in history in which Christian-Muslim interreligious discourse was written in Persian. Such texts first emerged at the Mughal courts of Akbar (r. 1556-1605) and Jahāngīr (r. 1605-27). Jerome Xavier’s (d. 1617) polemical work against Islam *Ā’ina-yi ḥaqq-numā* (‘The mirror showing the truth’) and to some extent ‘Abd al-Sattār Lāhōrī’s (d. after 1619) *Majālis-i Jahāngīrī* (‘Night

⁵⁷ See R. Matthee, ‘Georgia VII. Georgians in the Safavid administration’, in *Elr*.

⁵⁸ See M. Tsursumia, ‘Rusudaniani’, in *CMR* 10, pp. 588-91; N. Kharebava, ‘King T’eimuraz I and ‘Ts’igni da ts’ameba K’et’evan dedopliša [‘The book and passion of Queen K’et’evan]’, in *CMR* 10, pp. 522-8; M. Ghaghanidze, ‘K’aikhosro Ch’oloqashvili’, and ‘Omainiani’, in *CMR* 10, pp. 502-6.

assemblies at the court of Jahāngīr') represent the earliest known examples of this discourse. It then spread into Safavid Persia, as is exemplified in several Persian writings. While visiting Isfahan, Pietro della Valle (d. 1652) wrote a Persian treatise refuting Islam, and shortly after one of the prominent scholars of Isfahan, Sayyid Aḥmad 'Alavī (d. between 1644 and 1650), wrote a response. He also wrote a response to an abridged version of Xavier's *Ā'īna-yi ḥaqq-numā*, as well as a treatise in defence of Islam and a refutation of Christianity. It was particularly his response to Xavier's *Ā'īna-yi ḥaqq-numā*, titled *Miṣqal-i ṣafā* ('The polisher for purity'), that became widely known. With the help of the Carmelites in Isfahan, 'Alavī sent a copy of this work to Pope Urban VIII and requested a reply. Two Christian theologians, Bonaventura Malvasia and Filippo Guadagnoli, who were familiar with Arabic but not Persian, were commissioned to write responses in Latin. Guadagnoli's work was translated into Arabic shortly after its composition, though there is no evidence that it was ever received by 'Alavī. A few decades later, the Jesuit theologian Aimé Chézaud, who lived in Isfahan for a while, wrote a response in Persian and, since 'Alavī had died by this time, Chézaud gave a copy to his son in Isfahan.⁵⁹

Another anti-Christian polemical work written by a 17th-century Safavid scholar is *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq* ('Triumph of truth'), written in the first half of the 1660s by Ṣāḥib al-Dīn Tafrishī. This work was initially written in Arabic, and in part in response to an Arabic treatise in defence of Christianity by Gabriel de Chinon. Later, and at the request of Shah Sulaymān (r. 1666-94), Tafrishī composed an extended Persian version of this work.⁶⁰

Inhabitants of Armenia, who were mainly Christians, found themselves in the midst of the Ottoman-Safavid wars that were waged in the 17th century, with parts of their territory being seized by one side or the other at different times. This led to mass movements of people. In the case of the province of Nakhjavān, which came under Iranian control, in 1604 Shah 'Abbās I forcibly relocated the people to Isfahan, where they lived in the specially designated suburb of New Julfa, where they were permitted to build a church that was called Vank Cathedral.

⁵⁹ See the entries by S. Brentjes, 'Pietro Della Valle', in *CMR* 10, pp. 515-17; D. Halft, 'Risāla-yi Piṭrūs dillā Vāllī', in *CMR* 10, pp. 518-21; D. Halft, 'Sayyid Aḥmad 'Alavī', in *CMR* 10, pp. 529-46; G. Pizzorusso and A. Trentini, 'Bonaventura Malvasia', in *CMR* 9; and A. Tiburcio, 'Filippo Guadagnoli', in *CMR* 9.

⁶⁰ See D. Halft, 'The Arabic Vulgate in Safavid Persia. Arabic printing of the Gospels, Catholic missionaries, and the rise of Shī'ī anti-Christian polemics', Berlin, 2016 (PhD Diss. Freie Universität Berlin), pp. 143-52.

In addition, a series of rebellions by irregular troops in Ottoman Anatolia during the 17th century, the Celali revolts, had the effect of forcing Armenians amongst others to flee the violence. So many moved to Constantinople that in 1609 an edict was issued ordering them to return home. Grigor Daranałc'i is reported to have led 7,000 back to Armenian regions,⁶¹ while others settled in Rodosto (now Tekirdağ) near Constantinople and Theodosia (Kafa) in the Crimea.

The Armenians recorded these events in chronicles such as *Girk'patmut'eants' sharadreal Vardapetin Aṛak'el Dawrēzhets'woy* ('Book of histories composed by Vardapet Aṛak'el of Tabriz'),⁶² and *Taregrut'yuně*, by Hachatur Kafayetsu (1592-1659?), a chronicle describing the Armenian community in the Crimea.⁶³ They also expressed their reactions in poetry, including Simēon Aparanec'i (died around 1615), who wrote an elegy on the destruction of the monastery at Metzop' and a verse lament on the capture of Tabriz by the Ottomans in 1585,⁶⁴ and Dawit' Salajorec'i (born around 1630), whose poems include one pleading for a woman who 'has gone astray' (converted to Islam) to return.⁶⁵ The chronicles and poetry, and also the succession of martyrologies that recount the heroic refusals of young men to convert to Islam, usually depict the struggles of Armenian Christians under the Ottomans or Safavids in biblical terms, with miraculous signs indicating divine approval for steadfastness under harassment.

⁶¹ See K. Bardakjian, 'Grigor Daranałc'i', in *CMR* 10, pp. 569-72.

⁶² This includes accounts of seven martyrdoms and was published in Amsterdam in 1669. See G. Bournoutian and P. Cowe, 'Aṛak'el Dawrizhets'i', *CMR* 10, pp. 612-30.

⁶³ V. Hakoyaban (ed.), 'Hachatur Kafayetsu taregrut'yuně', in *Manr žamanakagrut'yunner*, Yerevan, 1951, vol. 1, pp. 133-86; see K.B. Bardakjian, *A reference guide to modern Armenian literature, 1500-1920*, Detroit MI, 2000, pp. 70-1, 360.

⁶⁴ See Bardakjian, *Reference guide to modern Armenian literature*, pp. 42-4, 502-3.

⁶⁵ Dawit' Salajorec'i, see Bardakjian, *Reference guide to modern Armenian literature*, pp. 55-7, 330-1.

Christians in the Safavid Empire

Dariusz Kołodziejczyk

In the 17th century, Christians in the Safavid Empire could be divided into three major groups: Georgians belonging to the Orthodox Church, Armenians belonging to the Armenian Apostolic (i.e. Gregorian) Church, and Roman Catholics comprising Western missionaries and recent converts who had been recruited mainly from among the Armenians.¹ Below, these groups will each be treated in turn.

Georgians

Throughout the first half of the 16th century, Georgian principalities largely preserved their sovereignty, even though in 1522 Shah Ismāʿīl (r. 1501-24) sacked Tiflis, and his successor Shah Ṭahmāsp (r. 1524-76) led four expeditions against the Kingdom of Kartli. Nevertheless, following the Ottoman-Safavid treaty of 1555, the Georgian kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti found themselves within the Safavid sphere of influence and, in the years that followed, the Safavids effectively crushed the resistance of local rulers. An abrupt change occurred with the Ottoman invasion of Transcaucasia in 1578, when the Safavids were forced to reconcile themselves with their former enemy, King Simon I of Kartli (r. 1556-69 and 1578-99), who was restored to power as an ally of the Safavids in their fight against the Ottomans. The reconquest of eastern Transcaucasia, initiated by Shah ʿAbbās I (r. 1588-1629) in 1603, resulted in further devastation of the region and ruthless crushing of any signs of rebellion. In the years 1613-16, the shah led several punitive expeditions to Kakheti and ordered a forced migration of thousands of Georgians, who were resettled to central Iran. A somewhat different policy was conducted with regard to Kartli, where ʿAbbās preferred to appease local elites, which was often followed by their voluntary submission and conversion to Islam.² Georgians constituted the core of the new formation, the

¹ See R. Jaʿfariyān (ed.), *Mīr Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Ismāʿīl-i Ḥusaynī Khātūn Ābādī, Tarjumah-i anāʾil-i arbaʿa*, Tehran, 2005, p. xiii.

² H. Maeda, 'Exploitation of the frontier. The Caucasus policy of Shah ʿAbbās I', in W. Floor and E. Herzog (eds), *Iran and the world in the Safavid age*, London, 2012, 470-89, pp. 479-82.

ghulāms, established by Shah ‘Abbās as part of his reforms with the aim of centralising power and curbing the predominance of nomadic Turcoman cavalry known as the *qızılbaş*.

Although converted to Islam and reduced to the slave status that was to secure their unconditional loyalty, many *ghulāms* originated from Georgian nobility and maintained client networks with Christian relatives who remained in Georgia. An Italian traveller, Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri (1651-1725), who passed through Persia in 1694, encountered a Georgian native from the province of Gori, who, after his conversion to Islam, had been granted the rank of centurion (*yüz-bashı*) in the shah’s army and had been assigned land near the city of Qom. The encounter prompted the Italian traveller to make a generalising comment: ‘This the king particularly practices with the Georgians, to remove them far from their country, that they may not think of revolting. But before he gives them any employment, he causes them to be circumcised either by fair means or by foul; knowing that tho’ they be not themselves, yet their children will be absolute Mahometans.’ Gemelli Careri further observed that six Georgian servants who accompanied the centurion ‘were no better Mahometans than he, having suffered themselves to be circumcised only to follow their master’s fortune, never regarding to pray after the Mahometan fashion, and cursing that false prophet’.³

The last fragment of Gemelli Careri’s travelogue earned a comment by David Marshall Lang, who observed that ‘Christians entering the Persian service were required to abandon their faith, which the Georgians did from expediency rather than conviction’.⁴ This somewhat nonchalant attitude to the issue of conversion on the part of the Georgians seemed so unusual at a time of martyrs and religious persecutions that it has frequently astonished later scholars. Suffice it to quote the famous comment by Vladimir Minorsky: ‘The Georgians changed their religion with extraordinary *sans-façon*, but Islam too sat lightly on their shoulders.’⁵

Double-confessionalism also concerned the rulers of Georgia from the Bagrationi dynasty, whom the Safavids left on the throne on condition that they convert to Islam. This political-religious compromise found its best embodiment in the person of Rostom, king of Kartli in the

³ J.F. Gemelli Careri, ‘A voyage round the world’, in A. Churchill and J. Churchill (eds), *A collection of voyages and travels*, London, 1704, 127-8.

⁴ D.M. Lang, ‘Georgia and the fall of the Safavi dynasty’, *BSOAS* 14 (1952) 523-39, p. 526.

⁵ V. Minorsky (ed.), *Tadhkirat al-mulūk. A manual of Safavid administration (circa 1137/1725). Persian text in facsimile (B.M. Or. 9496)*, London, 1943, p. 19.

years 1632-58, and simultaneously king of Kakheti in the years 1648-56. On the one hand, he initiated the restoration of numerous churches in his kingdom, regularly attended Christian liturgy, and married a Mingrelian princess at a ceremony conducted according to Christian rites. Yet, on the other hand, he was raised at the shah's court as a Muslim and remained loyal to his Safavid patrons throughout his life, and after his death his remains were transferred for burial in the Shī'ī holy city of Qom.⁶ A similar ambivalence is also reflected in the fact that Bagrationi rulers issued bilingual documents, in Georgian and Persian, and used different seals, monolingual as well as bilingual. In their seal inscriptions in Georgian, they typically used Georgian names, referred to themselves as kings (*mepe*), and used religious formulas with purely Christian content, whereas in the inscriptions in Persian they used Persian-Muslim names, referred to themselves merely as governors (*vali*) subject to the shah, and used religious formulas with Shī'ī content.⁷

Given the strong condemnation of apostasy in both Christianity and Islam, no wonder that the people concerned preferred understatement to openly disclosing their allegiance to the two faiths. Also, Georgian Christian chroniclers, typically recruited from among the clergy, were more concerned with those Georgians, such as King Luarsab II of Kartli (d. 1622) and Queen Ketevan of Kakheti (d. 1624), who had paid with their lives for their uncompromising attitude towards Islam and had been declared martyr-saints by the Georgian Orthodox Church. Persian Muslim writers might have likewise found it troublesome to admit that many new Muslims were not entirely devout in their new faith, even though a certain mistrust of Georgian Muslims was always present in Persia, and perhaps contributed to the fall of the Safavid dynasty.⁸ All the above factors have led to the distortion of historical realities and to the presentation of early modern Georgian and Persian societies as less heterogeneous than they actually were.

⁶ N. Gelashvili, 'Iranian-Georgian relations during the reign of Rostom (1633-58)', in Floor and Herzig (eds), *Iran and the world*, 491-8; G. Beradze and K. Kutsia, 'Towards the interrelations of Iran and Georgia in the 16th-18th centuries', in R. Motika and M. Ursinus (eds), *Caucasia between the Ottoman Empire and Iran, 1555-1914*, Wiesbaden, 2000, 121-31, p. 125.

⁷ Beradze and Kutsia, 'Towards the interrelations of Iran and Georgia', pp. 123-5, 131.

⁸ This is the main argument in Lang, 'Georgia and the fall of the Safavid dynasty'.

Armenians

Following the brilliant anti-Ottoman campaign of 1603-5, Shah ‘Abbās resumed control over the provinces of Yerevan and Nakhchivan, which constituted the core settlement of Eastern Armenians. As a result, the major centre of Armenian religious and cultural life, the Holy See of Etchmiadzin, again fell within the borders of the Safavid Empire. Yet, feeling that his grasp over the newly conquered territories was still insecure, ‘Abbās applied a scorched earth policy and undertook massive forced resettlements of the local population, especially Armenians, into central Iran. In 1604, the large Armenian community of the city of Julfa on the River Araxes was forcibly resettled to Isfahan, and in the following years they established a vibrant commercial community in a southern suburb of the shah’s capital. This was situated on the left shore of the River Zayandeh and was named New Julfa after their place of origin. As a result, Armenians living in Safavid Iran in the 17th century had two main foci of cultural and communal life: the seat of the catholicos – the head of the Armenian Apostolic Church – in Etchmiadzin, and the Armenian community of New Julfa, whose members acted as bankers to the shahs and engaged in global commercial networks extending from Lhasa and Manila to Amsterdam and Venice.⁹ Also, the most prominent Armenian historian of the 17th century, Arakel of Tabriz (Arak’el Davrizhets’i, d. 1670), was a Safavid subject. In 1651-62, he composed a general history, commissioned by Catholicos Philippos (r. 1633-55), which focused on local events and covered the years 1602-62.¹⁰ One must not forget, however, that 17th-century Armenian culture was not limited to Safavid lands, as important centres also existed in the Ottoman Empire and Poland.

Although the Safavid shahs valued the commercial skills of their Armenian subjects, which contributed to the state treasury, the danger of forced conversion to Islam or other forms of religious persecution was never entirely absent. In 1654-7, for instance, Armenians were driven from various quarters of Isfahan and forced to limit their settlement to

⁹ V. Bajburtjan, *Armjanskaja kolonija Novoj Džul’fy v XVII veke (Rol’ Novoj Džul’fy v irano-evropejskix političeskix i ekonomičeskix svjazjax)*, Yerevan, 1959; V.S. Ghougassian, *The emergence of the Armenian Diocese of New Julfa in the seventeenth century*, Atlanta GA, 1998; S. Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean. The global trade networks of Armenian merchants from New Julfa*, Berkeley CA, 2011.

¹⁰ The book had already been published in Armenian in 1669 in Amsterdam. For a French translation, see M.F. Brosset (ed.), *Collection d’historiens arméniens*, St Petersburg, 1874, vol. 1, 267-608; for a recent English translation, see G. Bournoutian (ed.), *The history of Vardapet Arak’el of Tabriz*, 2 vols, Costa Mesa CA, 2005-6.

New Julfa.¹¹ Paradoxically, the persecutions provided the impulse for the construction of the most splendid Armenian church of New Julfa, All Saviour's Cathedral (Surb Amenaperkitch) built in the years c. 1655-64.¹² Its richly decorated interior became the scene of an interesting encounter between Shah Sulaymān (r. 1666-94; in the years 1666-8 he ruled as Šafi II) and an Armenian theologian, Yovhannes Mrk'uz, recorded by an 18th-century historian, Khach'atur Jughayets'i. The shah, who would occasionally visit the church, asked about the purpose and meaning of painted images, and was informed in reply that they served to aid the understanding and contemplation of God, because 'through things visible we are able to comprehend the invisible'.¹³

A lasting danger faced by Iranian Armenians originated from the Islamic law that stipulated that Muslim descendants had priority in inheritance over non-Muslims.¹⁴ If applied consistently, this rule might have deprived the Christian Armenian community of its economic basis, since distant relatives who adopted Islam for opportunistic reasons would take priority over direct heirs. Nonetheless, the Armenians were very effective in sabotaging or renegotiating this law and managed to preserve most of their wealth until the depredations of Nāder Shah (r. 1736-47).¹⁵

The Armenians were also quite successful in obtaining the support of the Muslim state against Catholic missionaries, whom they regarded as a major danger to the identity and integrity of their community (on this topic see also below). In 1694, Stepanos Jughayets'i, bishop of New Julfa,

¹¹ F. Richard, *Raphaël du Mans missionnaire en Perse au XVII^e s.*, vol. 1. *Biographie. Correspondance*, Paris, 1995, pp. 40-1.

¹² J. Carswell, *New Julfa. The Armenian churches and other buildings*, Oxford, 1968, pp. 30-4; A.S. Landau, 'European religious iconography in Safavid Iran. Decoration and patronage of *Meydani* Bet'ghehem (Bethlehem of the Maydan)', in Floor and Herzig (eds), *Iran and the world*, 425-46, p. 442.

¹³ Landau, 'European religious iconography', pp. 425-6.

¹⁴ See a *fatva* of Yusuf, the *shaykh ul-islam*, dated 1030 AH (1621), which states that, in the case of an appearance of a Muslim heir, non-Muslims should be excluded from inheritance (*ba vajud-e varis-e mosalman kafir az ars mamnu' ast*); A. Papazjan (ed.), *Persidskie dokumenty Matenadarana*, I. *Ukazy*, vol. 2 (1601-1650 gg.), Yerevan, 1959, pp. 330-2 (Russian trans.), 496-7 (Persian text).

¹⁵ Cf. a decree by Shah Tahmāsp II from 1139 AH (1731), prohibiting new Muslims from quarrelling without cause over the legacies of their dead Christian relatives or oppressing Christian heirs; K. Kostikyan (ed.), *Persian documents of the Matenadaran*, [I] *Decrees*, vol. 3 (1652-1731), Yerevan, 2005, pp. 377-8 (English trans.), 704-5 (Persian text). The fact that they obtained such a decree over a century after the issue of the earlier *fatva* (see n. 14 above) suggests that the Armenians had never given up their right to regulate inheritance rules autonomously.

persuaded the Safavid court to order the expulsion of Carmelites from Isfahan and to destroy their half-finished church,¹⁶ although these orders were shortly revoked. At the beginning of the 18th century, Catholicos Alexander persuaded Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1694-1722) to issue an order that forbade Catholic 'fathers and Franks' (*pādiriyān ve Farangiyān*) to interfere in the religious affairs of Armenians, take their children to their schools or convert them, since the Armenians, as the shah's loyal subjects, were protected by Muslim law from such interference.¹⁷ This success was temporary, however, since the Safavid government regarded Catholic missionaries as representatives of European states. Thus, in order to maintain friendly relations with the latter they tolerated the activity of the former, on the sole condition that they limit their missionary activity to non-Muslims. This policy provided a favourable space for Catholic missionary activity, incomparably better than in other Islamic states of the time.

Roman Catholics

The presence of the Catholic Church in Iran can be traced back to the 14th century, when a short-lived archdiocese was established at Soltaniyeh by Dominican friars.¹⁸ In the mid-16th century, Portuguese Jesuits from Goa were active on the island of Hormuz and, after their withdrawal in 1569, the Augustinians took over and in 1573 founded a monastery there, which continued until 1622.¹⁹ In the late 16th century, two impulses contributed towards the intensification of contacts between Catholic Europe and Iran. First, the naval triumph of the Holy League at Lepanto (1571) raised hopes in Madrid and Rome of ultimate victory over

¹⁶ R. Matthee, *Persia in crisis. Safavid decline and the fall of Isfahan*, London, 2012, pp. 194-5.

¹⁷ K. Kostikyan, 'European Catholic missionary propaganda among the Armenian population of Safavid Iran', in Floor and Herzog, *Iran and the world*, 371-8, p. 376; cf. the order of Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn from 1710, and its reconfirmation from 1712, in Kostikyan (ed.), *Persian documents of the Matenadaran*, vol. 3, pp. 235-8 (English foreword), 356-7 and 371-2 (English trans.), 657-9 and 690-3 (Persian texts).

¹⁸ Following the decline of Soltaniyeh, the episcopal see was moved to Nakhchivan, where it remained until the 17th century; see K. Kostikyan, 'European Catholic missionary propaganda', p. 372; A. Eszter, 'Sebastianus Knab O.P., Erzbischof von Naxijewan (1682-1690)', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 43 (1973) 215-86.

¹⁹ C.A. Vanes, 'The Augustinians in Hormuz (1573-1622)', in Floor and Herzog (eds), *Iran and the world*, 365-9.

the Ottoman Porte.²⁰ Second, the unification of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns under Philip II in 1581 directed the Habsburgs' attention towards the Indian Ocean, where confrontation between the Portuguese and Ottomans had already gone on for decades. The renewed interest in European courts was reciprocated in Iran by the young dynamic Shah 'Abbās I. He was desperately looking for allies against the Ottomans, who had deprived him of large tracts of his patrimony in the disastrous war of 1578-90.²¹

In 1599, 'Abbās I sent an embassy to Europe, headed by Ḥusayn 'Alī Beg Bayāt and Anthony Sherley, an English adventurer in the shah's service. In 1601, the embassy visited Prague, Rome and Valladolid. In response, Philip III of Spain (r. 1598-1621) empowered his viceroy in Goa to send an embassy to the shah. In 1602, three Augustinians from Goa arrived in Iran and were received by 'Abbās, who authorised them to build a church in Isfahan. The best-known among the embassy members was Antonio de Gouvea, the future author of an extensive travel account.²² In 1607, Gouvea travelled to Iran for the second time, and in 1611 he accompanied the shah's embassy to Europe, obtaining in 1612 the rank of apostolic vicar with episcopal dignity with the special task of catering to the needs of the Armenians in Isfahan and New Julfa. The third and last visit to Iran by its new bishop in 1613 ended with his abrupt departure, due to the rising Portuguese-Iranian tensions regarding Bahrain and Hormuz and the execution of the former Persian envoy to Spain.

The embassy of Anthony Sherley also resulted in a mission to Iran, sent by Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605) in 1604. Unlike the Portuguese authorities in India, who relied for their missions on Portuguese Augustinians, the pope chose Spanish Discalced Carmelites.²³ The first

²⁰ Interestingly, with regard to his anti-Turkish plans, Pope Pius V envisaged military cooperation with the Muslim shah of Persia rather than with the Lutheran and Calvinist 'heretics'; see E.G. Hernán, 'The Holy See, the Spanish monarchy and Safavid Persia in the sixteenth century. Some aspects of the involvement of the Society of Jesus', in Floor and Herzig (eds), *Iran and the world*, 181-203, p. 184.

²¹ On this war, see the standard monographs by B. Kütükoğlu, *Osmanlı-İran siyâsi münâsebetleri (1578-1612)*, Istanbul, 1993, and C.M. Kortepeter, *Ottoman imperialism during the Reformation. Europe and the Caucasus*, New York, 1972.

²² A. de Gouvea, *Relaçam em que se tratam as guerras e grandes victorias que alcançou o grãde Rey de Persia Xá Abbas do Grão Turco Mahometto, e seu filho Amethe: as quais resultarão das Embaixadas, que por mandado da Catholica et Real Magestade del Rey D. Felipe segundo de Portugal fizerão algūs Religiosos da ordem dos Eremitas de S. Augústinho a Persia*, Lisbon, 1611; on Gouvea, see also R. Matthee, art. 'Gouvea, Antonio de', in *Elr*, vol. 11, fasc. 2, New York, 2002, 177-9.

²³ R. Matthee, 'Introduction', in H. Chick (ed.), *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia. The Safavids and the papal mission of the 17th and 18th centuries*, London, 2012, vol. 1, p. viii.

two Carmelites arrived in 1607, having taken an arduous route through Poland, Moscow, Astrakhan and the Caspian Sea, and as early as 1608 they were authorised to build a church in Isfahan. Later, Carmelite missions were also established in Hormuz, Shiraz, New Julfa, Bandar 'Abbas, Hamadan and Bushehr. The head of the Carmelite mission, Father Juan Tadeo, immediately became a confidential companion of Shah 'Abbās, also serving as interpreter at the Persian court and as a 'cultural broker'.²⁴ In 1618, on the shah's orders, he made a Persian translation of the Psalms and the Gospels from the Hebrew and Greek originals with the assistance of three mullahs and a rabbi.²⁵ Relations between them deteriorated in 1622, following the capture of Hormuz by the Anglo-Persian coalition and the eviction of the Portuguese from the island. Nonetheless, Juan Tadeo remained in Iran until 1628, when he left for Europe. In 1632, Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623-44) appointed him bishop of Isfahan and sent him back to Iran, though he did not reach his see because he died in 1633.²⁶ Only in 1640 did Isfahan see its first Catholic bishop in the person of another Carmelite friar, the Frenchman Bernard de Sainte-Thérèse, appointed bishop of Babylon (Baghdad) and apostolic vicar of the diocese of Isfahan.²⁷ In 1641, a Catholic cathedral was consecrated in Isfahan in a house purchased and decorated at the expense of the king of France.

The French entry into competition over the patronage of the Catholic Church in Iran was already visible in 1628, when the Augustinians and Carmelites, who often vied with each other for pre-eminence and prestige, were joined by French Capuchins, sent on the initiative of Cardinal de Richelieu.²⁸ Thereafter, the three orders competed for jurisdiction over the tiny Catholic diaspora and, above all, for the patronage of the shah. A truly remarkable personality was Raphaël du Mans, a French Capuchin who arrived in Iran in 1647 and remained there until his death in 1696. Fluent in Persian and Turkish, he became the head of the mission in 1649 and engaged in various debates with Persian courtiers and

²⁴ His inheritance, today preserved in the National Library at Naples, consists of a large volume containing almost 200 copies of Persian letters sent to Europe, or Persian translations of letters dispatched from Europe to Iran; for an edition, see M. Sütüdah with I. Afshār (eds), *Asnād-i pādīrīyān-i Karmilī. Bāzmāndih az 'asr-i shāh 'Abbās Safavī* [Extant documents from Carmelite fathers from the era of Shah 'Abbās], Tehran, 2004.

²⁵ K.J. Thomas and F. Vahman, art. 'Bible vii. Persian translations', in *Elr*, vol. 4, fasc. 2, New York, 1989, 209-13.

²⁶ For a biography of Juan Tadeo, see Chick, *Chronicle of the Carmelites*, vol. 2, pp. 920-34.

²⁷ For his biography, see Chick, *Chronicle of the Carmelites*, vol. 2, pp. 818-24.

²⁸ J. Calmard, 'The French presence in Safavid Persia. A preliminary study', in Floor and Herzog (eds), *Iran and the world*, 309-26, p. 310.

Muslim clergy over mathematics, astronomy, philosophy and theology. Often received at the Safavid court, he was charged with the translation into Persian of European rulers' letters to the shah,²⁹ thus becoming a trusted diplomatic intermediary during the reigns of 'Abbās II (r. 1642-66) and Shah Sulaymān (r. 1666-94). His correspondence and his descriptions of Persia, circulated in different versions dated 1660, 1665 and 1684, exerted a strong influence over the European public even though they remained unpublished during the author's lifetime. Faced with the rising Shī'ī zealotry of the Safavid court and the hostility of Armenians towards union with Rome, Father du Mans became quite sceptical towards the idea of mass conversion. He also opposed the idea of Iran's entry into the anti-Ottoman war, fought by the Holy League in Europe in 1683-99. His prudence sometimes drew the criticism of other European representatives, who accused him of representing the French king rather than the pope.³⁰

The Capuchins also competed for influence and prestige with the Jesuits, who returned to the region almost a century after their failed mission in Hormuz. In 1647, a French Jesuit mission headed by François Rigordi obtained the financial and political support of the Polish court, which was at the time planning to enter the Venetian-Ottoman war and thus looking for anti-Ottoman allies.³¹ These plans failed, but in the years that followed Polish Jesuits began to play a noticeable role among the missionaries in Persia. The most renowned among them was

²⁹ For just one example, see *The London Gazette* of 9-12 May 1687 (no. 2241), where on the first page we read correspondence from Isfahan dated 19 July 1686, reporting on the arrival of the Habsburg and Polish embassies that brought letters from the emperor, the Polish king, and the pope addressed to the shah, 'all which letters were translated into the Persian language by Father Raphael de Mons Capucin, who has been a missionary here, near these 40 years'.

³⁰ Richard, *Raphaël du Mans*, vol. 1, pp. 7-134. On the international context and the Iranian policy of that time, see R. Matthee, 'Iran's Ottoman diplomacy during the reign of Shah Sulaymān I (1077-1105/1666-94)', in K. Eslami (ed.), *Iran and Iranian studies. Essays in honor of Iraj Afshar*, Princeton NJ, 1998, 148-77.

³¹ For a Latin copy of the shah's privilege, allowing the Jesuits to settle in Isfahan and New Julfa and invoking the intervention of the Polish king in their favour, see the Appendix to *De legationibus Persico-Polonicis*, in J.[T.] Krusiński, *Prodromus ad tragicam vertentis belli Persici historiam*, Leopoldis [L'viv], 1734, pp. 266-9; on the involvement of the Polish King Vladislaus IV and his French wife, Louise-Marie de Gonzague-Nevers, see also S. Załęski, *Missye w Persyi w XVII i XVIII wieku pod protektoratem Polski. Szkic historyczny*, Cracow, 1882, pp. 62-6.

Juda Tadeusz Krusiński, who remained in Iran from 1706 to 1726 and witnessed the fall of the Safavid dynasty.³²

The Catholic missionaries soon realised that, as in other Muslim countries, the conversion of Muslims was hardly practicable and extremely dangerous, punishable by death for the converts and by expulsion at best for their patrons. Nonetheless, secret conversions of Muslims did occur, although new Christians were usually smuggled to Europe, as it was deemed too risky for them to stay in Iran. The missionaries also clandestinely baptised terminally ill Muslim children, to whose cure they were often called because of their medical knowledge.

Public debates between Catholic missionaries and Muslim clerics also took place, and were sometimes attended and enjoyed by the shahs, especially in the first half of the 17th century, although they later began to provoke protests from zealous Muslims.³³ Muslim reaction was not limited to protests but also produced a more sophisticated response. To name a few examples, in the years 1620-2, during the heated conflict with the Portuguese over Hormuz Island, the Muslim scholar Aḥmad 'Alavī composed two treatises refuting the Christian doctrines of the Holy Trinity and of the divine nature of Jesus.³⁴ In 1697, the Portuguese Augustinian António de Jesus converted to Islam, adopting the new name of 'Alī-qulī Jadīd al-Islām. In the following years, he produced a number of anti-Christian pamphlets in which he accused St Paul and St Jerome of distorting the teachings of Jesus and deleting from the Bible the prophecy of the coming of Muḥammad and – a purely Shi'ī element – of

³² For his biography, see B. Natoński, 'Krusiński (Krusieński, Kruszyński) Tadeusz Jan h. Dołęga', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 15, Wrocław, 1970, 426-8. On the French and Polish Jesuits in Persia, see also Załęski, *Missye w Persyi w XVII i XVIII wieku*, pp. 77-96; S. Brzeziński, *Misjonarze i dyplomaci polscy w Persji w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Potulice, 1935, pp. 28, 40-71; J. Krzyszkowski, 'Entre Varsovie et Ispahan. Le P. Ignace-François Zapolski S.I.', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 18 (1949) 85-117; and most recently R. Matthee, 'Poverty and perseverance. The Jesuit mission of Isfahan and Shamakhi in late Safavid Iran', *Al-Qanṭara* 36 (2015) 463-501. A contemporary English translation of Krusinski's most popular work appeared in 1732 in London under the title *The history of the late revolutions of Persia*; a reprint with a new introduction by R. Matthee will be published soon by I.B. Tauris.

³³ Rudi Matthee attributes the worsening of the position of Christians – both indigenous and European – in late Safavid Iran to three causes: the pressure of orthodox Muslim clergy, the vulnerability of religious minorities at a time when the state was desperately looking for taxable resources to fill the depleted treasury, and the weakening of royal patronage when the shahs no longer looked on Christian Europe as a potential anti-Ottoman ally; see R. Matthee, 'Christians in Safavid Iran: hospitality and harassment', *Studies on Persianate Societies* 3 (2005) 3-43, pp. 33-7.

³⁴ R.J. Abisaab, *Converting Persia. Religion and power in the Safavid Empire*, London, 2004, pp. 79-81.

the martyrdom of Imām Ḥusayn at Karbalā'.³⁵ Finally, at the beginning of the 18th century, Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Ismā'īl Ḥusaynī Khātūn Ābādī, chaplain of Shah Sultān Ḥusayn and holder of the prestigious post of Mullā-bāshī, translated the four Gospels, at the shah's request, from an Arabic version into Persian with the aim of providing evidence for the refutation of the claims of the Christians.³⁶

Christian-Muslim dialogue was possible on the basis of scripture, and also in the field of figurative arts as the European baroque painting style penetrated into both the religious and secular art of Muslim Iran, indirectly through Armenian art but also directly through European artists at the Safavid court and local masters copying Western patterns. Artistic borrowings were facilitated by the cult of martyr-saints, which was shared by the Catholics and Shī'ī Muslims, so that iconographic representations typical of one religion could be easily adopted in the other.³⁷

Although not entirely giving up the conversion of Muslims, the Catholic missionaries focused their attention on persuading Christian 'dissenters' – Georgians, Armenians and the smaller groups of Nestorians and Jacobites – to accept union with Rome. Efforts at proselytising were conducted both 'from below' through preaching and providing educational and medical services, and 'from above' through theological disputes and negotiations with local church hierarchs, who were offered higher status and financial benefits in return for their acknowledgment of papal supremacy. Much missionary effort was spent on converting Armenians, who were the most prominent Christian community in Iran. A number of catholicoi of Etchmiadzin did in fact enter into negotiations, and some of them even declared obedience to the pope – most notably

³⁵ J. Flannery, *The Mission of the Portuguese Augustinians to Persia and beyond (1602-1747)*, Leiden, 2013, pp. 95-102.

³⁶ For a modern edition, see Ja'fariyān, *Tarjuma-yi anājil-i arba'a*.

³⁷ H.S. Szapszał, 'Wyobrażenia świętych muzułmańskich a wpływy ikonograficzne katolickie w Persji i stosunki persko-polskie za Zygmunta III', in *Rozprawy i materiały Wydziału I Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk w Wilnie. Prace i materiały sprawozdawcze sekcji historii sztuki*, vol. 2, no. 2, Vilnius, 1934, 131-92, pp. 132-55. An early impulse was provided by the so-called Crusader Bible, donated by Cardinal Bernard Maciejowski, bishop of Cracow, to Shah 'Abbās I and brought to Isfahan by the solemn papal embassy of 1608. The sumptuously illustrated French medieval manuscript, which had apparently belonged to St Louis, was later provided with Latin captions, and in the 17th century Persian captions were added in Iran in order to explain the meaning of the scenes from the Old Testament. Today the manuscript is held at the Morgan Library and Museum, New York (for a description and colour illustrations, see <http://www.themorgan.org/collection/Crusader-Bible>).

Melchisedech, the coadjutor and rival of Catholicos David IV in 1593-1627, and Nahabed I, catholicos in 1691-1705.³⁸ However, their consent was usually conditional on the acceptance of Armenian rites by Rome and on receiving the general support of the Armenian community, and was withdrawn shortly thereafter. More successful were the proselytising efforts undertaken among the lay community of New Julfa, the strongest economic centre of Safavid Iran. From 1646, a number of members of the prominent merchant Shahremanian family (also known as Shariman or Sceriman) converted to Catholicism. In the following years, they became the wealthiest patrons of Catholicism in Iran with extended patronage links in Europe, and in 1699 were even granted the title of counts of Hungary by the Habsburg Emperor Leopold I (r. 1658-1705).³⁹

On the one hand, the proselytising efforts of Catholic missionaries contributed towards the weakening of Armenian Christianity through internal divisions and conflicts, but on the other, the external challenge contributed towards the consolidation of the Armenian Apostolic Church and the raising of intellectual standards among its clergy. In 1636, an Armenian printing house was established in New Julfa to fight Catholic propaganda.⁴⁰ Thus, as Francis Richard concludes, somewhat paradoxically Roman Catholic missionary activity contributed to the intellectual and spiritual revival of the Armenian Church and laid the foundations of the 'Armenian renaissance'.⁴¹

The Georgian principalities of Kartli and Kahketi, which remained under the suzerainty of the Safavid shahs, were regarded as less attractive targets for missionary activity because of their somewhat peripheral location. Nonetheless, a number of Catholic missionaries worked in 17th-century Georgia in the hope of 'delivering' Georgians from the 'Greek sins' and from the influence of Greek clergy, and of influencing Persian politics indirectly through the Georgians who served at the Safavid court

³⁸ L. Semenova, 'Orden karmelitov kak orudie proniknovenija evropejcev v Iran (po materialam "Xroniki karmelitov"', in *Bližnij i Srednij Vostok. Sbornik statej*, Moscow, 1962, 94-109, p. 98.

³⁹ Chick, *Chronicle of the Carmelites*, vol. 2, pp. 1358-62; Bajburtjan, *Armjanskaja kolonija Novoj Džul'fy*, pp. 135-47; Aslanian, *From the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean*, p. 149; S. Aslanian and H. Berberian, art. 'Sceriman family', in *Elr* (www.iranicaonline.org/articles/sceriman-family).

⁴⁰ Ghougassian, *The emergence of the Armenian Diocese*, pp. 138, 173-4.

⁴¹ Richard, *Raphaël du Mans*, vol. 1, p. 134.

and Georgian women who peopled the harems of the shah and Persian dignitaries.⁴²

To be sure, Roman Catholics were not the sole representatives of Christian Europe in the 17th-century Safavid Empire. However, Protestant states were apparently not interested at that time in missionary activity among the shah's subjects, even though, in 1622, the English were happy to help the shah conquer Portuguese Hormuz, and the Dutch, represented in Iran since 1623 by their East India Company (VOC), were equally happy to see their Catholic rivals in trouble. With regard to Russia, at the turn of the 16th century the tsars were already invoking common faith in their embassies to Orthodox Georgia,⁴³ but it was only under Tsar Peter the Great (r. 1682-1725) at the beginning of the 18th century that Russia was to develop a more aggressive policy aimed at the conquest of Transcaucasia in alliance with Christian Georgians and Armenians.⁴⁴

⁴² P. Chmiel, "You are Christians without a light from Heaven". A pluriconfessional encounter. An image of Georgians according to the seventeenth-century Theatine missionaries' writings', in A. Izdebski and D. Jasiński (eds), *Cultures in motion. Studies in the medieval and early modern periods*, Cracow, 2014, 255-72.

⁴³ W.E.D. Allen (ed.), *Russian embassies to the Georgian kings (1589-1605)*, 2 vols, Cambridge, 1970.

⁴⁴ Semenova, 'Orden karmelitov', pp. 98-9.

Christian communities under the Ottomans in the 17th century

Eugenia Kermeli

And you should also do this, my brother, you should firstly fear the basileus and pay your royal dues and you should honour the patriarch, the metropolitan, the monk and the priest. Kiss their hands and pay them due respect. (*Papa Synadinos*)¹

None could have summed up the world of an Ottoman Christian in the early modern period in fewer words than the humble priest Papa Synadinos of Serres in his work known as the *Chronicle of Serres*. It was written in demotic Greek in the 1640s by a parish priest who sought to supplement his income by working as a clerk in the metropolitan see of Serres in Macedonia. Scholars interested in the mentality of the 'Orthodox Balkan *homo Ottomanicus*'² have found in this work – a mixture of private *nasihatnâme* (pieces of advice) addressed to his brother and records of local events, which was never meant to be made public – a depiction of a world that was far from idyllic, filled with outbreaks of violence, aggression and occasional injustice. But what comes as a surprise to those who hold the view that strict sectarianism was maintained within the empire, and who see it as a world divided into separate *millets*, is his 'Orthodox legitimism', as Todorova terms it,³ and Synadinos' unfettered admiration for his ruler, the Ottoman sultan. He laments the murder of Sultan Osman II (r. 1618-22) at the hands of the Janissaries,⁴ and he praises the deeds of

¹ P. Odorico (ed. and trans.), *Conseils et mémoires de Synadinos, prêtre de Serrès en Macédoine (XVII^e siècle)*, Paris, 1996, vol. 1, p. 234.

² S. Petmezas, 'L'organisation ecclésiastique sous les Ottomans', in Odorico, *Conseils et mémoires*, 487-549; J. Straus, 'Ottoman rule experienced and remembered. Remarks on some local Greek chronicles of the Tourkokratia', in F. Adanir and S. Faroqi (eds), *The Ottomans and the Balkans. A discussion of historiography*, Leiden, 2002, 196-205; O. Todorova, 'The Ottoman state and its Orthodox Christian subjects. The legitimistic discourse in the seventeenth-century "Chronicle of Serres" in a new perspective', *Turkish Historical Review* 1 (2010) 86-110; D. Kołodziejczyk, 'The Turkish yoke revisited. The Ottoman Empire in the eyes of its non-Muslim subjects', in A. Bues (ed.), *Zones of fracture in modern Europe. The Baltic countries, the Balkans, and northern Italy*, Wiesbaden, 2005, 157-66, pp. 161-2.

³ Todorova, 'Ottoman state', p. 91.

⁴ Odorico, *Conseils et mémoires*, p. 84.

Murad IV (r. 1623-40), who 'put an end to "polyarchy" and injustice'⁵ and tightened 'the reins on all tyrants, not a day passing without executing one of them'.⁶

Precarious as it might have been to live in the Balkan city of Serres in the early 17th century, with occasional bandit attacks, fires, earthquakes, famines and the *devşirme*, conditions were more challenging in Anatolia, where the Celali revolts and the passing of the campaigning army en route to Iran presented a daily security challenge for both peasants and city-dwellers.⁷ Sam White, quoting the Armenian traveller Simeon of Poland, records that 40,000 households moved to Istanbul because of the Celali revolts and famine in 1608, while another 200 Armenian families took refuge in Cairo.⁸ The Little Ice Age and droughts in later years apparently stirred up unrest and rebellion in a century that witnessed the execution of a sultan,⁹ a Muslim jurisconsult,¹⁰ and four acting and former patriarchs.¹¹ Millenarianism, the widespread belief that the end of the world was approaching, gave birth to shifts in identities, such as the famous conversion of Sabbatai Sevi (also spelled Tzevi)¹² and the predominance of such puritan movements as the *kadıızâdelis*, as individuals and communities strove to fortify communal and individual boundaries. In addition, fiscal reforms, such as the wider use of lump-sum payment of taxes (*maktû*) from 1585 onwards, as well as the central treasury's more frequent recourse to tax farming (*iltizâm*),¹³ strengthened communal ties, as Christian communities through their lay and

⁵ Odorico, *Conseils et mémoires*, p. 92.

⁶ Odorico, *Conseils et mémoires*, p. 94.

⁷ S. Faroqhi, *Men of modest substance. House owners and house property in seventeenth-century Ankara and Kayseri*, Cambridge, 1987, p. 100.

⁸ S. White, *The climate of rebellion in the early modern Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge, 2011, p. 255.

⁹ B. Tezcan, *The second Ottoman empire. Political and social transformation in the early modern world*, Cambridge, 2010, pp. 163-75.

¹⁰ Ahîzâde Hüseyin Efendi (d. 1634), sentenced to death by Murad IV after reacting to the death sentence passed on the *kadı* of Iznik; see M. İpşirli, art. 'Ahîzâde Hüseyin Efendi', in *DİA*.

¹¹ Athanasios Komnenos Hypsilantes, *Ekklesiastikōn kai politikōn tōn eis dōdeka bibliōn: ētoi Ta Meta tēn Alōsēn (1453-1789)*, Constantinople, 1870, p. 159; S. Runciman, *The great church in captivity*, Cambridge, 1968, p. 201.

¹² G. Koutzakiōtēs, *Anamenontas to telos tou kosmou ton 170 aiōna. O Ebraios Messias kai o Megas Diermēneas*, Athens, 2011; C. Sisman, *The burden of silence. Sabbatai Sevi and the evolution of Ottoman-Turkish dönmes*, Oxford, 2015.

¹³ L. Darling, *Revenue raising and legitimacy. Tax collection and finance administration in the Ottoman Empire 1560-1660*, Leiden, 1996, pp. 132-5.

ecclesiastical leaders were responsible for the distribution and the collection of tax burdens among their members.

To this general picture of the internal situation of the Ottoman Empire, we would have to add the catalytic effect of the European Reformation on the ideological world of Eastern Christians, as well as the more evident struggle of Catholic and Protestant states to become more deeply involved in the internal affairs of the empire as protectors of its Christian populations. Gunnar Hering has depicted the complexity of European and Ottoman politics towards Poland and Crimea in the period 1620 to 1638 by examining the deeds and thought of the Ecumenical Patriarch Cyril Loucaris, who made strenuous attempts to introduce Calvinist principles into the Orthodox Church.¹⁴

Eastern Christian communities, Copts, Maronites and Jacobites, identifiable though they were by their versions of faith, still shared the wider language and culture of the Fertile Crescent.¹⁵ The right of association that was granted them by the Ottoman state, and acknowledged in the term *tâife* ('group', 'party'), was no different from that assigned to almost any social group: guilds, merchants, residents of a particular quarter. A challenge to the notion that the churches acted as units independent of wider society was the standard practice in 17th-century Aleppo¹⁶ and throughout the empire¹⁷ of applying for confirmation of the appointment of Greek Orthodox, Armenian, Jacobite and Maronite lay representatives (*kocabaşı*) and metropolitans in the *kadı* court. Decisions often went against synodical decisions, eroding Christian ecclesiastical authority. A closer examination of 17th-century Christian communities therefore challenges the view about *millets* put forward by Hamilton Gibb and Harold Bowen, and now almost regarded as axiomatic, that 'the status of the individual *dimmî*, in short, derived exclusively from his membership of a protected community'.¹⁸ This creates a false impression that Christian communities were largely introvert in their nature, and were represented to wider society only through their assigned ecclesiastical leaders. Benjamin Braude's questioning of this view opened a Pandora's

¹⁴ G. Hering, *Ökumenisches Patriarchat und europäische Politik 1620-1638*, Wiesbaden, 1968.

¹⁵ B. Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab world. The roots of sectarianism*, Cambridge, 2001, p. 65.

¹⁶ Masters, *Christians and Jews*, p. 62.

¹⁷ D. Goffman, 'Ottoman millets in the early seventeenth century', *New Perspectives on Turkey* 11 (1994) 135-58.

¹⁸ H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic society and the West. A study of the impact of Western civilization on Moslem culture in the Near East*, vol. 1/2, London, 1957, p. 212.

box, and led to doubt about the existence from the 15th century onwards of this empire-wide system of government headed by the Orthodox patriarch, the Armenian catholicos and the Jewish *hahambaşı*, who led the *millets* that were supposedly the only recognised non-Muslim groups. Michael Ursinus points to the use of the term *millet* before the 19th century, and adds that intensified missionary activity in the 17th century may have forced the Ottoman central administration to employ the term to describe many more Christian communities.¹⁹ He establishes his assertion on the basis of a 1697 imperial order criticising the activities of Latin missionaries, who ‘travelled from province to province and instigated the Greek Orthodox, Armenian and other Christian religious communities (*sair millet nasarayı*) to give up their former practices and to submit to the Latin rite’. The abandonment of outdated theoretical frameworks leads us to reassess the *millet* theory and to a focus instead on the issue of individual Christians and their communities as active agents within Ottoman society independent of larger uniform entities.²⁰

*Ottoman Christian communities or Christian communities
under the Ottomans?*

Almost all works on Christians in the Ottoman Empire start with anachronistic accounts of the *dhimmī* sanctions in Islamic law, failing to note that even among the earliest Muslim jurists there was disagreement on the subject, because Islamic law, like law everywhere, is a reflection of the needs of society.²¹ That does not necessarily mean that restrictions on church buildings, the personal attire of Christians or Christian behaviour became obsolete, but rather, as Bruce Masters eloquently puts it, ‘clearly wealthy women and non-Muslims enjoyed access to power and

¹⁹ M. Ursinus, art. ‘Millet’, in *EL2*.

²⁰ Najwa al-Qattan has questioned the legal autonomy of non-Muslims as envisaged in the *millet* system, and the existence of non-Muslim legal forums; N. al-Qattan, ‘Dhimmi in the Muslim court. Legal autonomy and religious discrimination’, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31 (1999) 429–44. For these forums, see E. Kermeli, ‘The right to choice. Ottoman, ecclesiastical and communal justice in Ottoman Greece’, in C. Woodhead (ed.), *The Ottoman world*, London, 2012, 347–62.

²¹ See, for example, the difference of opinion between Abū Ḥanīfa and his disciples Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī on churches and non-Muslim endowments, or the different opinions of Ebussuûd and Çivizâde Mehmed Efendi on the property of the Orthodox Patriarchate in the 16th century; E. Kermeli, ‘Erken Dönem Osmanlı Hukuku ve Gayri Müslimler’, in T. Yücedoğru et al. (eds), *International Symposium on Mulla Khusraw*, Bursa, 2013, 431–46, p. 435.

privilege that were unimaginable to either the Muslim urban poor or peasants'.²²

In the 17th century, contrary to the notion of insularity and fatalism that is fostered by assumptions about the *millet* system, Christians such as Papa Synadinos' father, Papa Sideris, would travel to the capital many times to obtain a reduction in his village taxes,²³ and he even used personal leverage to save the life of a Christian youth falsely accused of counterfeiting.²⁴ Papa Sideris 'was friends with everyone – *kadis*, *ağas*, *zorbabaşıs*, inviting them to dinner'²⁵ and 'the *kadis* would say: "Whatever the priest says and does, we accept it (*mâkul*)"'.²⁶ Personal standing and a trustworthy character were important assets in communities where each member was personally responsible for the actions and deeds of the others (*kefil*). According to the strict letter of Islamic law, the personal status of a *dhimmî* certainly does not allow privileges of this kind. However, in a multilingual, multi-religious empire, realities on the ground could be quite different.

The sense of justice emanating from the sultan in the famous 'circle of justice' was more than legitimising political propaganda. Public readings in the local *kadı* court of *fermans* and *adaletnâmes* arriving from the capital²⁷ reaffirmed the freedom of the individual to have recourse to the sultan's justice. Thus, Christians and their communal leaders, just like other subjects of the sultan, would seek the arbitration of local courts and of the *divans* in Istanbul to solve intercommunal disputes and pursue 'their justice'.

Success in this pursuit, however, assumed knowledge and networks of agents in various Ottoman households ready to mediate and provide valuable assistance. While chronicles in Ottoman Turkish make occasional reference to these networks, non-Muslim sources are more explicit. Patriarch Dositheos Notaras of Jerusalem (1641-1707), in his book on the patriarchs of Jerusalem, spares no detail in describing the efforts of Paisios of Jerusalem (in office 1645-60) to acquire the Abyssinian Christian endowments from the Armenians in 1656. Paisios, 'learning the deeds of the Armenians, wrote to his agents in Constantinople who went to the first *divan* of Köprülü. They narrated the events and arranged to

²² Masters, *Christians and Jews*, p. 6.

²³ Odorico, *Conseils et mémoires*, p. 120.

²⁴ Odorico, *Conseils et mémoires*, pp. 124-7.

²⁵ Odorico, *Conseils et mémoires*, p. 126.

²⁶ Odorico, *Conseils et mémoires*, p. 128.

²⁷ Todorova, 'Ottoman state', p. 110.

invite Paisios to the imperial *divan*.' After Köprülü became aware of the facts, he prepared a memo (*telhis*) to the sultan requesting an imperial order. In return, Köprülü asked Paisios to pay 100 purses of silver coins. Paisios pleaded his poverty, adding that 'they already pay 1,400 Venetian *filorin* annually to the mosque of Sultan Ahmed'.²⁸ Finally they settled on 30 purses of silver. After this bargaining was concluded, the interpreter in the service of Köprülü, the famous Panagiotis Nikousios (1613-73), later to become the first Grand Dragoman, drafted an imperial decree, including in the text 'the *Hatt-i Şerif* of Umar and the orders of the emperors Suleyman, Selim, Murad and Ibrahim'.²⁹ In another example, in 1633 Paisios' predecessor, Theophanes III (in office 1608-44) used the services of the *bostancıbaşı* to prevent Armenian influence in the court. He employed the *bostancıbaşı*'s Christian mother, who was brought from Greece to plead with her son.³⁰

Many more examples involving foreign missions in Istanbul depict a close-knit web of agents that transcended religious and communal alliances. Ottoman practices, with which non-Muslim communities were all too familiar, seemed alien to foreign travellers and officials. They witnessed too few of the practices they recognised as the marks of Christianity, and lamented the local people's ignorance of them. As Henry Blount noted, 'many who professe themselves Christians scarce know what they mean by being so; finally, perceiving themselves poore, wretched, taxed, disgraced, deprived of their children and subject to the intolerance of every Raschall, they begin to consider, and prefer the present World, before that other which is so little understood'.³¹

Strife between local Christians and missionaries, especially after the active involvement of Propaganda Fide from the 1630s onwards, further complicated relations as the number of conversions to Catholicism rose.³² Orthodox metropolitans and patriarchs employed their networks to reverse the process, while others acknowledged the low level of literacy among the clergy. However, reforms such as that of Cyril Loucaris in the 17th century to define dogma and promote the translation of the

²⁸ Dositheos, *Historia peri tōn en Ierosolumois Patriarxeusantōn*, Bucharest, 1715, pp. 1193-1994.

²⁹ Dositheos, *Historia*, p. 1994.

³⁰ Dositheos, *Historia*, p. 1186.

³¹ C. Frazee, *Catholics and sultans. The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1923*, Cambridge, 1983, pp. 95-6.

³² H. Çolak, *The Orthodox Church in the early modern Middle East. Relations between the Ottoman central administration and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria*, Ankara, 2015.

Bible into demotic Greek were premature and inadequate.³³ Instead, Orthodox ecclesiastical leaders more often gave security as the reason for their concern, fully aware of the central authorities' sensitivities. Such was the case of Ignatios, the Orthodox metropolitan of Chios, who in 1664 accused the Latin Bishop Andrea Soffiano of illicit correspondence with Venice, in an effort, according to Paul Rycaut, to gain access to Latin church properties.³⁴ However, this strategy occasionally backfired, as in the case of Patriarch Parthenios III, who was accused of treason because of his close ties with Russia, and was executed in 1657. While the neomartyr Parthenios, according to his *vita*, stood firm in his faith (as would be expected in this genre of literature) when he was offered pardon if he converted to Islam, it is surprising, in a text meant to present a role model for Christians, that he should profess allegiance to the Ottoman Empire: 'I am not unfaithful to the empire and I am totally innocent of this charge. I am unjustly accused, and you yourselves know this very well if you were to speak the truth.'³⁵

The increasing number of neomartys' *vitae* and the numerous registrations of conversions in court records undoubtedly reflect the *Zeitgeist* of mid-17th century Ottoman society. The puritan movement of the *kadıızâdelis*, which promoted the qur'anic injunction to 'command right and forbid wrong' (Q 3:104), was an attempt to return to the Islamic prescriptions of societal divisions. In line with these aspirations was their attack on Sufis and their practices, and on the customary joint prayers before an army headed out on campaign. Promoting Islam also translated into individual efforts to convert non-believers. David Baer discusses in detail the era of Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87), when most conversions occurred; two of these are very pertinent.³⁶ In 1666, Vâni Mehmed Efendi, the leader of the *kadıızâdelis*, converted Sabbatai Sevi. Two years later, Abdi Pasha in his *Vekâyinâme* describes the circumstances surrounding the conversion of the Jewish physician Moses, who became

³³ Dositheos, *Historia*, p. 1180.

³⁴ Frazee, *Catholics and sultans*, p. 119.

³⁵ N.M. Vapori, *Witnesses for Christ. Orthodox Christian neomartys of the Ottoman period 1437-1860*, New York, 2000, p. 114. Another martyr for his faith was the Dominican Alessandro Baldrati, who was accused in 1645 of being an apostate from Islam. M.R. le Baron Henrion, *Histoire générale des missions catholiques depuis le XIII^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, vol. 2, Paris, 1846-7, pp. 254-6.

³⁶ D. Baer, *Honored by the glory of Islam. Conversion and conquest in Ottoman Europe*, Oxford, 2008.

the head physician to the Porte.³⁷ However, there was no success in the attempt to convert the agent of Mehmed Köprülü, the Dragoman Nikousios. His dramatic 1662 debate with Vâni Efendi, in which he staunchly maintained his Christian beliefs, left such a lasting impression upon Christians that in 1695 Édouard de la Croix, who served as secretary to Charles Marquis de Nointel, the French ambassador, from 1670 to 1680, published a summary of the theological discussion.³⁸

In lieu of conclusion

What perplexed most Europeans who encountered the Ottoman state and its Christian subjects was precisely this degree of integration.³⁹ Ottoman justice, with its ancient rights and traditions, constituted a world that was alien to them but intimately familiar to local Christians. Traditional customary law (*örf*) was integral to their outlook and attitudes to the world, and this was the important leverage they enjoyed over their 'imported' Christian rivals. The Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul retained and strengthened its position, thanks to its multi-religious networks, to become in the 18th century a serious player, though this did not occur without change. A cursory look at 17th-century copies of the *Nomokanon* of Manuel Malaxos (1561), which was widely used in episcopal courts, shows that the loss of Christians through conversion compelled the Orthodox Church to re-evaluate the strict Byzantine punishments it customarily imposed on renegades.⁴⁰ This accommodation in the era of crisis calls for a reassessment of terms. The actions of Christian communities in the 17th century demonstrate that they are not passive subjects under the Ottomans but rather Ottoman Christians, agents of their own fate.

³⁷ Baer, *Honored by the glory of Islam*, p. 134; Hasan Agha, *Cevahir et-Tarih*, Revan, 1307, fol. 170v.

³⁸ Le Sieur de la Croix, *Etat présent des nations et églises grecque, arménienne et maronite en Turquie*, Paris, 1715, pp. 247-60.

³⁹ Masters, *Christians and Jews*, pp. 66-7.

⁴⁰ E. Kermeli, 'The three manuscripts of Malaxos' *Nomokanon* in the Library of E.F.S.K. and their importance of the kanon law of Ottoman Orthodoxy', forthcoming.

Ottoman influences on European music

A. Yunus Gencer

Introduction

Muslims and Christians have a shared culture, which they have built together throughout history. Whether it is the wars they fought against one another, the inventions they took from one another or the translations of works from earlier civilisations they passed to one another, it is impossible to understand the progress either has made without understanding the other. For many centuries, the 'others' for Europeans were the Ottomans, whom they called Turks. At first, anything considered Ottoman was shunned, especially after the invasion of Constantinople. However, as Ottoman power began to decline and the Ottomans stopped being a real threat to Christian Europe with their defeat at Vienna in 1683, a period of what is called *Ottomania* began. This period saw a growing interest in everything Ottoman, including music.

This essay briefly covers the history and characteristics of Turkish music, the first musical encounters between the Ottomans and Europeans, and the influence of Ottoman music on European composers up to the mid-18th century. A second essay in a future volume examines well-known pieces by Gluck, Mozart, Michael and Joseph Haydn, Salieri and Beethoven that have Ottoman elements in them, and the reverse influence in the 19th and 20th centuries, when European music began to influence the Ottoman Empire and then the Turkish Republic.

A brief history and theory of Turkish music

For many centuries, Turkish music was influenced by Shamanism and the far eastern tetratonic and pentatonic scales. The first Shamanist Turkic tribes, which can be traced back to the 3rd century CE and are called the Altai Turks, inhabited the Altai Mountains in southern Siberia, Kazakhstan and Mongolia. As they moved westward and came into contact with other cultures, their music started to evolve and, with the conversion to Islam of the Kara-Khanid Khanate in the mid-10th century,

it gradually became *makam*-based (on this term, see below). The first known document about music by an author with a putative Turkish background, from the philosopher al-Fārābī (d. 950; his origins are often thought to have been Turkish, though they may have been Persian), also dates from this period.¹ Turkish music completed its transformation into completely *makam*-based music in the early 11th century, in the period of the Turko-Persian Seljuk Empire. The Seljuk Empire was the first Turkish state to be successfully established within the Byzantine Empire, in eastern Anatolia in 1071. The Seljuks eventually conquered all of Anatolia, and one of their westernmost allies, the Ottomans, later rose to become the major power in the Middle East, North Africa and south-eastern Europe. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī (d. 1435) was another leading Turco-Persian musician who decisively shaped the theory of classical Turkish music.² He wrote many treatises on music, one of which is dedicated to Sultan Murad II (r. 1421-44, 1446-51). Although it is not easy to categorise the periods of Turkish music (as is done for European music), it is possible to say that al-Marāghī’s treatises inaugurated a second historical period in Turkish musical history.

Throughout the time of the Ottoman Empire, Turkish music was influenced by the peoples and cultures that became part of the empire, including Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, Albanians and Jews. An obvious example of influence on new rhythmic and melodic structures is Byzantine chant, which is very similar to Turkish hymnody, with its ornamentations, portamenti, quarter-tone usage and scales resembling some *makams*.

In classical Turkish music, there are two main concepts that shape pieces and lay the foundation for the composer, *makam* and *usul*.³ They are very similar to the European terms, *talea* and *colour*. *Makam* is concerned with the scalar properties of a piece of music and *usul* with its rhythmic structures. There are 13 basic *makams*⁴ and 12 basic *usuls*.⁵ A longer discussion of the subject would also include compound and transposed *makams* and more complex *usuls*. Each *makam* is built up from

¹ He is known for a work entitled simply *Kitāb al-musīk al-kabīr* ('The great book of music').

² N. Özcan, art. 'Abdülkâdir-i Merâgî', in *DİA*.

³ İ.H. Özkan, *Türk musikisi nazariyatı ve usulleri. Kudüm velveleleri*, Istanbul, 2014, pp. 94-5.

⁴ Özkan, *Türk musikisi*, pp. 115-203.

⁵ Özkan, *Türk musikisi*, pp. 601-13.

either a tetrachord and then a pentachord, or vice versa. For example, the *makam* of Rast is based on a Rast tetrachord plus a Rast pentachord.⁶

In addition, the use of commas (quarter tones) in Turkish music is very common and standardised. Most *makams* utilise commas, which are extremely foreign to European ears. For example, the space between C and D can be divided into four different pitches, creating 1, 4, 5 and 8 commas respectively, as compared with just the 4½ commas in European music. Today, commas have their own accidental shapes used to specify these intervals, and most pitches have their own individual names.

Turkish music is in its essence unwritten and monophonic. The act of performing music under the supervision of a master is called *meşk*, through which a student learned orally. Among other things, masters taught their students to do *seyir*, 'to wander',⁷ which was to improvise on a given *makam* (and sometimes also *usul*). Until the 20th century, there was no substantial attempt to convert this tradition into written form. When played by multiple performers, Turkish music was heterophonic in texture; each would play the same melodic line with minute differences. Very much like the strict *haut* and *bas* division in European Renaissance music, Ottoman instruments were categorised as indoor and outdoor, called *kaba saz* ('vulgar instrument') and *ince saz* ('graceful instrument'). This classification determined the type of music that would be played at different events such as battles, ceremonies and celebrations.

It must be taken into account that, before the 19th century, there were only a few ways by which Europeans outside Ottoman territory could hear Ottoman music. They might hear a band accompanying an Ottoman emissary; they might witness a ceremony in which Ottoman officials were making an entrance; or they might hear it immediately before they were invaded. In each of these instances, the music being played would be quite different from that played in the sultan's palace, or in a village for dancing. So, it is possible to say that the European composers to be discussed in this essay probably only heard military or official forms of Turkish music, and knew nothing about folkloric music or the more elevated music of the palace.

Turks have a long tradition of sending soldiers to war with celebrations and with music. The first mentions of musical instruments used in celebrations connected with war can be found as early as the 8th century

⁶ Özkan, *Türk musikisi*, pp. 50-4.

⁷ Özkan, *Türk musikisi*, p. 94.

in the Orkhon inscriptions.⁸ A Turkish legend relates that the penultimate Seljuk sultan, Alaeddin Keykubad III (r. 1298-1302), sent the first *mehter* to Osman I (r. 1299-1323), the founder of the Ottoman state, as a symbol of granting him the authority to rule, and to congratulate him on his victories over the Byzantine Empire. A *mehter* was a Janissary⁹ band charged with playing music before and during battles and in ceremonies. Since the origin of the term dates back to the early years of the Ottoman Empire, it is considered the oldest form of military band in the world.¹⁰ Its main purpose was to unnerve the enemy day and night, encourage the Ottoman troops and keep their morale high, and in ceremonies create an imposing atmosphere.¹¹ The *mehter* also carried the *Tuğ* (the royal standard) and represented the power of the sultan and the state in the battlefield, and so theirs were the first tents to be erected on the battlefield and the last to be dismantled. Their instruments were intriguing and inspiring to many European composers: the *zurna* (similar to the oboe), *boru* (like a trumpet), *nakkare* (a type of kettle drum), *zil* (cymbals or finger bells), *çevgan* (a crescent-shaped standard from which bells were hung), *davul* (bass drum) and *kös* (similar to timpani). All these were extremely loud and served the purpose of creating as much noise as possible. By contrast, the instruments that played music in the palace included: the *ud* (similar to the lute), *kanun* (a type of table harp played with picks), *ney* (a type of reed flute), *tambur* (a stringed instrument that could be both plucked and bowed), *rebab* (a stringed instrument held downwards and played with a bow), *santur* (a stringed instrument played with mallets, similar to a cimbalom), *kudüm* (a pair of small drums played with mallets) and *tef* (a tambourine). Obviously, the difference in tone between these groups of instruments was considerable. One was to instil fear and a sense of awe, the other was for pleasure.

⁸ These are two memorial installations erected by the Göktürks in the Orkhon Valley in Mongolia.

⁹ Janissaries were an elite infantry unit in the Ottoman army. Under the *devşirme* system, young boys were abducted from non-Muslim villages, converted to Islam, given an education and employed in various ranks of the Ottoman hierarchy. The practice of *devşirme* started in 1383, to counter the growing power of Turkish nobles, and was abolished in 1648.

¹⁰ See art. 'Mehter' on the website of the Istanbul Historical Turkish Music Ensemble, <http://www.ittmt.org/EngMehter.html>.

¹¹ N. Özcan, art. 'Mehter', in *DİA*.

From early encounters to the early 18th century

The first well-known European composer to show awareness of the Ottoman military advance was the Franco-Flemish Guillaume Dufay (1397-1474), who wrote his *Lamentatio sanctae matris ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* after the news of the downfall of Constantinople reached Europe. Naturally, this piece shows no influence whatsoever from Turkish music, but it links European intellectual output to Ottoman activities. Some historians believe that the piece was composed in the context of the Feast of the Pheasant, given by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, to promote the idea of a crusade against the Turks, although there is no mention of this in contemporary accounts.¹²

One of the earliest extant documents showing what a European thought of Turkish music dates from about 100 years after Dufay's *Lamentatio*. In his memoirs, Hans Dernschwam, delegate of the Emperor Ferdinand I (r. 1558-64) to Constantinople and Amasya between 1553 and 1555, writes: 'The music of the pfeyffer (*zurna*), trommeter (*boru/nefir*), paukber (*kös*) players in the pasha's band was so lovely, that you would think pigs were grunting and dogs were howling.' Another evaluation came from Michael Praetorius (1571-1621), who in his *Syntagma musicum: De organographia* (1619) writes: 'Mehmet (II) banned not only fine arts in his country, but everything regarding entertainment, such as wine and string instruments, in order to make that devil breed, cruel army continue its inhumane barbarism. Instead, he put bawling and croaking pipes and devil's cymbals. These instruments are held in high regard by the Turks and played at weddings, festivals and battles.' Criticism (in actuality of Turkish military music) continued in the accounts of Daniel Speer in 1683 ([the sound of Turkish instruments] should not be called music), Aaron Hill in 1709 (warlike thunder ... wild, extravagant, and artless fancy), Thomas Shaw in the 1720s (a shrill and jarring, but martial sound), and Carsten Niebuhr in 1772 (an unpleasant jarring noise).¹³ Obviously, these critics did not understand how the music was meant to sound. The mistake in their approach is that they did not take the

¹² U. Müller, 'Politische Lyrik im Kontext ihrer Aufführungsumstände oder Beobachtungen zu Dufays Klage-Motetus über den Fall von Konstantinopel und das Fasanenbankett von Lille', *Chloe. Beihefte zum Daphnis* 1 (1984) 149-60, p. 159.

¹³ J. Beck, art. 'Janissary music', in J.H. Beck (ed.), *Encyclopedia of percussion*, New York, 2013², 225-8.

purpose of the music into account, and failed to realise that, by making them feel uncomfortable and agitated, it had attained its goal.

Two Europeans helped further the art of Turkish music, both of them trained in the music of the palace rather than the military form. One was Wojciech Bobowski (c. 1610-c. 1675), a Pole who was taken prisoner as a young man and worked as a musician and interpreter. He was sent to the palace school of Enderûn,¹⁴ where he converted to Islam, took the name Ali Ufkî, and received a comprehensive education. He became a virtuoso on the *santur*, for which he was usually called Santurî Ali Ufkî Bey. He was the first to apply the Western stave notation system to Turkish music and circulated two manuscript anthologies of both secular and sacred Ottoman music. These works helped to preserve the music that is still performed today.¹⁵ The other was the Moldavian Dimitrie Cantemir (1673-1723), who was also a hostage in Constantinople and received an education at Enderun and the distinguished Greek Orthodox College of the Phanar. He composed about 40 musical pieces, and also wrote *Kitab-ı ilmu'l-musiki ala vechi'l-hurufat* ('The book of the science of understanding and performing music with letters'), in which he improved the *ebced* notation system, which utilised letters as notes, advanced and compiled the theory of Turkish music and, by notating about 350 pieces, helped preserve them for future generations.¹⁶

As it expanded, the Ottoman Empire bordered upon the Habsburg domains. Although the first siege of Vienna in 1529 failed, Turkish culture spread beyond political borders and became increasingly popular in central and western Europe. The mystery and excitement of this unknown culture attracted European minds.¹⁷ Most Europeans held conflicting attitudes towards the Ottomans. On the one hand, they were infidels, killing Christians and enslaving them in newly conquered territories; but on the other, they possessed a unique culture, shaped by contributions

¹⁴ Enderûn was a prestigious palace school in which former Christian children were educated in subjects such as Turkish, Persian, Arabic literature, mathematics, geography, sport, administrative affairs and music; see M. İpşirli, art. 'Enderûn', in *DİA*.

¹⁵ T. Kut, art. 'Ali Ufkî Bey', in *DİA*. Also see, S. Faroqhi, *Subjects of the sultan. Culture and daily life in the Ottoman Empire*, London, 2000, p. 92.

¹⁶ M. Maxim, art. 'Kantemiroğlu (Dimitrie Cantemir)', in *DİA*; E. Popescu-Judet, *Prince Dimitrie Cantemir. Theorist and composer of Turkish music*, Istanbul, 1999.

¹⁷ Not only in music but also in painting. The *Turquerie* movement, born out of this fascination with Ottoman culture, was dominant between the 16th and 18th centuries. In most cases, the idea of the Orient was idealised and shown as better or more glorious than it actually was.

from many ethnicities, with different customs, clothes, language, alphabet and art styles, and they were definitely not mere barbarians.

The 16th century marked a new beginning for French-Ottoman relations. The Capitulations signed between Francis I (r. 1515-47) and Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520-66) granted many rights to French subjects, particularly merchants, guaranteeing them safe passage, exemption from local prosecution, taxation, conscription and searches of their residences. From France's point of view, this alliance was aimed at weakening Austria and diminishing its influence. Francis explained it to the Venetian ambassador Giorgio Gritti as follows:

I cannot deny that I wish to see the Turk all-powerful and ready for war, not for himself – for he is an infidel and we are all Christians – but to weaken the power of the emperor, to compel him to take on major expenses, and to reassure all the other governments who are opposed to such a formidable enemy.¹⁸

Regardless of what the underlying intentions were, the alliance between the two countries lasted three centuries with only occasional brief interruptions, so it is not surprising to see one of the first appearances of Turkish cultural and musical influence on European art in a French work, not an opera, but a play written by Molière in 1670, *Le bourgeois gentilhomme* ('The bourgeois gentleman'). This tells the story of a commoner who attempted to be a noble by taking classes in various subjects such as music, dancing, philosophy and fencing. Molière collaborated with Jean-Baptiste Lully for the incidental music¹⁹ and, in the final section of the play, Europeans disguised as Turks make an entrance to Lully's *Marche pour la ceremonie des turcs*. Lully himself danced as the character *Mufti* (mimicking the title of the Islamic legal expert).²⁰

While the composer's manuscript does not contain a written percussion part, and no instruments are named on the stave, there was no need to specify these since it was common knowledge what the instruments were. The manuscript specifies that, when the 'Cérémonie' is being played, four dervishes and six Turkish dancers and musicians, together with their instruments, appear on the stage. These instruments were probably a kind of percussion accompanying Lully's strings. Most

¹⁸ R. Crowley, *Empires of the sea. The final battle for the Mediterranean, 1521-1580*, London, 2008, p. 66.

¹⁹ J.-B. Lully, *Le bourgeois gentilhomme*, Paris: André Danican Philidor, (s.d.); <http://petrucci.mus.auth.gr/imglnks/usimg/8/82/IMSLP01908-Lully-lwv43-philidor.pdf>.

²⁰ L. Bianconi, *Music in the seventeenth century*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 242.

performances today add wind instruments, drums and in some cases *çevgan* ('jingling Johnnie') to increase the volume and the 'Turkishness' of the piece. The piece is in the key of G minor and the form is AAB, bar form, which rhythmically fits in well with the characteristic 'left ... left ... left, right, left' structure of Janissary music. This work, especially its second half, reflects eloquently the *Turquerie* trend that was gaining momentum at the time.²¹

As Ottoman power in Europe weakened after defeat at the second siege of Vienna in 1683, *Ottomania* grew stronger, for several reasons: the absence of a real threat to major European powers; an increasing interest in the exotic, fuelled by new explorations in distant lands, the Turks²² being the closest and most familiar non-European culture; and Freemasonry playing a more important role in academic and artistic circles.

Inspired by these factors, some of the best-known and most influential composers of the 18th century composed pieces that were associated with Eastern culture, using Turkish rhythmic and melodic structures, Janissary band instruments (or their European equivalents), or sometimes just Turks themselves as characters in their art. Lully's successor as doyen of French baroque, Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1754), composed an opera, *Les indes galantes* (1735), prompted by the arrival of a group of Native American chiefs in France.²³ It tells four different stories from four different parts of the world: Turkey, Peru, Persia and Illinois.

The first act, which takes place in Turkey, is named 'Le turc généreux' ('The generous Turk'). Forty-seven years before Mozart's *Die Entführung*, the story is based on a generous Turkish ruler named Osman, who takes pity on two of his slaves, who are deeply in love, and sets them free. Unlike Mozart's 'Osmin', Osman is the good guy here (actually, this name, derived from Ottoman/Osmanlı, taken from Osman, the first leader of the Ottoman Turks, or versions of it, appears in most *Turquerie* works, and the character associated with it portrays varying vices and virtues). 'Rigaudons' and 'Tambourins' in 'Le turc généreux' are two sections showing Rameau's acquaintance with Turkish music. Like Lully, Rameau has five string parts, and no percussion part was written down on the original score (in performances today, conductors often

²¹ E.R. Meyer, 'Turquerie and eighteenth-century music', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 7 (1974) 474-88.

²² It was common for Europeans to use the label 'Turk' for all Muslims, irrespective of their origins.

²³ J.-P. Rameau, *Les indes galantes*, Bordeaux, 2014; <http://japanese.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/1/11/IMSLP318813-PMLP59117-IndesGalantes1735.pdf>.

add a part for piccolo and tympani, which were associated with Turkish military music at the time). Rameau does not introduce Ottoman elements when he is telling the story, reserving these for the interludes between scenes. It may be that he thought the arias and recitatives were too important to be mixed with Turkish influence, although his version of Turkish music was too loud and fast to allow the characters' speech to be audible.

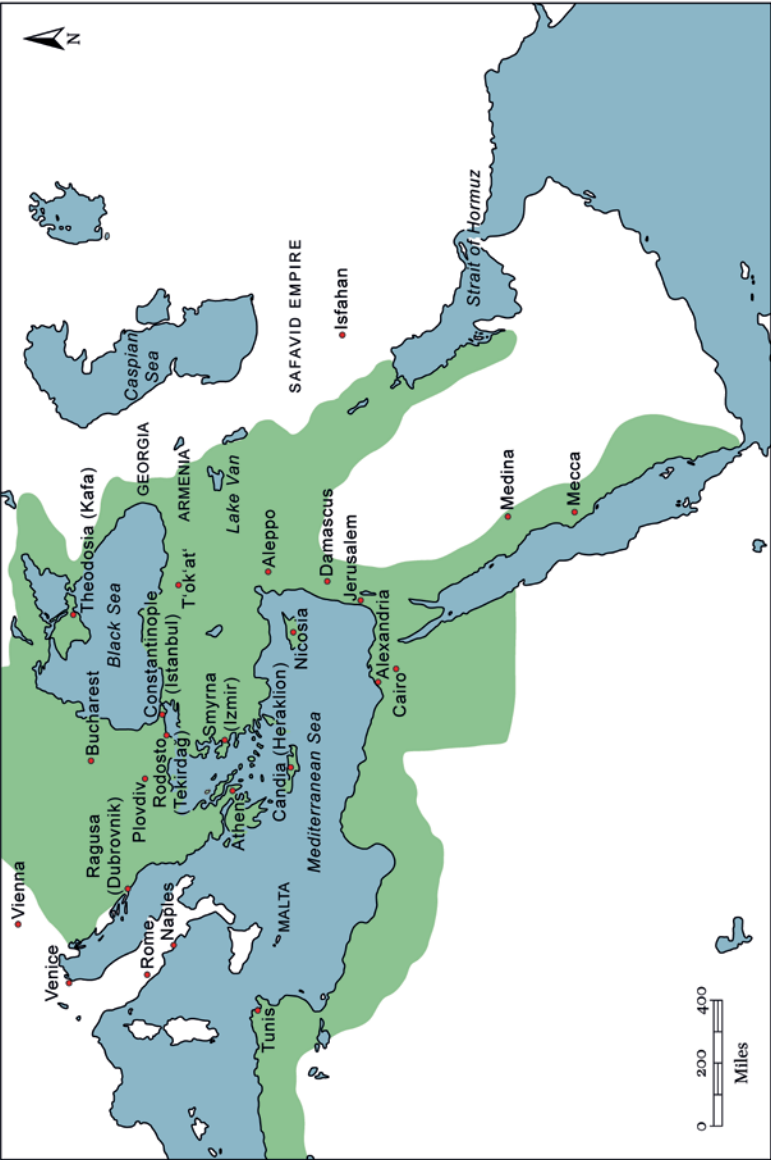
Conclusion

Westward migration spanning centuries caused Turks to adapt to the regions in which they settled. With the establishment of empire, the Ottomans put to use all they had acquired from various cultures and mingled it with their own. At a time when European powers were exiling Jews and were determined to kill the 'infidel' on sight, the Ottomans, at least in some cases, found ways to coexist with others and learn from them. Their music and culture benefited greatly from this approach.

It is astonishing to see how different ethnicities helped shape what is now called Turkish classical music, and also fascinating that the world's oldest military music, which blended together this rich multi-cultural inheritance, inspired some of the best-known works of European composers. With their respective interpretations of *Turquerie*, Rameau and Lully paved the way for other European composers such as Gluck, Haydn and Mozart to compose some of their most creative works.

Works on Christian-Muslim relations
1600-1700

The Ottoman Empire



Map 1. The Ottoman Empire around 1660

Vrt'anēs Sṙnkec'i

Vrt'anēs Sṙnketsi

DATE OF BIRTH	Early 16 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Village of Gilan, Greater Armenia
DATE OF DEATH	1570s
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably Theodosia (Kafa), Crimea

BIOGRAPHY

Vrt'anēs Sṙnkec'i was born in the village of Gilan in historic Armenian territory, but later, in 1557, he moved to Suceava, capital of the Principality of Moldavia, to become a priest to the then thriving Armenian merchant and artisan community there. Subsequently, he moved to Kafa (Theodosia) on the Crimea, where he witnessed the martyrdom of Paron Loys in 1567. Thereafter, he was appointed bishop of the Armenian diocese of Kafa, and is presumed to have died sometime within the following decade.

Vrt'anēs is the author of four personal letters to the archbishop of the large Armenian community in Lwów, regional capital of the Ruthenian voivodeship in the Kingdom of Poland. In addition to the two *tał* poems on the martyrdom of Paron Loys, he penned seven further verse works, one of which chronicles the famine in Kafa of 1560, while the rest treat religious themes.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Samuēl Anec'i, *Žamanakagrut'iwñ* [Chronicle], ed. A. Tēr-Mik'ayēlean, Ėjmiacin: Mother See Press, 1893, p. 175 (most information about Vrt'anēs Sṙnkec'i derives from his own compositions)

Secondary

H. Ač'aryan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri baṙaran*, Yerevan, 1944, vol. 5, p. 133

M. Č'amč'ean, *Patmut'iwñ Hayoc' i skzbanē ašxarhis minč'ew c'am Tearn*, 1784, Venice: Petros Valvazeanc' Press, 1786, vol. 3, p. 516

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Yaysm awur vkayabanut'ïwn Paron Loys nor nahatakin, 'On this day the martyrdom of Paron Loys the new martyr'
Vkayabanut'ïwn Paron Lusi, 'Martyrology of Paron Loys'

DATE 1567

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Vrt'anēs Sŕnkeç'i was present when Paron Loys was martyred, and wrote a prose narrative, *Yaysm awur vkayabanut'ïwn Paron Loys nor nahatakin*, describing the events that occurred. The work covers eight pages in Manandean and Ač'arean's, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə*, 1903 critical edition.

On the pre-feast of Theophany, 5 January 1567, a group of Muslims suddenly surround the 18-year-old Armenian youth Paron Loys in Kafa, claiming that he has declared himself a Muslim in another city and so is now committing a crime in reverting to his Christian way of life. The youth is the son of a Christian, Astacatur (lit. 'gift of God'), presumably a man of some means and position in the city. Endowed with the gift of eloquence, the youth replies to the Muslims that he accepted Christ as God and has never been and would never become a Muslim. Taking him before the *qāḏī*, the mob present false witnesses who claim they were present at his Islamic conversion. After promising various advantages as well as threatening excruciating torture, like most of the officials subsequently involved in the case, the *qāḏī* is persuaded by Paron Loys's stalwart rebuttal of the charges to release him into the custody of some Christians who take him back to his parents' house.

However, the mob are not satisfied that the *qāḏī* has delivered proper justice and appeal to the mufti. They receive a ruling that Paron Loys should either return to Islam or face decapitation. A succession of officials become involved, and finally the commander of the Ottoman sanjak of Kafa, who transfers him to the authority of the chief executioner.

Meanwhile, the condemned youth receives several Christian visitors, to whom he indicates his willingness for them to pursue the possibility of his release through bribes or appeal. His parents attempt both courses, even sailing to Constantinople to obtain a *ferman* from the sultan, but

the latter has no influence over the local officials. Another round of reviews with the *qāḏī* ensues, and then with the commander of the city, who finally authorises the sentence of decapitation. Once at the place of execution, it takes three strokes to complete the act.

The order is handed down to leave the corpse unburied on the street for three days. The parents then receive permission to give the body proper burial, with many from the various communities in the city in attendance. The account closes with the author's comment that it was his own 'impure hand' that placed the martyr's relics in the coffin.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work is striking in portraying such an unusually protracted process against Paron Loys, lasting from 5 January to 15 May and requiring the involvement of such an array of judicial, religious and administrative figures in its adjudication. Here, it is interesting to note that it begins on the eve of the Armenian feast of Theophany, a joint celebration of Christ's birth and baptism, second only to Easter in liturgical importance. Though the martyrology does not treat this subject, one wonders whether the upcoming festivities acted as a provocation for the perpetrators to detract from the holiday atmosphere among the religious minority by this means, as is evidenced in other such instances. Certainly, the significance of interreligious status and power politics in this context emerges on various occasions, when the mob seeks to persuade the mufti to reverse the *qāḏī*'s acquittal of Paron Loys, citing the embarrassment this would entail for the Muslim community in the eyes of Christians, and arguing that he should either (re)embrace Islam or face the appropriate death penalty. Later, they employ the same approach with the *qāḏī*, classifying it as a humiliation for them if the Christian youth were perceived to 'prevail' over them in this matter. The deeper dimension of their concern is underscored by the city's demographic diversity in attendance at the martyr's funeral, which highlights the cultural melting-pot created under Genoese control. The text mentions Frankk' (Western European Catholics), Eastern Orthodox (mainly Greeks) and Jews (both Qırımçaq Jews and Crimean Karaites) as well as Muslims.

In addition, it is worth mentioning that the emphasis the author continually places on the youth's veneration of St Gregory the Illuminator and the latter's appearance to him in a vision, is probably to distinguish his adherence to the majority Armenian Apostolic Church, which regarded the saint as its founder, rather than the Armenian Catholic Congregation, for which Kafa was a major centre. The prolixity of the proceedings is

unusual and, in view of the above, may have been motivated by concern to spare the accused youth as well as the tactical desirability of securing his adhesion to Islam.

It is instructive to observe the plethora of officials who participated in the proceedings and the diversity of their perspectives on the issues. As one might expect, the *qāḍī* emphasises the justice of Islam and its justification and legitimacy in exercising rule over such a swathe of territory. Meanwhile, without considering the applicability of the charge to Paron Loys, the mufti simply acquiesces to the crowd's petition to reiterate the legal provision in this case, i.e. to return to Islam or to face decapitation. In contrast, the administrative officials take a more pragmatic view of the matter, the Danishman proposing to adopt him as a son, honour him with gifts, and have his name commemorated at Friday prayers, while the city commander is the most direct, placing an actual sum of money before him and suggesting he can escape the death penalty by submitting to the requirement in formal terms through a verbal acceptance of Islam and continue his Christian practices in private.

An important supernatural element suffuses the account. As is virtually ubiquitous in such texts, a bright light is discerned over Paron Loys at the time of his martyrdom, which remains over his relics as they are transported to the church for burial. However, this is compounded by frequent references to the Holy Spirit indwelling the youth and strengthening him to endure the prolonged interrogations and to remain unwavering in his commitment to Christ. This too is accompanied by a radiance which envelops his face on such occasions, a feature that may be developed from the etymology of his name (*loys* = light). Moreover, he is vouchsafed visions of St Gregory, as noted above, together with ranks of angels and Christ himself. Indeed, Christ walks before him to the place of execution displaying the unfading wreath that awaited him, while angels surround him *yaytnapēs* ('openly') and Satan and his minions lament their inability to take him captive. Presented as more objective are the consequences of disrespecting the martyr's corpse while it was exposed after death. Two Muslims approach and trample on his head: as one went down to the shore to wash blood off his shoes he fell into the water and drowned, while the other's foot shrivelled up.

At diverse points the protagonist's holiness and sanctity are referred to. These are made all the more impressive by his appearing hyperbolically as a rose in winter, i.e. in what was regarded as a late period in the sixth millennium characterised by weakness in devotion before Christ's

Second Coming to inaugurate the seventh age. Moreover, his biblical genealogy is authenticated by his similarity to Stephen the Protomartyr in looking up to heaven before being stoned (Acts 7:55-6), and the similarities he bears to Christ of being struck, beaten on the head, spat upon and slapped (Matthew 27:30; Mark 15:19; John 19:2-3), literally turning the cheek to one of his attackers (Matthew 5:39; Luke 6:29), and appearing as a lamb among wolves (Luke 10:3). Finally, like Paul he affirms that nothing can separate him from the love of Christ (Romans 8:35).

PUBLICATIONS

A manuscript was once in the possession of the *vardapet* Xaç'ik (post-1567, presumed no longer extant).

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M1638, fols 69r-84r (1594)

Y. Manandean and H. Ač'aṙean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Valaršapat, 1903, pp. 386-95 (critical edition)

STUDIES

K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan, 2011, pp. 362-3

K.B. Bardakjian, *A reference guide to modern Armenian literature, 1500-1920*, Detroit MI, 2000, pp. 39, 562

N. Akinean, 'Vrt'anēs Sṙnkec'i, Episkopos Kafayi', in N. Akinean (ed.), *Hing panduxt tałasac'ner*, Vienna, 1921, 3-53

*Taṭ Paron Lus nahatakin asac'eal i Vrdanēs
vardapetē, 'Taṭ poem composed on Paron Lus by
the vardapet Vrt'anēs'
Taṭ Paron Lusi, 'Taṭ poem on Paron Lus'*

DATE 1567

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Vrt'anēs's second *taṭ* poem is composed of 48 four-line stanzas of octosyllabic lines with monorhyme in -i, the standard Armenian metre for extended narrative works. It naturally reveals a significant degree of intertextuality with the prose narrative and earlier poem, adopting an intermediate position between them. Thus, the first 34 verses rehearse

again the circumstances of the martyrdom, beginning with the date in the Armenian era, Paron Lus's upbringing, the initial charge and details of the various phases of the investigation. The second section (verses 35-44) emphasises the religious import of the event for the Christian community, as well as for the divine sphere, employing the trope of apostrophe to heighten the immediacy of the theme. The final section (verses 45-8) focusses attention on the poet as singer and composer, the copyist disseminating the work and the potential reader, as well as on the listener. It ends with the wish that, if the last commemorates the poet, Christ will also remember him, and all his affairs will prosper.

SIGNIFICANCE

In this abbreviated account, the scene-setting is much more concise than in the prose narrative, the long series of tribunals being enlivened by dramatically concentrating on the verbal interchanges. There, too, new elements are nevertheless introduced. When one of the judges raises the possibility of Paron Lus being burned at the stake for refusing to return to Islam, the youth resolutely retorts that he will pay for the wood. Meanwhile, his lack of fear of the consequences is conveyed by the image of his entering the mufti's chamber with the joy of a bridegroom approaching the bridal chamber. In addition, the work elaborates the etymology of his name to present him as a light shining on earth in time of darkness. The poem also develops some biblical parallels. Here, Paron Lus's resemblance to the protomartyr Stephen is articulated by reference to his resplendent expression as he responds to interrogation (see Acts 6:15). He resembles John the Baptist in his wrongful beheading. Moreover, while the familiar image of gnashing teeth (e.g. Matthew 8:12; Luke 13:18) is applied to Satan in the prose piece, here it is attributed to the mob as they wait to lay hands on him.

In the colophon, Vrt'anēs indicates that he has become bishop of the Armenian community of Kafa, and his new identification with the city finds expression at a number of junctures, as in apostrophising it to underscore the bliss it has been granted through the martyrdom now celebrated by the Christian community. The city is also portrayed as 'God-built' and singled out for special honour in the longer term. The martyr is depicted as the boast of the whole world, though of the city of Kafa in particular, which thereby shares in the martyr's veneration.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – 3081,
fols 91r-93v (1594)

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – 2394,
fols 109r-115v (post-1670)

Akinean, *Hing panduxt talasac'ner*, pp. 38-47

Manandean and Ač'aṙean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerā*, pp. 401-8 (critical
edition)

STUDIES

Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner*,
pp. 362-3

Bardakjian, *A reference guide to modern Armenian literature*, pp. 39,
562

Akinean, 'Vrt'anēs Sṙnkec'i, Episkopos Kafayi', pp. 3-53

Astuatz, Hayr erkawor, 'God, heavenly Father'

DATE 1567

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

This work is a *tal* poem in 38 four-line stanzas of 11 syllables, mainly with a caesura after the sixth. It is untitled and therefore is cited by its incipit, 'Astuatz, Hayr erkawor' (God, heavenly Father). The poem encompasses an alphabetic acrostic formed by the first letter of each of the first 36 stanzas, while the next commences with the letter 'v' symbolising the poet Vrt'anēs and the final begins with 'a' thus taking the reader full cycle. In the first 29 stanzas and stanzas 35-7, every line concludes with an apostrophe to 'the Lord', thereby emphasising Christ's role in directing the course of the martyrdom, as the poem rehearses the events of the prose narrative cursorily and not always in chronological order. As the middle section (stanzas 16-29) is technically more demanding, since every line in each verse begins with the same word or a cognate, the text becomes somewhat semantically challenged, resulting in the repetition of many terms and ideas. Thereafter, verses 30-4 constitute a colophon revealing the identity of the writer, and conveying the pride the martyr's conviction brings to Armenians, and the example he offers for emulation

by those weary in well-doing and in need of new inspiration. The work then concludes (verses 35-8) with a doxology that reiterates in the final stanza the core data concerning Paron Loys and a brief biography of the poet.

SIGNIFICANCE

As the poetic structure already clarifies, the work is conceived as a hymn of praise to Christ, who is presented as selecting the martyr and calling him to himself. It therefore complements the this-worldly focus of the prose narrative by portraying events in their deeper spiritual dimension. Paron Loys's imitation of Christ is underscored by his having been chosen before the beginning of the world and by the image of his representing a new flower blossoming from the wood of the cross. Meanwhile, his credentials as a martyr are reinforced by similes associating him with St Stephen, while the sacrificial character of his voluntary self-giving is heightened by comparison with Abel (Genesis 4:4). Similarly, as the Christian community rejoices in his defence of his faith, they now invoke his intercession before Christ to free them from Muslim domination.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Vienna, Mkhitarist Library – 344, fols 220v-226v (1786)

N. Akinean, *Hing panduxt talasac'ner*, Vienna, 1921, pp. 47-53

Manandean and Ač'aṙean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə*, pp. 396-401 (critical edition)

STUDIES

Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner*, pp. 362-3

Bardakjian, *A reference guide to modern Armenian literature*, pp. 39, 562

Akinean, 'Vrt'anēs Sṙnkec'i, Episkopos Kafayi', pp. 3-53

Peter Cowe

Sarkīs of Smār Jbayl

DATE OF BIRTH Mid-16th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Smār Jbayl, Lebanon
DATE OF DEATH 8 July 1627
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Sarkīs ibn Ḥannā ibn al-qass Tādrus was born into the Jilwān family in the village of Smār Jbayl in Mount Lebanon at an unknown date in the middle of the 16th century. Nothing is known about him, except that he was a monk who spent most of his life at the monastery of St Anthony of Quzḥayyā in northern Lebanon and that he was a zealous and prolific copyist. At some point he was consecrated a bishop. The first record of him as a copyist dates from 1570 and we know of at least 13 other texts copied by him, mainly at Quzḥayyā monastery, the last in 1611. Among them, at least seven include works by Jibrāyil ibn al-Qilāʿī, which makes Sarkīs the foremost expert of his time on this important 15th-century Maronite author.

In addition to his work as a copyist, Sarkīs translated the Old Testament from Syriac into Arabic sometime after 1575. He also wrote many pieces of poetry (*zajal*) in colloquial Arabic. All his works were written in Karshūnī (Arabic in Syriac script).

In 1575, his two brothers Yūsuf and Yūnān, who were also monks in Quzḥayyā monastery, were consecrated bishops by Dawūd, an opponent of the Maronite patriarch, who was not informed about their elevation. As a result, they were expelled several times from the monastery, notably in 1577 and 1600. It is believed that their brother Sarkīs, who designated himself ‘the eremite’ or ‘the stranger’ (he used the Syriac word *aksonoyo*), remained in Quzḥayyā, apart from a short period of three months during these times of trouble in the monastery.

Bishop Yūsuf died in 1619 and Bishop Yūnān in 1622. Sarkīs, who it seems had later also become a bishop, died on 8 July 1627 (not 1626, as is alleged by most historians who have written about him). Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī, the 17th-century Maronite historian, says in Sarkīs’s obituary that ‘he was religious, educated and literate in both Syriac and Arabic; that he copied many liturgical manuscripts; that he wrote several poems, and that he died, in the end, as an upright and God-fearing man’.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- I. al-Duwayhī, *Tārīkh al-azmina*, ed. B. Fahd, Beirut, (s.d.), pp. 442-3, 487, and 496
 I. al-Duwayhī, *Tārīkh al-azmina (1095-1699)*, ed. F. Taoutel, Beirut, 1951, pp. 274, 313, 317, and 323

Secondary

- J. Moukarzel, *Gabriel Ibn al-Qilāṭī (+ ca 1516). Approche biographique et étude du corpus*, Kaslik, Lebanon, 2007, pp. 483-4
 M. Breydy, *Geschichte der Syro-Arabischen Literatur der Maroniten vom VII. bis XVI. Jahrhundert*, Opladen, Leverkusen, 1985, pp. 207-9
 G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Vatican City, 1951, vol. 3, pp. 333-4
 Y. al-Dibs, *Al-jāmiʿ al-mufaṣṣal fī tārikh al-Mawārīna al-muʿaṣṣal*, Beirut, 1905, pp. 321, 326, 371-2

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Abyāt ʿan Qubrūs wa-mā jarā lahā min Ibn ʿŪthmān,
 ‘Verses on what happened in Cyprus because of
 the Ottomans’
Tawārikh Qubrus, ‘The histories of Cyprus’

DATE After July 1571

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic in Syriac script

DESCRIPTION

The poem *Abyāt ʿan Qubrūs wa-mā jarā lahā min Ibn ʿŪthmān* (‘Verses on what happened in Cyprus because of the Ottomans’), also entitled *Tawārikh Qubrus* (‘The histories of Cyprus’) in some manuscripts, was written by Sarkīs after July 1571, in Karshūnī. It comprises 22 stanzas, each beginning with a letter of the Syriac alphabet in sequence. Each stanza is comprised of five couplets, the first four of which change rhymes, while the last retains the rhyme ‘nī’ throughout the poem.

The author narrates the conquest of Cyprus by the Ottomans in 1570. He supports his narrative with testimonies of people from Ghazīr, Mount Lebanon, who were eyewitnesses to the atrocities committed, and of Cypriots who left the island after the disaster.

Sarkīs begins by saying that he is drunk not on wine – alluding to the high reputation of Cypriot wine in those days – but with sorrow

over the calamitous events that happened on the island. Then he goes on to describe the woes that befell the Christians in Cyprus on account of the Ottoman invasion ordered by Muṣṭafā Bāshā (Lala Kara Mustafa Pasha), namely that the Turks destroyed churches and turned others into mosques or caravansaries. The first assault was on Nicosia, where 50,000 Christians died and 180,000 were reduced to slavery. Famagusta was the next target. The garrison was able to resist thanks to 1,000 cannons, and a large number of Ottoman soldiers were killed during the siege, but ammunition eventually ran short, causing the head of the resistance fighters to surrender; he was slain along with another 400 Christians. The surviving Christians went through tremendous hardships subsequent to the invasion: many women and children were sold into slavery; new taxes were levied, leaving people in dire straits; clerics were forced to sell a large amount of landed property; people had to wear black turbans. To give a practical example of the situation, Sarkīs points out that a Cypriot-born disciple of his, whose family was deported, had to pay 100 piastres to redeem his enslaved brother. He concludes that this invasion was contemporaneous with another murderous act – the assassination of the *muqaddam* or civil Maronite leader of Bsharī in Mount Lebanon.

Although historically accurate on most of the events related, the narrative is nonetheless incorrect on a few points: Sarkīs states that the conquest of Cyprus began in January 1570 and assumes that the city of Famagusta fell immediately after Nicosia (on 7 September that year), while in reality the invasion began in July. Nicosia was conquered on 9 September and Famagusta surrendered only on 31 July 1571, after a long siege. The author designates 'Marqūs' and 'Niqlūs' as viceroys in Nicosia and Famagusta, respectively, while Marco Antonio Bragadin was actually the viceroy in Famagusta and Niccolò Dandolo in Nicosia. In addition, the numbers of dead and deported alleged in the poem are approximate, though not exaggerated.

The author reveals his name at the beginning of the stanza starting with the letter 's': 'Sarkīs of Smār Jbayl'. The copyist of MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Oriental – 15 replaces this name with his own: Anṭūniyūs of Kfardibyān, leading Louis Cheikho mistakenly to believe that he was the author of the poem.

It is worth mentioning that Sarkīs also reported about the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus in a brief note to be found in MS Bkerke 57, with many facts clearly related to the poem. Al-Duwayhī made use of the events of the narrative, though without mentioning it, for his work *Tārīkh al-azmina*, by adding that 18,000 Maronites died during the conquest.

SIGNIFICANCE

The island of Cyprus, ruled by the Venetians since 1489, was one of the Republic's major overseas possessions. Aside from its location, which gave Venice control of Levantine trade, Cyprus was the nearest Christian country to the Holy Land and a model of good Muslim-Christian relations in the 16th century. The Venetians paid an annual tribute to the Ottomans, who, in exchange, gave protection to pilgrims to the Holy Land, the valuable trade from East to West, and, in unfortunate zeal, the Christian corsairs of the area. With the Ottoman Sultan Selim II, the conquest of Cyprus became a priority for Ottoman expansionist policy, which finally resulted in the conquest of the island in 1570-1.

While many reports on the fall of Cyprus were published in Europe, Sarkīs's poem is, to our knowledge, the only work that depicts the event from a Christian Arab perspective. The picture of Islam – represented by the Ottomans – that emerges from this poem is negative; Islam is portrayed as evil incarnate and the instrument of castigation used by God to punish Christian sinners.

At the beginning of the poem, Sarkīs says that the main reason for the success of the Ottoman offensive against Cyprus was the sinful behaviour of its inhabitants and that 'God delivered the country [therefore] to the Ottomans'. He argues that the Christians used to live peacefully and happily before everything fell apart as a result of their sins: fornication, unkept promises, animosity, and especially the complaints lodged before the Turks by a portion of the Cypriot population (the Orthodox Christians?). Hence, the sins committed by the Christians against one another and against God were the real cause for the Ottomans' resolve to destroy Christian edifices, to kill priests and monks and to deport women and children.

The stanza starting with the letter 'q' acts as a reminder of what is said above: 'Cyprus and Bsharī [Mount Lebanon] were a [bad] omen / To Christians who lived along the coasts and in the mountains. / O what an injustice! Their dwellers were virtuous, / But discord thrust them into misfortune.'

Sarkīs reiterates at the end that the Turks were able to succeed thanks only to the Christians' sins, for which the only remedy is prayer.

Even if Sarkīs does not say anything about the fate of the Maronites in Cyprus, he seems to be very concerned with what was happening there. He had many connections with people living there and it is possible that he had visited the island before the invasion. Even so, his main worry

was the connection between the events in Cyprus and those on Mount Lebanon, as revealed at the end of the poem. Cyprus, the nearest Christian land, had fallen and the risk of an invasion of Maronite lands was now more than imminent. Furthermore, by applying the principle of sin and punishment to Cyprus, he tried to warn the people of Mount Lebanon that their sins could lead to a similar disaster.

PUBLICATIONS

- MS Bkerke, Maronite Patriarchate – 180, fols 23r-25v (date unknown, though it appears to be older than MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Oriental – 15; Arabic [Karshūnī]; Ḥarfūsh edited this manuscript using the old shelfmark 13)
- MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Oriental – 15, fols 88v-91r (1684; Arabic [Karshūnī]; edited by Shaykhū)
- MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Oriental – 16, fols 88r-90v (1887; Arabic; certified copy of MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Oriental – 15)
- L. Shaykhū (Cheikho), ‘Shu‘arā’ al-Naṣrāniyya ba’d al-Islām. Anṭunīyūs Frayjī al-Lubnānī’, *Al-Mashriq* 25 (1927) 339-44, pp. 340-3
- I. Ḥarfūsh, ‘Zajaliyya ‘alā fath al-Muslimīn jazīrat Qubrus sanat 1570 li-nāẓimihā Sarjīs min Smār Jbayl’, *Al-Manāra* 1 (1930) 897-910, pp. 901-10

STUDIES

- Ḥarfūsh, ‘Zajaliyya’ (a brief commentary)
- Shaykhū, ‘Shu‘arā’ (a brief commentary)

Joseph Moukarzel

Badr al-Dīn al-Qarāfī

Muḥammad ibn Yaḥya ibn ʿUmar ibn Yūnus al-Qāḍī ibn
ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badr al-Dīn al-Miṣrī al-Qarāfī

DATE OF BIRTH 22 April 1533 (or a year earlier)
PLACE OF BIRTH Cairo
DATE OF DEATH March 1600 (or a year earlier)
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Qarāfī came from a scholarly family. His grandfather was the eminent scholar Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Aḥmad al-Damīrī, while his father was a judge and a leading figure in Egyptian scholarly circles. Al-Qarāfī received a traditional education, encompassing a combination of Islamic jurisprudence, Hadith and Arabic language.

He gradually established himself as a well-versed Mālikī jurist, ultimately earning the honorific Shaykh al-Mālikiyya. He headed the Mālikī judiciary in Egypt for a long time; it has been estimated that his appointment as chief judge for the Egyptian Mālikīs lasted for 50 years. This means that he assumed this position when he was approximately 17 years old, indicating that he was an exceptional jurist.

Al-Qarāfī's era saw a deterioration in relations between people and ruler and, as the ruler's representative, the chief Mālikī judge also became distanced from the people. Nevertheless, al-Qarāfī maintained a reputation for uprightness and probity. He was able to buy books at will, and he was also a productive writer, composing books on the Arabic language, Mālikī jurisprudence and Hadith. His books include *Tawshīḥ al-dībāj wa-ḥilyat al-ibtihāj*, *Risāla fī makhraj ḥadīth lawlāka mā khalaqtu l-aflāk*, *Taḥqīq al-ibāna fī ṣiḥḥat isqāṭ mā lam yajib ʿalā l-ḥaḍāna*, *Hidāyat al-sālik li-maʿrifat sharḥ Mudawwanat al-Imām Mālik*, and *Sharf al-badr bi-ḍiyāʾ Laylat al-Qadr*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Muḥammad Amīn ibn Faḍl Allāh ibn Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad al-Muḥibbī,
Khulāṣat al-athar fī aʿyān al-qarn al-ḥādī ʿashar, Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿa
al-Wāhibā, 1868, vol. 4, pp. 258-62

- Ismā'īl Pasha al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿarīfīn fī asmāʾ al-muʿallifīn wa-āthār al-muṣannifīn*, Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1955, vol. 2, p. 134
- ʿAbd al-Ḥayy ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris wa-l-athbāt wa-muʿjam al-maʿājim wa-l-mashyakhāt wa-l-musalsalāt*, Cairo: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1982, vol. 1, pp. 215-16
- Badr al-Dīn al-Qarāfī, *Tawshīḥ al-dībāj wa-ḥilyat al-ibtihāj*, ed. Aḥmad al-Shityawī, Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1983
- Aḥmad Bābā al-Tunbaktī, *Nayl al-ibtihāj bi-taṭrīḥ al-dībāj*, Tripoli (Libya), 1989, p. 342
- Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥajawī al-Thaʿālibī, *Al-fikr al-sāmī fī tārikh al-fiqh al-Islāmī*, (s.l.), (s.d.), vol. 4, pp. 106-7

Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-durar al-naḥāʾis fī shaʾn al-kanāʾis, 'Precious pearls, on the question of churches'

Al-durar al-naḥāʾis fī hadm al-kanāʾis, 'Precious pearls, on the demolition of churches'

Al-durar al-naḥāʾis fī bunyān al-kanāʾis, 'Precious pearls, on the building of churches'

DATE Approximately 1573

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This treatise by al-Qarāfī is referred to under three titles: *Al-durar al-naḥāʾis fī shaʾn al-kanāʾis*, *Al-durar al-naḥāʾis fī hadm al-kanāʾis*, and *Al-durar al-naḥāʾis fī bunyān al-kanāʾis*. In his examination of the various manuscripts of the treatise and of the biographers of al-Qarāfī, its editor Ḥasan al-ʿAlawī argues that this variation is due to the differing positions of the biographers on the question of building or renovating churches in Muslim lands. If a biographer thinks it is permissible to build or renovate churches or mosques, he uses the term *bunyān* (building or erecting). If he thinks it is not permissible, he uses *hadm* (demolition). The word *shaʾn* (affair or question) is used when the biographer does not wish to state his position.

It has been argued that the position of a jurist concerning the question of building or renovating a church was based on two main factors. The first was whether the city where it was built had come under Muslim rule by force or by surrender, though there were many instances in which jurists were not able to decide this. The second is the relationship between the jurist and the government of the day. It has been argued that many who issued fatwas condemning the building or renovating of churches had no connection to those in power, while jurists employed by the state tended to take the view that this was permissible. This explains why al-Qarāfī, who was the official chief mufti of the Mālikī School for decades, used neutral words in the title of his treatise, despite his concluding position.

Al-Qarāfī wrote *Al-durar* in response to a question regarding the construction of a new church in Damietta in northern Egypt. At the time of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Muslims entered the city after a victory over the Byzantines. It was therefore considered to be land taken by force and so its people did not have the right to keep their churches. However, in later centuries Damietta fell back into Byzantine hands many times, and in the intervals when the city was under Christian rule many churches were built. Should these be considered to have been built on non-Muslim territory? If so, every time Muslims took control of the city, it should be considered as a new conquest. Or should they be considered to have been built on Muslim land? Al-Qarāfī declares that he cannot find any precedent that gives an answer.

He divides his treatise into three main sections. Section 1 lists the traditions of the Prophet, the statements of the Companions (especially those of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb) and the opinions of the Companions of the Companions. All these reports argue that no new Christian church or Jewish synagogue should be built or renovated in Muslim-ruled territory. This understanding is supported by ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb’s treaty with the Syrian Christians, which stated that the Christians would be granted safety for themselves, their families, their offspring, their fellows and their properties on condition that they would not build a new church or a temple or renovate an existing one. They would also not prevent a Muslim from entering their houses of worship by day or night.

Section 2 presents early Mālikī positions on the legality of building or renovating a church or temple in Muslim-ruled territory. Al-Qarāfī quotes the most famous scholars of the *madhhab*, and argues that they divide

territory into four categories: an abode of Islam, an abode of agreement (i.e. *ṣulh*), land that is forcibly taken from unbelievers in war, and land that is used by Muslims to construct a new city. Al-Qarāfī demonstrates that some jurists considered the conditions of a treaty with non-Muslims as the basis of any ruling about whether a church or synagogue could be built. Other jurists considered the benefit that Muslims might accrue from providing such a concession. A third group referred to the argument that there cannot be a church or synagogue on land ruled by Muslims, regardless of how the land might be categorised.

Section 3 continues reviewing Mālikī opinions, focusing on late jurists and commentators on the foundational texts of the school. These adopt the same positions as their predecessors. Al-Qarāfī concludes by providing a summary of the debate. According to the *Mudawwana*, the foundational text of the Mālikī school, it is permissible to build a new church or temple in areas taken by force if there is an agreement with the residents of the land before submission. In addition, old churches or temples may be maintained by their followers. Commentaries and explanations of the *Mudawwana*, however, argue that it is not permissible to establish new churches or temples: old ones may be maintained, but they cannot be renovated.

Al-Qarāfī himself sides with this last opinion as the correct Mālikī position, because this supports the call to elevate the religion of Islam and to lower the position of unbelievers.

Al-Qarāfī's position in this and his other fatwas shows that he was working very much within the parameters of his *madhhab*. Sherman Jackson describes this methodology as the *modus operandi* of post-formative jurists who operated under the regime of *taqlīd*, instead of returning to scripture to establish new interpretations of the law ('Kramer vs Kramer', p. 29).

SIGNIFICANCE

This treatise both discloses the outlines of a debate about a technical legal question in Islam, and also reveals conflicts between Muslims and the People of the Book at a critical moment when religious representations reflected power and authority. One way to counter the exalted positions of Jews and Christians in Islamic society was to call upon jurists to issue fatwas that would confirm the social inferiority of non-Muslims. Jurists had the task of negotiating between textual references that carried their own historical resonances and contemporary social concerns.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Rabat, Khazana al-ḥasaniyya – no. 12249 no date given; titled *Al-durar al-naḥḥā'is fī sha'n al-kanā'is*)

MS Tunis, Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭaniyya – no. 14680 (no date given; titled *Al-durar al-naḥḥā'is fī sha'n al-kanā'is*)

MS Tunis, Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭaniyya – no. 16818 (no date given)

MS Rabat, al-Khazāna al-ʿĀmma – no. 4563/d (no date given; *Al-durar al-naḥḥā'is fī bunyān al-kanā'is*)

MS Rabat, al-Khazāna al-ʿĀmma – no. 1946/d (no date given; mistakenly attributed to Muḥammad ibn ʿIbāda ibn Barrī al-ʿAdawī al-Mālikī, d. 1779)

MS Cairo, al-Maktaba al-Khidiwiyya – no. 5410 (no date given)

Badr al-Dīn al-Qarāfī, *Al-durar al-naḥḥā'is fī sha'n al-kanā'is*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥafizī l-ʿAlawī, Ribat: Dār Abī Riqrāq li-l-Ṭibaʿa wa-l-Nashr, 2003

STUDIES

Jackson, 'Kramer versus Kramer'

Said Fares Hassan

Hindî Mahmud

DATE OF BIRTH	1513/14
PLACE OF BIRTH	Afyonkarahisar
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; presumably late 1500s
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; presumably Istanbul

BIOGRAPHY

Biographical dictionaries of the Ottoman period make no reference to Hindî Mahmud. The information available about his life is derived solely from his own works, though in his writings he provides no details of his family, early life or education. What is known is that Hindî Mahmud was born in Afyonkarahisar; before his captivity he served as a scribe for *ahkâm-ı şeriyye*, and as a divan scribe to Selim II (r. 1566-74) for 11 years, when Selim was still crown prince, before being appointed as a *müteferrika* (imperial guard). It was Selim II who gave him the name Hindî.

Hindî Mahmud travelled to Arabian and Persian lands as a diplomat, and escorted *mahmil-i şerîf*s (high-pinnacled chests containing royal gifts for Mecca and Medina) sent with pilgrim caravans. He later returned to serve Selim II as his *kapucubaşı* (head gatekeeper). He was given the fiefdoms of Diyarbakır and Maraş when Selim ascended to the throne. He then served as fief treasurer and, after two years in this position, was appointed by Selim to be the palace *müteferrika*.

In 1570, he joined other high-ranking public officials in the Aegean Islands campaign. The imperial navy, led by Piyale Pasha, captured Cyprus in 1570-1, but failed to take Crete. The Ottoman navy suffered a heavy loss in the bloody Battle of Lepanto on 7 October 1571 against the Holy League, a coalition formed under the command of John of Austria (Ritter Johann von Österreich, or Don Juan de Austria; 1547-78) in response to the call of Pope Pius V (r. 1566-72). More than 20,000 Ottoman soldiers died and 3,500 more were captured. After a difficult and gruelling 47-day journey to Messina, Ottoman prisoners of war found conditions there more agreeable. High-ranking officials, including Hindî Mahmud, were first kept with Spanish forces, but were taken to Rome in 1572 at the pope's request.

The residents of Rome took great interest in the captives, who were imprisoned in the Castel Sant'Angelo, the usual place for high-ranking

prisoners of war at the time. Here they had very good living conditions and were even received by the pope. Pius V had issued a decree in 1571 banning the release of prisoners from the Battle of Lepanto in exchange for money or other prisoners, possibly to facilitate the prisoners' conversion to Catholicism. However, after negotiations with Pius V's successor, Gregory XIII (r. 1572-85), an agreement was reached and prisoners were exchanged in Ragusa in 1575. Hindî Mahmud and his fellow officials were set free, as were high-ranking Christians imprisoned in Cyprus and the Bab-i Tunis.

Murad III (r. 1574-95), sultan at the time, took a personal interest in the release of Hindî Mahmud and his fellow high-ranking captives. Hindî Mahmud was imprisoned at the age of 60 and released at 64. No other information has been found about his life after his release, except that at age of 68 he authored his *Kıyas-ı enbiyâ* ('Tales of the prophets') to present to the sultan.

Hindî Mahmud saw four sultans in power between 1512 and 1595: Selim I (r. 1512-20), Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520-66), Selim II and Murad III. His important official duties and especially his writings suggest that he had remarkable academic training and came from a highly cultured background. Although his works reveal that he was married with children, Hindî Mahmud does not provide any details about his family life.

Hindî Mahmud's two works have survived: *Sergüzeştname* ('Memoir of captivity'), which he also named *Hediyye*, and *Kıyas-ı enbiyâ*, which he wrote in 1579 and dedicated to Murad III in thanks for securing his freedom.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- A. Karataş, 'Bir İnebahtı gâzisinin esâret hâtıraları. *Sergüzeştname-i Hindî Mahmûd*', *Osmanlı Araştırmaları / Journal of Ottoman Studies* 37 (2011) 17-48
- H. Yekbaş, '16. asırda yaşamış bir şairin sergüzeşti. Hindî Mahmûd ve eserleri', *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi* 26 (2012) 137-72
- A. Karataş (ed.), *Sergüzeştname-i Hindî Mahmûd. İnebahtı gâzisi Hindî Mahmûd ve esâret hâtıraları*, İstanbul, 2013
- Hindî Mahmûd, *Kıyas-ı enbiyâ. Peygamber kıssaları*, ed. A. Karataş, Ankara, 2013

Secondary

- E. Afyoncu, *Tanzimat öncesi Osmanlı tarihi araştırma rehberi*, İstanbul, 2014, pp. 166-7

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Sergüzeştname-i Hindî Mahmûd, 'Hindî Mahmud's
memoir of captivity'

Hediyye, 'Dedication'

DATE 1571-5

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

Hindî Mahmud entitled this work, written in verse, *Sergüzeştname-i Hindî Mahmûd* ('Hindî Mahmûd's memoir of captivity'). In his later work, *Kıyas-ı enbiyâ*, he also gives this memoir the title *Hediyye* ('Dedication'). He dedicates both works to Sultan Murad III. The incomplete original manuscript (MS Edirne) covers 42 folios and consists of 1115 couplets, including *kasîdes*, *gazels*, historical couplets and *müfreds*. No other copies have been found to date. The edition referenced in this entry is the 2013 version, published in Istanbul.

The work has high literary, historical and political significance, and is unique as the first known captivity memoir written in verse. The central theme of the work is Hindî Mahmud's account of his time in Messina, Naples and Rome, after his capture at the Battle of Lepanto, an event whose build-up and outcome impacted greatly on both the Muslim and Christian worlds at the time. The memoir has added significance in that it touches on many important historical and cultural themes, as well as providing valuable information on the institution of the papacy and the life of Christians through the lens of a Muslim official. Hindî Mahmud's descriptions suggest that he personally witnessed the events he recounts. In addition to important information about the sultans of his time and events before and during the Battle of Lepanto, and his memoirs of captivity, a significant portion of the book is made up of poems asking God for salvation and freedom, and praising the Prophet Muḥammad and his Companions.

Hindî Mahmud recalls how, after their capture, he and his fellow prisoners were initially stripped, shaved and chained at the ankles, and shipped to Messina in very harsh conditions. They were not allowed to eat or drink during the journey and were subjected to beatings. However, when they reached Messina, Don John of Austria, commander of the Holy League, ordered that they be clothed and fed, and that those who had fallen ill during the journey be treated (pp. 261-4).

Hindî Mahmud's account suggests that the captives were not allowed to write home, and he was not given a letter addressed to him and delivered by a man from Anatolia (p. 273). He mentions that the so-called *uluç*, converts to Islam who had joined the Ottoman navy, faced many more difficulties during their captivity. They were ordered to reconvert to Christianity; those who did not oblige were tortured and burnt on the orders of a monk (p. 346).

Hindî Mahmud does not draw a negative picture of John of Austria, but rather praises him for his kindness and beneficence. John of Austria reportedly consoled the high-ranking captives prior to sending them, against his wishes, to Rome on the orders of Pope Pius V (pp. 350-1). Hindî Mahmud writes that the people of Rome met them with great interest and curiosity, and that they were first accommodated in a large palace and offered food (pp. 360-4). Western sources from the period suggest that this was Castel Sant'Angelo: located one kilometre from St Peter's, where the pope resided, this castle was used as a prison for high-ranking captives (p. 90). Hindî Mahmud writes that he was treated well during his time there, mentioning that the pope personally sent them sweets (p. 299). He believed that these favourable living conditions for him and his fellow captured officials during their enslavement were due to the sultan's intervention (p. 364).

About one month after their arrival in Rome, Hindî Mahmud and other high-ranking officials were invited to an audience with the pope, whom Hindî Mahmud describes as *pîr-i mugân* ('spiritual master'), and their names were recited at the reception (pp. 284-8). He observed Christians in Rome and listened to sermons by priests. Referring to Christians as people of error, he writes that they made false claims about God, following their fabricated scriptures, and declares that '[their] god is Jesus who was killed stripped and crucified'. He adds that Christians mourn one day of the year, on the evening of which they gather to seek forgiveness, beating themselves until they bleed, confessing to priests to seek relief, placing an image on the crucifix and proclaiming it to be Jesus, and lighting more than ten thousand candles, which cost nearly ten thousand *dinars*. Hindî Mahmud believes that Christians, whom he calls infidels, went astray by bringing God's wrath upon themselves (pp. 294-6). He prays in his memoir for Rome to be conquered by Muslims (p. 323).

Hindî Mahmud was able to practise Islam without interference during his captivity, and prayed and fasted in prison. He and other captives

were even allowed to pray in congregation, pray the *teravih* (special night prayers in the month of Ramaḍān), and recite the Qur'an together (pp. 269-70). He also notes that Christians who listened to the Qur'an recitation and *zīkr* celebrating the birthday of the Prophet Muḥammad were left full of admiration (pp. 282-3), and that the captives recited the call to prayer five times a day (p. 323).

The narrative provides details about the death (pp. 312-14) and funeral (pp. 314-16) of Pope Pius V. It includes important information about the papal coronation of Pius's successor, Gregory XIII, who was elected in 1572 (pp. 323-7). Hindî Mahmud writes about annual ceremonies, held at the papal residence every June, and describes in detail the ceremony held in 1572 (pp. 328-31). Providing information on the state of St Peter's Basilica at the time, he writes that its renovation was ongoing (p. 324).

The memoir tells of a revolt in Rome in 1572, when Christian peasants sacked the city and fighting broke out. Gregory XIII ordered the guard to take up positions around his residence and set up cannons, and also separated Hindî Mahmud and his companions from one another as a precaution, should the prison be assaulted (pp. 317-18).

SIGNIFICANCE

This work offers a detailed description of 16th-century life in the heart of Catholicism, from the perspective of a well-educated Muslim. It provides insight into Muslim-Christian relations under Christian dominion through the lens of a Muslim captive. The memoir has great significance for historical research, as it includes valuable information about the conditions in prisons in Messina, Naples and Rome, as well as the spiritual life of prisoners of war and the social life of Christians.

Hindî Mahmud's work is also important as a source of information about Ottoman society, providing insights into a different religious and cultural environment at a time when channels of communication were rather limited. In this respect, the memoir's dedication to the sultan makes it even more meaningful.

Hindî Mahmud's account reveals that he and his fellow high-ranking prisoners were given the freedom to practise their religion. A comparison with descriptions of living conditions in other captivity memoirs (for instance, Macuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi's *Sergüzeşt-i esîr-i Malta* and Temeşvarlı Osman Ağa's *Hâtırât*) suggests that Hindî Mahmud and fellow captives were treated very well. The social status of the author and his association with high-ranking palace officials must have been pivotal

in this regard, as their captivity provided Rome with potential leverage and an instrument of retaliation should it be needed. Thus, the memoir clearly reflects the relationship between captivity, power and authority.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Edirne, Selimiye – Ahmed Bâdî Efendi 2162, 42 fols (undated)

Karataş, 'Bir İnebahtı gâzisinin esâret hâtıraları'

Karataş, *Sergüzeştname-i Hindî Mahmûd*

STUDIES

Karataş, 'Bir İnebahtı gâzisinin esâret hâtıraları'

Yekbaş, '16. asırda yaşamış bir şairin sergüzeşti'

A. Karataş, 'Hindî Mahmûd ve eserleriyle ilgili yayımlanan bir makale hakkında', *Marmara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 44 (2013)

361-73

Karataş, *Sergüzeştname-i Hindî Mahmûd*

Emine Nurefşan Dinç

Simēon (Tigranakertc'i)

DATE OF BIRTH Probably first half of the 16th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Late 16th or early 17th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author only identifies himself in the final paragraph of his narrative. Apart from providing his name, he indicates that his account is based on what he had seen and heard, expanding the latter comment to state that his reference to the appearance of a bright light over the place of martyrdom in the morning three days after the event is based on a report given to him by travellers who observed the phenomenon. This clearly places the hagiographer in the city of Amid during this period.

Since it was the norm for such works as this to be written by clergy and those in the ranks of priest and above would normally be expected to state what their position was, we may assume that he belonged to one of the minor orders.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The only information regarding the author is to be found in the work itself.

Secondary

H. Ačaryan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri baṙaran*, Yerevan, 1942, vol. 4, p. 513

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vkayabanut'iwn nor vkayic'n K'ristosi Margarē sarkawagin ew Šahrəmanin, 'Martyrology of the neomartyrs of Christ, the Deacon Margarē and Šahrəman'

DATE 1580

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

The text on which the critical edition rests derives from an apograph commissioned by the editors from Astuacatur Xač'atrean, a teacher at the Sanasarian Academy in Erzurum, copied from a menologium in the school library. The document is short, eight pages in the critical edition and four pages in the Russian translations.

The narrative begins with a historical introduction describing the impact of the anti-Safavid war waged by the Ottoman Sultan Murad III on the economy and provincial administration in the east. The devastation caused to agriculture by the cavalry led to poor harvests and widespread inflation. One of the areas relatively unaffected by these operations was Mesopotamia, the location of the village of T'urguran (T'lkuran) from which the protagonists originated. The local qadi, called Mehmet, wanted to exploit the rich wheat harvest there and so, after collecting the regular tax in coin, he demanded a share of the produce from the householders. Their reply, that he should exact only what the sultan had commanded, met with his displeasure, prompting him to apply increasing pressure on them to comply. Thereupon, the Armenians made an appeal to the army commander in Kars and brought back a document prohibiting the qadi from overstepping the sultan's orders. And when the qadi in turn appealed to his superior in Amid, they pursued him in order to uphold their cause. However, the qadi used his authority to have them arrested and imprisoned while he approached his superior with some local Muslims, who falsely accused the householders of blaspheming against Muḥammad and the Islamic law. The superior then sent his written judgment of death by fire to the pasha's deputy, Mustafa, to enforce.

Out of the ten householders from T'urguran, the jailor selected two, a deacon called Margarē and Shahrēman, to suffer the punishment, in order to break the others' resolve. The guards first robbed them, taking their rings and purse, then struck them on the face and demanded that they renounce Christianity and accept Islam. In the morning, soldiers suddenly bound the two, placed chains around their necks and led them out, beating them with sticks and the blades of their swords. A crowd gathered, urging them to convert and promising them valuable gifts if they agreed. When they refused, they were taken out of the city to the place of execution, where they were nailed to the stake to be burned.

When Shahrēman cried out as the flames closed in on him, the deacon Margarē encouraged him to have patience as this was the hour of victory. The fire continued into the evening, at which point the Christians present

witnessed a miracle, a bright light, which descended on the martyrs after midnight. The following morning, they gathered the relics and buried them together clandestinely. In the morning, three days later, another bright light appeared over the place of martyrdom, which caught the attention of passers-by. The martyrdoms occurred on 6 September 1580.

SIGNIFICANCE

The historical introduction to this martyrology affords a fascinating vignette into the first three years' campaigning of the Fifth Ottoman-Safavid War (1578-90), initiated by Sultan Murad III to exploit the recent death of Shah Ṭahmāsp. The text discusses his attack on Tiflis, Shirvan, Khoy and Salmast, which created widespread destruction in all these theatres of war; many were put to the sword and a large number of Christians were taken captive. The author indicates that, even after the formal campaigning season, Christians underwent further hardships during the winter, probably alluding to the serious famine referred to by other contemporary sources.

In addition, the author gives valuable insights into the gradual integration of the newly acquired eastern territories into the Ottoman administrative structure. Thus, he emphasises the importance of rebuilding the city of Kars, which had long lain in ruins, and the process of transforming the surrounding region into an *eyalet* governed by a *beylerbey* in 1579. This was presumably the officer to whom the Armenian householders appealed against the rapacity of the qadi of T'urguran, a small town with a large Armenian agricultural and artisan population 25 km north-east of Urfa. In this connection, the term 'qadi' seems here to denote the provincial official who headed a *kaza*, or small district sequentially under a *sanjak* and *eyalet*. This explains his journey to Amid to confer with his superior, the grand qadi. The latter's verdict would then have been passed to the pasha, the beylerbey of the province, but it was handled by the latter's deputy in his absence on call at the front.

The data the text provides regarding the qadi's jurisdiction in levying taxes on the Armenian community of T'urguran, together with the Muslim population of the environs, is important in helping to chart the structural development of the Armenian *millet*. Whereas here there is no discrimination of ethno-religious affiliation, by the 18th-19th centuries the *millet* had evolved into a non-territorial 'state within a state' internally administered by the Armenian Christian communion community where taxes on the polity would be collected not by a central official but by a representative of the Armenian patriarch of Constantinople.

Although the author does not express a view about the new regulation that replaced the distinctive headgear of Eastern Christians with the black cap associated with the Latins, thus underscoring the Armenians' identity as a minority community in the empire, it is striking that the narrative stresses the householders' agency in appealing over the qadi to the beylerbey of Kars to enforce the accepted norms, thus compelling him to seek the approval of his own superior in Amid. Similarly, the qadi's desire to exploit the Armenian community for his own aggrandisement, and his tactic of arresting ten of the householders and bringing false testimony against two of them to convict them of a capital offence, in order to wear down the others' resistance and render them more amenable to his directive is emblematic of the bribery and corruption characteristic of the Ottoman administration during Sultan Murad's reign.

It is characteristic of the genre that the circumstances of the martyrs' death are depicted as paralleling the events of Jesus' crucifixion. Thus, the crowd that gathered round Margarē and Shahrēman as they were led out of prison is likened to the throng that accompanied Jesus to Golgotha. Similarly, the author rhetorically develops the theme of paradox at various points. Portraying the martyrs as hastening to the fire as to a wedding, so aflame are they with desire to be united with God, he presents them as citing Jesus' words regarding the fate of believers and that of non-believers, who are accursed and bound for the 'everlasting fire' (Matthew 25:41). As they are nailed to the stake, they are compared to Jesus and the 'wise' thief, who Jesus promised would be with him in paradise (Luke 23:40-43), and spotting those who bore false witness against them, they taunt them with the threat that they will share the fate of Judas in darkness, while they themselves are to receive crowns of martyrdom and ascend to altars of light in heaven. Further biblical parallels derive from the account of Daniel's three companions in Nebuchadnezzar's fiery furnace (Daniel 3:8-30). It is also typical of the genre that the martyrs' relics become a source of various kinds of healing.

Apart from the concrete details that the introduction provides, it is also significant for its perspective on the workings of history. It asserts that the tribulations visited on the Armenian population in the course of the Ottoman sultan's campaigns originated from God's control of the historical process, and his intervention to punish corporate sin. The corollary to this is also that, in keeping with much Old Testament prophecy, God will also show mercy to his 'rational flock' in good time and remove from them the 'rule of the kings of the nation of archers'. Although this

term is widely applied to the Mongols in Armenian historiography, it first appears in the context of the Seljuk invasions in the 11th century, and this seems to be the basis for its reference to the Ottomans here.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Erzurum, Sanasarian Academy – text in a menologium in the school library (date unknown)

Y. Manandean and H. Ač'aṙean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałarshapat, 1903, pp. 413-20 (critical edition of the martyrology)

K. Ter-Davtyan, *Armyanskie zhitiya i muchenichestva V-XVII vv.*, Yerevan, 1994, pp. 409-12 (Russian trans.)

K. Ter-Davtyan, *Novie armyanskie mucheniki (1155-1843), perevod, pre-dislovie i primechaniya*, Yerevan, 1998, pp. 151-5 (Russian trans.)

STUDIES

Ač'aṙyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri baṙaran*, vol. 3, p. 239; vol. 4, p. 133

Ter-Davtyan, *Armyanskie zhitiya i muchenichestva*, pp. 406-8

M. C'amč'ean, *Patmut'wn Hayoc' i skzbanē ashxarhis minč'ew c'am Teāṙn 1784*, Venice: Petros Vałvazeanc' Press, 1786, vol. 3

Peter Cowe

Derviş Mehmed

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; presumably early to mid-16 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; presumably second half of the 16 th or early 17 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Derviş Mehmed was a former priest who converted to Islam and became a *derviş* (Sufi seeker). In his signature at the end of MS Istanbul – Saliha Hatun (fol. 114v), he identifies himself as ‘*derviş Mehmed who converted to Islam from priesthood*’ (*papasdan dîn-i İslâm’a gelen derviş Mehmed*). According to his own account, he ‘worshipped idols’ for 47 years, until, on reading the Gospel, he discovered the prediction of the coming of the Prophet Muḥammad and came to the conclusion that Islam was the true religion. After a dream in which he saw a vision of the Prophet, he converted to Islam. Thereupon he abandoned his hometown, property and friends for the sake of God and the Prophet and, after a five-month journey, arrived in Ottoman lands. The text provides no information about Derviş Mehmed’s place of origin, nor does it say where he finally settled in the Ottoman Empire.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Kütahya, Vahid Pasha Library – 1545, 30 fols (1671)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Saliha Hatun 112/2, fols 88v-114v (1685/6)

Secondary

T. Krstić, *Contested conversions to Islam. Narratives of religious change in the early modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford CA, 2011, pp. 116-20

T. Krstić, ‘Narrating conversions to Islam. The dialogue of texts and practices in early modern Ottoman Balkans’, Ann Arbor MI, 2004 (PhD Diss. University of Michigan), pp. 221-33

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Papasnâme, 'The priest's book'

Bir papas îmâna gelüb bunı te'lîf eylemişdür,

'A priest came to faith and penned this'

Mükâşefe-i Şeyh Abdurrahman, 'Vision of Şeyh Abdurrahman'

Kitâb-ı mükâşefe, 'The book of unveiling'

Bahrü'l-mükâşefe, 'The ocean of unveiling'

DATE Possibly 1597-8

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

This vision narrative, which foretells the future of the Ottoman dynasty and the events of the end time, exists in seven manuscripts with various titles, and is most commonly known as *Papasnâme* ('The priest's book'). It takes up 30 folios in the Kütahya manuscript (1671), and includes Derviş Mehmed's conversion narrative. The text mentions the Prophet Muḥammad as having 'come to the world a thousand and six years ago' (MS Kütahya, fol. 7v), which leads to the assumption that the work was originally composed in 1546/7. However, it has recently been argued that the calculation was in fact from the *hijra*, making the date of the original 1597/8 (see e.g. OTTPOL, 'Papasnâme'). The narrative features two main characters in conversation, Derviş Mehmed himself, and his Şeyh, Abdurrahman. Mehmed addresses Şeyh Abdurrahman as 'father', and the Şeyh addresses Mehmed as 'son'.

The work consists of two main parts. The first takes the form of a dialogue (more precisely, questions and answers) between Mehmed and the Şeyh. It focuses on knowledge of the unknown, the significance of authentic dream visions, the characteristics of real scholars, and apocalyptic expectations. Throughout, the Şeyh tries to persuade Mehmed to write down and convey the vision of the future of the Ottoman dynasty with which he has entrusted him. The second part lists the names of 70 future Ottoman sultans, noting the main events that are to occur during their reign (it includes names such as Yusuf, Ali, Ömer, Hasan and Hüseyin, which are not the names of any historical rulers). The work ends with biographical data about Mehmed's Şeyh.

The book is very rich in apocalyptic detail. According to the Şeyh, the end time is not imminent, since Islam has not yet reached all corners of the world. He says that 70 Ottoman sultans will rule before the second coming of Jesus, and the last sultan will be called Ali. Then Jesus will kill the Antichrist and defeat his entire army, and Islam will rule throughout the world. After Jesus, the earth will ultimately crumble. There is no mention of a Mahdī, and Jesus appears as the leading figure of the end time.

SIGNIFICANCE

By recording Şeyh Abdurrahman's vision of the glorious future of the Ottoman dynasty and the future victory of Islam, the author, a Christian convert to Islam, aimed to prove the truth of the Prophet Muḥammad and Islam over against Christianity.

In addition, the author refers to the *Kızıl Elma* ('Red Apple'; presumably a reference to Rome) as a city of 'infidels' 700 years before Jesus. In contrast, the Ottoman dynasty believes in God and the Prophet Muḥammad. Moreover, the Ottomans build mosques after demolishing churches and 'idols'. He sees them as superior in piety to his former Christian coreligionists.

The author emphasises Jesus as the single leading protagonist of the end times. Although, according to the apocalyptic Hadiths, both the figure of the Mahdī and Jesus will be participants in the events of the end time, there is no mention of a Mahdī alongside Jesus in the text. This portrayal of Jesus as a figure in the Muslim tradition emphasises the author's repudiation of his Christian past.

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STUDIES

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Betül Avcı

Macuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; presumably second half of the
 16th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Istanbul
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; presumably 17th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

No information is available about the life of Macuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi except for the details he provides in his treatise about the two years he spent as a prisoner in Malta. According to this memoir, he was originally from Istanbul. In 1597, during the reign of Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603), he was sent to the Bâf province of Cyprus by Damad Efendi, the *kazasker* (high-ranking military judge) of Rumelia, where he was to act as a *kadı* (judge). It is probable that he was a graduate of Süleymaniye Medresesi, since, with the establishment of Süleymaniye Medreseleri in the 16th century, all judges were required to receive their education and *icâzet* (permission to preside) there. A graduate of Süleymaniye Medresesi would apply to the Rumelian or Anatolian *kazasker* office and would be sent on an internship (*mülâzemet*) to serve under high-ranking judges in important *sanjaks* (provincial governments) for at least three years. The prospective judges would then go to Istanbul to take an examination and the successful candidates would be sent to their first post at a *kaza* (provincial jurisdiction) to serve at the lowest rank and salary level.

Macuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi writes that, upon his appointment in 1597, he decided to travel to Bâf by sea following the advice of doctors regarding an eye ailment. When his ship was only 70 miles from the town of Bâf, around Cape Arnaoutis, four Maltese ships attacked it. Macuncuzâde Mustafa Efendi was taken to Malta along with other captives.

The pirates took their prisoners to their chiefs at a 'palace' in Malta, registered them along with the goods they had looted, and locked them in prison. At that time, Malta was under the rule of the Knights of Malta, and served as a prison camp where thousands of Muslim captives were brought and forced to work in construction. Although the Ottomans attempted to conquer the island in response to the damage that the Knights of Malta inflicted on Muslim pilgrims, merchants and passengers,

the Maltese continued their piracy in the Mediterranean throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.

Macuncuzâde laboured with other captives during the day, grinding rocks and soil. He spent his remaining time in the open-air area in front of the prison with other Muslim prisoners, including *kadıs*. In the evening, the captives were locked inside the prison in groups, indicating that security was tight. The memoir suggests that those captured with their families in Malta were allowed to live outside the prison. It also appears that Macuncuzâde had permission to visit the home of a fellow Muslim captive during the day, which led to his being subject to false accusations and being kept in shackles for more than 20 days.

Macuncuzâde's release was secured in 1599 by the freeing of a Christian captive in exchange by order of the sultan and the payment of a ransom by Gevher Han Sultanzâde Mehmed, the governor of the Morea. Nothing is known of him after that date.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Sergüzeşt-i esîr-i Malta, 'Memoir of the captive of Malta'

DATE 1597-9

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

Macuncuzâde's treatise contains his memoirs and his poetry. While the majority of the poems are in Ottoman Turkish, some are partially or completely in Persian or Arabic (İz, 'Macuncuzade Mustafa'nın', pp. 74-5; all the references that follow are to this edition unless otherwise stated).

Some of the poems are in the form of supplications and prayers to God for Macuncuzâde's freedom (pp. 79-80, 87-8, 97-8). Some are petitions to the sultan (pp. 80-4, 110-12), to the sultan's mother (pp. 85-7), to the governor of the Morea (pp. 99-101), and to Hızır Pasha (pp. 104-6) with requests to send his ransom. Some consist of dated records of important events and days (pp. 106-7, 108-9), or are about the release of his fellow captives (pp. 78, 96, 102-3), conveying his congratulations to them (pp. 103-4). Macuncuzâde describes his great sadness in his poems and emphasises that he shed many tears at being taken captive by non-Muslims and for having to live in difficult conditions (pp. 76-7, 89-91, 94-7, 107-8, 114-16). In his poetry, he repeatedly asks for either death or freedom (p. 75).

Macuncuzâde complains of Muslims having to suffer verbal and physical insults, especially when forced to work in ditches, and notes that their captors consider all Muslims to be infidels, and insult their personal faith, the religion of Islam and the Prophet Muḥammad (pp. 88, 91). According to his descriptions, the conditions in the prison were especially bad (pp. 73-4). However, Muslim captives were spared labour during the first days of 'Īd and were able to celebrate it together (p. 89).

Macuncuzâde's work indicates that, although their captors reviled Islam, he and other Muslims were allowed to practise their religion. They turned a part of the prison into a *masjid* and were able to pray in congregation there, as well as coming together on holy nights. Macuncuzâde further notes that he led the prayer during Ramadan and on other days (p. 78). His greatest distress with respect to practising Islam was the lack of access to clean water for ablutions. The water collected in two basins at the prison entrance was extremely dirty and thus unsuitable for ritual cleansing. Running water was not available (p. 74).

In their free time, the captives were allowed to read and copy books, as well as to converse with their friends. Macuncuzâde wrote out the Qur'an from memory in 40 days. He also copied a book entitled *Ahlâk-ı azmî* for a friend to read (p. 78; *Ahlâk-ı azmî* was probably *Enîsü'l-ârifîn fî tercemeti Ahlâk-ı muhsinî*, Azmî Pir Mehmed's (d. 1582) translation of a Persian book of ethics by Hüseyin ibn Ali el-Kâifî (see F. Koyuncu, 'Ahlâkî eğitim rehberi olarak Azmî Pir Mehmed', in *Enîsü'l-Ârifîn'i*, *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 41 [2015] 241-58). Although Macuncuzâde slept at night in the closely-guarded prison, he was able to spend part of his day in the house of a fellow captive (pp. 75-6), and it was there that Macuncuzâde's *divan* (collection of poetry), which one of the prisoners kept for him, was copied (p. 76).

Muslim captives were allowed to write home to ask for the ransom designated for their freedom to be sent. Thus, they could appeal to officials and receive news from their family and homeland. Messages would be sent and received through other Muslim captives who had been freed and were on their way home, as well as through non-Muslims who arrived in Malta to undertake various tasks and duties. Macuncuzâde thus sent his petition to Mehmed Bey, the governor of the Morea, with a *zimmî* named Yakumu (p. 99). He also learned from a letter delivered by a non-Muslim merchant named Marko that a Christian captive in Istanbul had been freed in exchange for his own release. The treatise notes that the same Marko also played an active role in delivering the ransom for another Muslim prisoner (p. 116).

SIGNIFICANCE

The treatise describes the life of prisoners at the time, and demonstrates the bitter outcome of the centuries-long strife between Muslims and Christians for hegemony in the Mediterranean.

During this time, Muslim captives lived under extremely difficult conditions and were forced into hard labour. Yet they were able to practise their religion freely and fulfil their religious duties. The ransom payments demanded for the freedom of captives constituted a significant source of income for their captors. Christians were among the middlemen who procured these ransom payments and exchanged information between parties. This treatise sheds light on Muslim-Christian relations in wider society and is one of the few resources available on the experiences of Muslims captured by Christians.

PUBLICATIONS

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F. İz, 'Macuncuzade Mustafa'nın anıları – *Sergüzeşt-i esîr-i Malta*', *Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, Türk Dil Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* 319 (1971) 69-122

Macuncuzade Mustafa Efendi, *Malta esirleri*, ed. C. Çiftçi, Istanbul, 1996 (adaptation into modern Turkish)

STUDIES

Parmaksızoğlu, 'Bir Türk kadısının esaret hatıraları'

Emine Nurefşan Dinç

Mihai Viteazul

Michael the Brave

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	1601
PLACE OF DEATH	Câmpia Turzii, Transylvania (present-day Romania)

BIOGRAPHY

Michael the Brave ruled as Prince of Wallachia (r. 1593-1601), Transylvania (r. 1599-1601) and Moldavia (r. 1600-1601). His origins are still disputed among historians. He claimed to be the (illegitimate) son of the late Prince Pătrașcu the Fair (cel Bun, r. 1554-7), but this has not been established. Some sources indicate that he was related (on his mother's side) to the highly influential Constantinopolitan family of the Cantacouzenoi, who did indeed provide him with constant support. It seems that Michael spent part of his youth in Constantinople and travelling through the Balkans as a sheep merchant (*celep*), working for his influential Greek-born uncle Yani, before he embarked on a brilliant political career in Wallachia through the reigns of several princes. When his royal origins were revealed, he was forced to leave the country. He appears to have enjoyed the favour of Prince Sigismund Báthory of Transylvania, who in turn recommended him to Edward Barton, the English ambassador to Constantinople. It was these connections, along with the large sums of money that he and his allies spent to gain the favour of the Porte, that opened for him the way to the throne of Wallachia in 1593, with the support of the Grand Vizier Koca Sinan Pasha.

Nothing is known about Michael's education, though it is relatively certain that he knew Greek, which was used as a lingua franca in the Levant at the time.

Michael's reign is one of the most spectacular periods in Wallachian history, but also one that is extremely complex and difficult to evaluate. During the early years of his reign, the new prince seemed to be a loyal subject of the sultan, though this situation rapidly changed. In November 1594, with the support of Sigismund Báthory, Michael rebelled against his sovereign. He massacred all the Ottoman money-lenders and creditors

in Wallachia and annihilated the Ottoman troops garrisoned in Bucharest. In the winter of 1594-5, he repelled several Ottoman attempts to overthrow him, but the danger persisted, as in the following summer he had to confront a huge Ottoman army led by his former supporter Koca Sinan Pasha. After a fierce but inconclusive battle at Călugăreni on the River Neajlov (23 August 1595), Michael was forced to retreat towards Transylvania, while the Ottomans began to conquer Wallachian territory. However, this state of affairs did not last long. With a significant Transylvanian force that included a large Italian contingent, Michael expelled the Ottomans from Wallachia the same year through the Christian victories at Târgoviște (18 October) and Giurgiu (25 October).

In the following years, he continued to pursue an aggressive policy against the Porte, although the political context changed dramatically. In the summer of 1595, Moldavia, which in 1594 had joined Wallachia in a joint rebellion against the Porte, abandoned the war against the Ottomans and resumed payment of tribute. The new prince, Jeremiah Moghila (r. 1595-1606), supported by the Poles, pursued a peaceful policy towards the Ottoman Empire until the end of his reign. In Transylvania, there was also a confrontation between pro-Habsburg and pro-Ottoman political factions, a struggle that was amplified by the hesitant policy of Prince Sigismund Báthory, and by the Ottoman victory at Mezökeresztes (22-6 October 1596). In these circumstances, Michael tried to establish a direct political connection with Rudolph II (Holy Roman Emperor 1576-1612) with the aim of obtaining financial and political support. He accomplished this goal two years later, through the treaty of Târgoviște of 9 June 1598. As a result, Michael the Brave initiated an offensive into Ottoman territory in autumn 1598, crushing an enemy force near Vidin, and destroying the fortresses of Nicopolis and Vidin, but bad weather as well as insufficient financial resources and the false news of the conquest of Oradea by the Turks forced him to retreat.

In the following years, his strategy changed drastically. His main attacks were no longer directed against Ottoman territory, but against Transylvania and Moldavia. These two principalities had changed sides in the previous years, jeopardising Michael's position on the Wallachian throne. In 1599, Michael conquered the principality of Transylvania as a result of his victory at Șelimbăr (28 October 1599), and the following year he occupied Moldavia after a very short campaign. His policy provoked both the reaction of his enemies (the Ottoman Empire, the Kingdom of Poland, the Hungarian nobility in Transylvania) and the suspicion of his allies (Emperor Rudolph II).

A coalition between the Hungarian nobles and Habsburg forces in Transylvania defeated Michael in the Battle of Mirăslău (18 September 1600), putting an end to his political ambitions. This setback was followed by another. A military campaign led by the Polish chancellor and hetman Jan Zamoyski expelled him from Moldavia and Wallachia, and he was forced to seek refuge in Prague. In the Habsburg capital, he managed for a short period to regain the support (but not the confidence) of the emperor, who gave him money to recruit a mercenary army. This new force, led by Michael and the Habsburg general Giorgio Basta, entered Transylvania and crushed the Transylvanian forces at the battle of Guruslău (3 August 1601). Sixteen days later Michael was killed by Giorgio Basta's men. The Habsburg general feared that Michael would try to exploit the military success for his own ends and, with his master's approval, eliminated this uncomfortable ally.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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- G.D. Florescu and D. Pleşia, 'Mihai Viteazul. Urmaş al împăraţilor bizantini', in *Scripta Valachica*, vol. 4, Târgovişte, 1973, 129-61
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Correspondence

DATE 1594-1601

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE German, Latin, Italian and Polish

DESCRIPTION

Michael the Brave's thoughts about the confrontation between Christianity and Islam during his lifetime, the so-called 'Long Turkish War', 1593-1606, can be gathered from his correspondence with the main political actors. These letters are scattered among various archives in Romania and elsewhere. Most are extant in the original or on microfilm in the Central National Archives in Bucharest, and have been published in various collections of documents.

According to the Silesian chronicler Balthasar Walther, Michael the Brave's decision to launch his rebellion against the Porte was provoked by the Ottoman successes in Upper Hungary in 1594. Although this statement is questionable, it is certain that the rebellion was carefully prepared, at least from the summer of 1594 onwards. The prince was highly active diplomatically, striving to ensure financial and military support for his country, and the letters sent to various European courts constituted his main diplomatic tool for this purpose. He had connections in almost all the important European capitals, establishing direct links with the court of the Habsburgs in Prague, the Papacy, the Kingdom of Poland, the Crimean Khanate, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and even with Philip III of Spain.

The contents of his letters portray a prince who is well-informed, and whose vocabulary is very well adapted to the diplomatic language of the time. Many of the letters were written in Latin, while a good number of those still extant are in vernacular languages (German, Polish, Italian), although it is difficult to know whether the surviving documents are copies of some lost originals or, as is more probable, just contemporary translations. The length of the texts is determined by their purpose,

ranging from brief notes announcing political or military developments to bulky memoirs submitted to Emperor Rudolph II or the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

In some instances, supplementary evidence can be found in other types of documents, such as reports by foreign diplomats who negotiated with Michael. These documents are indirect statements of Michael's political thought, and could provide interesting insights on the topic.

Michael's letters reflect many of the rhetorical themes used by Wallachian princes in the 14th and 15th centuries. Like his predecessors, Michael declared his determination to fight alongside his fellow Christians against the infidel and shed his blood for the triumph of the Cross. Such statements were made in letters addressed to various Christian recipients such as Emperor Rudolph II, Sigismund Báthory, Prince of Transylvania, potential allies such as the Poles and Cossacks, and sometimes even his enemies (e.g. the Moldavian Prince Jeremiah Moghila).

From the outbreak of the 'Long War' against the Ottoman Empire until the end of his reign, Michael the Brave employed a wide range of phrases in his correspondence that appear to suggest the conflict with the Turks was in essence religious. At times, he expresses his hope that the infidels will eventually be subjected by the Christian sword; on other occasions, he declares his confidence that the war will bring salvation to many Christians living under the Ottoman yoke. Like many of his predecessors in Wallachia, Michael often compares his realm to an outpost of Christendom, a buffer state that ensured protection for the whole of western Europe. Michael seems to suggest that there were no religious disputes between Christians themselves, and that the war against this common and cruel enemy was a duty for all believers.

Expressions such as 'outpost or gate of Christianity', 'Christendom', 'bloodthirsty and cruel enemy' could be considered mere *topoi*, used by someone confronted with imminent danger. However, close analysis shows that such clichés were never used randomly, and were intended to provoke a particular reaction and shape the political decision of the recipient. In each case, 'crusading vocabulary' is employed in a specific context and with a definite purpose. For example, Michael's allusions in his 1595 letter to Jan Potocki, an important Polish nobleman, to a common faith and a common enemy occur within a dramatic context: Michael was anticipating an Ottoman invasion of his country and was trying desperately to obtain help from his neighbours.

The language used reflects difficult speculations. His 'poor country', bulwark of the whole of Christendom, was in need of assistance, lest the

infidels find an opportunity to expand 'everywhere'. This line of argumentation does not appear to be particularly elaborate, though we may assume that he was attempting to gauge the intentions of the Poles when they were gathering a huge army that would eventually enter Moldavia. The desire for the good will of the Polish king also results from a secret meeting between Michael and the Polish ambassador, Lubieniecki, in July 1595.

Two similar letters (from 1596 and 1598) were written for different purposes and within more favourable contexts. In both cases, Michael offers gifts and money, demanding in exchange for the enrolment of Cossacks in his army. The text of the 1596 letter reflects the starting point of a military collaboration. Michael excuses himself for not having been able to send an embassy sooner, and the request for help is phrased in relatively cautious terms. The fact that there had been a previous attempt, which ended in failure, explains the rather humble tone of the letter. Michael even anticipates the Cossack ataman's refusal to join his ranks, and tries to convince at least those he could of the substantial potential advantages of enrolling in his army. Only after formulating this minimal request, does Michael resort to the rhetorical artifice of the joint battle against the enemies of the Cross. This religious idea may be considered the final argument in a strategy of persuasion. Similar vocabulary had been used several years previously by the Habsburg agent, Erich Lassota. In that instance, even the Cossacks expressed their desire to fight alongside the imperial troops against a common foe. Thus, by employing a figure of speech regularly used in the language of diplomacy at the time, Michael the Brave could hope for a favourable response.

A couple of years later, in 1598, the relationship with the Cossacks had been somewhat modified. The successes of the intervening years had considerably enhanced Michael's reputation and, correspondingly, the attraction of enrolling under his flag. As in 1596, Michael promises gifts, money and plunder, although this time he makes these conditional on loyalty to the Christian cause.

Finally, the letter of 1598 introduces a new element not present in that of 1596. It appeals to the Cossacks to fight not only against the infidel, but also against those who 'help the enemies of the Cross against Christians and against the emperor of the Christians'. This specification alerts the Cossacks to the fact that they would have to face other adversaries in battle, besides the Turks. At the same time, this repeats another theme of crusade discourse that has a long history: the sin of shedding Christian blood. This theme also appears in the context of the 'Long War' whenever

one Christian army found itself facing another in battle. In this situation, both camps would try to substantiate the justness of their cause and to justify their decision to engage in battle. Legitimacy is established, on each occasion, by casting the adversary as a polar opposite – a perjurer, a traitor to the Christian cause, and a friend to the enemies of the Cross. In these circumstances, ‘shedding Christian blood’ is the lesser of two evils. A similar concept appears in a memoir sent by Michael to Emperor Rudolph II in 1599 after the conquest of Transylvania. Here, Michael depicts himself as compelled by the unfaithful behaviour of the Transylvanian prince to take up arms against a Christian prince, with the final victory being a clear sign of divine approval.

Michael adopts a similar perspective in 1600 during his conquest of Moldavia. In this instance he argues that he can no longer suffer the unbearable offences uttered by the Moldavian leader, not only against him, but also against the Habsburgs; as a devout Christian and faithful subject of the emperor, he can no longer endure such a felon and enemy of Christianity, a character prepared to violate the trust granted him and take up arms against fellow Christians.

This argument resurrects an idea emerging in the 1598 letter to the Cossacks and developed when Michael entered Transylvania in 1599, namely that those who do not take up arms against the Turks but actually keep peace with them are ‘bad Christians’ who must necessarily be punished. Michael the Brave’s skilfulness goes so far as to use these very same arguments in a letter addressed to the Moldavian nobles during his invasion of the East-Carpathian principality.

SIGNIFICANCE

Although many of the ideas used by Michael the Brave had a long earlier history, he uses them skilfully, adapting them to various contexts and differing aims. Ultimately, his military and diplomatic success was short-lived, because as ruler of a small realm he lacked the resources to pursue a costly and difficult war. Moreover, his ambitions clashed with those of the main political actors of the time. He was regarded with fear and suspicion not only by the Ottomans but also by the Habsburgs, who interpreted his conquest of Transylvania and Moldavia as an effort to build an independent and strong political entity. After Michael’s assassination in 1601, his policy was continued by one of his successors, Radu Șerban, until the conclusion of the war in 1606.

PUBLICATIONS

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MS Bucharest, Arhivele Naționale București (for digitalised versions see <http://arhivamedievala.ro/>)

MS Warsaw, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych

MS Warsaw, Archivum Zamoyskich – Korespondencja

MS Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien – Hungarica and Turkei

MS Vienna, Kriegsarchiv Wien – Die Feldakten

MS Innsbruck, Landesregierungsarchiv – Ambraser Akten

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Ovidiu Cristea

Altıparmak Mehmed Efendi

Mehmed ibn Mehmed Üskübî
Çıkrıkçızâde Altıparmak

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; presumably the second half of the
16th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Üsküp (Skopje, modern-day Macedonia)
DATE OF DEATH 1623-4
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Altıparmak Mehmed Efendi was an Ottoman Sufi scholar of the Bayramiyya order. Fluent in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, he was originally from Üsküp (Skopje, modern-day Macedonia). After completing his education in his hometown, he moved to Istanbul where he served as a preacher in the prestigious Fatih Mosque. While in Istanbul, Altıparmak taught Hadith and *tafsîr*. Subsequently, he settled in Cairo where he continued teaching until he died in 1623-4 and was buried in the courtyard of the Altıparmak Mosque, which had been built by Altıparmak himself. During his time in Cairo, he also visited Mecca and Medina on pilgrimage. Altıparmak came from a scholarly family (his father Mehmed Efendi had served as a *qāḍī* in Mecca and Medina) and was one of the most renowned scholars of his time.

His surviving writings are primarily his treatises on Christianity and a number of translations of Arabic and Persian classics. Among the most important are his translation of *Ma'ārij al-nubuwwa fī madārij al-futuwwa* by Molla Miskīn (d. 1501), *Nüzhet-i cihân ve nâdire-i zamân* (a translation of *Nigāristān* by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghaffārī, d. 1567), and *Terceme-i sittîn li-cāmii'l-besâtîn*, also known as *Yûsufnâme* (a translation of *Jāmi' laṭā'if al-basâtîn* by Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Zayd al-Ṭūsī, which is a commentary on *Sūra Yûsuf*).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Hikâyet-i hîle-i Bûlis-i laîn, 'The story of the accursed Paul's deception'

Altıparmak Efendi'nin Tevârih'inden Nasârâ-yı ezdûrân Bûlis-i yahûdi-yi laîni hikâyetdir,
'The story of Paul the cursed Jew who deceived the Christians: from Altıparmak Efendi's *Book of history*'

DATE Unknown; presumably late 16th or early 17th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

Focusing on the early history of Christianity, this treatise aims to show the devious character of the Apostle Paul, who, during his fight against the followers of Jesus, pretended to be one of them and cunningly led them into misguidance, causing internal disagreement and sectarianism. In the treatise, which covers fols 248v-254r in MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Pertevniyal, Altıparmak provides a number of examples from Paul's sermons and his 'deceitful' missionary activities. He also writes about the doctrinal disagreements among Christians, and of different churches emerging after Paul.

SIGNIFICANCE

The treatise uses a number of anti-Pauline narrations found in pre-modern Muslim polemical sources in Arabic. It is one of the earliest sources devoted to this subject written in Ottoman Turkish.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Pertevniyal 998, fols 248v-254r (undated)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Mihrişah Sultan 443/10, fols 51r-55v (undated)

Risâle-i Altıparmak der hakk-ı Nasârâ, 'Altıparmak's treatise concerning Christians'

Altıparmak Efendi'nin Tevârih'inden suâl-ı Nasârâ faslıdır, 'Questions of Christians: a chapter from Altıparmak Efendi's Book of History'

DATE Unknown; presumably late 16th or early 17th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

This treatise, which covers fols 235r-248v in MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Pertevniyal 998, consists of 25 'questions' from Christians and 'responses' from the author. Although the Jacobites are mentioned at the beginning, the work addresses its arguments to Christians in general, and, while its primary intention is to produce a response to Christians, on a number of occasions Altıparmak also addresses some questions and arguments raised by Jews. In building his arguments, he relies on scriptural texts, quoting from the Qur'an as well as the Bible. The topics discussed include: the universality of Muḥammad's prophethood and that, despite what the Jacobites claim, he was not sent only to the Arabs but to all humankind; the argument that the miracles performed by Jesus neither rank him above Muḥammad nor indicate his divinity; the coming of Muḥammad was foretold by the Torah and the Gospel; narratives about the miracles performed by Muḥammad are proven by *tawâtur*; at the second coming of Jesus, he will not profess Christianity, but rather will follow Muḥammad's *sharī'a*. There are many similar points in which comparisons are made between Jesus and Muḥammad.

SIGNIFICANCE

Having spent his life in Skopje, Istanbul and Cairo, three major cities of the Ottoman Empire, Altıparmak must have gained rich experience in relation to the Christians of the Balkans, Anatolia and the Arab lands. The treatise is of great importance for understanding Muslim theological perceptions of Christianity in the 17th-century Ottoman world and the way they relate to the earlier literature of this kind produced in Arabic.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Pertevniyal 998, fols 235r-248v (undated)

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(undated)

MS Cairo, Dār al-kutub – Majāmi‘ Turkī, Tal‘at 106, fols 31v-(undated)

Lejla Demiri & Serkan Ince

Abū l-Qāsim ibn ‘Azūm al-Qayrawānī

Abū l-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad Marzūq ‘Abd al-Jalīl ibn
‘Azūm al-Qayrawānī

DATE OF BIRTH Approximately 1523
PLACE OF BIRTH Kairouan, Tunisia
DATE OF DEATH After 1604
PLACE OF DEATH Kairouan, Tunisia

BIOGRAPHY

Abū l-Qāsim ibn ‘Azūm al-Qayrawānī was born in Kairouan, Tunisia, at the end of the 15th century. There are no specific dates for his birth or death, although his biographers affirm that he was alive at the turn of the 17th century. His family, the al-‘Azāzima, was well-known for its scholarly reputation and its contributions to religious life in Tunisia.

A Mālikī jurist, Abū l-Qāsim lived in Tunisia most of his life, teaching, writing and debating. He was appointed mufti of Tunisia in 1574. He collected the fatwas he gave after his appointment as mufti in his famous work *Al-ajwiba* ('The answers').

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-i‘lām bi-mā aghfalahu al-‘awāmm, ‘Declaring what is neglected by the common people’

Risāla fī l-jizya wa-aḥkām ahl al-dhimma, ‘Treatise on the poll-tax and regulations concerning client communities’

DATE Around 1601

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The date of this treatise is uncertain, though it is generally agreed that Ibn ‘Azūm was living in 1601. Neither of the two extant manuscripts has a title page or a copyist’s name; the attribution to Ibn ‘Azūm and the title come from a reference on the first page in the earlier manuscript, where it states, ‘This is the book of *Al-i‘lām bi-mā aghfalahu al-‘awāmm* written by the scholar, the jurist, the Shaykh Abū l-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad Marzūq ibn ‘Abd al-Jalīl ibn Findār al-Murādī known as Ibn ‘Azūm’. Each manuscript is seven pages long, with an average of 10 words per line.

Another manuscript that can also be identified as from Ibn ‘Azūm has similar contents to *Al-i‘lām*, though it has been catalogued under the title *Risāla fī l-jizya wa-aḥkām ahl al-dhimma*. There is no clear description of this manuscript in the sources, except that it is only two pages long.

Al-i‘lām bi-mā aghfalahu al-‘awāmm starts with a traditional opening in praise of Islam as the religion of God, its people as the best nation God has created on earth, its scholars as upright and moral and equal in the eyes of God to the Prophets of the Children of Israel, and its Prophet as the best student and the greatest teacher. The main task of Muslim scholars is to remind the people of what they may have forgotten or neglected in the teachings of Islam. The people must then turn this knowledge into action. This is the principle of ‘Commanding the good and forbidding the bad’.

The treatise can be divided into two main parts. The first discusses the question of *jizya*, while the second reviews some of the general rulings concerning the *ahl al-dhimma*. Ibn ‘Azūm presents his arguments in the form of injunctions, prefaced by ‘You, as a Muslim, should know’, ‘They, the people of *dhimma*, have to’, and ‘they must not’, giving his reader a manual on how to deal with *dhimmīs* who live near him. He divides

non-Muslims into three groups: unbelievers, renegades and the polytheists of Quraysh, the tribe of Muḥammad, only the first being liable to pay *jizya* (renegades should be killed if they persist in their beliefs, while the Quraysh are exempted because of their closeness to the Prophet). The amount of *jizya* to be paid by unbelievers differs between those who have signed a treaty with Muslims and those whose lands were taken by force. The former must pay according to the conditions of their treaty, while the latter must pay four gold dinars and 40 dirhams, though this may be reduced or waived according to the conditions and status of the payer, i.e. if he is poor or a cleric.

In the second part, Ibn ‘Azūm reviews the general rulings about the conduct of *dhimmīs* in the presence of Muslims. They are prohibited from riding horses and donkeys and walking in the middle of the road; they should dress in a way that distinguishes them from Muslims; they should not drink alcohol or eat pork in public; if they parade their crosses during their festivals, they should be punished and their crosses broken; their church bells or Bible recitations should not be audible by Muslims; their buildings should not be higher than those of Muslims; they cannot study the Qur’an; they cannot reside in the Arabian Peninsula. If *dhimmīs* fail to observe any of these rulings, they should be punished. If they wage war, refuse to pay the *jizya*, rebel against Islamic legal rulings, read the Qur’an or the Traditions of the Prophet, spy on Muslims or mistreat Muslim women or harm Muslims, their pact of *dhimma* is annulled and they should be killed. However if they become Muslims, they will be relieved of their punishments as Islam negates all previous sins.

Muslims should not force Islam upon *dhimmīs*. Rather, they should come to belief out of conviction. On the other hand, a Muslim should not initiate greetings with a *dhimmī*, and he should ask God for forgiveness if he does this by mistake. A Muslim should not offer friendship to unbelievers except in cases of necessity; if he does, he is committing a grave sin that diminishes his faith (Ibn ‘Azūm quotes Q 60:1; 58:22 and 5:78-82).

Ibn ‘Azūm ends his treatise by stating that what he has written is enough for those who have strong faith in their hearts and firm conviction.

SIGNIFICANCE

The significance of the treatise derives from the position of Ibn ‘Azūm as the leading mufti of his time in Tunisia. It also mirrors the social and political tension of the early 17th century. In the 16th century, the ruling Ḥafṣid dynasty had sought the help of Spain against the attempts of the Ottomans to extend their authority over Tunisian territory, in response

to which armies led by the Emperor Charles V and Don John of Austria in 1535 and 1573 respectively had subjected the people to Christian authority. In 1574, the Ottomans removed the Ḥafṣids and made Tunisia part of the Ottoman Empire. This restatement of *dhimmī* regulations can be seen as part of an attempt to bring relations between Muslims and Christians into conformity with traditional Muslim principles.

PUBLICATIONS

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STUDIES

al-Khayālī (ed.), *Risālatān fī ahl al-dhimma*

Said Fares Hassan

Dominicus Zavoreus

DATE OF BIRTH Approximately 1540
PLACE OF BIRTH Šibenik, Croatia
DATE OF DEATH 5 October 1608
PLACE OF DEATH Šibenik, Croatia

BIOGRAPHY

Dominicus Zavoreus (Dinko Zavorović) was born in Šibenik, Croatia, in about 1540, a descendant of a noble family. He studied law at the University of Padua. He held a number of important municipal, civil and military posts in his native city: he was a member of the City Council and the Council of the Fifteen, he was appointed city judge in 1580, and in 1584 he became the captain of the *borgo* of Šibenik. He was exiled between 1585 and 1588 by the Venetian government because of his anti-Venetian stance. He went to Bohemia and Hungary, staying with his brother-in-law Faustus Verantius (Faust Vrančić), who was secretary at the Court of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II in Prague. As a result of his successful participation in the anti-Ottoman wars in Hungary and on the Croatian border, on 13 July 1587 Rudolf renewed his noble title and gave him a new coat of arms. Invited by his fellow citizens, he returned to Šibenik in about 1589 and became a member of the *Corte maggior*. He died in Šibenik in 1608.

Zavoreus is regarded as the first early modern Croatian historiographer, and a precursor of 17th-century critical historiography. His approach is characterised by anti-Ottoman and anti-Venetian attitudes. His *opus* includes three historiographical works, one in Latin and two in Italian. His only published poem, dedicated to Juraj Baraković, is written in vernacular Croatian, and it is published in the introduction to Baraković's epic *Jarula* (Venice, 1618). Two of his historiographical works remained unpublished: *Trattato sopra le cose di Sebenico* (before 1585) and *De rebus Dalmaticis libri octo* (1602). His only published historiographical work is *Ruina et presa del regno della Bossina* (Venice, 1602). This work, 23 pages octavo pages long, is significant because it is the first printed book about the fall of medieval Bosnia under Ottoman rule (1463). In this work, the last days of the Kingdom of Bosnia are described through opposing Hungarian and Ottoman points of view.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Dominici Zavorei De rebus Dalmaticis libri octo,
 'The affairs of Dalmatia, in eight books by
 Dominicus Zavoreus'

DATE 1602

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

De rebus Dalmaticis libri octo is the first systematic history of Dalmatia. It represents Zavoreus's anti-Ottoman and anti-Venetian attitude. In 1598, Zavoreus lent the manuscript, originally divided into ten books, to the British priest and scholar Robert Turner, who died suddenly in 1599 and never returned it. Unaware of Turner's death, Zavoreus decided to write another version, which he completed in 1602. The re-written work was divided into eight books and Zavoreus dedicated it to his patron, Faustus Verantius. It was not published and the autograph manuscript is now lost, though it survives in 16 manuscript copies. There are two versions in Latin, one divided into eight books (*De rebus Dalmaticis libri octo*), of which two manuscripts are known, the other divided into five books (*De rebus Dalmaticis libri quinque*), of which seven manuscripts are known. The version in five books was made after 1602, and is the work of an unknown editor. *De rebus Dalmaticis* was translated into Italian in 1714 by Alberto Papali, and this also remains unpublished.

The manuscript *De rebus Dalmaticis libri octo* totals 135 numbered folios (based on MS Venice, Biblioteca Marciana – Cl. X Cod. XL-3652, which is considered the best copy; references below are from this). The work chronicles the history of Dalmatia from Antiquity to the year 1437 and the death of Sigismund of Luxemburg, King of Hungary and Croatia 1387-1437, and Holy Roman Emperor 1433-7. In six of its folios, it contains paragraphs about the Ottoman devastation of medieval Dalmatia and Croatia.

At the very beginning of the work, Zavoreus makes a general statement that Dalmatia, which had once belonged to Roman Illyricum, 'is partially subjected to the Hungarians, the Venetians and the Ottomans' (fol. 1r). Then, when he emphasises the cruelty of ancient Slav warriors towards their captives, he compares this to the Ottoman ill-treatment of Christians in Dalmatia (*quod usque in hodiernum a Turcis praecipue in Christianos in Dalmatia servari solet*) (fol. 44r). He also mentions how 'the Ottomans devastated the whole of Dalmatia and took hold of its parishes' (*Turci totam Dalmatiam vastarunt, eiusque parochias arripuere*) (fol. 69v).

The work also refers to the last large-scale crusade of the Middle Ages, briefly describing how in 1396 Sigismund 'unhappily conflicted' with the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I at the battle of Nicopolis and was defeated (fol. 126r). In the decades following this battle, fear of the Ottoman military force grew so strong among the inhabitants of Dalmatia, particularly the citizens of Šibenik, Trogir, Split and Kotor, that in 1420 they placed

themselves under the protection of the Republic of Venice, because the Ottomans 'have little by little destroyed all of the neighbouring rulers' (*omnesque sibi conterminos regulos paulatim destruebant*) (fol. 134v).

The work ends with the statement that in 1431 the Ottoman army began to oppress the whole of Dalmatia and caused great devastation. After the death of Sigismund in 1437, Dalmatia experienced such miseries that, as Zavoreus sees it, from that time there was nothing left worthy to be remembered in the future. Dalmatian towns and villages were extensively plundered, burned and devastated, and Dalmatia could not even keep its own laws. Zavoreus concludes the work with a poem by Daniel Difnicus Divnić of Šibenik: *Turcha heu, heu, rapuit rura et gens extera iura / Restat sola fides, caetera rapta vides / Deo gratias* (fol. 135r).

SIGNIFICANCE

De rebus Dalmaticis libri octo does not deal directly with Islam. Nevertheless, it gives an example of anti-Ottoman attitudes, which formed an important part of the ideological and political agenda in Croatian Renaissance historiography. Composed in the period following the most severe Ottoman invasion of Christian Europe, which inevitably led to a perception of the Ottomans as a threat, the passages about the Ottomans, although short, reveal a powerful pro-Christian and anti-Ottoman attitude. The work refers several times to the extreme cruelty of the Ottomans towards Christian institutions and inhabitants in Dalmatia, reminding the reader that Dalmatia was *antemurale Christianitatis*, the first line of defence against the Ottoman threat to Christian Europe.

PUBLICATIONS

There are two known transcriptions of *De rebus Dalmaticis libri octo* and seven of *De rebus Dalmaticis libri quinque* in Latin, and another seven in Italian translation, all of them dated between the beginning of the 17th and the second half of the 19th century.

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Iva Kurelac

Stavrinos the Vestiard

Vistiernicul Stavrinos, Stavrinos ho Vestiaros, Stavrinos

DATE OF BIRTH About 1575-80

PLACE OF BIRTH Maltsani, region of Delvini, Epirus (present-day Delvinë, Albania)

DATE OF DEATH Unknown; probably between 1611 and 1615

PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; possibly Moldavia

BIOGRAPHY

Stavrinos' life is largely a mystery. He tells us in his poem *Andragathies toũ eusevestatou kai andreiotatou Michaēl voevoda* that he was born in the village of Maltsani, in the region of Delvini (today Delvinë, in Albania), in Epirus. He does not give his date of birth, though it is likely that he was born around 1575-80. Nothing is known of his family or education. From his poem it transpires that he was not truly scholarly, but familiar only with popular Greek epic works of his time.

Stavrinos' surname 'the Vestiard', meaning treasurer, refers to the office he held in the state apparatus (Romanian: *vistier*, Greek *vēstiarēs* or *vestiaros*). It was a relatively frequent practice at the time that people from modest families would use the title of the office they held as a kind of family name. He presumably did not hold the position of first (or grand) treasurer, for he does not appear as such in the documents; he was probably the second or even third treasurer, but these were positions of some importance at the time. As his work shows, he served the Wallachian Prince Mihai Viteazul (Michael the Brave, r. 1593-1601), whose deeds he praises in his poem. Some sources appear to indicate that he undertook diplomatic missions on behalf of the prince, although this has not been confirmed.

Stavrinos was probably present at Câmpia Turzii when Mihai Viteazul fell, assassinated by General Giorgio Basta's mercenaries in August 1601. Nothing is known of his further life and career. He asserts that he wrote the poem in two days, 1-2 February 1602, in the Saxon town of Bistrița (German: Nösen, Transylvania, in present-day Romania), where he is said to have been imprisoned by the Habsburgs after Mihai's death. According to hieromonk Nephytos, who wrote the preface to the print edition of 1672, Stavrinos and his son George lived for a while in Moldavia at the

beginning of the 1630s and were executed there by order of Prince Ștefan Tomșa II (r. 1611-15; 1621-3), but this is a clear error in chronology. Historians have assumed that the two men were probably executed during Ștefan Tomșa's first reign, presumably because of their participation, or suspected participation, in some conspiracy against the prince. However, there is no absolute certainty about the end of Stavrinos' life.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Diēgēsis ōraiotatē toū Michaēl voivonta, 'A very beautiful story about Prince Michael'
Andragathies toū eusevestatou kai andreiotatou Michaēl voevoda, 'Exploits of the most pious and valiant Prince Michael'
Poema lui Stavrinos

DATE 1602

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

As its title indicates, *Andragathies toū eusevestatou kai andreiotatou Michaēl voevoda* (its full title is *Diēgēsis ōraiotatē toū Michaēl voivonta, pōs aphenteusen eis tēn Vlachian, kai pōs ekopse tous Tourkous opoū eurethēsan ekeī, kai pōs ekame pollaīs andragatheiais kai ystera ethanatothē dia phthonon chōris polemon*, 'A very beautiful story about Prince Michael, on how he ruled in Wallachia and cut to pieces the Turks

who were there, how he fulfilled numerous exploits and how he was killed by jealousy, without fighting'), deals with the deeds of the Wallachian prince Mihai Viteazul and the wars he waged against the Ottoman Empire, the Tatars, Transylvania, Moldavia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, until his violent death in 1601.

Stavrinos says in the poem that he wrote it in Bistrița at the beginning of February 1602. However, modern research has established that at least parts of the text (presumably verses 1161-226) were written later. It is likely that Stavrinos composed the poem in two phases: the first (and most important) at the beginning of February 1602, and the second at a later date, when it is possible that he revised some elements and added new ones. The autograph is lost.

The poem consists of 1,312 verses, written in demotic (popular) Greek using rhyming couplets of traditional 15-syllable verse, which made it accessible to a wide audience. It covers 60 pages in the 1672 edition and 99 pages (including the French translation) in Legrand's edition. Stavrinos was inspired by popular Greek heroic poetry, such as the tale of Alexander the Great and Belisarius, which was very popular among the Greeks. He also borrows some elements from Bergadi's poem *Apokopos* ('Evening Rest', 1509), from the satirical poem known as *Phyllada tou Gadarou* or *Gadarou*, *lykon ki aloupous diēgēsis ōraia* ('Chapbook of the donkey'), and others.

Stavrinos used official Wallachian court documents, which as a dignitary he had access to, in addition to his personal knowledge of the events. It is certain that he also used local chronicles, such as that written by the nobleman Teodosie Rudeanu (no longer extant), which was also used by the Silesian chronicler Balthasar Walter (1558-c. 1631).

Mihai Viteazul is not only the main character in the poem and a hero *par excellence*, but also a divinely inspired saviour. He is entrusted with a divine mission, after God has seen the injustices and oppression of the Wallachians under the Turks and has chosen him 'to despatch all the Turks with the sword and put them to death' in order 'to cleanse' the country of the 'Turkish filth'. Mihai undertakes this mission, and takes it even further to the great joy and hope of the Orthodox Christians (the Greeks), as his most cherished aim is to reconquer Constantinople and restore the Christian (Byzantine) empire. He is thus an instrument of God, a crusading knight.

Stavrinos' world is built on the irreducible opposition between Christians and 'Turks', meaning here 'pagans' or 'unbelievers', who are the

'eternal enemies of the Christians'. Thus, when he condemns some Christians (namely Mihai's enemies) as 'worse than the Turks', he accuses them of the most terrible sins because 'Turks' are seen as the benchmark of baseness. As in the major part of European literature of the time, Stavrinos' Turks are like the scourge of God, for they go plundering everywhere, turn mothers and children into slaves and show no mercy to anyone. On the other hand, although they are called 'unbelievers' and 'Hagarians' (descendants of Hagar), their bravery and military qualities are rarely underestimated; on the contrary, their fighting prowess is exalted in order to emphasise the supremacy of the Christians. When Stavrinos' heroes (Mihai, the Greeks, the Wallachians, Christians in general) appear, the ferocious wolves (Turks) turn into scared sheep, and at the mere mention of Mihai's name, they fall dead on the spot.

Stavrinos often employs the strategy of role reversal. The poem begins by depicting the pitiful situation of the Wallachians, who have had to endure Turkish oppression and abuses. Turks have practically invaded the country and are everywhere; they have stripped the locals of everything – their fortune, goods, money, even women and children, and they respect no rules. This is the reason for Mihai's revolt. Then, when the Christians have power, they act in precisely the same manner as the Ottomans, indicating a reversal in the distribution of power and that the time has now come for the former oppressors to endure the very treatment they had formally been meting out. The description of Mihai's victory near Ruschuk (present-day Ruse, Bulgaria) illustrates this: the Turks tremble with fear as the Christians plunder and destroy the city, brutalising and kidnapping Turkish women and children, seizing their goods and turning owners into slaves, indifferent to their crying and wailing.

Stavrinos devotes little attention to religious matters, using traditional terms to describe the Turks, namely 'unbelievers' and 'Hagarians', and he makes no further comment about them. He often underlines the opposition between Christians and Muslims by attributing to the Ottomans various epithets from wildlife: they tremble with fear like fish, they swim like pigs as they try to escape Mihai's vengeance, they behave like donkeys, etc. It should be noted that Hungarians and Tatars are frequently depicted in similar (or even darker) tones, as Stavrinos' focus is not so much on Christians in general, but rather on Orthodox Christians.

One religious theme, however, remains fundamental, if not always explicit, throughout the poem. This is the recovery of Constantinople

and the restoration of the Eastern Roman Empire. It is part of Mihai's divinely decreed vocation, and his unrelenting opposition towards the Ottomans as enemies of this God-given embodiment of Christian ideals springs from it. The consequence is that the Ottomans always remain beyond salvation as representatives of undiluted evil.

SIGNIFICANCE

Stavrinos' poem circulated widely throughout the Orthodox world. It was first printed in Venice in 1638, together with some works by Mathaios, Bishop of Myra, at the expense of Panos Pepano, a rich merchant from Epirus, who had lived in Wallachia, Moldavia and Venice. At least 11 other editions followed, the last in 1806, making it a true best-seller of early modern Greek literature. *Andragathies toū eusevestatou kai andreiotatou Michaēl voevoda* was known, used and copied to varying degrees by other writers at the time, such as Anthimos (Akakios) Diakrousios (mid-17th century), Ignatios Petritsis and Iōannes Spontēs (both second half of the 17th century).

It used to be assumed that the poem was copied by Georgios Palamidis, who in about 1607 composed a similar work entitled *Historia periechousa pasas tas praxeis kai andragathias kai polemos tou eklamprotatou Michaēl voivoda authentē Houngrovlachias, Transylvanias, Moldavias, eōs tēn hēmeran tēs teleutēs autou* ('The history of all the deeds, the brave actions and the wars of the most illustrious Michael voivode, prince of Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia, until the day of his death') and this assumption came to be so widely accepted that the two authors were generally read together. However, recent studies show that although Palamidis did indeed know Stavrinos' work, the poem he wrote was original. Unlike Stavrinos' work, Palamidis' composition did not circulate widely, as only one manuscript of it is known (MS London, British Museum – Harley 5573).

Stavrinos' poem was also read by some Wallachian chroniclers (the anonymous authors of a chronicle of the Buzescu family and the so-called *Chronicle of the Cantacuzenus family*, and Radu Popescu, who wrote a history of the princes of Wallachia), who incorporated parts of it into their own writings. This, in practical terms, introduced *Andragathies toū eusevestatou kai andreiotatou Michaēl voevoda* into Romanian literature.

Stavrinos' text was also known within the Eastern Slavic region, as is proved by a manuscript once preserved in the collections of Schottenkloster, Vienna (MS 609, fols 583v-587, first half of the 18th century), that contains a partial translation of the poem into Old Russian.

Modern research considers both the historical and literary value of Stavrinos' poem as rather modest. Nevertheless, the work is important because of the impact it had on Greek literary creation and historical consciousness, as well as on Romanian culture.

In the Greek-speaking world under Ottoman rule, Stavrinos' poem contributed considerably to the creation of a long-lasting myth: that of the providential saviour, embodied in the character of Mihai Viteazul, whose first and foremost aim was to retake Constantinople from the Ottomans and restore the former Christian empire. As Stavrinos states, the 'Christian emperor' (Rudolph II), who was invested by God with supreme power over the Christian world, delegated a part of this power to Mihai, who was supposed to fight and destroy the 'Hagarians', elevate the Orthodox faith, deliver the Christians and prepare the union of the churches. The Wallachian prince swore on the Holy Cross to destroy the Turks and shed his own blood for the faith, in order to celebrate the holy mass in Hagia Sophia, as the Christian emperors had done in former times.

These two concepts, the union of the churches as a fundamental precondition for final victory over the infidel, and the celebration of mass in Hagia Sophia as the crowning glory of this victory, are classical themes in Greek epics about the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans and the Christian reconquest of the city, as well as in the oracles and prophetic texts announcing the final hour of the Ottoman Empire, as a preliminary to the Second Coming of Christ and the Last Judgment. In using them, Stavrinos not only shows that he was familiar with this literature and shared the beliefs it conveyed, but also contributes to reinforcing these beliefs among his readers, together with feelings of hostility towards the 'infidel' Ottomans.

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Radu G. Păun

Step'anos T'ok'at'ec'i

DATE OF BIRTH 15 August 1558
PLACE OF BIRTH Eudocia (T'ok'at'; in present-day Turkey)
DATE OF DEATH After 1621
PLACE OF DEATH Probably Eudocia (T'ok'at')

BIOGRAPHY

Step'anos T'ok'at'ec'i was born into a family of priests in the city of T'ok'at' on 15 August 1558. In his works he says that his parents were called Sargis and Čanp'aša, and that he had two sisters and a younger brother, who died in 1601. They lived in the Pazarčux quarter where the main Armenian church and school were located. There he studied with the *vardapet* Petros.

He married in 1577 and fathered two children, after which, in 1580, he was ordained priest. Subsequently, he went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem with his family. Fleeing the Celali attack on T'ok'at' in 1602, he went to Constantinople, where he spent a year, before moving to Theodosia (Kafa) in the Crimea. Over the coming years, he remained there copying manuscripts, composing poetry and teaching at the Monastery of the Holy Cross. Thereafter, it appears that he returned to T'ok'at', where he is found in 1621 continuing his scribal activity. It seems that he died there the following year.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The primary data on his life are drawn from his seven poems and the colophons to the manuscripts he copied; see N. Akinean, *Hing panduxt talasac'ner*.

Secondary

K.B. Bardakjian, *A reference guide to modern Armenian literature, 1500-1920*, Detroit MI, 2000, pp. 53, 517

N. Polarean, *Hay gročner*, Jerusalem, 1971, pp. 485-8

N. Akinean, *Hing panduxt talasac'ner*, Vienna, 1921, pp. 115-27 (includes details of the poems and colophons where primary data of his life is included)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ołb ew otanawor tał i veray Ewdokia meci k'atak'i,
 'Lament and verse *tał* poem on the great city of
 Eudocia (T'ok'at')

DATE 1604

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Ołb ew otanawor tał i veray Ewdokia meci k'atak'i is a poem of 264 lines of eight syllables divided into four-line stanzas with monorhyme. It is introduced by a brief prose contextualisation situating the piece within the Celali revolt of 1595-1610, and focusing more particularly on 1602 and the activities of Deli Hasan, brother of the instigator Karayazıcı Abdülhalim. The author describes these as devastating the lands of the Armenians and 'Romans' ('Rum' here signifies the Ottomans) from Urfa to Üsküdar, the Anatolian portion of Constantinople, killing many, taking captives and, in so doing, inducing large-scale demographic upheaval. The poem belongs to the medieval Armenian tradition of extended political verse laments and illustrates several of the main features of this tradition.

The first section (lines 1-84) relates the course of the hostilities, which Step'anos states he personally witnessed, in addition to receiving the reports of others that the onslaught against T'ok'at' began on Saturday, 29 May, which was the last day of the octave of Pentecost that year, at the fourth hour. He also establishes this through reference to the year 6802 from Adam's expulsion from Paradise, and 1051 of the Armenian Era (corresponding to 1602 CE), presumably indicating the inception of events, and 1604, when he probably completed the composition. The city was defended by the vizier Hasan together with several other pashas, and troops of 50,000 to 60,000; however, unable to repel the assault, they were put to flight along with many of the local population. The poet devotes some lines to describing the mayhem caused to the inhabitants, with rhetorical repetition to evoke greater pathos as they clambered up the five mountains surrounding the city or crossed the River Eşil Irmak (Halys), on the left bank of which the city is located.

The Celali army encamped in the region for three months, pillaging the surrounding settlements and appropriating all the supplies, thereby occasioning widespread famine. The author particularly notes examples of sacrilege against Christian shrines involving the seizure of liturgical

silver and gold and the desecration of ecclesiastical textiles, which were taken as caparisons for the rebels' horses.

In the second section (lines 85-212), Step'anos looks back to the time before the attack, describing in detail various aspects of the thriving city. Beginning with its environs, he highlights the richness of the soil, which produced a profusion of orchards and gardens, as well as the abundance of pure water in springs and public baths. This leads him naturally to discuss the markets, with their range of crafts and livestock on sale, and their ethnic diversity, as well as the city's significance for domestic and international trade.

The remainder of the section is given over to a catalogue of eight Armenian churches, most of which are located in quarters with mainly Christian households. He notes that the inhabitants were literate and of a generous disposition, while the priests are virtuous and educated.

The third section (lines 213-24) then documents the aftermath of the Celali attack and the relocation of many of the citizens. As Step'anos remarks, the major destinations included Constantinople, Bursa, Adana, the Balkans, Poland and western Europe. The author himself set off for the city of Theodosia (Kafa) in the east of the Crimean Peninsula.

In the brief fourth section (lines 225-37), the author gives a thumbnail sketch of Theodosia, arguing glowingly for its similarity to centres such as Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople and Damascus. He emphasises the strength of its Frankish (Genoese) fortress, the significance of shipping in conveying all sorts of commodities, the rich fish stocks and the variety of Christian places of worship.

The work concludes with a colophon (lines 238-64) affording data on the circumstances of the work's creation. The lament was composed in the Church of St Gregory the Illuminator in Theodosia, its dating confirmed by citing the two *catholicoi* (supreme patriarchs) of the Armenian Church, together with the Ottoman and Safavid rulers. The author finally commends himself, his brother Yakob and father Sargis to his readers' prayers.

SIGNIFICANCE

Often medieval laments employ a biblical frame for their narrative, particularly with regard to the course of events and the key protagonists. Here, two primary elements, the initial onslaught and the three-month occupation, are viewed as representing the fulfilment of prophecy, while Deli Hasan is portrayed in apocalyptic hyperbole as the Antichrist.

The poem's wider importance lies in the record it gives of the devastation caused to one city by the Celali revolts, and of the suffering caused to the population, including the Christian Armenians. Pressures such as tax increases and high rates of interest payable to moneylenders had already set in motion a movement of peasantry from the land to the cities during the 16th century. The upheavals engulfing the cities of the region 'from Urfa to Üsküdar', as Step'anos puts it, only exacerbated that trend, compelling people who had means to move further afield in search of security.

PUBLICATIONS

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fols 183 ff. (date not given)

L. Alisan, *Hayapatum*, Venice, 1901, pp. 605-8

STUDIES

Bardakjian, *Reference guide to modern Armenian literature*, pp. 53, 517

H. Ačaryan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri baṛaran*, Yerevan, 1944, vol. 4,
pp. 674-5

Akinean, *Hing panduxt tałasac'ner*, pp. 115-37

Peter Cowe

Abū l-Ghayth al-Qashshāsh

Abū l-Ghayth [Ghālib] ibn Muḥammad al-Qashshāsh

DATE OF BIRTH 1550/1

PLACE OF BIRTH Tunisia

DATE OF DEATH 15 February 1622

PLACE OF DEATH Tunisia

BIOGRAPHY

Al-Qashshāsh belonged to a highly-respected Tunisian household. He was educated in the religious sciences, but did not pursue a career in teaching and writing, rather devoting himself to spiritual, social and political work. After two failed marriages, he managed the properties and endowments of his *zāwiya* (Sufi lodge). Later, after the age of 40, he married a non-Arab convert from Christianity to Islam. Abū l-Ghayth al-Qashshāsh should not be mistaken for Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Qashshāsh (d. 1660).

New insights into his life were made available in 1998 by the publication of *Nūr al-armāsh fī manāqib al-Qashshāsh*, written by his disciple Abū Luḥayya al-Qafṣī. This work provides a narrative testimony of the Qashshāshī *zāwiya* and its founder, who oscillated between periods of rebellion against and reconciliation with the Ottoman authorities in Tunisia.

The first stage in Abū l-Ghayth's life was ecstatic and iconoclastic. He left for Egypt, probably due to the fall of the city of Tunis to John of Austria in 1573. He then returned to Tunisia making messianic claims of being the awaited Mahdī. The second stage of his life, however, is characterised by his return to orthodoxy, occupying himself with traditional Islamic knowledge and opposing religious innovation. He owned 3,000 books, half of which he donated to the Zaytūna mosque, where his father had been imam. He also held reading sessions of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, of which he collected a thousand copies. For a short time, he taught courses on the Qur'an, Arabic syntax, Islamic theology and jurisprudence. Later, he hired instructors to teach at the schools that were under the supervision of his *zāwiya*. Al-Qashshāsh spent generously on the release of Muslim prisoners of war, on one occasion paying the ransoms for 700

captives; 'The father of relief', as his nickname suggests, was an appellation that Abū l-Ghayth was worthy of.

The relationship between the Qashshāshī *zāwiya* and the Ottoman authorities in Tunisia was conflictual in nature. During the reign of the pashas, between 1577 and 1591, al-Qashshāsh instigated his followers (*fuqarā'*) to rebel against the authorities. As a consequence, Ramadān Pasha put al-Qashshāsh on trial for his messianic claims. Some of his property was confiscated, but it was later returned to him on the order of Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-95). In the famous 'ram-heads' incident in October 1591, he refused a request from the Ottomans for funds during a financial crisis, instead asking his followers to remove the tiles from the *zāwiya* and buy rams' heads in protest. With Uthmān Dey's suppression of the *zāwiya* order, al-Qashshāsh remained in seclusion for 15 years (1605-20).

On 30 July 1609, French and Spanish pirates attacked the Tunisian fleet, leading to public unrest in Tunisia. Yūsuf Dey appealed to al-Qashshāsh to help control the situation, so he temporarily left his seclusion, requesting that the Christian pirates should be converted to Islam. After 1610, he maintained harmonious relations with the Ottoman authorities, even enlisting 250 of his followers to volunteer for jihad under Murad Bey.

While he was unknown for any literary production, al-Qashshāsh did compose a fatwa on smoking (MS Rabat, Al-khazāna l-malakiyya – majmū' al-dukkhān, no. 6929).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Muḥammad Amīn al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-athar fī a'yān al-qarn al-hādī 'ashar*, Cairo, 1867, vol. 1, pp. 140-3 (based on Nev'izāde's Turkish biography of al-Qashshāsh)

Al-Muntaṣir ibn al-Murābiṭ Abū Luḥayya al-Qafṣī, *Nūr al-armāsh fī manāqib al-Qashshāsh*, ed. Luṭfī 'Isā and Ḥusayn Bū Jarra, Tunisia: al-Maktaba al-'Atīqa, 1998 (contains an extensive list of primary and secondary sources in Arabic and French on al-Qashshāsh's life, pp. 575-8)

Secondary

Faramarz Haj Manouchehri and Farzin Negahban, art. 'Abū al-Ghayth al-Qashshāsh', in *Elr* (an accessible biography of al-Qashshāsh, listing a dozen references in Arabic, Turkish and English)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Nukhbat al-asrār fī l-radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā min firaq al-kuffār, ‘Prime secrets of refuting Christians from among the sects of disbelievers’

Nukhbat al-asrār ta‘līf al-akhyār wa-l-anṣār fī l-radd ‘alā l-Naṣārā min firaq al-kuffār, ‘Prime secrets, compilation of the good and the helpers on refuting Christians from among the sects of disbelievers’

DATE May 1604

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Nukhbat al-asrār reproduces Fray Anselmo Turmeda / ‘Abd Allāh al-Tarjumān’s *Tuhfat al-arīb fī l-radd ‘alā ahl al-ṣalīb* (before 1420), which is introduced and translated into Ottoman Turkish by Muḥammad ibn Sha‘bān, with a foreword and dedication by al-Qashshāsh. It was completed towards the beginning of May 1604 (final days of Dhū l-Ḥijja 1012). Secondary literature misreads *Nukhba* as *Tuhfa*.

The original manuscript, in the Levinus Warner Collection at Leiden University – Or. 432, is about 128 folios long, excluding covers and fly-leaves, in the following order: a longer title of six lines (one page); the table of contents (two pages); a half page in Ottoman Turkish on the type of calligraphy used by Sufi saints; a dedication in al-Qashshāsh’s handwriting in Maghrebi Kufic script (two pages); a transcript of the dedication in legible handwriting (two pages); the translator’s introduction (four pages); the translation of al-Tarjumān’s *Tuhfa* (124 folios).

In 1604, al-Qashshāsh dedicated to the Ottoman Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-17) ‘a copy of Abdallāh al-Tarjumān’s work whose translation into Ottoman Turkish he commissioned from a certain Muḥammad b. Sha‘bān’ (Krstić, ‘Reading Abdallāh b. Abdallāh al-Tarjumān’s *Tuhfa*’, p. 345). His intention was ‘to highlight, in addition to his own commitment to faith and the sultan as the caliph of all Muslims, the role of Tunis, its many converts to Islam and those who, like al-Tarjumān, chose exile and Islam over Christianity [i.e. Moriscos] in upholding the greatness of religion’ (Krstić, ‘Reading Abdallāh b. Abdallāh al-Tarjumān’s *Tuhfa*’, p. 346). However, it is unclear from the *Nukhba* whether

al-Qashshāsh had indeed 'commissioned' the translation or whether his disciple Muḥammad ibn Sha'bān (d. 1611/12) had translated the work on his own initiative and asked his master, who was known in Turkish circles, to write a short introduction in order to ensure a good reception. Al-Qashshāsh's foreword includes three important items: a testimony in which he compliments the *Tuhfa*; a suggestion to give it a 'worthier' title; and his dedication of the *Tuhfa-cum-Nukhba* to the sultan. Al-Qashshāsh says nothing about Ibn Sha'bān's translation.

Like the original *Tuhfa*, the *Nukhba* is divided into three introductory chapters (*fuṣūl*) and nine sections (*abwāb*), paginated by Ibn Sha'bān himself. Chapters 1 and 2 contain biographical information about al-Tarjumān (pp. 4-30), who converted to Islam after he had learnt from his master that the Paraclete, whom Jesus had prophesied, was a name of Muḥammad. He worked for Abū Fāris 'Abd al-'Azīz (r. 1393-1433) in Tunisia, acting as a translator between him and Christian merchants, who procured Muslim prisoners of war for him in return for gold. In addition, Abū Fāris was active in religious, educational and social work. These aspects of his life find resemblance in al-Qashshāsh's own, despite the difference in their roles as a regent ruler and a mystic.

Chapter 3 outlines the objectives of the work: to refute Christian teachings and prove the prophethood of Muḥammad through scriptural evidence (pp. 31-2).

Section 1 is about the four Gospel writers 'who corrupted Christianity' (pp. 32-42). The author comments that some of them never saw Jesus, and they were all inconsistent in their books. He cites a few examples to prove this point.

Section 2 is about the divisions among Christians (pp. 43-6). Obviously inspired by a Prophetic Hadith, the author says that Christians have split into 72 sects. However, he speaks more fully of only two, one that believes in the divinity and creative power of Jesus, and another that believes in his dual nature.

Section 3 refutes five principles of Christian faith (pp. 47-70): Baptism, which is a prerequisite for admission to Paradise; the Trinity, which implies that Jesus has a dual nature; the hypostatic union of the Son with Jesus in Mary's womb; communion, where bread and wine turn into the body and blood of Jesus, when the priest reads a few words over them; confession, which is meant to attain forgiveness.

Section 4 deals with the Great Creed (pp. 71-6). Al-Tarjumān quotes the text and shows its contradictoriness in various ways.

Section 5 rejects the divinity of Christ and affirms his humanity (pp. 77-8). This section, which can be viewed as a longer commentary on Section 4, ends with a note by the author that he chose to convert to Islam because of the corruption of Christian beliefs, which he has demonstrated in his refutations.

Section 6 addresses scriptural incoherence (pp. 78-87). The four Gospel writers fabricated lies about God, which can be discerned in the divergences between their accounts in literary and semantic structures.

Section 7 deals with falsehoods that were attributed to Jesus, of which he is innocent (pp. 98-104). The author cites Luke 22:31-4, John 15:24, Matthew 19:3-5, and several other examples to support his point.

Section 8 outlines what Christians find fault with in Muslims (pp. 105-12). They blame Muslims for getting married and circumcised, for believing that physical pleasures are enjoyed in Paradise, and for naming themselves after the prophets, though examples from the Bible counter these charges.

Finally, Section 9 proves the prophethood of Muḥammad through extra-qur'anic evidence (pp. 113 to the end). Al-Tarjumān cites Deuteronomy 18:18 and Deuteronomy 33:2, and Jesus's words to the disciples that when he was raised to heaven a prophet called the Paraclete would come after him. This prophecy was the reason behind his conversion to Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE

While he did not write or translate the *Nukhba*, and most probably did not commission it, al-Qashshāsh shows in his two-page dedication that he was content to be associated with it and with the arguments set out in it. His suggestion that the original title *Tuhfa*, meaning 'gift', should be changed to *Nukhba*, meaning 'selected piece' or 'flower', indicates that he held it in high regard. As the husband of a Christian convert, liberator of Muslim captives, and opponent of Christian dominance and piracy, he showed himself keenly involved in interfaith issues of the day. He emphatically underlines this in his foreword, when he indicates his support for al-Tarjumān's work.

PUBLICATIONS

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MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub – Mabāḥith Islāmiyya Ṭal'at 382 (dig. 10061) (May 1844; copied by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ṣayrafi)

STUDIES

- J.P. Monferrer Sala, 'Fray Anselmo Turmeda', in *CMR* 5, pp. 326-9
- T. Krstić, 'Reading Abdallāh b. Abdallāh al-Tarjumān's *Tuhfa* (1420) in the Ottoman Empire. Muslim-Christian polemics and intertextuality in the age of "confessionalization"', *Al-Qanṭara* 26 (2015) 341-401

Mohamed A. Moustafa

Azaria Sasnec'i

DATE OF BIRTH	Around 1570
PLACE OF BIRTH	Sasun (near Lake Van, Turkey)
DATE OF DEATH	1628
PLACE OF DEATH	Mediterranean Sea off the coast of Lebanon

BIOGRAPHY

Born into an Armenian ecclesiastical family in the region of Sasun, to the west of Lake Van, with two brothers and three sisters, it appears that Azaria Sasnec'i was dedicated to the church by his parents and began his training as a monk. This process was interrupted by the outbreak of the Celali revolt in the area in 1598-9, which led to the death of his relatives and his own forced migration westwards. He arrived in Constantinople in 1603, where he studied with the Armenian Patriarch Grigor Kesarac'i, but, encountering problems with the latter, he continued with Mkrtič', *vardapet* in Xarberd, before moving to Sivas.

Constrained by the patriarch to return to the capital, Azaria profited from his stay there to learn Italian, from which he translated a commentary on Ptolemy's *Geography* in 1616. Three years later, he accompanied the now deposed patriarch back to Kayseri where, despairing of receiving the vardapetal staff conveying the licence to teach and preach because of the egregious sum the patriarch demanded for its conferral, he sought to found a monastery like his more successful classmate Movsēs Tat'ewac'i. When this proved impossible, he devoted himself to the eremitical life. On Grigor Kesarac'i's third elevation to the patriarchal throne, Azaria sought to sail to Damietta to escape his authority and boarded a ship at Antioch. He died during the voyage, however, and his body was thrown overboard near Tripoli. It was washed ashore near a Maronite village, where the people, recognising that he was a priest, gave him a fitting burial.

Possessed of an inquiring mind and wide intellectual interests, Azaria Sasnec'i produced several treatises on astronomical topics, natural history and political and ecclesiastical history. In addition, he established a new calendar, presumably at the request of the Julfan merchant community in Constantinople, and an extensive compilation of secular and canon law together with numerous canonical encyclicals.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Secondary

K.B. Bardakjian, *A reference guide to modern Armenian literature, 1500-1920*, Detroit MI, 2000, pp. 52-3, 300

N. Akinean, 'Azaria V. Sasnec'i astlagēt, tōmaragēt ew tałač'ap' (†1628)', *Handēs Amsōreay* 50 (1936) 297-325 (repr. in H. Sahakyan, *Uš mijnadari hay banasteltzut'uně (XVI-XVII dd.)*, Yerevan, 1987, vol. 2, pp. 240-55)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ołb i veray haruacoc' arewelean gawařac'n ew ašxarhin Hayoc' i jeřac' čelaleac', 'Lament on the scourge of the eastern provinces and the land of Armenia at the hands of the Celalis'

DATE Around 1611

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

The poem *Ołb i veray haruacoc' arewelean gawařac'n ew ašxarhin Hayoc' i jeřac' čelaleac'* consists of 532 octosyllabic lines, the typical form employed for extended narration, organised in four-line stanzas. The published text is not fully intact as the manuscript from which the available edition was made contains a lacuna of uncertain length at line 532. Generically, the work derives from the long tradition of Armenian political laments documenting the impact of natural disasters or human conflict on various cities or regions, as illustrated by the end rhyme in *-eal* in imitation of Grigor Tłay's famous commemoration of the fall of Jerusalem to Šalāh al-Dīn in 1187.

From a statement in lines 449-50 that the period of instability began in 1591 and concluded 20 years later, it appears that the poem was composed around 1611. Although the internal chronology is problematic, comparison with other sources verifies the account, which concentrates on events between 1598 and 1609, and can be sub-divided into six sections.

As the title clarifies, the prime theme is the disruption caused by various Celali bands consisting of *sekbans* (irregular musketeers),

sipahis (cavalry rewarded with land grants), semi-nomadic Turkmens and Kurds fomenting revolt in reaction against currency depreciation, official bribery and corruption, and ever-higher taxes to fund the campaigns against the Habsburgs. The greater reliance on Janissaries led to the demobilisation and consequent loss of livelihood for the *sekbans*, while the impoverished peasantry left the land in hope of finding more lucrative employment in the towns and cities. There, the massive influx only resulted in even higher levels of unemployment, preparing the way for their participation in the escalating insurrection. Although the ring-leaders' goal was to extract an amelioration of socioeconomic conditions from the Sublime Porte, and the movement was not intended to target religious minorities, nevertheless, these communities in wide swathes of Anatolia naturally suffered in the indiscriminate mayhem and destruction caused by the cut and thrust between those in revolt and troops loyal to the sultan. Many of the areas affected were provinces of historic Armenia with a significant Armenian population.

The first section of the poem, covering the years 1598-1602, traces the career of the *sekban* leader Karayazıcı Abdühalim in Urfa, which he plundered thoroughly after a two-month siege before moving to Sivas, where famine followed his campaign as no bread was to be found and the crops were burned.

This is followed by a description of the activities of his brother, Deli Hasan Beg, who succeeded him, moving on T'ok'at', where the author was an eyewitness of the destruction that ensued as the Celalis captured the city after siege, seizing anything of value and butchering the government troops who had taken refuge in the keep. The whole city was then set on fire and mayhem continued for three months, before the Celalis set off for Amasia and Constantinople. Accepting a commission thereafter in one of the *sanjaks* of the eyalet of Temeşvar (present-day Timișoara in Western Romania) near the Ottoman border with Hungary, Deli Hasan Beg was put to death two years later and his troops scattered.

The third section documents the return to Anatolia by ten of Deli Hasan Beg's associates, who became the leaders of various Celali factions, opening a new chapter in the carnage experienced by the local population over most of that area, as Azaria documents in detail.

The poem then moves on to the next part, focusing on the turmoil and massacre that extended from the key military centres of Erzerum and Amid to the border zone with Persia, in the course of which leaders such as Kalenderoğlu, worsted by the Grand Vizier Murad Pasha,

switched sides and allied themselves with Shah 'Abbās I. This, in turn, provides a transition to the penultimate section marking the first years of the Ottoman-Persian war, in which the Iranian army regained control of Tabriz, Yerevan and other areas traditionally Persian and Armenian. Here, it is noteworthy that Azaria Sasnec'i commends the shah for his humane treatment of the Armenians, transporting them to the centre of his lands in Fars, granting them domicile there, and building them a place of worship. Strikingly, he does not differentiate between the preferential treatment accorded the wealthy merchants of Julfa and the struggle and hardships faced by most communities displaced by the shah as a disincentive to cross-border Ottoman raids.

The final section turns attention on the aftermath of the desolation that, Azaria argues, stretched from Tabriz to Constantinople. Devastation led to depopulation and mass migration, which undermined the tax basis and consequently prompted the Sublime Porte to issue an edict guaranteeing land rights to the villagers (30 September 1609) and facilitating their return. Taking stock of the situation, the author reflects on the effect of events on historical Armenia and the Armenian people.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work belongs to the medieval Armenian genre of political lament and reflects many of its usages. Dialogue is introduced to render the narrative more vivid, as in Karayazıcı Abdühalim's appeal to his men at a muster to be stalwart and fight to the death against the state forces, while binary oppositions are employed to indicate the all-encompassing scale of the devastation (e.g. old and young, men and women, rich and poor) to complement remarks that the account only includes 'one in a thousand' of similar cases. Hyperbole serves to evoke pathos, as in describing Shah 'Abbās's counter-offensive, driving the Ottomans back from the Khanate of Yerevan and applying a scorched earth policy as a disincentive to Ottoman return. The widespread disruption this policy causes is portrayed as the worst humanity had experienced since the time of Adam.

Meanwhile, stereotypical vignettes make clear the impact on the individual, as in the separation of fathers from sons and mothers from daughters, that ensued during the Celali attacks on Anatolian towns as the population fled from the invaders. At the same time, the author diverges from normal practice in invoking the additional dimension of apocalyptic in sketching the matrix out of which the carnage emerged.

The Celalis are thus portrayed as reacting to injustices perpetrated by the authorities, who have become corrupt, accept bribes and no longer honour their word, all signs of the 'last days' and therefore harbingers of the end of the world (Matthew 24:3-14; Mark 13:3-13; Luke 21:7-19).

As is clear from the above, the poem is infused by a religious perspective, which becomes more manifest in the application of the Deuteronomistic Historian's interpretation of failure or defeat as the outworking of divine wrath at corporate sin. Thus, the disasters visited upon the cities of Asia Minor are regarded as occasioned by the population's departure from ethical norms in fulfilment of biblical prophecies. The author also pauses particularly on the destruction of religious sites. A striking example of this also involves the intervention of St John the Baptist in his role as the Holy Karapet (Precursor), dedicatee of a famous Armenian monastery in the Muş region and object of a popular cult of piety that rendered his shrine the second pilgrimage centre of historical Armenia. İbrahim Beg, one of the later leaders of the Celali movement, is portrayed as attacking and pillaging the region for six years, in the course of which he had the abbot of the monastery brought before him, demanding from him 5,000 candles. Unable to deliver the required number, the abbot was subjected to torture. During the night, he prayed for the saint's assistance, and next morning the troops found their leader decapitated and interpreted the act as a miracle wrought by the saint to protect his shrine and devotees.

Azaria's account is also important for the light it sheds on the socio-political, economic and demographic impact of two decades of chaos on the population of Anatolia. The writer clearly indicates that the result of this undermining of strong central rule in the area was the widespread migration to the capital of those with the means to go, adding momentum to a previously existing trend. This, in turn, gradually led to the creation of an unprecedentedly large Armenian population in Constantinople, which was to play a significant role in Ottoman finances as well as in developing Armenian education and culture in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The final section of the poem is particularly valuable for the insight it affords into a characteristically clerical perspective on Armenian-Muslim relations in the Ottoman Empire, which was in gestation at this time. After recording that the Celalis had driven the Armenians from their ancestral lands, as noted above, the author continues that their royal dynasties had become defunct, leaving the people without guidance or

direction, as a result of which they were now under Muslim rule. Rejecting by implication the possibility of applying human agency to ameliorate their situation, he affirms that if Christ were mindful, he would liberate them from their subordinate state. Nevertheless, he argues, though Armenian Christians are oppressed in this life, they should be confirmed in spirit by hopes of the afterlife. This viewpoint, counselling political quietism in the Armenian community, was in dialogue with another that advocated the restoration of Armenian statehood with western European assistance, and, in the next century, with proto-nationalist approaches mobilising public opinion to form an internal liberation movement.

PUBLICATIONS

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MS T'ok'at', once held in the private collection of the *vardapet* Šawarš Sahakean (probably no longer extant)

Akinean, 'Azaria V. Sasnec'i astlagēt, tōmaragēt ew tałač'ap", pp. 325-36

STUDIES

Bardakjian, *Reference guide to modern Armenian literature*, pp. 52-3, 300

H. Ačaryan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri baṛaran*, Yerevan, 1944, vol. 1, p. 57

Peter Cowe

Qusṭanṭīn Anṭākī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; possibly early 17th century
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

All that is known about the author is that he belonged to the Greek Orthodox (Melkite) community and was living in Aleppo in 1615. This information is provided by Sbath in his *Al-fihris* and clearly originates from the manuscript itself. Graf confuses Qusṭanṭīn with Ibrāhīm Anṭākī, a Greek Orthodox author from the early-16th century, an error that has been identified by Nasrallah (*Histoire*, 1996, p. 204).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

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G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, Vatican City, vol. 3, 1951, p. 91
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ṣiḥḥat al-Naṣrāniyya wa-fasād al-Islām,
'The rightness of Christianity and the
corruptness of Islam'

DATE Unknown; before 1615
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Sbath (*Al-fihris*) mentions two copies of the manuscript of this work in private collections in Aleppo, owned by the Greek Orthodox notable family Anṭākī and the Greek Catholic merchant family Basīl. He provides

no further information about the work. So far, no traces of these manuscripts have been found and they must be regarded as lost.

SIGNIFICANCE

If Sbath's information that the author was living in Aleppo in 1615 is taken as the *terminus ante quem*, the work is the oldest known Melkite (Greek Orthodox) polemic against Islam from early modern times. The direct attack on Islam indicated in the title is unusual, as there was a tendency to avoid such open criticism.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Aleppo, Collection Anṭākī (= MS Sbath Fihris, 1095 [1]; must be regarded as lost)

MS Aleppo, Collection Basīl (= MS Sbath Fihris, 1095 [2]; must be regarded as lost)

STUDIES

Nasrallah, *Histoire*, 4/1, p. 204

Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, p. 91

Sbath, *Al-fihris*, vol. 2, p. 11, no. 1095

Carsten Walbiner

Matthaios of Myra

DATE OF BIRTH Second half of the 16th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Pogoniani (Epirus)
DATE OF DEATH 1624
PLACE OF DEATH Dealu monastery (Wallachia)

BIOGRAPHY

Born in the second half of the 16th century in Pogoniani, Matthaios was one of the many inhabitants of 'ancient Epirus' to seek his fortune in Constantinople. Nothing is known about these early stages of his life, except that he had a brother, Isaris Angeletos (Angelatos/Angeletakis). It is only in 1596 that he emerges in several manuscripts copied in Moscow as hieromonk and protosynkellos of the Great Church in Constantinople. The rationale behind his stay in the capital of the Russian tsars is at present obscure, as is the reason for his sojourn in Lwów, sometime after 1599. The only confirmed information is in documentation that attests he was archimandrite in October 1599, and was elected metropolitan of Myra in December 1605. In March 1606, he was in Constantinople, and a couple of months later he is documented as being in Iași as a representative of the Ecumenical Patriarch. There is also evidence that in 1606-7 he spent some time copying manuscripts in Craiova, in the church established there by the Varlaam monastery, Meteora.

After settling in Wallachia, and in particular after his appointment as abbot of Dealu monastery in 1609, Matthaios consolidated his reputation as a scribe, manuscript illuminator and author. He founded a scriptorium and composed verses, hymns, *akolouthiai* and historical texts about Wallachia. In addition, he is often mentioned in Wallachian official documents as being part of the judicial and administrative apparatus, even signing as witness, in Romanian, on 28 April 1623.

Admirer of the leading Greek theologians of the time – Meletios Pēgas, Gavriēl Sevēros and Maximos Margounios – Matthaios was also a friend of the Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris of Constantinople (d. 1638), with whom he shared a strong anti-Latin stance. He was a close artistic collaborator of Metropolitan Loukas of Wallachia (d. 1629), with several manuscripts showing the results of their artistic cooperation.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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- L. Vranoussis, 'Enkōmiastikē akolouthia gia tous treis hierarches Meletio Pēga, Gabriēl Sevēro kai Maximo Margounio, anekdoto ergo tou Matthaïou Myreōn', in N. Panagiōtakē (ed.), *Pepragmena tou II Deithnous Krētologikou Synedriou*, Athens, 1968, vol. 3, pp. 368-411
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- N. Iorga, 'Manuscripte din biblioteci străine relative la istoria românilor. Întâiul memoriu', *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, 2nd series 20 (1897-8) 197-253, pp. 240-7
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Historia tōn kata tēn Yggrovlachian telesthentōn, 'A history of the events in Wallachia'

DATE 1618-20

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

Matthaios of Myra's *Historia* (full title *Historia tōn kata tēn Yggrovlachian telesthentōn, arxamenē apo Sermpanou voēvoda mechri Gavriēl voēvoda*, 'A history of the events in Wallachia from voivode Șerban to voivode Gabriel, the present ruler') was published posthumously, together with Stavrinos the Vestiar's *Andragathies toū eusevestatou kai andreiotatou Michaēl voevoda* ('Exploits of the most pious and valiant Prince Michael') in Venice in 1638. Its 15-syllable vernacular verses, probably composed between 1618 and 1620, depict events in Wallachia between 1602 and 1618. They are presented as a continuation of Stavrinos and George

Palamidis' works on the Wallachian Prince Michael, referred to as 'the Brave' (Romanian *Viteazul*, r. 1593-1601).

The historical section of *Historia* is followed by 'Some spiritual advice to voivode Alexander Iliaș and all his successors on the throne', dated February 1618 by the author. This section ends with a 'Lament for the fall of Constantinople' under the Ottomans, and a short liturgical hymn. All the 2,860 verses composed by Matthaïos were dedicated to the Grand Ban of Craiova, Ioannēs (Katardji). We do not know whether the author thought of them as a separate composition, but Alfred L. Vincent has argued convincingly that it was Matthaïos' decision to unite them in the form that was published after his death.

While he concedes that history is made by powerful men, Matthaïos repeatedly points to God's omnipresence and omnipotence. He insists that there is equilibrium and that, in one way or another and sooner or later, all men will be held to account for their sins. The Ottomans play a crucial role in this scenario.

First, the Ottoman sultan is 'the Emperor': it is he who imposes at his will the rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia, it is he who restores a ruler chased away by enemies, and it is to him that the Wallachians complain about the behaviour of one ruler or another. Indeed, all decisions are taken in Istanbul. Prince Gabriel Movilă (r. 1616, 1618-20) states this plainly and clearly when the local boyars contest the decision of the grand vizier to impose Alexander Iliaș as prince in his place: 'The realm is his [the sultan's], it is his own garden'; so one cannot simply enter and live there without asking permission from the sultan. The fact that Matthaïos uses Romanian words for both 'realm' (*țară*) and 'garden' (*grădină*) emphasises this crude reality. Any transgression is severely punished, as was the case in the rebellion led by the cupbearer Lupu in 1618.

Second, the Muslims – in this case, Ottomans and Tartars – act as instruments of God's wrath. For instance, the enslavement of the boyars who supported Prince Constantine Movilă (r. 1607-11) in his fight against Ștefan Tomșa II (r. 1611-15, 1621-3) is considered divine punishment for their unbound greed, as they should not have come to Moldavia to spill blood and reverse the existing political order. As for Constantine's mother Ecaterina, enslaved and converted to Islam against her will, she is paying for her foolishness; war is a man's business, while her duty as a woman is to sew and spin, not to take up arms in an attempt to avenge her son's defeat.

Matthaios expresses profound dislike of the Ottomans, and of Muslims in general. In his 'spiritual advice', he describes the former as 'unfaithful, heretical, un-baptised, and tyrants', and claims that they have no fear of God and dislike justice, and that their only wish is to fight, plunder, spill blood and gain wealth, fame and respect. In another piece of advice, he urges the prince to build a school, stating that his subjects will otherwise remain savages 'like Muḥammad', an 'illiterate' who signed a letter by placing his inked palm on the document. Is Matthaios referring here to the famous covenant of the Prophet with the monks of Mt Sinai, made in St Catherine's monastery in Egypt? It is hard to tell. However, it is clear that in spite of all aversion, Matthaios strongly believed in a divine plan that included the followers of the 'nefarious' Muḥammad.

In his advice 'About greed and injustice', Matthaios warns the prince that recklessness could cost him God's good will, and he invokes the example of the 'Romans' (Byzantines), who, having lost their empire through injustice and shallowness ended up in slavery, and were now ruled over by a nation of barbarians. A couple of lines later, he slanders the 'false' prophecies predicting the deliverance of Constantinople and the Christians by a 'fair-haired race', and then goes on to lament the fall of Constantinople, where Hagia Sophia has become the temple of the 'unfaithful, impious, liar, and impure' Muḥammad. Yet it is the fault of the Christians alone, as they had succumbed to their sins. They need to repent and once again place their faith in God, to comply with reality and find a way of co-existing with Ottoman power and of preserving peace and order in their golden refuge – the country of Wallachia.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is its message that marks this work as different and sets Matthaios apart from other authors of his time. The idea that Constantinople had fallen to the Ottomans as a result of the sins of the Christians was certainly not new. Nevertheless, the way in which Matthaios combines historical narrative, exhortatory literature, lamentation and liturgical hymns is remarkable. Condemning the oracular and prophetic literature as 'vanities', he advocates reaching a *modus vivendi* within the Ottoman realm. Both as the scourge of God and as a divine instrument, the Muslim Ottomans play a significant narrative and symbolic role in a moralising history designed to strengthen the will of the Orthodox Greeks.

The *Historia*, and in particular the 'Lament for Constantinople', was used by Synadinos of Serres and Anthimos Diakrouēs in their works. Translated into Romanian, the *Historia* was inserted in the *Letopisețul*

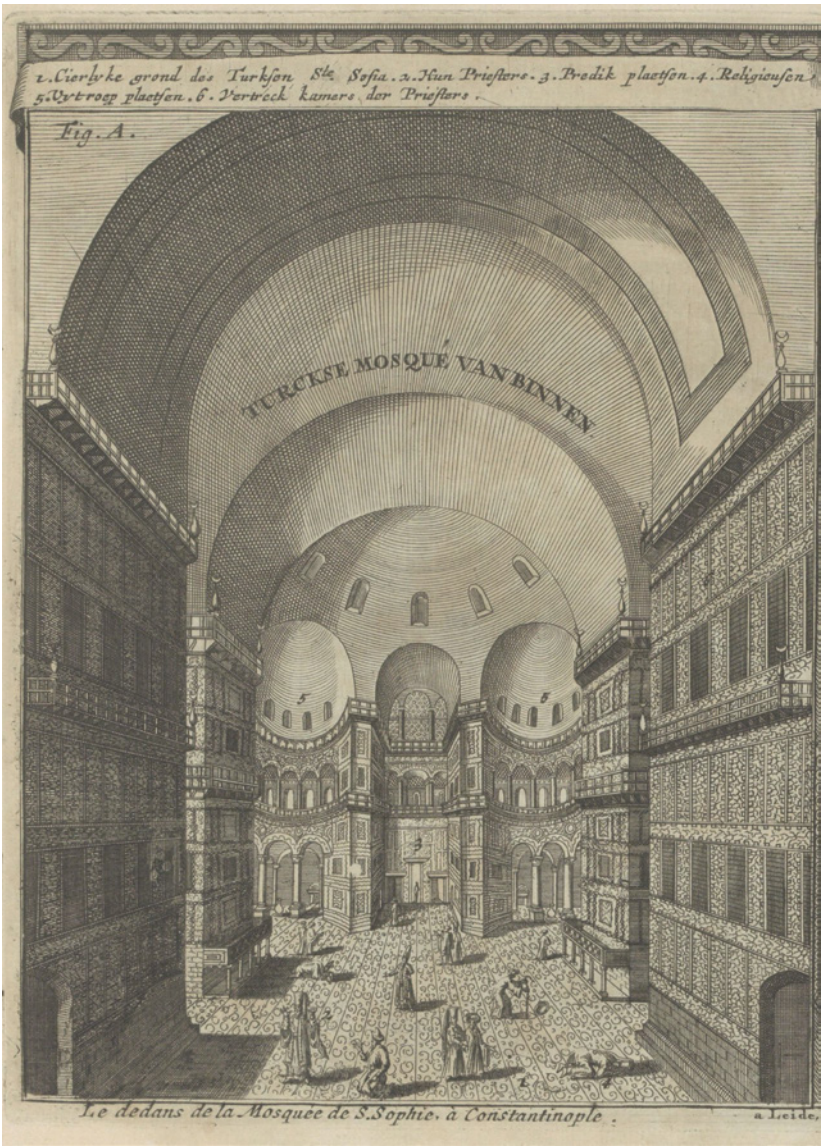


Illustration 1. An annotated sketch by Romeyn de Hooghe of the interior of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul

Cantacuzinesc, the chronicle compiled by scribes of the Wallachian Cantacuzino family in the second half of the 17th century. The Wallachian chronicler Radu Popescu and the Moldavian chronicler Axinte Uricariul, in his *Cronica paralelă a Țării Românești și a Moldovei* ('Parallel history of Moldavia and Wallachia'), also mention the 'bishop historian'.

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Hetera historia tōn kata tēn Oungrovlachian telesthentōn, arxamenē apo Sermpanou Voēbonta mechri Gavriēl Voēbonta toū enestōtos doukos. Poiētheisa para tou en archiereusi panierōtatou mētropolitou Myreōn kyrou Matthaïou, tou ek Pōgonianēs. Kai aphierōtheisa tō endoxotatō archonti kyriō Iōannē tō Katritsē, in Andragathies toū eusevestatou kai andreiotatou Michaēl voevoda, in Andragathies toū eusevestatou kai andreiotatou Michaēl voevoda eti de kai ta osa esynevēsan eis tēn Houngrovalachian apo ton chairon opou apheintepsen ho Sermpanos Voevodas eōs Gavriēl Mogyla Voevoda et de periechei kai tines parangelias pneumatikas pos ton Alexandron Hēliasi Voevoda, kai eis olous tous diadochous tēs Aphenteias, kai thrēnos peri tēs Kōnstantinoupoleōs, Venice, 1638 (other editions, all in Venice: 1642, 1647, 1672, 1681, 1683, 1710, 1742, 1760, 1768, 1785, 1806)

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Yakob T'ok'at'ec'i

DATE OF BIRTH	1573
PLACE OF BIRTH	Eudocia (T'ok'at'; present-day Turkey)
DATE OF DEATH	After 1678
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably Zamość (present-day Poland)

BIOGRAPHY

Yakob T'ok'at'ec'i was born into the priestly family of Bat'ukenc' in T'ok'at'. He informs readers that his great-grandfather was named Astuacatur, while his father's name was Alt'un and his mother's Anna. After marrying Eahud, he was ordained priest and became father to four sons and three daughters. He studied with the *vardapet* Yakob Ayvat'enc', with whom he maintained a lively correspondence after completing his education. Fleeing the Celali onslaught on T'ok'at' in 1602, Yakob brought his family to safety in the town of Zamość, founded some two decades earlier in the south-east region of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on a main trade route linking the area to the Black Sea. Yakob's settling there in the following year should be contextualised within the emergence of an important Armenian merchant community in the city, which occupied a prominent street that bore their name intersecting the main market square. It appears that his teacher, Yakob Ayvat'ents, visited him there in 1614 and commissioned him to translate the story of the 'Seven sleepers' from Latin, as well as to compose his lament on the destruction of his birthplace.

In 1638, he finished copying an Armenian ritual book for his eldest son, Petros, who had followed him into the priesthood. Yakob's longevity is testified by a brief colophon he added to a hymnal penned by the priest Nikol in 1667 and by a further colophon he wrote in a manuscript of 1678 at the age of 105. This is the last information available about him. In addition to those already referred to, his compositions include five poems on various topics, two works of paraenesis and a versified psalter of 1627.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The primary data on Yakob's life are drawn from his seven compositions and colophons to the manuscripts he copied; see Akinean, 'Yakob erēc' T'oxat'ec'i, 1573-1680'.

Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Oṭb i veray Ewdokia k'atak'in` or ayžm asi T'ok'at',
zor omn anōrēn Telu Hasan asen or ekaw ayreac' ew
awereac' zašxarhn*, 'Lament on the city of Eudocia,
is now called T'ok'at', which a certain Muslim
called Deli Hasan came and set fire to the land and
destroyed it'

DATE 1614-20

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

The work belongs to the category of medieval Armenian political laments, several characteristics of which it manifests. It is composed of 172 octosyllabic lines arranged in four-line verses marked by stanzaic rhyme. Its three sections logically present the impact of the Celali revolt in 1602 on the previously thriving city, a more detailed account of the pillage of the city and flight of its population, and a colophon explaining the circumstances of writing.

The first section (lines 1-64) affords a description of the attractive city under peaceful conditions with an abundance of water in streams irrigating the fields and orchards, ensuring a plentiful harvest and providing the town with fountains. Attention then centres on the markets with their khans and caravanserais, the attractively constructed domed baths, and artisan workshops for the diverse population of Armenians, Turks and Greeks.

The second section (lines 65-144) then presents the city's sudden transformation under the Celali attack. Many inhabitants were slaughtered in the initial incursion, some took refuge in the keep and the majority fled to the surrounding hills. Abandoning their possessions, they were scarcely able to escape with their children as they headed for safety westwards to Europe or eastwards to Iran. Meanwhile, the rebel army looted everything of value before setting fire to the buildings. Yakob pauses on the sacrilege perpetrated against the churches in the seizure of vestments and liturgical vessels, crosses and service books of various kinds.

The final section (lines 145-72) begins with a prayer to Christ to rebuild the city seven times more beautifully than before and then describes how the poem was commissioned by the author's teacher Yakob Ayvat'ents, who was in exile in the Church of St Stephen in Zamość. It concludes with an authorial self-reference followed by a petition for prayers from readers and a Trinitarian doxology.

A number of features of the work are typical of its genre. At several junctures, it addresses the city directly, while at others it indulges in inventories of destruction that convey the universal reach of the disaster by means of binary oppositions (e.g. old and young, rich and poor). Similarly, it contrasts the previously bustling streets with the plaintive image of the owl's call amid the abandoned ruins.

It is striking that, in his description, Yakob records specific details that are very true to life. For example, in his description of the famine that follows the destruction, he notes that owing to a lack of wheat and flour it was impossible to bake bread, and that people were reduced to drinking sheep's blood and eating dogs and cats to appease their hunger.

SIGNIFICANCE

The poem frames events within a biblical perspective, utilising the Deuteronomic historian's model of corporate sin and divine retribution to account for the destruction of the city. Previously, the city had resembled the Holy Land, 'flowing with milk and honey' (Exodus 33:3; Deuteronomy 26:9; Numbers 14:8, and so forth), but the people's sinfulness provoked divine wrath, which triggered punishment through the Celali revolt of all communities alike, Armenian, Greek and Muslim. Moreover, the ensuing famine is compared to that which Israel experienced in Elijah's time (1 Kings 18:2). Thus, to avoid a recurrence, the author enjoins readers to confess to a priest, repent and rigorously keep the commandments in the future.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Venice, Library of the Armenian Mxitarist Congregation – 797,
fols 230r-232r

L. Ališan, *Hayapatum*, Venice, 1901, pp. 608-10

STUDIES

Bardakjian, *Reference guide to modern Armenian literature*, pp. 53-4,
565

H. Ačaryan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri baṛaran*, Yerevan, 1944, vol. 3,
pp. 510-11

Peter Cowe

Nersēs Mokac'i

DATE OF BIRTH	Around 1575
PLACE OF BIRTH	Asknjaws village, Mokk (south of Lake Van)
DATE OF DEATH	1625
PLACE OF DEATH	Lim island, Lake Van

BIOGRAPHY

Nersēs received his elementary education from his paternal uncle, the *vardapet* Hayrapet, after which he continued his studies in philosophy and theology with Barseł Gawaṛac'i at Amrdolu Monastery near Bałēš (Bitlis), which at the time was a thriving centre of higher learning. While on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1609, he received from his teacher the staff that symbolised his ability to preach and teach, and also composed two poems. Returning to the monastery, he succeeded Barseł in 1615.

Later, he moved to the Mec Anapat (lit. Great Desert), a monastery that had been recently established (1611-13) in the eastern province of Siwnik', and which became the model for a renewal of Armenian monasticism after the devastation and demoralising effect of the Ottoman-Safavid wars of the previous century. Inspired by this experiment, he returned to the Van area with two of his pupils and founded a monastery on the island of Lim in Lake Van in 1621 (this continued to function until the end of the 19th century). There he introduced instruction in the trivium, calendrical studies and scribal arts.

Nersēs' main literary works include a panegyric on the Dormition of the Virgin composed in Jerusalem in 1609 and a description of the icon of the Mother of God at the Hogeac' monastery. He also employs the genre of the dispute poem known in the Near East from the third millennium BCE in producing an allegorical debate between the sky and the earth, the first of its kind in Armenian.

Meanwhile, his visit to Siwnik' resulted in a panegyric in 1621 on the four founders of Mec Anapat. His private prayers and personal lament are the fruit of his mature reflections during his final years as abbot of Lim.

Valuable details regarding Nersēs Mokac'i's biography were recorded by the late 17th-century historian Aṛak'el Tavrižec'i.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

G.A. Bournoutian (trans.), *The history of Vardapet Aṙak'el of Tabriz*, Costa Mesa CA, 2005, vol. 2, pp. 290, 298

Aṙak'el Tavrižec'i, *Girk' patmut'eanc'*, ed. L.A. Xanlaryan, Yerevan, 1990, pp. 217, 311, 313-14, 318

Arakel Davrižec'i, *Kniga istorii*, trans. L.A. Xanlaryan, Moscow, 1973, pp. 210, 215, 307, 310-12, 315

Secondary

K.B. Bardakjian, *A reference guide to modern Armenian literature, 1500-1920*, Detroit MI, 2000, pp. 50-2, 440-1

N. Akinean, *Batēši dproc'ə, 1500-1700*, Vienna, 1952, pp. 92-115

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

I holovel žamanakii, 'As time revolves'

Oṭb vasn arman Erusaṭēmi, 'Lament on the capture of Jerusalem'

DATE Before 1622

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

I holovel žamanakii ('As time revolves') is a lament in verse on the fall of Jerusalem to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1187 and the precipitation of the Third Crusade (1189-92). It comprises 396 octasyllabic lines grouped in four-line stanzas, divided into two sections. The first has a rhyme in *-in* (lines 1-336), rehearsing the historical subject matter, while the second, with a rhyme in *-an* (lines 337-96), appends Nersēs' interpretation of the reality that Christendom has not had control of Jerusalem from the 12th century up to his own time. A colophon attached to the poem in manuscript M2079 (1622), which provides the *terminus ante quem* for the work's composition, provides valuable information regarding the background to its writing. It states that a similar lament, written in the vernacular register, had been penned long before, and that at the request of his monastic brethren Nersēs had agreed to create a new version in a more elevated style, adding material of his own. This presumably appears mainly in the second section.

The first section can be divided into a general introduction (lines 1-12) followed by an account of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's initial campaign against the

Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem (lines 13-188) and concluding with the new crusade (lines 189-336).

The brief exordium firmly situates readers in the present and invites them to review the passage of time from the crusading period from a Christian apocalyptic perspective characterised by a dynamically progressive moral decline, which bears as its implicit corollary the diminution of the 'Roman' and the growth of the 'Hagarite'. Nersēs develops this image in terms of the Muslim seizure of many cities and lands, the ruin they have caused and the rule they extend over many Christians.

Clearly, this relates to the current Ottoman war against the Habsburgs in addition to the vast expansion of Ottoman territory in the previous century under Selim I and Süleyman I, while the mention of devastation may reflect the mayhem of the previous few years under the Celali revolt and Shah 'Abbās I's parallel scorched earth policy over Armenian territory adjoining the Ottoman border.

In the next few verses the author rehearses developments in 1187 from Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's first encounter with the crusaders near Tiberias, which led to their defeat at the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn (4 July) in the scorching heat, when they were severely weakened by hunger and thirst.

This is followed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's meeting with Guy de Lusignan and details of his ransom. In rapid succession, the scene moves to the siege of Jerusalem and the fall and devastation of the city. Women and children are taken captive, crosses are trampled underfoot, monks are slain in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, other shrines are ransacked and looted of their sacred vessels and garments, the biblical canticles are silenced and the Muslim call to prayer is reinstated. Similarly, the buildings on the Temple Mount that had been turned into a palace and church by the crusaders in 1099 were now restored to function as a mosque.

The next section details the arrival in western Europe of news of the capture of Jerusalem and the decision by the pope and various powers to muster forces for a new crusade, some warriors travelling by ship while the German contingent under the Emperor Frederick I marched by land. The difficulties encountered by the army as it crossed Anatolia and Armenian Cilicia are described in detail, particularly Isaac II Komnenos's delaying tactics and the opposition posed by the Seljuks.

At this point, Nersēs makes a detour to narrate Richard I of England's voyage to Cyprus, his difficulties with the Byzantine governor, Isaac II Komnenos, and his seizure of the island before joining the main part of the forces at Acre.

The crusaders' victorious entry into Acre is recounted in broad strokes, and also the pitched battle with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's forces at Arsuf (7 September 1191) and his pursuit to Ashkelon. The final months are dealt with briefly because, Nersēs explains, the crusaders did not have a mandate from God to capture the Holy City (though in that period Richard's troops laid two sieges but were forced to retreat). The section ends with the remark that back in their home countries fighting men are still, at this great remove, waiting for God to give the command to return and attack.

The second section addresses the deeper question posed at the outset of how to account for what the author considers continuing Christian decline. To this he offers two arguments from a divine perspective and several from a human viewpoint. He maintains first that God does not wish his beloved to become haughty, and therefore allows Christians to suffer at the hands of Muslims so that they will serve him with mild manners, and after a brief period of hardship he will requite them with justice in the afterlife; second, he argues that God causes these upsets because he is angry at human sin. Then he argues that Christians are prepared to put one another to death on account of doctrinal differences and, ignoring the precept to love, they are frequently found cursing and drawing the sword against one another; many limit their pursuit of happiness to this world, unaware of the joys of the afterlife, although they are called to sublimate passion for this 'empty' life into a love that does not pass away and should manifest itself in acts of goodness. This moral leads directly to the closing doxology.

It is noteworthy that Nersēs' sources present a particularly negative construction of Raymond III, Count of Tripoli (1152-87), and his motives. Regularly portrayed as a 'deceitful fox', he is stated to have dispatched a letter to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn swearing loyalty to his cause and to have conspired with him in the lead-up to the Battle of Ḥaṭṭīn. Nersēs then compares him to Prince Vasak Siwni, governor of Greater Armenia in the mid-5th century, whose name has become synonymous with treason in Armenian society because of his support for his overlord, the Sasanian Yazdgird II, in opposition to most of the Armenian nobility, in Yazdgird's campaign to disseminate Zoroastrianism in the Armenian region. This depiction of events appears to go beyond the historical record.

While Raymond had strenuously opposed Guy de Lusignan on the matter of succession to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, he subsequently settled his differences and, against his better judgement, led the vanguard at Ḥaṭṭīn, which ended in debacle.

SIGNIFICANCE

As is obvious from the outset, a deeply felt religious perspective dominates the narrative focus, as a result of which the actions of Muslims (Hagarites) are consistently portrayed in a negative light.

At the same time, as is expressed in detail in the concluding section, Nersēs is greatly disappointed at the Christians' lack of ability to display love and implement appropriate ethical norms in relations either with one another or with outsiders. As a result, he argues that the accumulation of Christian sin is a powerful factor in impeding their growth and success, thereby permitting Islamic states to advance. Similarly, supernatural intervention plays an important role in initiating major actions. Thus, Satan inspires Isaac II Komnenos's delaying tactics against Frederick Barbarossa and brings about his death while crossing a river en route to Palestine. Meanwhile, the Holy Spirit impels Richard I's participation in the crusade and speedy voyage to Cyprus.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M2079, fols 191r-194v (1622)

MS Yerevan, Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M5958, fols 164r-171r (1680)

A.G. Doluxanyan, *Nerses Mokac'i Banastelcut'yunner*, Yerevan, 1975, 1985², pp. 75-88

STUDIES

Bardakjian, *Reference guide to modern Armenian literature*, pp. 50-2, 440-1

Doluxanyan, *Nerses Mokac'i Banastelcut'yunner*, pp. 17-21

N. Polarean, *Hay grotner*, Jerusalem, 1971, pp. 489-92

H. Ačaryan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bararan*, Yerevan, 1944, vol. 4, pp. 67-8

M. Č'amč'ean, *Patmut'wn Hayoc' i skzbanē ašxarhis minč'ew c'am Teapn 1784*, Venice: Petros Valvazeanc' Press, 1786, vol. 3, p. 565

Peter Cowe

Yūḥannā ibn ʿĪsā ʿUwaysāt

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Damascus
DATE OF DEATH After 1663
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The Greek Orthodox priest Yūḥannā ibn ʿĪsā ʿUwaysāt was a poet, scribe and miniaturist of the 17th century. He was born in Damascus, the son of a deacon called ʿĪsā, and had a brother, Yūsuf, who also became a priest. Little is known about ʿUwaysāt's life. In MS Arab Sinai 35, of 1629, he is mentioned as 'a priest among the Damascene clergy'.

It is known that ʿUwaysāt visited the monastery of St Catherine at Mt Sinai in 1636. It is very likely that he is the author of the description of a journey to Sinai dated to that year found in a manuscript at Balamand monastery (no. 181). It can be assumed that he died in 1663 or just after, as the completion of a manuscript in April of that year is the last known trace of his life.

ʿUwaysāt was a popular poet. He wrote in Arabic dialect, and his verses entered most collections of Melkite poetry of the 17th and 18th centuries. Especially notable are an elegy (*marthiyya*) that was recited at the death of Patriarch Yūwākīm ibn Ziyāda (1593-1603) and a eulogy (*madiḥ*) of Ziyāda's successor Durūthāwus ibn al-Aḥmar (1603-11). He was also a talented copyist of both Greek and Arabic. A number of his manuscripts are in the collections of Balamand monastery (Lebanon), the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch in Damascus and Dayr al-Shīr monastery (Lebanon).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

- C. Walbiner, 'Ein christlich-arabischer Bericht über eine Pilgerfahrt von Damaskus zum Berge Sinai in den Jahren 1635/36', *Parole de l'Orient* 24 (1999) 319-37, p. 323 (biography), pp. 323-8 (synopsis of the description of the journey to Mt Sinai possibly written by ʿUwaysāt)
- J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise Melchite du V^e au XX^e siècle*, Louvain, 1982, Damascus, 1996, vol. 4/1, pp. 233-4

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Jawāb ʿalā ʿSuʿāl al-Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-Bakrī
li-l-Naṣārā*, Answer to the 'Question by al-Shaykh
Shams al-Dīn al-Bakrī to the Christians'

DATE 1622

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Manuscript no. 1495 in the Bibliothèque Orientale in Beirut, on which this description and analysis is based, contains two apologetic and polemical poems that answer a question (*suʿāl*) posed 'to the Christians' by a certain Muslim shaykh, Shams al-Dīn al-Bakrī (in other versions he is given the name al-Dimashqī, identifying him as of Damascene origin), on the crucifixion of God and the death of Christ, which left the world without a God to answer the prayers of the believers. This matches the doubt expressed in the Qurʾān concerning the crucifixion of Christ, which is regarded as offensive to the Prophet ʿĪsā (Jesus) (Q 4:157). The 'question' consists of seven verses and precedes the Christian responses. The Muslim text can, in fact, be identified as a shortened variant of a poem written by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya, who thus turns out to be 'al-Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-Bakrī'.

In the Beirut manuscript, the accusation by al-Bakrī is followed by two answers (*ajāba, jawāb*) in rhyme, the first by an otherwise unknown Shaykh Ibn al-Muʿallim Yūḥannā ibn Ghubraʿīl in 24 verses, and the second by Yūḥannā ibn (*walad*) ʿĪsā ʿUwaysāt in 22 verses. Despite the outdated and naive approach of these apologetic responses, the two poems, written in song-like verse, contain the main tenets of the Christian faith. Our two authors paraphrase, in slightly different ways, the main articles of the creed as accepted by Christians. The rhyme, rhythm and arrangement of lines are the same in both. All verses end with the masculine singular suffix *-hu*. While the poem by Yūḥannā ibn Ghubraʿīl is undated, ʿUwaysāt's verses were written at the beginning of 1032 AH, the year which, according to the Gregorian calendar, started on 5 November 1622. Since ʿUwaysāt's reply is called an addition to Ghubraʿīl's poem (*fa-aḏāfa ilayhi*), this sets a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the latter. This dating makes it impossible to identify Yūḥannā ibn Ghubraʿīl as Yūḥannā ibn Ghughayyir, as J. Nasrallah does, because Ibn Ghughayyir would have been too young in 1032 AH to be the author of the poem and be given the title 'shaykh'.

ʿUwaysāt's poem is written in *zajal*, i.e. strophic poetry in colloquial language. It touches on the following topics: the crucifixion of God according to his own will, the oneness of God, the Incarnation, Christ's miracles, his opposition to the law of the Jews and their plot against him, the fulfilment of prophecies, Christ's resurrection, our redemption and the possibility of replacing God with an angel. The last four lines are a form of colophon containing the name of the author and the date of composition. In it, ʿUwaysāt characterises the questioner as 'a scholar, the unique one of the era in the science of wisdom', and claims that before composing his reply he put his question to high-ranking church dignitaries, who were unable to give him a response. 'And thus I have responded to your request at the beginning of the year 1032 [AH].'

SIGNIFICANCE

In simple words spoken to the beat of popular poetry, ʿUwaysāt repeats the very themes of the theology of the mysteries of incarnation and redemption as expressed by philosophers and theologians of the classical period of Christian Arabic literature. A comparison of his 22 verses with the writings of theologians such as ʿAfif ibn Muʿammal, Theodore Abū Qurra, ʿAbd al-Masiḥ al-Kindī or the monk Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabarānī, suggests that ʿUwaysāt was well acquainted with these writers, and was inspired by them to respond to the accusations of al-Bakrī. Some notions and concepts were directly suggested by these writings from the classical period, such as that of the *ḥijāb* (veil) to illustrate the mystery of incarnation, or the refutation of *ishrāk* (polytheism) as a description of God's Trinitarian unity. That the works of these theologians were still in common circulation in ʿUwaysāt's times can be seen from a number of manuscripts preserved in several collections in Lebanon and Syria which date to the 17th century and earlier.

Given the high level of complexity and sophistication of the classical theological texts employed here, one might consider the purpose of the versification and enormous simplification of such complex theological concepts and principles as was undertaken by ʿUwaysāt. Two hypotheses might provide plausible answers. First, rhyme and song have always been used by Oriental Christians, Orthodox and non-Chalcedonians alike. Hymns and poems have embellished liturgies since the early days of Christianity, and songs and poems have always been the means of spreading teachings. Poems were easier for the people to retain than scholarly texts.

The second hypothesis relates to the style of education at the time ʿUwaysāt wrote, when memorisation and recitation of poems were essential methods. Finally, al-Bakrī's accusation had been made in rhyme, and thus required an answer in the same format.

The purpose of ʿUwaysāt's poem was essentially didactic. It was a way for him to communicate the precepts of his faith to his fellow-believers and to defend them against attacks from outside his community.

The poems by Ibn Ghubraʿīl and ʿUwaysāt are the first known responses to an accusation against Christianity made 300 years previously. They speak of an unbroken popularity that the 'Question' of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya enjoyed in certain Muslim circles. One can only speculate why Christians only responded in the 17th century. The first half of that century was marked by a relatively high level of tolerance towards Christians in the East. Capitulations granted by the Ottoman sultan to France in 1535, and later to other European powers, promoted trade and gave a certain economic impetus to the cities of Syria. Many Christians were involved in trade relations with the West and enjoyed consular protection from Western states. Moreover, the activities of Latin missionaries in the Patriarchate of Antioch had also expanded cultural horizons. The attempt by Afthimiyūs Karma, the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Aleppo, to incorporate non-Orthodox, even Muslim scholars into his project of a new Arabic translation of the Book of Genesis gives us an idea of the climate of understanding that partly existed among the religious communities.

Furthermore, these two poems are testimony to an occasionally sharp but peaceful exchange of ideas between Christians and Muslims in the first decades of the 17th century in Bilād al-Shām. The defensive and apologetic tone of the Christian responses to the rather hefty accusations by al-Bakrī reflects the balance of power at that time. It was probably well-known among Christian clerics and urban notables that the *sharīʿa* courts of justice in the Ottoman cities were at the time applying the *ahkām* (regulations) of Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyya concerning the treatment of non-Muslims, although they might not have been aware of his identity as Shams al-Dīn al-Bakrī.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 1495, fols 78r-80r (1786)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 966, pp. 158-9 (according to Nasrallah, *Histoire*, p. 204)

MS Paris, BNF – Par. Arab. 312, fols 17v-19v (according to Nasrallah, *Histoire*, p. 204)

MS Vatican, Apostolic Library – Collection Sbath 26, fols 119r-121r
(according to Nasrallah, *Histoire*, p. 204)

STUDIES

Nasrallah, *Histoire*, p. 204

Souad Slim

Atinalı Mühtedi Mehmed

Mehmed of Athens, the convert

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; presumably mid- to late 16 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Athens
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; presumably early to mid-17 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Mehmed was originally a Christian. He trained for the priesthood and studied Christian theology and the Greek sciences in Athens, the city of his birth. According to his polemical treatise *Atinalı Kapucî[nin] Habîbullâh'ın Evsâfın Tevrît'te ve İncîl ve Zebûr'da Görüb İmâna Geldüğüdir*, he discovered in the Bible predictions of the coming of Muḥammad, and set off in search of an explanation. He finally arrived in Rome, where he became convinced that the Christian scriptures were intentionally misinterpreted, and he travelled to Istanbul with the purpose of converting to Islam. He made his conversion in the presence of Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-17), and was given the name Mehmed.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Reisülküttap 800, fols 153v-159v (1625)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Ali Nihat Tarlan 144/4, fols 57v-60r (1626)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Giresun 171/3, fols 46r-51v (date unknown)

Secondary

T. Krstić, *Contested conversions to Islam. Narratives of religious change in the early modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford CA, 2011, pp. 110-13

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Atinalu Kapucî[nin] Habîbullâh'ın Evsâfın Tevrît'te ve İncîl ve Zebûr'da Görüb İmâna Geldüğüdür, 'How the gatekeeper from Athens became a Muslim after recognizing the attributes of the beloved of God in the Torah, the Gospel and the Psalms'

Risâle-i Garîbedir ki Ahbâr-ı Nasârâ'dan Biri İslâm Şerefi ile Müşerref Olub İncîl ve Tevrît ve Zebûr'da Hazret-i Risâlet'in Hakkında Vâki' Olan Füsûsu Cem' Eyleyüb Tercüme Etmişdir, 'A curious treatise by a former priest glorified by the glory of Islam. Collection and translation of the ringstones about the noble Messenger found in the Gospel, Torah and the Psalms'

Hristiyanlık'dan Müslümanlığa, 'From Christianity to Islam'

DATE 1625 or earlier

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

Atinalu Kapucî[nin] Habîbullâh'ın Evsâfın Tevrît'te ve İncîl ve Zebûr'da Görüb İmâna Geldüğüdür is a short polemical treatise against Christianity written by the former Christian whose name is given as Atinalı Mühtedi Mehmed, 'Mehmed of Athens, the convert' (MS Giresun, fol. 46r). The narrative contains long phrases enriched with poetry and snippets of Persian. Tijana Krstić suggests that the work is closely associated with the *Tuḥfat al-arīb fî l-radd 'alā ahl al-ṣalīb* by Anselm Turmeda, who as a convert became 'Abdallāh al-Tarjumān, and calls it 'the second most copied Ottoman conversion narrative' after the *Tuḥfa* (Krstić, *Contested conversions*, pp. 110, 112). The work covers folios 46r-51v in MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Giresun 171/3.

One odd feature worth noting is that, while in two of the Istanbul manuscripts (Reisülküttap and Ali Nihat Tarlan) the author is named 'Mehmed' within the text, at the end of both manuscripts his signature

appears as Maḥmūd ibn Ḥasan al-Qāḍī. It would be unusual for a convert to have a father with a Muslim name, and there is no mention of a judge (*qāḍī*) of this name in such Ottoman biographical dictionaries as Taşköprülüzâde's *Şakâyük-i nûmâniye* or Mehmed Süreyya's *Sicill-i osmanî*.

Mehmed was evidently well versed in the Bible and Christian theology, and in his polemic he cites a succession of verses from the Torah, Psalms and Gospels. He identifies how Jacob's address to his sons, Moses' address to the children of Israel, God's address to David and references in the Gospels of John and Matthew all indicate the coming of Muḥammad. These are misinterpreted by Christians, he declares, who read them as referring to Jesus.

Mehmed says that, although he was convinced these verses referred to Muḥammad, he did not immediately have the courage to convert to Islam. Instead, he travelled around the 'lands of Rum' (the Ottoman Balkans) with the aim of discussing their meaning with knowledgeable priests, and finally came to Rome, known as *Kızıl Elma* (Red Apple), where he remained for four years.

During this time, he noticed that everyone misinterpreted these verses, but eventually he received confirmation from a Christian (possibly a monk), who confessed that Christians misinterpreted them and also warned Mehmed that if he were to convert to Islam in these lands he would be killed. Thus, having found the truth, he travelled to Istanbul, the 'centre of the polar circle of Islam and the seat of the caliphate', where he became a Muslim.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work is significant for the detail it includes about the author's conversion and for the citations of biblical predictions of Muḥammad that are intermingled with the biographical account.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Reisülküttap 800, fols 153v-159v (1625)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Ali Nihat Tarlan 144/4, fols 57v-60r (1626)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Giresun 171/3, fols 46r-51v (date unknown)

MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek – N.F. 380, fols 227v-231r (date unknown; ALoo636280 digitalised version available through Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/ALoo636882>)

STUDIES

Krstić, *Contested conversions*, pp. 110-13, 119-20

Betül Avcı

Buṭrus ibn Ghubraʿīl

BIOGRAPHY

We know no more about this author than what is mentioned in Paul Sbath's *Al-fihris*, namely that Ibn Ghubraʿīl (which Sbath spells Ghibrīl) was 'an Orthodox Copt of Cairo who lived [there] in 1627'. The epithet *al-muʿallim* that precedes the author's name should be understood as 'the learned man' and not as 'the teacher'.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

- J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise Melchite du V^e au XX^e siècle*, Louvain, 1982, 4/1, p. 205 (only repeats information found in Sbath)
P. Sbath, *Al-fihris (Catalogue des manuscrits arabes). Deuxième partie. Ouvrages des auteurs des trois derniers siècles*, Cairo, 1939, p. 7, no. 437

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Radd ʿalā l-shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Manūfī,
'Response to the Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Manūfī'

DATE 1627

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Sbath describes the content of this work briefly as 'responses to accusations against Christianity' made by an otherwise unknown Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Manūfī (*Al-fihris*, p. 7). He mentions two copies in private hands in Cairo, one owned by the Coptic bookseller Jirjis Murqus and the other by the Coptic priest ʿAbd al-Masīḥ Ṣalīb al-Barmūsī l-Masʿūdī. He provides no further information on the work. So far no traces of these manuscripts have been found and they must be regarded as lost.

SIGNIFICANCE

If we take Sbath's information that the author lived in 1627 as the *terminus ante quem*, the work is the oldest known Coptic reaction to Islamic accusations against Christianity from early modern times.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Cairo, Collection Murqus = MS Sbath Fihris, 1069 [1] (must be regarded as lost)

MS Cairo, Collection 'Abd al-Masīḥ = MS Sbath Fihris, 1069 [2] (must be regarded as lost)

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Carsten Walbiner

Pseudo-Dōrotheos of Monemvasia

BIOGRAPHY

The authorship of the *Vivlion historikon* has not yet been established. Although its editor, the Greek merchant Apostolos Tzizaras from Ioannina (d. 1637), attributes it to a certain Dōrotheos, Metropolitan of Monemvasia, it has been observed that no metropolitan of this name ever existed. Some authors assert that the work was compiled by Metropolitan Hierotheos of Monemvasia (second half of the 16th century), who spent some time in Moldavia at the court of Prince Petru Șchiopul (Peter the lame, r. 1574-91, with intermissions), first while en route to Moscow (1588) and then during his return to Constantinople (1590-1) in the retinue of Jeremiah II Tranos, Patriarch of Constantinople (1572-96, with intermissions). Apostolos states that the *Vivlion historikon* would have been completed at the Moldavian court, where his brother, Zotos Tzizaras, held a prominent position as the son-in-law and high official of the prince. It is likely that a manuscript of the work was brought to Moldavia by Hierotheos and presented to the prince and his court. When Petru abdicated in 1591, the Tzizaras brothers also left the country, taking the manuscript with them. They settled in Venice, where, after Zotos' death in 1599, Apostolos decided to publish the chronicle.

It seems fair to conclude that the *Vivlion historikon* was compiled by several authors. Among them could be included both Hierotheos of Monemvasia and Apostolos Tzizaras (or scribes working under his oversight). Metropolitan Hierotheos is known for his activities in book copying, both in Moldavia and during his stay in Muscovy. Moreover, Apostolos Tzizaras mentions the manuscript of the chronicle in his will (1 October 1625), stating that he was leaving a copy to the Greek Church of St George in Venice for publication (Jorga, 'Zum Aufsatz', p. 688; Mertzius, 'To en Venetia', p. 26). The manuscript does not appear in the codicil dated 8 September 1630, and for good reason, namely because it had already been submitted for publication, as is indicated by the privilege granted to Tzizaras by the Venetian authorities on 17 August 1629.

All these elements allow us to refer to the *Vivlion historikon* as the *Chronicle of Pseudo-Dōrotheos*.

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- T.A. Gritsopoulos, art. 'Hierotheos. Mēropolitēs Monemvasias', in *Thrēskeutikē kai ēthikē egkyklopaideia*, Athens, 1965, vol. 6, cols 796-8
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Vivlion historikon periechon en synopsei diaphorous kai exochous historias, 'The book of histories, containing various and excellent histories in abridged form'

Chronographos Pseudo-Dōrotheou

DATE Between 1590 and 1628

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

Apostolos Tzigaras completed the *Vivlion historikon* (full title: *Vivlion historikon periechon en synopsei diaphorous kai exochous historias. Archomenon apo ktiseōs kosmou mechri tēs alōseōs Kōnstantinoupoleōs, kai epekeina. Syllechthen men ek diaphorōn akrivōn historiōn kai eis tēs koinēn glōssan metaglōtisthen para tou hierōtatou mētropolitou Monemvasias kyriou Dōrotheou*, 'The book of histories, containing various and excellent histories in abridged form. Beginning from the creation of the universe up to the fall of Constantinople and thereafter. Collected from various accurate historical books and translated into the popular language by the Most Holy Metropolitan of Monemvasia Dōrotheos') after leaving Moldavia in 1591, and the death of his brother Zotos, and eventually made arrangements for it to be published at his own expense in Venice. Although a large number of manuscripts of the book are known, it is not clear which was used for the print edition of 1631; the manuscript that Apostolos bequeathed to the Greek Church of St George in Venice under the formal condition that it should be published after his death has not been found.

The aim of this huge book (the first edition amounts to 720 pages *in quarto*) is set out in two dedicatory texts and a letter to the readers, all written by Apostolos Tzigaras himself. The first dedication is to Alexandru Coconul (Alexander the Infant), Prince of Wallachia (r. 1623-7) and Moldavia (r. 1629-30), nephew of Petru Șchiopul, the first patron of the enterprise. The second is to the metropolitan of Philadelphia, Theophanēs Xenakēs, the highest Orthodox authority in Venice (1617-32). They emphasise what history can teach, not only providing entertainment (*nostimada*) but also furnishing 'great knowledge' (*megalē gnōsin*) and examples for people to follow or, as the case may be, to avoid. These

ideas are further developed in Apostolos' letter to the readers. The work is addressed to all Greeks and Orthodox Christians, meaning Greeks by nation (*apo to genos*) and Orthodox by faith (*apo tēn pistēn*), scholars and simple people alike.

Following the Byzantine tradition of the universal chronicle, the first and main part of the book describes the history of humankind, beginning with creation and then tracing the span of various empires: Hebrew, Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian (up to Ptolemaios Philadelphos), Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman, up to Sultan Murad III (r. 1574-95) or, more precisely, 1591. Chronological order is not always respected, and a chapter entitled 'Disorders in the Church' (*Akatastasiai eis tēn Ekklēsian*) is inserted between chapters on Selim II (r. 1566-74) and Murad III. Subsequent editions were periodically updated, though any additions are very brief. In the 1818 edition, for instance, the narrative ends with the first years of the rule of Sultan Abdülhamid I (r. 1774-89), while the history of the sultans following Murad III is presented in only four pages (pp. 455-9). This part is completed by six appendices, which deal with matters such as Frankish rule in Morea and the emperors of Nicaea and Latin emperors of Constantinople; the founding of Venice; an account of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438-45); the conquest of Bursa by the Ottomans under Orhan in 1326; and an oracular inscription on the tomb of Constantine the Great.

The sources of the *Vivlion historikon* have only been identified in part. It is certain that the most important is the *Chronicle of 1570* ascribed to Manuel Malaxos (d. 1581), which depends on Byzantine chronicles (Theophanēs [10th century], Iōannēs Skylitzes [d. around 1100], Konstantinos Manasses [d. around 1187], among others), the anonymous *Ekthesis Chronikē*, and other writings. It is also likely that the authors used oral information and personal knowledge of events, as well as a Greek version of Paolo Giovio's *Commentario delle cose de' Turchi* (Venice, 1531). To establish the complete repertory of the sources would require a critical examination of all the printed editions, a work that remains to be done.

Given its structure and the particular history of the process of its completion, the *Vivlion historikon* closely reflects the views given in its sources. For instance, as in many Byzantine writings on which the *Chronicle of 1570* and the *Vivlion historikon* depend, the episode dealing with Muḥammad, the 'prophet of the Ishmaelites', is placed during the reign of Heraclius (610-41). Muḥammad is described as a humble epileptic. He

served in the house of a widow, whom he married. A Christian monk called Pachomius convinced his wife that he was in fact inspired by God, who communicated with him through the Archangel Michael. Muḥammad and Pachomius 'made laws against the Christians' and laid the foundations of a new heresy (literary 'illegality', 'violation of the law', *paranomia*), meaning 'the abominable faith' (*mysaras pisteōs*) of the Ishmaelites.

The vocabulary employed to designate the various Muslim peoples is not very different from terminology used in Byzantine chronicles: 'Arabs' (*Aravoi*), 'Saracens' (*Sarakēnoi*), 'Turks' (*Tourkoi*), 'Persians' (*Persai*). The classical denominations 'Hagarians' (*Agarēnoi*) and 'Ishmaelites' (*Ismaēlitai*) are commonly used to designate only the Ottomans, who are also called 'unbelievers' (*atheoi*) and 'impious' (*asebeis*). The first two terms are not always openly polemical or pejorative, but are used as a form of 'ordinary' denomination, a kind of synonym for 'Turks', because they already belonged to common vocabulary.

Although very little is said about Islam, the reader can easily understand that a clear and unbridgeable difference exists between Christians and Muslims (mainly Ottomans), who are often presented in the darkest tones. They are the 'barbarians' (*varvaroi*), who plunder cities and put to death everyone they find; they forcefully separate children from their mothers, and abuse and kill monks and priests without mercy (a reference to the conquest of Bursa by Orhan). In a word, they bring 'indescribable woes, murders, slavery and deportation' (the capture of Thessaloniki by Murad II, 1430).

The presentation of the conquest of Constantinople is the best illustration of Turkish cruelty. Sultan Mehmed II storms the city 'like a wild beast', and when the heroic resistance of the defenders led by Constantine Palaiologos is overcome, the Turks perpetrate horrendous acts: sacred vessels are snatched from monasteries, churches are plundered, nuns and noble women are abducted by soldiers and turned into slaves, priests and monks are abused and the imperial tombs are profaned; it is a universal catastrophe (*symphora*). The fate of Hagia Sophia is symbolic of this upside-down world, as the 'earthly Heaven' (*hō epigeios Ouranos*), the 'new Sion' (*nea Siōn*), becomes a 'temple for the Turks'. However, by referring to the biblical episode of the three young men in the furnace, and most particularly to the 'Prayer of Azariah' (Daniel 3:32), who has been handed over into the hands of 'an unjust and most wicked emperor' (*vasilei adikō kai ponērotatō*), the author emphasises that the misfortune

of the Christians was decided by God on account of their sins, while the Turks are nothing more than God's instruments.

On the other hand, several stories suggest that a kind of common sense, if not a law, always protected Christians living under Ottoman rule. Thus, God-inspired people, Christians and Muslims alike, appear providentially at the right moment to appease the sultan's anger and prevent him from oppressing Christians. For instance, when Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1521-66) wants to know about the length of his reign and the future of the empire, a Jewish sorcerer, 'an enemy of the Christians', tells him that the end of the empire will be instigated by Christians, upon which Süleyman decides to exterminate them, but Piri Pasha dares to speak against this decision and tells the emperor that all power is given by God according to His inscrutable plans; thus, only He knows for how long the sultan will stay in power and nothing can be done against His will. Apart from the fact that this puts into the mouth of a Muslim distinctively Christian teaching about power as set out in Romans 13:1, this story, which is taken from Giovio, also preaches submission to authorities, as St Paul's epistle (rephrased in the text) teaches: 'Rulers hold no terror for those who do right, but for those who do wrong', and 'The one in authority is God's servant for your good' (Romans 13:3-4).

While there is no systematic presentation or critique of Islam in the work, it does communicate a sense of the superiority of Christianity through a large number of examples that accompany and often supplant the purely historical narrative. An instance is the miracle performed by Patriarch Maxim III (1476-82), which is also recorded in other chronicles. Following a request from the sultan, he lifts the anathema imposed on a dead person, and as he reads the letter of forgiveness the black and swollen corpse of the sinner begins to decompose and turn into dust. When he hears of this, the sultan (called 'the sovereign', *hō authentēs*) is amazed and is forced to acknowledge that 'the faith of the Christians is true'.

As Tzizaras announces in his opening letter to the readers, the book also contains certain oracles (*chrēsmoi*), which could almost be regarded as subversive stories that in one way or another foretell the end of Ottoman power. This is the case with the oracle written on the tomb of Constantine the Great, which circulated in dozens if not hundreds of copies throughout the Orthodox world and was translated into all the local languages. The message of the text, despite all the inconsistencies it contains, is that the downfall of Ottoman power will be provoked by a great

Christian coalition, and that the City of Seven Hills will be conquered by a 'fair-haired race' (*xanthos genos*) and by its former possessors.

In a few other instances this idea is only suggested. When he is recording the fall of Constantinople, the author states: 'Constantine built it and Constantine lost it' (*Kōnstantinos goun tēn ektise, Kōnstantinos tēn echase*). Although apparently innocent, these words recall an oracular text of which several versions are known. In its complete form, it states that, since both the first and the last emperors of Byzantium had the same name, Constantine, and they were both sons of empresses called Helene, and since the conqueror of Constantinople was named Mehmed son of Murad, so the empire would be lost by a sultan of the same name, who would be the son of another Murad. Thus, at the point at which he laments the fall of the city, Tzigaras invites the reader to hope that it will be reconquered by Christians. In fact, the Roman Empire did not end on 29 May 1453. Reading the list of Roman emperors, one can easily observe that there is no break between the last Roman emperor, Constantine Palaiologos (number 85), and the first Ottoman ruler, Sultan Mehmed II (number 86), as though the empire continues its life even after the Ottoman conquest, albeit under a Muslim ruler. Here, the author was in line with the old widespread idea that the Roman Empire was the last empire in world history, before the Second Coming and the Last Judgment. This denies the existence and the role of both the Holy Roman Empire and Muscovy in the economy of salvation, at a moment when the Great Church of Constantinople had just acknowledged the Muscovite monarchs' imperial title and granted the Muscovite Church its Patriarchal status.

In conclusion, the general conception of the *Vivlion historikon* is mainly Byzantine, for world history is seen as a succession of empires, meaning forms of universal power, by the will of God. The conquest of the city by the Hagarians and their domination over the Christians was also decreed by God, and it will last until He should decide otherwise. On the other hand, the oracles seem to suggest that the moment when Ottoman power will be destroyed is not far off. Then, the Christian empire will be restored and all humankind will prepare for the final hour. Until that moment comes, Christians have to obey the divine will and 'render unto Caesar what belongs to Caesar, and unto God what belongs to God' (Luke 20:25).

SIGNIFICANCE

While the importance of the historical data recorded by the *Vivlion historikon* is rather limited when compared to the *Chronicle of 1570*, the work is of considerable interest, as it gathers an impressive number of texts of all kinds and makes them accessible to a large mass of readers. Taken as a whole, the compilation is particularly significant because it furnishes the first comprehensive narrative of the universal history, Ottoman history included, written from the standpoint of a Greek Orthodox Christian subject of the sultan, a version that would become authoritative within the Greek-speaking world for almost two centuries.

The *Vivlion historikon* was exceptionally popular among readers, as is proved by its 30 printed editions and the several dozens of manuscript copies. It was translated into Russian (1665), Arabic (1667), Romanian (around 1687), Georgian (early 18th century) and Turkish (late 18th century). Parts were copied and included in other works, such as the *Chronographos* compiled by Matthaios Kigalas of Cyprus (Venice, 1635), which also circulated widely throughout the Orthodox world, and Dositheos of Jerusalem's *Dodekavivlos* (Bucharest, 1715). In western Europe, it was known and used by, among others, Du Cange (*Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, 2 vols, Lyon, 1688), Le Quien (*Oriens Christianus in quator patriarchatus digestus*, 2 vols, Paris, 1740), and Goethe in *Faust* (Part 2, Act 3).

The structure of the *Vivlion historikon*, a sort of a library in a single book, allows the reader to take various parts and read them as separate pieces or to integrate them into new anthologies. Many legends and tales recorded in it entered the various Orthodox cultures in this way. A telling example is the oracular text written on the tomb of Constantine the Great, the anti-Ottoman message of which was fully understood by readers, as is indicated by its circulation not only within the Orthodox world, but also in western Europe.

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Sathas, 'Dōrotheou "Vivlion historikōn"'

Radu G. Păun

Sīrat ibn al-Abaḥ

‘The biography of Ibn al-Abaḥ’

Khabar bunyān al-kanīsatayn al-mukarramatayn

Barbāra wa-Abū Sirja, ‘Account of the construction
of the two honourable churches of Barbara and
Sergius’

DATE Before 1629

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Nothing is known about the author of this anonymous work. However, the text suggests Coptic authorship. It relates the construction of two churches in Old Cairo, St Barbara and St Sergius, ascribing this undertaking to a Christian vizier who was the son of a certain al-Abaḥ. The extant manuscripts transmit the text under two different headings: *Sīrat ibn al-Abaḥ* (‘The biography of Ibn al-Abaḥ’; MS Leipzig) and *Khabar bunyān al-kanīsatayn al-mukarramatayn Barbāra wa-Abū Sirja* (‘The story of the construction of the churches of St Barbara and St Sergius; MS Paris and MS Cairo). Georg Graf was unaware that the manuscripts preserve the same text, and classified the former as entertainment (*Unterhaltung*) and the latter as a historical report. The text covers folios 59r-76r in the 1629 Paris MS.

In 1903, G. Salmon published the text of MS Paris with a French translation. He intended to undertake a further study on the text, but died on 22 August 1906 before accomplishing this ambition. In 1905, Ch. Clermont-Ganneau published some comments on Salmon’s edition, dealing primarily with linguistic problems in the translation. Salmon seems to have misread the name of Ibn al-Abaḥ when translating an obvious misreading *bi-wāsiṭat al-wazīr al-qibṭī jīn yumnā ‘alā l-khalīfa* as ‘par l’entremise du vizir copte, des fils de l’Apa Djīn Youmnā, auprès du Khalife’. The context allows for a better reading which should be *bi-wāsiṭat al-wazīr al-qibṭī min awlād al-Abaḥ ḥīna tamanna ‘alā l-khalīfa*, ‘through the Coptic vizier, one of the sons of al-Abaḥ, when he desired from the caliph’.

As the work makes clear, Ibn al-Abaḥ was a person of considerable standing in his community, and personal secretary to the caliph (*kātim*

sirr al-khalīfa). Falsely accused of being a spy for the *firanja* (a word mainly used to refer to the crusaders) by the Emir Sahm al-Dawla, who hated him, he was arrested and condemned to death. However, his innocence was proven by another emir, who liked him. Subsequently, the caliph reversed the judgment and set him free. As reparation, the caliph fulfilled Ibn al-Abaḥ's desire to have a church built next to his house, so that the Muslim populace could not harass his family on their way to worship. However, instead of erecting one church, Ibn al-Abaḥ built two, one dedicated to St Barbara and the other to St Sergius. Upon hearing of the construction of two churches, the caliph ordered Ibn al-Abaḥ to demolish one, but, unable to make a choice, Ibn al-Abaḥ was so distressed that he died halfway between the two churches. When the caliph learned of Ibn al-Abaḥ's fate, he decided to keep both churches intact to honour his memory.

The text is full of factual inaccuracies. The story tells of the *firanja* coming to Damietta in 1072, which does not correspond to known historical facts. The crusaders in fact laid siege to Damietta in 1218, during the reign of the Ayyūbids who were headed by a sultan, not a caliph. It is also worth noting that the *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* mentions that Patriarch Christodulos (r. 1047-77) celebrated the liturgy at the church of St Barbara at the beginning of his patriarchate, which also contradicts the story of its construction as recounted in the text. However, it is alleged that the churches of St Barbara and St Sergius were destroyed and rebuilt several times over history, so the story could be a reference to one of these restorations.

Setting aside these contradictions, the year 1072 mentioned in the text dates the narrative to the era of Caliph al-Mustanṣir bi-llāh (r. 1036-94) and the 66th patriarch of Alexandria, Christodulos (1047-77). The *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* tells of a certain Abū l-Surūr Yūsuf ibn Yūḥannā ibn al-Abaḥ, who was one of three prominent Copts who intervened to prevent a monk called Colluthus from presenting defamatory reports to the ruler about Patriarch Christodulos, because the patriarch had refused to ordain him as a bishop. Could this be the Ibn al-Abaḥ mentioned in the text?

While the modern *Coptic Synaxarium* published by Dayr al-Suryān commemorates Ibn al-Abaḥ as a saint on 27 Bā'ūna, and identifies him as a vizier of al-Mustanṣir bi-llāh, dating his death to 1045 (vol. 2, pp. 358-9), neither *Le Synaxaire arabe Jacobite*, published by R. Basset, nor the *Synaxarium Alexandrinum*, published by J. Forget, makes any mention

of Ibn al-Abaḥ. It would appear that the account of Ibn al-Abaḥ in the *Coptic Synaxarium* is in fact based on the story in these two manuscripts, as it quotes directly from them.

It is also noteworthy that the 13th-century chronicle of Abū l-Makārim, which has been wrongly attributed to Abū Ṣāliḥ the Armenian, is mentioned in B.T.A. Evetts as making reference to a scribe called Abū l-Ḥasan ibn al-Amāḥḥ, who in 1176 assisted al-Saʿīd Abū l-Fakhr with the restoration of the churches of al-Fustāt (Old Cairo) during the Ayyūbid dynasty. Bishop Samuel, who published the same chronicle by Abū al-Makārim, reads the name as Abū l-Ḥasan ibn al-Abaḥ. Although the year 1176 falls during the third crusade, it does not coincide with the siege of Damietta, which took place during the fifth crusade.

The work is an interesting and enjoyable narrative, rich in colloquial expressions such as, for example, 'the tongue is the enemy of the neck' or 'who plants the good, harvests its favours'. The author uses colourful descriptions that appeal to the reader, such as likening the angry caliph to 'a fish in a pan'. At the same time, it presents an image of the harsh and unfair situation experienced by Coptic Christians in Egypt under Islam in the Middle Ages, alluding to the difficulties that attended attempts to build a church and to the requirements for Christians to wear distinctive clothing (Christian women had to dress differently from their Muslim neighbours, while the emir who conspired against Ibn al-Abaḥ hated the way Christians dressed) and to pay the poll-tax (*jizya*). It also shows that Muslims considered Christians to be the enemies of Islam, and that discrimination based on religion was the norm. A Muslim who had offended a Christian would never have been condemned to death, irrespective of the severity of the offence.

SIGNIFICANCE

This story is testimony to the relationship between the Christians in Egypt and their Muslim rulers in the Middle Ages. It indirectly provides information about the social customs of Egyptian society under Islam (e.g. styles of dress) and the Islamic laws of the time in force against Christians (e.g. *jizya*). The lack of precise information about the characters who appear in the story and its historical inaccuracies give it an unhistorical and rather literary nature, placing it in the category of devotional literature. Therefore, it would not be incorrect to classify the text in accordance with Graf's description of the Leipzig MS as a form of *Unterhaltung* (entertainment).

The fact that the only preserved manuscripts date from the 17th and 18th centuries gives the text a further significance. They could be seen to reflect the situation in which Egyptian Christians of that period lived. As it would have been impossible to criticise directly the ruling system and Muslim society, or to accuse them of maltreatment of the Christians, any criticism had to be dressed up in historical garb.

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Joseph Faragalla

Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥī‘ al-Andalusī

Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥī‘ ibn
Muḥammad al-Sharīf al-Ḥusaynī l-Ja‘farī
l-Mūrsī l-Andalusī

DATE OF BIRTH Last third of the 16th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Murcia, Spain
DATE OF DEATH 22 February 1643
PLACE OF DEATH Mecca

BIOGRAPHY

The exact date of Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥī‘ al-Andalusī’s birth in Murcia is unknown. It must have been sometime during the last third of the 16th century, as he states that he was young when he went to Tunisia with the expulsion of the Moriscos. Within six years of leaving Spain, he had begun to write *Al-anwār al-nabawīyya* and had taken on important roles within the Morisco community, as well as establishing and developing a relationship with the most important spiritual authority of the time in Tunisia, Sīdī Abū l-Ghayth al-Qashshāsh. These factors would suggest that he was over the age of 20 when he left Spain.

In *Al-anwār al-nabawīyya*, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥī‘ mentions that he left Spain in either 1604 or 1605 as part of a group of refugees: ‘Victory and relief came from God – praise be to God! – who in the year 1013 of the Hegira led us to flee – may God bless and bestow peace upon it. Some of our brothers fled secretly to the Maghreb (West) and others towards the East (the Middle East) pretending to belong to the religion of the infidels...’ The two groups left Spain and set off towards France, presumably under disguise as Christians, because until the expulsion was first decreed in 1604 Moriscos were forbidden from leaving for Muslim countries. These facts are confirmed by another fugitive Morisco writer, Aḥmad ibn Qāsim ibn al-Ḥajarī, who describes crossing the border into France with his companions.

The part that Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥī‘ played during the expulsion of the Moriscos, and also the relationships he developed with important personalities, led him to France, where his presence is documented towards the end of 1611. He acted as guide for a group of Morisco dignitaries travelling towards Constantinople, two of whom are named in a

Spanish report as Pérez Bolhaç and Luis Baldivia. This all confirms the role of intermediary that he played at the time of the expulsion, and, after his return to Tunisia, between the Morisco community at large and the Moriscos who were established in Tunisia. This role is also confirmed by evidence that he cooperated with the local Tunisian agents, such as his reported relationship with Sīdī Abū l-Ghayth al-Qashshāsh; al-Muntaṣir ibn al-Murābiṭ says: '... and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' al-Andalusī was close to Sīdī'.

The date of his death is noted by the copyist of the manuscript of *Al-anwār al-nabawiyya* as '1052 [1643] in Mecca at *al-Ḥaram al-sharīf*, in front of the *Ka'ba* doors', meaning that he died whilst performing the rites of the *ḥajj*.

Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' thus appears to have been one of the most important dignitaries and *sharīfs* involved in significant diplomatic activities during the expulsion of the Moriscos. His diverse cultural background meant that he was familiar with Christian and Muslim cultures, and highly proficient in at least Spanish and Arabic.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-anwār al-nabawiyya fī abā' khayr al-barriyya, 'The prophetic lights above the fathers of the good land'

DATE 25 January 1635

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-anwār al-nabawiyya fī abā' khayr al-barriyya is extant in two copies, one in Rabat and the other in Tunis. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' says that he was asked to write it by one of the Morisco nobles in Tunisia: 'My correlative al-Sharīf 'Alī l-Niwalī, who is designated the name "Al-Ṣarraj" – may God illuminate the path of truth – asked me to prepare the family tree of our Prophet, the lord of the land and the skies, and within it I will cite the men who belong to this honourable lineage.' Although Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' began writing in 1611, he only completed the work 24 years later, on 25 January 1635. This length of time may have been due to other commitments, or it may have been caused by the very nature of the book, which as a work of genealogy would require precision and the consultation of numerous sources, and also many interviews to confirm the lineage of the Prophet.

The book is divided into eight chapters, in each of which Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' talks about Muḥammad's ancestry and the purity of his line, the lineage of the Ten Blessed Companions, and the descendants of his two grandsons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. Throughout, Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' argues that all Moriscos were and are Muslims, and in order to do so he explains why he thinks they were expelled from Spain.

In the first place, he contends that Islam had persisted among the Moriscos from before the time when the Christians captured Granada, drawing a line of continuity down from the period of Islamic rule in al-Andalus. Islam in Spain was ancient, with long ancestry.

This Islam was also demonstrated through the communications that were set up between the Moriscos and the Ottomans, although Spanish Christians looked on these as a form of betrayal and regarded the Moriscos as a fifth column. For Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī', such communications were natural because the displaced Moriscos belonged to the Islamic world.

In the same way, this sense of belonging had always been asserted through Morisco resistance to Christian culture. Ibn 'Abd al-Rafī' vividly illustrates this in his account of how he had learnt the Arabic alphabet: 'My father took a smooth piece of wood from a walnut tree (I can see it now as if it were right in front of me), upon which he wrote the Castilian alphabet, asking me to sound out each letter. As I pronounced each letter he wrote an Arabic letter, then said: "This is what our letters are like!", until he had been through the whole alphabet, repeating each letter twice. When he finished, he told me that I had to hide this, even from my mother, my uncle, my brother and all of my relatives; he ordered me not to say anything to anybody and was very insistent...'.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work is an eloquent demonstration of the consequences of the decision by King Philip III of Spain (r. 1598-1621) to expel his Morisco subjects. Uprooted and removed to parts of the Islamic world, they must have been asked frequently, and indeed they may have asked themselves, whether they were true Muslims. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Rafī's answer is, of course, a resounding affirmative, a clear account of the Muslim ancestry of the Moriscos, stretching back to the noblest origins in the person of the Prophet Muḥammad himself, and a strong argument that the Muslim community had never lost touch with its roots or with Muslims in other parts of the world. The work is a testimony to how, under the severest pressure from outside, in the form of detractors in Spain, and also from within, in the form of doubts in their community about their authenticity, Moriscos remained true to their ancestral beliefs and sought means to prove their loyalty.

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Housseem Eddine Chachia

Simēon Lehats'i

Simeon of Poland, Simēon of Zamość, Simēon *dpir*

DATE OF BIRTH 1584
PLACE OF BIRTH Zamość, Poland
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; possibly 1636
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown; possibly Lvov

BIOGRAPHY

The main source of information about the life of Simēon is his own untitled work, which is referred to as *Ughegrut'iwn* ('Travel accounts'). The original manuscript was used by the Armenian Mekhitarist (Catholic) Father N. Akinean, who found it in the library of the University of Lvov in June 1932 and made a handwritten copy.

Simēon was born in Zamość, Poland, in 1584. His parents, Mahdesi Martiros and Dovlat' Khat'un, had left Kaffa, in the Crimea, in 1580. Although his parents were poor, they sent him to school, entrusting his education to Armenian priests. It was possible he was tutored by Hakob of T'ok'at', who had settled in Zamość in 1602, and/or the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, Grigor of Caesarea, and *vardapet* Azaria Sasnets'i (d. 1628), both of whom he befriended during his long sojourns in Constantinople.

Despite his education, Simēon did not complete his religious studies and remained a mere *dpir* (scribe, acolyte). He spent his time mastering the art of transcribing rare books and manuscripts, and collecting religious and historical books. In 1607, he left Zamość for Lvov, a major Armenian centre in Poland, and on 15 February 1608 he embarked on his pilgrimage to the holy sites. His travel accounts span an uninterrupted 12 years, ending in August 1619. During this time he visited Constantinople, Alexandria, Cairo, Jerusalem, Mush, Diyarbakir, Kharpert (Harput), T'ok'at', Caesarea (Kayseri), Malatya, Sebastia, Smyrna (Izmir), Angora (Ankara), Damascus and Aleppo. He finally returned to Lvov, married on 15 August 1620 and moved back to Zamość, where he spent his time copying and organising his travel notes. Being unable to find employment, on 15 August 1624 he moved back to Lvov, where he began his career as a teacher, while continuing to supplement his income as a

copier of manuscripts. He may have undertaken another journey to Turkey in 1635. Nothing is known about him after 1636.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ughegrut'iwn, 'The travel accounts of Simēon of Poland'

DATE Probably between 1584 and 1636

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

The manuscript of Simēon's work, which covers 396 pages, is housed in the library of Warsaw University. It was discovered in Lvov University library. The original manuscript has no title: the Armenian word *Ughegrut'iwn* means 'travel accounts', a title (in its plural form) given to the work because it recounts Simēon's travels to various places, in addition to the colophons, which suggest that he went on another journey to Turkey in 1635. The work's existence was mentioned in 1869 (see S. Baracz, *Rys Dziejow ormianskich* [Sketches of Armenian history], Tarnopol, 1869) and again in 1927 (see Macler, 'Rapport sur une mission scientifique'). N. Akinean found Simēon's original in the University of Lvov

library in June 1932 and made a handwritten copy of it, which he later published in segments and eventually in book form. Following the German occupation of Lvov during the Second World War, the manuscript was thought to have been lost, though in 2007 it was revealed that when the Soviets took Lvov and made it part of Soviet Ukraine, the Poles and Armenians sent various manuscripts, religious artefacts and art works to Warsaw in order to save them. Simēon's manuscript lay hidden in the archives of Warsaw University until the fall of the Soviet Union. Its existence was made known in 2007 and it was examined soon after by Bournoutian, who established that Akinean's copy was accurate.

In his account, Simēon laments the Muslim capture of Constantinople but, even though he assumes a generally anti-Muslim stance, he is compelled to praise the piety and charitable institutions of Muslims: 'The Muslims are so merciful and charitable that at the beginning of each street [in Istanbul] they have constructed a fountain and have placed many jars of sweet and pleasant-tasting drinks. They even put ice in them, so that the passer-by can drink and be satisfied. Cold water is also available in many places with no water or population, for the benefit of travellers ... They do not discriminate against anyone – Christians or Jews. They also have schools. Twice a day they prepare food for the sick and travellers ...' (Bournoutian, *Travel accounts*, p. 51).

During his journeys, when travelling with caravans he observes that '... The Muslims love to pray a great deal. They perform their five prayers not only at home, but [they also] never miss them on the road, and perform them steadfastly day and night, in fierce winters on water and snow: they perform their ablution in cold water and pray, even if they fall behind their travel companions. Woe to us, the ill-fated, that as Christians we barely go sluggishly once a day to church, and even that as penance ...' (Bournoutian, *Travel accounts*, p. 52).

Simēon's admiration for Islam soon dwindles, however, when he travels to the Armenian communities in the interior of Turkey. Like many other Armenian and non-Armenian historians, Simēon describes the oppressive behaviour of Muslim officials towards their Christian subjects. The greater his distance from the central administration, the greater is the abuse of the population (including Muslims) he witnesses by local grandees. This is evident in his descriptions of the sufferings of the Arabs in Egypt at the hands of their Turkish overlords.

Simēon has great praise for the Italian cities, but is disgusted by the dirt and dust of the Arab cities in the Middle East, with the exception

of Jerusalem. He notes that Armenians, Jews and Muslims all sell their wares together in the bazaars. Outside the cities, however, Simēon paints the Arabs as marauders, who prey on travellers.

SIGNIFICANCE

Despite his anti-Muslim sentiments, Simēon notes clearly that within the Ottoman Empire Armenians and other Christians have their own places of worship and enjoy the freedom to celebrate their holidays. Moreover, he observes that Christians and Muslims travel together throughout North Africa and the Middle East in large caravans, share meals and offer mutual assistance one to the other.

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George Bournoutian

Matthaios Kigalas

Tzigalas, Sigalas, Cigalas

DATE OF BIRTH 1580
PLACE OF BIRTH Cyprus, probably Nicosia
DATE OF DEATH 1640
PLACE OF DEATH Venice

BIOGRAPHY

Matthaios Kigalas was a Greek Cypriot, probably of Italian origin, and was priest of the Orthodox Archbishopric of Cyprus, and later (1630) a vicar of the Orthodox Archbishopric of Philadelphia residing in Venice. He had several children, each of whom would become well-known in their time.

Kigalas probably received a university education in Italy before he was ordained priest in Nicosia and made *protonotarios* (principal secretary) of the Archbishopric of Cyprus. In 1628, he stayed in Constantinople during his pilgrimage to Mt Athos, where he was sent 'to beg for the loan of the head of St Michael of Synnada, which was thought to be effective against locusts and plague' (G. Hill, *History of Cyprus*, vol. 4, Cambridge, 2010², p. 67). In 1630, he settled in Venice as a vicar of the Church of St George of the Greeks. He published all his works in Venice.

Besides the *Nea synopsis diaphorōn historiōn*, which he compiled and published in 1637, he also published the Cretan demotic poem *Erōphilē* by Geōrgios Chortatsēs (1637), which he had rather arbitrarily purified of demotic Cretan linguistic traits in order to meet the standards of 17th-century learned Greek (Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, vol. 1, pp. 358-60). He also supposedly translated Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* into Greek, and compiled a collection of ecclesiastical hymns and prayers (*Syntagmation periechon kanonas te kai euchas iketērious*, Venice, 1631; other editions, 1635, 1662, 1682, 1688), among other works. He corresponded with known figures of his time, such as the Calvinist Antoine Léger, the chaplain of the Embassy of the Netherlands in Constantinople, 'sommo theologo della nation Fiamenga in Pera di Constantinopoli' (Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique*, vol. 3, p. 313), Theophanes of Philadelphia, Ecumenical Patriarch Athanassios Patelaros, and the former bishop of Kythera, Athanassios Vallerianos.

According to Émile Legrand, he was ‘un Grec amphibie’, switching between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism to suit his personal interests.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Nea synopsis diaphorōn historiōn archomenē apo ktiseōs kosmou kai lēgousa heōs tē nyn echronia,
 ‘New synopsis of diverse histories from the creation
 of the world to the present’

DATE 1637

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek (vernacular)

DESCRIPTION

Matthaïos Kigalas’s *Nea synopsis diaphorōn historiōn* was published in Venice, at the printing house of Antonios Ioulianos from Ioannina, in 1637, with a second edition in 1650, under the full title *Nea synopsis diaphorōn historiōn archomenē apo ktiseōs kosmou kai lēgousa heōs tē nyn echronia. Periechei de eti kai tēn halōsin tēs Konstantinoupoleōs, metagegrammenē*

apo tēn Tourcograetziān. Kai peri basileōn kai patriarchōn, pōs ekyvernēse ho katheis tēn Vasileian kai ton Oikoumenikon Thronon. Kai posoi Vasileis Ismaēlitai tēn horisan heōs tēn sēmeron. Eti de periechei tēn dialexin tou hagiou Sylvestrou me ton Zamvrēn ton magon. Kai peri tōn hagiōn kai Oikoumenikōn Synodōn, pote kai pou kai kata tinōn eginan. Meta kai tinōn antirrēseōn ōfelimotatōn. Eti de kai peri tou Hagiou Pascha pote kai meta poiōn tropōn edogmatisthē na ginetai. Kai peri tēs proskynēseōs tōn hagiōn eikonōn ek tou Damaskēnou apodeixeis. Kai peri tēs Venetias pote ektisthē kai posoi doukides tēn ōrisan. Kai peri tōn ophikiōn tou vasilikou palatiou. Synachthenta apo pollōn historikōn vivliōn kai metaphrasthenta eis aplēn phrasin para tou eulavestatou en hierēusi kyriou Matthaïou Kigala Kypriou eis koinēn ōpheleian ('New synopsis of diverse histories from the creation of the world to the present time. Including the Fall of Constantinople, transcribed from Turcograecia. And about the kings and patriarchs, how each governed the empire and the Ecumenical See. And how it has been governed by the Ishmaelite kings till the present time. Also including the dialogue between Saint Sylvester and Zamvres the sorcerer. And about the Holy and Ecumenical Councils, when and where they took place and against whom they gave rulings. Including some beneficial debates. And about the Holy Easter, when and how it should be celebrated according to the doctrine of the Church. And about the veneration of the holy icons according to Saint John of Damascus' proofs. And about Venice, when it was built and how many dukes governed it. And about the offices of the royal palace. Compiled from numerous historical books and transcribed in simple language for the common good by the most devout among the priests, Fr Matthaïos Kigalas of Cyprus').

The work is a compilation of earlier Byzantine and post-Byzantine chronicles, following the model of the *Vivlion historikon* (Venice, 1631), which was attributed to Dorotheos (probably Hierotheos), metropolitan of Monemvasia, and also known as the *Chronographos of Pseudo-Dorotheos*. The *Nea synopsis* never rivalled the *Vivlion historikon* in popularity. Kigalas copies some parts of the *Vivlion historikon* without citing it, though he does explicitly acknowledge and paraphrase Georgios Kedrenos's *Synopsis historiōn*, itself a compilation of earlier sources, and Martin Crusius's 1584 edition of *Turcograeciae*, which contains two major Greek chronicles, the *Historia politica* and the *Historia patriarchica Constantinopoleos*, attributed respectively to Theodosios Zygomalas and Manuel Malaxos (*Nea synopsis*, 1637, pp. 199-414, 415-69 [references that follow are to this edition]). These chronicles cover the major historical

events between the years 1391 and 1578. For events after 1578, Kigalas may have copied Pseudo-Dorotheos. In general, all these works are strikingly similar in the historical material they contain.

The text of the *Nea synopsis*, which takes up 548 pages in the 1637 edition, is dedicated to Athanasios Vallerianos, former bishop of Kythera. It cannot have been particularly popular, because editions of it in its original Greek are very rare.

The work is neither thematically nor chronologically ordered. It begins with stories from the Old Testament, Persian history, Greek mythology and the history of Macedonian kings. The Trojan War comes next to the history of the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt. Then follow a list of Roman emperors with a short account of the reign of each (pp. 160-85), the emperors, bishops and patriarchs of Constantinople up to 1636 (pp. 186-99), an exhortation against the Jews by Pope Sylvester (p. 470), and a history of the ecumenical councils (pp. 479-519). It ends with a brief account of the foundation of Venice (p. 520).

The most extensive part of the book (pp. 199-414) covers the history of Byzantium down to the reign of Andronikos and Iōannēs Palaiologos. A part of this chapter was taken from Kedrenos. There are many references to wars between the Byzantines and the Arabs, who are also referred to indiscriminately as 'Turks' (e.g. pp. 300-2, 306, 312-13, 345-6, 369, 386-9, 400).

As mentioned above, from page 415 on the text is adapted from the *Turcograecia*, 'beginning in the year 1372'. This section extends to the years of the book's two editions (1637 and 1650). Kigalas traces the Ottoman expansion to the west and the gradual conquest of south-eastern Europe and Asia Minor. It describes the efforts by the Palaiologan dynasty to resist, but it accepts the course of the Ottoman overthrow of the Byzantine Empire as inexorable, and offers a picture of the status of the Church under Ottoman rule.

In order to trace the origins of the Ottoman conquest, Kigalas gives a biography of Muḥammad (Mōameth, see p. 420) and a concise description of Muslim religious customs and of the spread of Islam. Here, he did not depend on the *Turcograecia*, but either employed another source or wrote this himself. He describes how Muḥammad, a descendant of Ishmael and a poor herdsman, appeared at the time of the Emperor Heraclius; he married the rich widow Khadija and engaged in trade, often visiting Palestine, where he came to know about Judaism and Christianity. He studied some parts of the Bible, and called himself a prophet of God. Some Jews believed he was the Messiah, and 'ten of their primates

abandoned the faith of Moses and came under his orders'. He was spoken to by the Archangel Gabriel, and ten years after this encounter he gathered an army and waged war.

Muḥammad borrowed ideas about monarchy and observances such as circumcision and abstention from pork from the Jews, but his belief that the Word and the Spirit were part of creation and his over-regard for human substance derived from Arianism and Nestorianism. He taught his disciples that God was one and that Christ should therefore be venerated as His prophet but not as His Son; that the Jews and Christians would eventually be destroyed; and that God is the cause of all good and evil that befalls humanity, 'and whatever they suffer out of indolence or temptation is written from the time they start life, which refutes free human choice (*autexousion*)'.

Muḥammad's successors, Abū Bakr and 'Umar, conquered and ruled the Phoenician lands and Egypt. Mu'āwiya (Mavias) conquered Cyprus, Arvard (Arados), Tripolis and the whole of Coele Syria. They were succeeded by a succession of rulers, and the crusaders and Byzantines were able to resist the Seljuk armies until 1300, when the Turks established a principality under Osman ('Uthmān) 'whose generation has ruled ever since'.

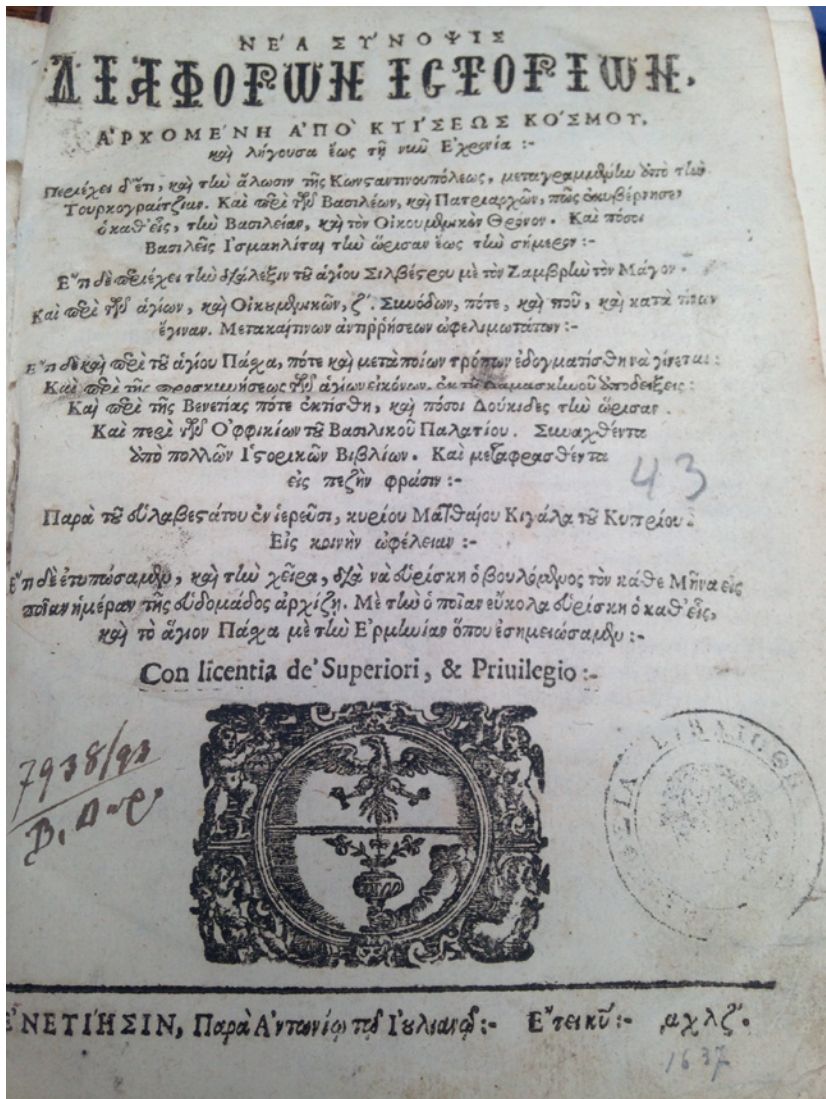
Among the Ottoman sultans, the climax of Mehmed II's long reign was the seizure of Constantinople, a tremendous event that Kigalas (like virtually all Christian authors of his time) interprets as a sign of the wrath of God, who delivered the Orthodox Christians 'into the hands of wicked enemies and apostates' (p. 426). But although the Byzantine political order was swept away, the new ruler had a vision of repopulating Constantinople and of making it his imperial capital, inhabited by both his Muslim and his Christian subjects. Therefore, despite the disaster of 1453 and continuous warfare, Mehmed the Conqueror showed himself a friend of the Christians, and he appointed many as state secretaries and ministers, 'because the Hagarians were illiterate' (p. 428). To encourage Christians to repopulate his new capital, he ordered the election of a new patriarch according to established Byzantine customs. However, respect for ecclesiastical rules was later undermined by Turkish greed and the competition between the bishops for accession to the patriarchal throne. A serious implication of Ottoman rule was the practice of candidates for the patriarchal throne to promise a large payment to the sultan in return for the office (pp. 438-40). This generated an unmanageable debt for the ecumenical patriarchate and facilitated the election of unworthy candidates.

The first patriarch of the Ottoman era was Gennadios, a philosopher and jurist, who moved the patriarchal see to the Monastery of Pammakaristos after the expulsion of the patriarchate from the Church of the Holy Apostles. Mehmed made an impromptu visit to the patriarchate and encouraged Gennadios to speak freely about the Christian religion, and to explain and defend its doctrines without fear (p. 428). Gennadios did this, explaining the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, and he later set his exposition down in a document of 20 chapters, which was translated into Ottoman Turkish by Ahmed, a qadi of Veroia (pp. 429-33). These chapters were published in Martin Crusius's *Turcograecia* along with the Turkish translation written in Greek and Latin characters. This was the earliest published text in this Graeco-Turkish (and Latino-Turkish) script, also known as *Karamanlidika* (see *Turcograecia*, p. 109-20; this version was not included in Kigalas's book). The sultan read Gennadios's chapters and applauded the patriarch's wisdom, honouring him with gifts and 'showing so much respect to him that many Turks thought the king must be in doubt concerning his own faith'.

Süleyman the Magnificent was suspicious of his Christian subjects, whom a Jewish astronomer accused of plotting against the state. At first, the sultan ordered their destruction, but this decision was revoked on the advice of his viziers (p. 459; also *Historia patriarchica* in *Turcograecia*, pp. 156-63). During the reign of his son, Selim II, the Ottomans conquered Cyprus, put to death a great number of the island's Christian population, and took thousands into captivity.

The Christian community experienced successes and reverses under various patriarchs. A major incident near Kigalas's own time was the patriarchate's expulsion from the Byzantine Monastery of Pammakaristos, which was converted into the Fethiye mosque in 1586. Patriarch Theolēptos is supposed to have conspired with the Ottomans in this affair: 'Thus the church was seized, an incident that disgraced the Orthodox and caused their humiliation in the eyes of all nations. But this was the result of God's judgment, for the many sins of our clerics and monks'. This part ends with a list of Ottoman sultans up to Kigalas's time.

The rest of the book consists of Pope Sylvester's exhortation against the Jews and a history of the seven ecumenical councils, which includes a number of theological questions, as well as John of Damascus's defence of the veneration of icons. The final parts deal with the foundation of Venice and the dignities (*offikia*) of the palace of Constantinople.

Illustration 2. Title page of *Nea synopsis diaphorōn historion*

SIGNIFICANCE

Together with the *Vivlion historikon*, on which it substantially depends, Kigalas's work stands as one of the first comprehensive narratives of Ottoman history written in Greek by a Greek Orthodox Christian, and focusing on the relations of Ottoman power with the Orthodox Church and the Greek people. Although it did not enjoy the same popularity as the *Vivlion historikon*, the *Nea synopsis* represents an important means of transmitting Greek Orthodox ideas about Islam and Ottoman rule across the Orthodox world. It was translated into Romanian in the second half of the 17th century, and formed the basis of a hybrid form of chronological history, known as 'Danovici' after the name of its translator and compiler Pătrașcu Danovici, that was in wide circulation until the 19th century, as is shown by almost 70 Romanian manuscripts in which it is transmitted.

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Paschalis Kitromilides and Ioannis Kyriakantonakis

Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1570
PLACE OF BIRTH	Hornachos, Spain
DATE OF DEATH	After 1642
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably Testour or Tunis

BIOGRAPHY

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī l-Andalusī was a diplomat, scholar and translator, born in the village of Hornachos in Extremadura, Spain, in about 1570. His Spanish Christian name was Diego Bejarano and his Spanish Morisco name was Ehmed ben Caçim Bejarano (variants on his Arabic name are Shihāb al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad, Aḥmad ibn Qāsim ibn al-faqīh Qāsim ibn al-shaykh al-Ḥajarī l-Andalusī, and Afūqāy). Like many other new Christians of Muslim descent (the so-called Moriscos) at a time when it was forbidden to practise Islam in Spain, he was raised secretly as a Muslim in an arabophone family. He studied Arabic with the Granadan physician Alonso del Castillo.

In about 1598, the archbishop of Granada, Pedro de Castro Vaca y Quinoñes, involved him in interpreting a parchment written in Spanish and Arabic discovered in a tower in Granada in 1588, as well as some of the *Libros plúmbeos del Sacromonte* ('lead books of Sacromonte'), famous forged plates inscribed in Arabic found on the slopes of the Sacromonte mountain near the city of Granada between 1595 and 1600.

In 1598, he fled to Morocco, where some time later he became secretary and Spanish interpreter to Sultan Mawlāy Zaydān in Marrakesh. In 1611, he was entrusted with a mission to France to recover goods stolen from fellow Moriscos who had been forced to leave Spain for Morocco during the expulsion of the Moriscos on board French ships. He visited France and the Netherlands, returning to Marrakesh in 1613. We may assume that it was during this period that he married and had two sons and two daughters. He left Morocco in 1634, and in Egypt in 1637, after performing the *ḥajj*, he wrote a travel account called *Riḥlat al-shihāb ilā liqā' al-aḥbāb*, ('The journey of the meteor to meet his beloved'), the word *shihāb* (meteor) here referring to his *laqab* (nickname), Shihāb al-Dīn. In the same year, he also composed a summary of a now lost account, which he entitled *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn alā l-qawm al-kāfirīn* ('The supporter

of religion against the infidels'), focusing on his polemical encounters with Christians and Jews in the Netherlands and France.

Al-Ḥajarī translated several works into Arabic, among them a Spanish treatise on gunnery and an astronomical treatise, and he also translated parts of Qāḍī 'Iyād's *Kitāb al-shifā'* into Spanish. In about 1642, he was living with his family in Tunis and/or Testour, and it is likely that he died in Tunisia.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn ‘alā l-qawm al-kafīrīn wa-huwa al-sayf al-ashhar ‘alā kulli man kafara, ‘The book of the supporter of religion against the infidels or The unsheathed sword against all who disbelieve’
 ‘The victory of religion over the unbelieving people’

DATE 1637

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The first version of *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn* is found in MS Azhar 30714, which al-Ḥajarī compiled in Cairo in 1637 on the order of the Maliki scholar al-Ujhūrī (1559-1656) as an extract from his more extensive travelogue (also compiled at the request of al-Ujhūrī), *Riḥlat al-shihāb ilā liqā’ al-aḥbāb*, of which no manuscript copy is known. Al-Ujhūrī asked al-Ḥajarī to focus in it on his polemical discussions with Christians and Jews. Later, al-Ḥajarī reworked the text in various phases, and probably added some material from his travelogue, which he had left out from the original version at the request of al-Ujhūrī. He also added other details, in particular those concerning the famous ‘Sacromonte lead book affair’ in Granada at the end of the 16th century, which are not in the Azhar manuscript but can be found in the Dār al-Kutub manuscript, which he completed in Tunis in 1641. The latter covers 130 folios, and takes up 194 pages in the 1997 edition by van Koningsveld, al-Samarrai and Wieggers. Both that edition, and the completely revised and updated edition by the same editors (Madrid, 2015), take the text of the Dār al-Kutub manuscript as the basic source, while the second edition incorporates the variants of the original text preserved at Al-Azhar.

The 2015 edition is the most recent revised and expanded edition of the Arabic text (including, as does the first edition, an introduction and English translation), and is used here as the main source. The fragmentary Paris manuscript represents a stage of textual development from the period between the Azhar manuscript and the Dār al-Kutub manuscript. The Spanish Bologna material (Biblioteca Universitaria D 565) was also written after the author had settled in Tunis and may represent his final stage of work on the material. The Azhar manuscript retains numerous historical details, which for various reasons were omitted by al-Ḥajarī from his later, more expanded versions, including the final one. The Dār

al-Kutub manuscript contains 13 chapters and an appendix giving the text of one of the 'lead books'.

Al-Ḥajarī recounts in the first chapter of *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn* that in about 1598 he became personally acquainted with people close to the then archbishop of Granada, Pedro de Castro Vaca y Quiñones, who was highly occupied with the so-called 'lead books' (*libros plúmbeos*). What became known as the 'lead book affair' had in fact begun ten years earlier, in March 1588. The demolition of the minaret of the Friday Mosque in Granada, in order to build the cathedral, led to the discovery of a parchment and several relics in a lead chest, including bones of the proto-martyr St Stephen and a piece of a veil that had allegedly belonged to St Mary. Al-Ḥajarī seems to have attached great religious significance to his experiences with the parchment of the 'Torre Turpiana' and the lead books, as outlined below. It is possible that his interest in and studies of the books of the Christians and Jews were a particular reason for his being favoured by the Moroccan Sultan Moulay Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, so that he became secretary and translator to the sultan and his successors. He claims as much when he writes that an interpreter at the Moroccan court would need to study the sciences as well as the books of the Muslims and Christians in order to know what he is saying and translating. In a later work, he also mentions that, through the learning he had acquired among the Christians, 'God opened the closed doors of kings'.

Al-Ḥajarī mentions that he considers the parchment and the lead books to be authentic and very old, dating from the time of Jesus and the early Christians. He believes their contents to be in accordance with Islamic ideas about early Christianity, namely, as witness to monotheist teachings and rejection of notions such as the Trinity and the crucifixion of Christ. In his accounts of the discovery of both the parchment and the lead books, al-Ḥajarī offers an interpretation that cannot be found in other eye-witness accounts. He describes an overwhelming religious experience when holding in his hands the parchment and lead tablets, an experience that appears to have affected him profoundly. In particular, he recounts how recognising a difference in wording at the beginning of the Gospel of John in the parchment made him realise that Christians were mistaken and in fact not sincere. He considers the canonical Gospel of John as the basis of their unbelief, specifically, their belief in the Incarnation. This may also explain why he seems to have retained an interest in these books throughout his life.

This notwithstanding, while he was still involved in translation work in Granada, al-Ḥajarī devised an excuse to give to the archbishop and left

for Seville, where he met a number of important members of the Morisco community. He tells his readers that he had been preparing his escape for a long time. Knowing that Moriscos were not allowed to reside near the coast, as the authorities suspected them of being a fifth column, he worked to perfect his Spanish and become as fluent as possible. He was thus, as he recounts, able to pass as an Old Christian when he eventually embarked at the Puerto de Santa María. This passage marks the end of the first chapter.

His flight to Morocco is described in the second chapter. After the ship arrives at the Portuguese stronghold of Mazagan/al-Burayja on the Moroccan coast, al-Ḥajarī manages to cross the border and make his way to Marrakesh, where he is received at the court of Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in 1599. According to his own testimony, he became secretary and Spanish interpreter (*tarjumān*) to Sultan Moulay Zaydān, who established himself in Marrakesh in 1608 after defeating his brother Moulay Abū Fāris. Al-Ḥajarī continued to hold this office during the reigns of Zaydān's two sons.

Chapters 4 and 5 describe his arrival in France and then Paris, respectively. In Chapter 6, he describes his first meeting in Paris with the 'Judge of the Andalusians in France', probably Marc-Antoine de Gourgues, a nobleman, and former student of J.J. Scaliger in Leiden, as well as an important politician, who later welcomed al-Ḥajarī to his house in Paris. Sometime later, al-Ḥajarī left for Bordeaux, and from there went to Saint-Jean-de-Luz, where the judge was working at the time (Chapter 6, year 1611). In Chapter 7, he describes his return to Paris and his experiences there. Chapters 8 and 9 are devoted to his travels to Olonne, followed by Bordeaux and Toulouse, in search of justice for the Moriscos. In the end, he succeeds in this quest, and compensation is awarded. In Chapter 8, he also mentions the feelings he had for a French girl. In Chapter 9, he describes his discussions in France. Chapter 10 is devoted to polemical discussions with Sephardic Jews and Jewish *conversos* in France and the Netherlands. Chapter 11 describes his experiences in the Netherlands (Amsterdam, Leiden and The Hague), and in Chapter 12 he narrates his experiences in Egypt. The final chapter recounts the graces bestowed by God upon the author in Spain and elsewhere. Here, he describes how he discovered his divine gift for healing people, his mystical conviction and how, even in the lands of the unbelievers, God granted him graces. The appendix includes a transcript and short introduction to one of the lead books, *The book of the gifts of reward to the servants of God who believe in the essence of the Gospel*.

Apart from Chapter 10, and to some extent Chapter 13, the entire book is devoted to Muslim-Christian relations, in particular al-Ḥajarī's polemics with various important Christians he encountered. All the polemical passages are embedded within observations about the social customs, politics, (Orientalist) scholarship and culture of the societies he describes. The pattern the polemics tend to follow is that the opponent extols his or her religion, and then the author, drawing either on his own expertise or on existing anti-Christian polemical literature, is able to demonstrate how wrong and misinformed his opponent is. As mentioned previously, the lead books were of great importance to him as the documents that allegedly convinced him that Christian dogma was in fact not based on authentic Christian teachings. This interest in the history of Christianity with respect to Islam and Judaism matched that of European scholars of the Orient at the time.

Al-Ḥajarī did, in fact, become acquainted with some of the most important European scholars of Arabic, notably Étienne Hubert (professor of Arabic at the Collège de France), Thomas Erpenius (the first professor of Arabic at Leiden University), Jacobus Golius (Erpenius's successor in the chair of Arabic), and he contributed to their learning by teaching them Arabic, copying manuscripts, and providing them with information about Islamic learning and culture. Interestingly, he was also a diplomat with a keen interest in politics, who served in the forced emigration of the Moriscos (1609-14) as an intermediary between them and the receiving Islamicate societies. When visiting The Hague in 1613, he discussed with the Stadtholder Maurice of Nassau the possibilities of an alliance between the Ottomans, the Dutch Republic and Morocco against Spain.

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-Ḥajarī's *Kitāb nāṣir al-dīn 'alā l-qawm al-kāfirīn* is a unique eyewitness report and an impressive record of personal memory in several respects. First, it constitutes a primary source for the social and cultural history of Spain's late 16th-century's crypto-Muslims, the Moriscos, and their later vicissitudes in North Africa and the Ottoman Empire after their expulsion (1609-14). Second, it provides much otherwise unknown data concerning contact between the Islamicate world, especially North Africa, and Western Europe during the early decades of the 17th century. Third, it offers in great detail the views of a Muslim scholar from an Iberian background concerning several European societies (notably Spain, France and the Netherlands), including social habits and religious ideas and practices. This view is based on direct observations and personal

contact with many important personalities. Fourth, it stands out as an original piece of Islamic anti-Christian polemic. Finally, the work is an important source for the history of the spoken language of North Africa, in particular among the Morisco diaspora.

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 Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des chorfa*

Gerard Wiegers

Dživo Gundulić

Dživo Franov Gundulić, Johannes Francisci Gondola

DATE OF BIRTH 1588/9
PLACE OF BIRTH Ragusa/Dubrovnik
DATE OF DEATH 10 December 1638
PLACE OF DEATH Ragusa/Dubrovnik

BIOGRAPHY

Dživo Franov Gundulić, also known as Johannes Francisci Gondola, was born into one of the leading patrician families of the Republic of Dubrovnik, on the eastern Adriatic seaboard.

Evidence about his schooling is unclear: there are no records of him attending either the classes conducted by Jesuits or the gymnasium in Dubrovnik (Zlatar, *The Slavic epic*, pp. 47-56). He entered the Grand Council on 28 May 1608 (MS Dubrovnik, Historijski arhiv Dubrovnik – Series 41/1; MS Dubrovnik, DAD, Specchio, 17th century, 1608, p. 392). A couple of years later he was elected to his first office, and then followed the usual progression through the ranks. He was elected to the Senate for the first time in 1634 at the age of 45, re-elected in 1636 and made a member of the Lesser Council in September 1638, but his death on 10 December 1638, at the age of just 50, meant that he did not take up this position. His death, early even by 17th-century Dubrovnik standards, was at an age at which the highest offices would have become accessible to him.

He married Nicsa, daughter of Sigismundus Petri Sorgo (Sorkočević), on 14 February 1628 and they had three sons and two daughters.

Gundulić wrote a number of plays in his youth, not all of which have survived. In the preface to his translations of some of the biblical Psalms, he refers to his earlier works as ‘the children of darkness’ (*porod od tmine*), in contrast to his translation of King David’s penitential poems, which he refers to as ‘the rays of light’ (*zrak od Svietlosti*). He considered all his previous compositions as vain and frivolous (*taštijem i ispraznijem*), whereas his new poems ‘stemmed from the beginning of true knowledge, namely, the fear of God’ (*početak od pravoga znanja strah Božji*; see Körbler, *Djela Giva Frana Gundulića*, p. 330). From then on, he refers to himself as ‘a Christian poet’ (*krstjanin spijevalac*).

In addition to some shorter pieces, as a 'Christian poet' Gundulić wrote three major works: *Suze sina razmetnoga* ('Tears of a prodigal son'), a poetical reflection in three cantos published in 1622; a play, *Dubravka* ('A maiden of the grove'), first performed in 1628, and his unfinished epic, *Osman*.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Osman

DATE Left unfinished at the author's death in 1638

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

It is generally accepted that Gundulić's *Osman* was heavily influenced by Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*. *Osman* is an epic of 10,432 verses (not including some missing cantos), divided into 20 cantos, with many rough passages that suggest it was left unfinished. The missing cantos, 14 and 15, are thought to have been seized and burnt by the Dubrovnik government because of their anti-Turkish content, although, given that the entire poem is imbued with anti-Ottoman feeling and foresees the demise of the Ottoman Empire, this assumption is hardly credible.

The first major commonality between Gundulić's *Osman* and Tasso's epic is that they both consist of 20 cantos. That Gundulić was familiar with Tasso's work can be proved by his translation of at least one canto of *Gerusalemme liberata* (if not two, as previously thought) into Croatian. In his preface to King David's penitential poems, Gundulić promises 'with Divine help to offer [a translation of] *Jerusalem delivered* (*Jerusalem SLOBOGHIEN*)' for the benefit of 'all our Slavic people' (*svemu našemu slovin-skomu narodu*) and to dedicate it to the King of Poland, Sigismund III Vasa (r. 1587-1632) (Körbler, *Djela Giva Frana Gundulića*, p. 331). Very significantly, this indicates that as early as October 1620 Gundulić had singled out the Polish king as a champion of the Slavic cause. As the theme of Tasso's epic is the attempt to liberate Jerusalem from the Muslims during the First Crusade (1096-9), one can surmise that Gundulić's reasons for singling it out and dedicating his intended translation of *Gerusalemme liberata* to the Polish king had to do with Poland's role in Christendom's struggle with the Ottoman Empire. Gundulić never fulfilled his promise to translate Tasso's epic, but he certainly had Tasso firmly in mind when he decided to write his own poem. Thus, history and poetry are inextricably intertwined in both *Gerusalemme liberata* and *Osman*.

The topic of *Osman* is the aftermath of the sultan's defeat at Khotyn (Romanian: Hotin; Polish: Choczim; Ukrainian: Chotin) by the Polish forces led by Prince Vladislav in 1621. Notably, Osman II's (r. 1617-22) attempts to reform his army, in particular the Janissaries, led to their revolt against first his grand vizier and then against the sultan himself, as

well his deposition and cruel execution in 1622. Within the epic there are romantic episodes, like those favoured by Renaissance epic poets such as Boiardo, Ariosto and Tasso, which are entirely fictitious, as well as some cantos displaying a good knowledge of contemporary events in both Poland and the Ottoman Empire. In this respect too, Gundulić proves to be a faithful imitator of his Italian model.

While the fate of Sultan Osman II forms one of the principal themes of the poem, a second key character is Prince Vladislav (Wladislaw), son of King Sigismund III of Poland (r. 1587-1632), and later crowned king as Vladislav IV Vasa (r. 1632-48). These two figures correspond to Goffredo and Rinaldo, the protagonists of *Gerusalemme liberata*. However, unlike Tasso, who regards Christian knights as more chivalrous and nobler than their Muslim counterparts (portraying 'Orientals' in opposition to 'Westerners', and betraying incipient Orientalism), Gundulić makes Osman the noblest character in the epic. This notwithstanding, no matter how well a state is ruled or how virtuous its ruler, if it is based on a false religion it must inevitably collapse. In addition, Osman suffers from the major sin of ambition in wanting to conquer the entire world and is thus a flawed hero. His defeat in battle by Vladislav and his subsequent deposition and execution are a parable of the decline and collapse of the Ottoman Empire as a whole: the greatness of the past and the victories of deceased sultans are all by-gones, and the future looks very different.

In the final canto, Gundulić levels charges against Islam and its embodiment, the Ottoman Empire. First, he sees it as a human invention devised by Muḥammad because he wanted to be equal to God. Second, it is fatalistic, resting on the power of the sword and not on love, and presuming that all nations will ultimately submit to it, which in Gundulić's eyes is tantamount to defiance of God and a denial of God's direct involvement in history. Third, monarchy, which is the noblest form of government on earth because it is a reflection of Christ's heavenly kingdom, according to Tasso 'cannot be best governed under a false religion'.

But I can see the fall is near
Of thy accursed laws and teachings;
For it is the intent of Divine Power
To remove the Devil's doctrine. (20: 429-32)

Since the Ottoman Empire contained the majority of Muslim lands, for Gundulić its fall would mean the fall of Islam. Hence, the conquest of the Balkans and capture of Constantinople by Vladislav would lead to the restoration of Christian rule, symbolised by a return of the cross

to the dome of Hagia Sophia. This is stated in the disputed last stanza of the epic (in the so-called Valović MS of 1689), which is found in many of the oldest manuscripts of *Osman* (for a discussion of the disputed last stanza in which this hope is expressed, see Körbler, *Djela Ćiva Frana Gundulića*, pp. 41-5):

For the Holy Church of St Sophia,
In which the Turkish dog now strolls,
Will be Christian again,
As it had been of old. (20, 497-500; Körbler, *Djela Ćiva Frana Gundulića*, p. 562)

In this (controversial) last stanza of Gundulić's *Osman* lies his fervent hope that Constantinople and Hagia Sophia will be 'ours once more' (see M. Herzfeld, *Ours once more. Folklore, ideology, and the making of modern Greece*, New York, 1986).

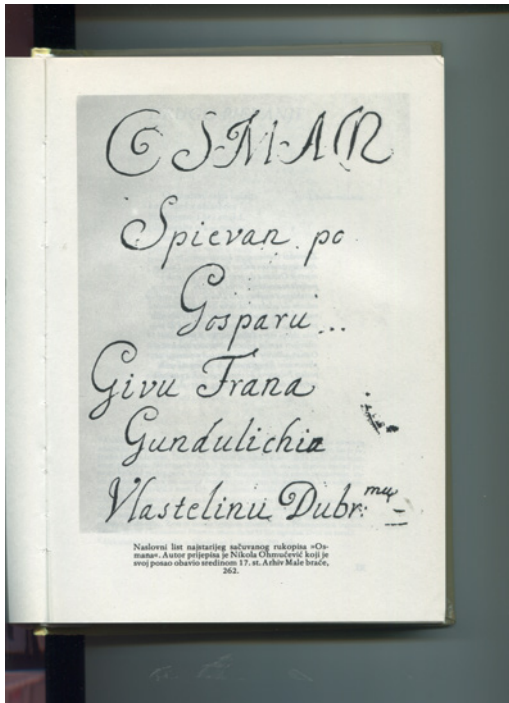


Illustration 3. Title page of the oldest manuscript of Dživo Gundulić's *Osman*, copied by Nikola Ohmušević

SIGNIFICANCE

Both during and after his lifetime, Gundulić was acclaimed as 'easily the foremost of the Illyrian poets' (*Illyricae camenae facile princeps*). Though *Osman* was left unfinished at his death, with two of the 20 cantos missing, his reputation was unassailable even into the 19th century, when, during the period of Croatian national revival (*hrvatski narodni preporod*), its influence reached its peak. It was the first work to be published, in 1842, by *Matica hrvatska* (The Croatian Queen-Bee Society), an institution founded to champion language as a uniting force among Slavic people. Its 'completion' was entrusted to Ivan Mažuranić (1814-90), who studied in detail Gundulić's language, diction and style. In this 'completed' form, its influence only increased.

Mažuranić was a great poet in his own right. In his finest work, the epic poem *Smrt Smail-age Čengića* ('The death of Smail-agma Čengić'), he not only imitated Gundulić's style but also adopted his anti-Muslim stance and his interpretation of the triumph of Christianity over Islam as of one of 'true' over 'false' faith. Mažuranić was a contemporary of Peter II Petrović Njegoš, Prince-Bishop of Montenegro (r. 1830-51). In Njegoš's *Gorski vijenac* ('The mountain wreath'), published in 1847, on the (supposed) extermination of converts to Islam in Montenegro, he echoes the opinion of Mažuranić and Gundulić, that Islam is a 'false' religion and that the Christian converts in Montenegro and in other areas, particularly Bosnia and Hercegovina, were apostates from the 'true' religion of Christianity. When Mažuranić's brother visited Njegoš in 1841, Njegoš gave him a manuscript copy of Gundulić's *Osman*.

The influence and popular reception of these three poets' greatest works, *Osman*, *Smrt Smail-age Čengića* and *Gorski vijenac*, can hardly be overestimated. From the establishment of the first common state of the South Slavs in 1918, all three works were compulsory reading for all schoolchildren, and not only in the so-called Serbo-Croatian language area; Slovenes and Macedonians were also required to read, study and memorise large sections of them. This continued until after World War II, eventually to be supplemented by the Marxist theory of the Ottoman Empire as a regressive, 'feudal' (though in a special sense) and 'Asiatic' presence in what was seen as a Eurocentric world. Bosnian Muslims in particular were popularly identified as *Turci* (Turks), though it was widely known that they were not of Turkic but of Slavic origin.

Throughout the period of the two Yugoslavias (1918-92), the works of Gundulić, Mažuranić and Njegoš contributed decisively to the negative

and pejorative image of Muslims in the Balkans as 'the Turks' and of Islam as a 'false' religion. They were among the most published works in 20th-century Yugoslavia: 155 editions of Mažuranić's work were published between 1846 and 2001, 189 editions of Njegoš's work between 1847 and 2001, and more than 20 editions of Gundulić's *Osman* (Zlatar, *The Slavic epic*, pp. 569-70; Zlatar, *The poetics of Slavdom*, vol. 1. Mažuranić, pp. 447-50). This staggering publication record was inflated massively by countless textbooks for schoolchildren and students, which usually contained the whole of *Smrt Smail-age Čengića*, a large selection (invariably including anti-Turkish passages) of Njegoš's *Gorski vijenac*, and several (usually anti-Turkish) cantos of Gundulić's *Osman*.

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Gondola...'

Zdenko Zlatar

Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī

DATE OF BIRTH Later 16th century
PLACE OF BIRTH Spain
DATE OF DEATH 1650
PLACE OF DEATH Probably Tunisia

BIOGRAPHY

Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī (d. 1650), author of a great number of religious works in Arabic, is allegedly the author of an anti-Christian polemic written in Spanish. Of Spanish origin, al-Ḥanafī left Spain in 1604/5, shortly before the expulsion of the Moriscos under King Philip III, for Sarajevo and Belgrade, at that time part of the Ottoman Empire. Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥī‘ in his *Kitāb al-anwār al-nabawīyya fī abā’ khayr al-barriyya* suggests the date of some time after 1604. According to Ḥusayn Khūja (*Dayl bashā’ir ahl al-īmān*), al-Ḥanafī studied in Bushnaq and later in Bursa with the foremost scholars of his day. After this, he went to Testour and Tunis, where he became a religious scholar of great authority, being the first Ḥanafī scholar to teach at the Shamma’iyya Madrasa, which had been established in Tunis in 1249.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

MS Vatican Lat. 14009

DATE Probably 1630s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

MS Vatican Lat. 14009 is the only Spanish anti-Christian polemic attributed to Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī, who probably wrote it in the 1630s in Testour, a Tunisian village densely populated by Moriscos. The work is extant in only one Spanish manuscript, with ample Arabic notes (MS Vatican Library – Lat. 14009). G. Levi della Vida, who describes the manuscript, ('Manoscritti Arabi', p. 181) suggests the work originated in Tunis, while Cardaillac (*Morisques et chrétiens*, pp. 187-93) describes it as a synthesis of existing works, and Wieggers ('The expulsion', p. 407) comments that it is not very original. Epalza Ferrer ('Arabismos', pp. 518-19) states that al-Ḥanafī probably worked on it with the help of Ibrāhīm Taybilī, the best-known of the Morisco authors settled in Tunis, though this remains uncertain.

The work can be divided into three parts: anti-Christian polemic (fols 3v-71v), restating the traditional points of the genre; a discussion of some of the miracles performed by Muḥammad (fols 74v-77v); and a summary of the main arguments of the first part (fols 81r-96r). In conclusion, it may be said that the polemic is a compilation made from existing works rather than an independent work of religious scholarship.

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-Ḥanafī's name is mentioned in a later addition made in a different hand: 'This book was composed by the learned *ʿālim*, the shaykh Aḥmad al-Andalusī al-Ḥanafī al-Tūnisī for the community of the Andalusians who were unable to read Arabic. He put it in non-Arabic (*ʿajamī*) language for them and copied it in his [own] hand [writing] in order to free them from [the shackles of] *taqlīd*.' This, together with the fact that the polemic is a compilation of existing works rather than an independent piece of religious scholarship, strongly suggests that the author's main motivation was to make the arguments from these works accessible

to the Spanish-speaking Morisco community so that they should be strengthened in Islam and should know for themselves and for others the reasons why Christianity is inferior.

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José F. Cutillas

Pajsije of Janjevo

Pajsej; Pajsije Janjevac; Patriarch Paisius I of Peć

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; probably middle of the 16th century

PLACE OF BIRTH Probably the village of Janjevo (Serbian;
Albanian: Janjeva), Kosovo

DATE OF DEATH 2 November 1647

PLACE OF DEATH Peć (Serbian; Albanian: Peja)

BIOGRAPHY

There is only very scant information about Pajsije's origins and early years before he started ascending the Serbian church hierarchy at an already advanced age. Since the available sources mention that he was in his sixties (which could also just mean 'very old') when he was elected patriarch of Peć in 1614, we may surmise that he was born in the middle of the 16th century, in the southern Serbian, now Kosovan, village of Janjevo/Janjeva. In 1612, he was made bishop of the Eparchy of Lipljan. Two years later, when Patriarch Jovan (r. 1592-1614) was detained by the Ottoman authorities in Istanbul for treason and executed shortly afterwards, Pajsije was elected to the patriarchal throne, which he held until his death in 1647.

During his long reign, Pajsije spent much time travelling throughout the vast territory of his church province, as is testified by the numerous notes he left behind in books during his various visits. As we learn from these notes, Pajsije devoted much of his energy to the renewal of the church administration and the restoration of the cultural heritage, including manuscripts, abandoned churches and decayed frescoes. Unlike his immediate predecessor, Jovan, who had been striving for support for his anti-Ottoman secessionist aims, Pajsije strove for good relations with the political authorities by avoiding any openly dissenting action. Moreover, unlike patriarchs before him, he renounced the rapprochement with the Roman Church and instead turned to Moscow, using as intermediaries the monks and hierarchs who went to Russia to gain material support for their communities. Shortly before his death, at an already very advanced age, Pajsije made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

By the standards of his time, Pajsije was a prolific writer. Most important among his original works are a series of hagiographical pieces dedicated to the medieval Serbian rulers Stefan II Prvovenčani ('the first-crowned') and Stefan Uroš V.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

The only primary sources of information about Pajsije are his works and correspondence, as well as the annotations he left in numerous books. See the authoritative edition by T. Jovanović, *Književno delo patrijarha Pajsija*, Belgrade, 2001.

Secondary

- B. Bojović, *L'Église orthodoxe serbe. Histoire – spiritualité – modernité*, Belgrade, 2014, pp. 198-201
- S. Marjanović-Dušanić, *Sveti kralj. Kult Stefana Dečanskog*, Belgrade, 2007, pp. 400-5
- D.T. Bataković et al. (eds), *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. 3/2. *Srbi pod tuđinskom vlašću*, Belgrade, 2000³, pp. 73-85, 131-5
- Đ. Slijepčević, *Istorija Srpske pravoslavne crkve*, Belgrade, 1993, vol. 1, pp. 324-92
- D. Bogdanović, *Stara srpska književnost*, Belgrade, 1991², pp. 223-7
- V.J. Đurić, S.M. Ćirković, and V.R. Korać (eds), *Pečka patrijaršija*, Belgrade, 1990, pp. 277-84
- D. Kašić, 'Srpska crkva pod turcima', in *Srpska pravoslavna crkva 1219-1969. Spomenica o 750-godišnjici autokefalnosti*, Belgrade, 1969, pp. 139-62
- J. Radonić, *Rimska kurija i južnoslovenske zemlje od XVI do XIX veka*, Belgrade, 1950, especially pp. 165-85
- Đ. Slijepčević, 'Paisije, arhiepiskop Pečki i patrijarh srpski kao jerarh i književni radnik', *Bogoslovlje* 8 (1933) 123-44, 241-83
- St. Dimitrijević, 'Odnosaji pečkih patrijarha s Rusijom u XVII veku', *Glas Srpske Kraljevske Akademije* 58 (1900) 276-81
- I. Ruvarac, *O pećkim partijarsima od Makarija do Arsenija III. (1557-1690)*, Zadar, 1888

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Měsēca septemvrīa v 24 den', pamet'
prěpodobnagō ottsa neshegō Sīmona monakha
izhe byst' pervovēchannyi kral' Stefan serbskū,
 'On 24 September, in remembrance of our blessed
 father, the monk Simon, who was the first-crowned
 king Stefan of Serbia'
Sinaksarsko žitije svetog Simona, 'Brief life of
 St Simon for the synaxarium'

DATE Probably 1628-9

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Slaveno-Serbian

DESCRIPTION

Sinaksarsko žitije svetog Simona, the 'Brief life' of Stefan Prvovenčani (r. 1196-1219 as Grand Župan, 1217-27/8 as king), who later took monastic vows and adopted the name Simon, offers an abridged biography of the first Serbian king (hence his sobriquet). Despite his historical role in the institutionalisation of the Serbian Church at the end of the 12th century, he had not yet been fully integrated into the canonical cycle of saints by the beginning of the 17th century. The earliest extant copy is a single folio dating from the 18th century; it takes up five pages in modern editions.

The first part of the *vita* emphasises Stefan's saintly vocation, attested both by his clear piety and by the privileged relationship with his brother, St Sava, who not only crowned him but – most notably – also made him a monk *post mortem* (being resurrected, as the story goes, only to don the monastic habit).

The second part is dedicated to the saint's afterlife. However, due to several, obviously later, interpolations, it is hard to establish which part was originally written by Pajsije himself. The Battle of Kosovo in 1389 serves as the starting point. In this context, the saint's relics had to be hidden by the monks of Sopoćani Monastery from the onslaught of the 'sons of Hagar' (the conventional term for Ottoman Turks and Muslims in general in Orthodox writings), who vandalised the church and killed or enslaved its clerics. Roughly 250 years later, in 1628/9, the saint, hidden from the 'godless people', appeared several times to the monastic community of Sopoćani, who had forgotten his whereabouts. The abbot, however, was afraid of the authorities and

therefore refrained from spreading the news, and even the metropolitan did the same when he learned about the repeated appearances. It was only when the saint appeared to Pajsije himself that measures were taken to exhume the undecayed body and do justice to the saintly king.

A later interpolation mentions two subsequent transfers of the saint's relics at the end of the 17th century, both occasioned by fear of the Hagarenes. The text ends, like the *Žitije cara Uroša*, with the seemingly unrelated account of the burning of St Sava's relics, because it was intimated to the Ottoman commander that the Muslims ('Turks') worshipped him and had started to convert. Again, this episode is interpreted as divine punishment for the sinfulness of the Christians.

SIGNIFICANCE

This short work can be regarded as an important component of the revival of the veneration of the saint, which was deliberately promoted by the Serbian Orthodox Church in order to make up for the loss of the relics of St Sava, the central figure in the local saintly pantheon and the older brother of Simon/Stefan.

The *Sinaksarsko žitije svetog Simona* functions as a kind of historical supplement to the (canonically more important) 'Office' of Simon, which was also written by Pajsije on the occasion of the transfer of the saint's remains in 1629. As in the *Žitije cara Uroša* ('Life of Car Uroš', on which see below), the celebrated saint himself intervenes to obtain justice, making the hagiographer appear simply as God's tool. Less detailed than *Žitije cara Uroša*, *Sinaksarsko žitije svetog Simona* is even more imbued with the spirit of Christian resistance to the constant threat of Muslim infidels.

The popularity of this short and unpretentious text is clear from the fact that it was included in the famous collection of Serbian saints (*Srbljak*) that was printed twice in the 18th century. The oldest surviving manuscript is from a much later date than the assumed original, and carries traces of later revisions.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Belgrade, Arhiv Sprske akademije nauka i umetnosti – no. 266, fol. 54r (latter half of the 18th century, incomplete)

Pravila Molebnaę svętyh serbskih prosvętitelej, Râmnicu Vâlcea, 1761, fols 233r-238r; Res/Liturg, 1462 (digitalised version available through *Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum*)

Pravila Molebnaę svętyh serbskih prosvętitelęj, Venice, 1765, pp. 174-7

Serblęk, Belgrade, 1861, pp. 10-14

Patrijarh Pajsije, *Sabrani spisi*, ed. T. Jovanović, Belgrade, 1993, pp. 77-82 (modern Serbian trans.)

Jovanović, *Književno delo patrijarha Pajsija*, pp. 233-9

STUDIES

Jovanović, *Književno delo patrijarha Pajsija*

Bogdanović, *Stara srpska književnost*, pp. 224-6

L. Pavlović, *Kultovi lica kod Srba i Makedonaca. Istorijsko-etnografska rasprava*, Smederevo, 1965, 51-6

*Zhitie i zhizn' i povest' v"kratsę blagochestivago
i pręvisokago i prsnopominaemago i khrabago
i pręvisokago tsara Stęfana*, 'The life, deeds and
brief history of the pious, illustrious, eternally
remembered and brave Car Stefan'
Žitije cara Uroša, 'Life of Car Uroš'

DATE 1641

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Church Slavonic (Serbian redaction)

DESCRIPTION

The full title of this work is *Zhitie i zhizn' i povest' v"kratsę blagochestivago i pręvisokago i prsnopominaemago i khrabago i pręvisokago tsara Stęfana i syna ego Urosha mladago tsara i ō zhitii i ō skonchani ego i kako i koeiu s"mr'tiiu, přeide sego svęta suetnago i koliko pozhit' i v koe vręme i gde skoncha s"pisano mnoiu nedostoinym' i mnogręshnim' izhe nęsam' dōstoin' naręshti se arhiepiskop' Paysei maniem' zhe přęblagago vladiky Khrista i tomu posluzhivshia přęchistaa i přęblagoslovenna vladichitsa i Bogorodica i svetago i blagorodnago muchenika ponudikhom se načeti povest' v"kratsę i s polatnimī nashimi iakozhe imashi napręd' uvędęti t"chi iu da ne zabveni iu přędami eliko postignuti mogokhom' Bozhęiu pomoshtiiu i svetago* ('The life, deeds and brief history of the pious, illustrious, eternally remembered and brave Car Stefan and of his son, Uroš, the young car (emperor), of his life and of his ending, of how and through what kind of death he passed away from this vain world, and of the things he underwent, and in which time, and where he came to an end, written

by me, the undeserving and sinful Pajsije, unworthy to be called archbishop, and at the behest of my all-too gentle Lord Christ and of the blessed virgin Mother of God, who is of assistance to him, and of the holy and well-born martyr we and our retinue found ourselves compelled to start [writing] the brief history, as you will find out hereafter, only to preserve from oblivion as much as we can achieve by the help of God and of the Saint'). As indicated by this lengthy title, the work was written while Pajsije was patriarch, i.e. after 1614. The *vita* is dedicated to the last ruler of the Nemanja dynasty, Stefan Uroš V (1337-71, r. 1355-71) who, at the beginning of the 17th century, had not yet been officially canonised.

The autograph MS is 30 folios in length, and the text covers 33 pages in Jovanović's 2001 edition (*Književno delo patrijarha Pajsija*). Following a conventional pattern, the narrative begins with an apparition of Uroš to the writer in a dream, accusing his posterity of having consigned him to oblivion. Motivated by the saint's instruction to write his *vita*, Pajsije reports his attempts to collect data on the forgotten *car* by using the various sources at his disposal, from chronicles and charters to the oral tradition. Thus, the hagiographical effort is presented as the final step in the redemption of the forgotten saint, which had begun with the disinterment of his relics in 1583, as is narrated towards the end of the text.

Surprisingly, the *vita* of Uroš makes up only about a third of the text, as it is preceded by a lengthy genealogy of the Nemanja dynasty (starting with the conflict between Constantine and Licinius in the 4th century) and followed by a chronicle of events following the *car*'s death up to the times of Đurađ Branković (r. 1427-56) and finally the story of the disinterment of the saint's relics.

As a general characteristic, the compositional balance of the text is disturbed by lengthy narrative insertions and digressions. Thus, the text appears as a *de facto* Serbian chronicle arranged around a hagiographical core that presents Uroš's martyrdom as the pivotal point of Serbian history. Before proceeding to the core passage, Pajsije invokes the achievements of Car Dušan, Uroš's father, who successfully managed to chase away the 'children of Hagar' or the 'Hagarenes' from the Balkans ('this side of the sea'). On his deathbed, Dušan bequeathed the rule to the nobleman Vukašin, to whom he assigned the task of acting as his son's guardian until the latter reached maturity. Vukašin, driven by his own ambitions, refused to hand over power to the legitimate successor as he

had once sworn. Protected by his mother, the young *car* distinguished himself as benefactor and pious founder only to be murdered, Pajsije says, by Vukašin's men and buried clandestinely in a monastery known only to the conspirators. Yet divine retribution for the abominable deed followed quickly, as it was in the same year that the 'Hagarenes' crossed the straits of Gallipoli and went on to Adrianopolis (Edirne), which was conquered shortly afterwards. When he learned about the advance of the 'Ishmaelites', Vukasin acted presumptuously and left his troops in disarray, counting on their numerical superiority. The crushing defeat of the Christian armies at the battle of Maritza in 1371 (which is compared to the destruction of the army of the Pharaoh in the Old Testament), as well as the death of Vukašin and many other noblemen on the battlefield, is interpreted as just punishment for the young *car's* murder.

In light of the capital crime and ensuing nemesis, which are paralleled with the breakdown of the medieval Christian empire, the series of subsequent rulers from Prince Lazar (r. 1373-89) to Đurađ Branković appears as a chain of martyrs announcing the irreversible Ottoman rule. However, in 1581, more than 200 years after his clandestine burial, Car Uroš reappeared to a simple-minded but pious shepherd as he was cleaning in a disused monastery – which proves to be precisely the one where the *car's* body lay hidden in the ground. This story is told in a highly colloquial style, rich in pictorial detail, but the text abruptly turns to another momentous event, the burning in 1594 of the relics of St Sava, the most important saint in Serbian Orthodoxy. According to Pajsije, the Ottoman vizier Sinan Pasha (of Albanian origin, according to the text) gave the order to destroy this central religious symbol because he had heard that the Turks covertly worshipped the Christian saint and had started converting. Following this passage, Pajsije returns in the final section to Car Uroš's aforementioned appearance in his dream, which made him (and his followers, as he says) compose the *vita* and all the liturgical texts required for his full canonisation.

SIGNIFICANCE

Žitije cara Uroša is considered to be the last hagio-biography dedicated to a medieval Serbian ruler that is intended to underpin the historical legitimacy of the Serbian patriarchy vis-à-vis both the Ottoman authorities and the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Blending hagiographical passages with sequences from chronicles, genealogies and, most probably, oral folktales, the text interweaves the basic historical-genealogical plot (whether verified or purely fictional) with soteriological-historical

references to the early 17th century. It is part of the hagiographic cycle dedicated to Stefan Uroš, along with the *Sinaksarkso žitije* (abridged 'Life for the synaxarium') and the *Služba* ('Office'), which, however, contain none of the aforementioned references to the Serbian/Christian-Turkish/Muslim rivalry.

The burning of St Sava's relics on the orders of the Ottoman vizier in autumn 1594, briefly yet prominently mentioned towards the end of *Žitije cara Uroša*, proved to be a decisive event in the resurgence of the cult of medieval rulers so eagerly promoted by the patriarch in the context of strained confessional relations in the 17th-century Ottoman Empire.

Debates on the text's historiographic value have largely focused on the episode of the *car's* murder by Vukašin Mrnjavčević, which has been proved to be fictitious, as Stefan Uroš died a natural death. Nevertheless, the narrative of the young *car's* alleged martyrdom, abounding in biblical analogies (Cain and Abel, John the Baptist and his henchman, Judas and Jesus) is at the heart of the *vita* and bears witness to the strong oral imprint of the narrative, which clearly reflects what may be viewed as a folk explanation of the chain of historical events.

Thus, in Pajsije's historical-hagiographical narrative, the Nemanja dynasty in general, and Uroš in particular, appear as noble individuals authorised by the Lord to beat off the onslaught of the approaching powers of the Last Days. By contrasting the *car's* murder with the invasions of the infidels, Pajsije takes up the traditional theme of identifying Ottoman rule with divine punishment for Christian discord and sinfulness. Moreover, by vigorously extolling the rewards of martyrdom, the text can also be read as an appeal to Orthodox steadfastness ('a reprimand to the heretics').

PUBLICATIONS

MS Belgrade, Patrijaršijska biblioteka – no. 33, fols 114r-143v (1641; autograph with three pages missing – also contains the *Office* (*služba*) and the *Short life* (*sinaksarkso žitije*) of Car Uroš)

MS Belgrade, Muzej Srpske pravoslavne crkve – no. 333, fols 18r-38r (early 18th century, with lacuna in the final section)

As the *Vita* is considered part of the literary canon, it is to be found in numerous anthologies of old Serbian literature. The list below cannot therefore be regarded as complete.

- I. Ruvarac, 'Žitie cara Uroša od Pajsija, pećkog patrijarha (1614-1646)', *Glasnik Srpskog učenog društva* 22 (1867) 209-32 (partial edition)
- A. Gil'ferding, *Sobranie sočinenij A. Gil'ferdinga*, vol. 3: *Poždka po Gercegovině, Bosni i Staroj Serbi* [1859], St Petersburg, 1873, pp. 143, 155 (edition of short excerpts)
- I. Ruvarac, 'Prilozi za srpsku povest. Pajsije Janjevac Srpski rodoslov', *Letopis Matice srpske* 150/2 (1887) 77-82 (edition of the part not included in the 1867 edition)
- St. Novaković, *Primeri književnosti i jezika staroga i srpsko-slovenskoga*, Belgrade, 1889, pp. 235-9 (partial edition)
- Lj. Stojanović, *Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi*, Belgrade, 1927, pp. 2-41 (partial edition)
- L. Mirković, *Stare srpske biografije XV i XVII veka. Camblak, Konstantin, Pajsije*, Belgrade, 1936, pp. 129-51 (modern Serbian trans.)
- M. Pavlović, *Primeri istoriskog razvitka srpskohrvatskog jezika*, Belgrade, 1956, pp. 36-7 (selection)
- D. Pavlović, *Iz naše književnosti feudalnog doba*, Sarajevo, 1969, pp. 141-4 (selection in modern Serbian trans.)
- D. Pavlović (ed.), *Stara srpska književnost*, Belgrade, 1970, vol. 3, pp. 381-405 (modern Serbian trans.)
- D. Bogdanović (ed.), *Stare srpske biografije*, Belgrade, 1975, pp. 249-64 (modern Serbian trans.)
- Đ. Trifunović, *Primeri iz stare srpske književnosti. Od Grigorija dijaka do Gavрила Stefanovića Venclovica*, Belgrade, 1975, pp. 142-9 (selection)
- M. Matejić and D. Milivojević, *An anthology of medieval Serbian literature in English*, Columbus OH, 1978, pp. 191-3 (English trans. of excerpts)
- Patrijarh Pajsije, *Sabrani spisi*, pp. 85-103 (modern Serbian trans.)
- Lj. Juhas-Georgievska (ed.), *Stara srpska književnost. Žitija*, Belgrade, 1997, pp. 187-204 (excerpts in modern Serbian trans.)
- Jovanović, *Književno delo patrijarha Pajsija*, pp. 287-309 (complete edition based on both manuscripts)

STUDIES

- K. Petrovsky, 'Time, memory, and the creation of tradition in the earlier seventeenth century. The case of Pajsije I of Peć', in R.G. Păun (ed.), *Histoire, mémoire et dévotion. Regards croisés sur la construction des identités dans le monde orthodoxe aux époques byzantine et post-byzantine*, Seyssel, 2016, 345-64
- Jovanović, *Književno delo patrijarha Pajsija*

Pavlović, *Kultovi lica kod Srba i Makedonaca*, pp. 111-16

T. Vukanović, 'Kult cara Uroša', *Hrišćansko Delo* 4 (1938) 281-98, 376-87; 5 (1939), 134-41, 215-20

Konrad Petrovszky

*A narrative about Sophronius of Jerusalem,
‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and the term ‘Melkite’*

*Khabar wajadahu ba‘ḍ al-mu’minīn fī kutub kānat
‘indahū fī Bayt al-Maqdis, ‘A narrative that a certain
believer found in the books he owned
in Jerusalem’
‘On the origin of the term “Melkite”’*

DATE Before 1642

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The short text, conventionally called *A narrative about Sophronius of Jerusalem, ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and the term ‘Melkite’* (or *On the origin of the term ‘Melkite’*), occupies three-and-a-half folios in the oldest known manuscript and four pages in the printed edition. The text argues that the term ‘Melkite’ (a common designation of the Arabic-speaking Chalcedonian Orthodox community) was coined by the Patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem (560-638) at the prompting of the Muslim caliph ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (592-644) and that it points to the Melkites’ affiliation not with the Byzantine emperor (as the historical record has it), but with the ‘Heavenly King’, i.e. God.

As the manuscripts indicate, the *Narrative* was found among the books of a certain virtuous Christian man, initially a high-ranking official (*kātib*, presumably in the Ottoman administration) and later a monk in Jerusalem, after his death. This Christian man was probably the author of the text. He must have written it before 1642 (the date of the oldest manuscript). Since the same peculiar explanation of the term ‘Melkite’ is attested in Anastasius ibn Mujallā’s polemical letter to the pope (written c. 1590 and, significantly, preserved in the same St Petersburg manuscript as the *Narrative*), it is likely that Anastasius was already familiar with the *Narrative*; if that is the case, the *Narrative* must have been written before 1590 – most likely, as is plausibly argued by the Russian scholar Konstantin Panchenko, in the 1570s or 1580s, the period of the so-called ‘Melkite proto-Renaissance’.

While the *Narrative* focuses on intra-Christian polemic, it offers some intriguing remarks about Muslims and Islam. First, it argues that the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem was divinely ordained; accordingly, God ordered Sophronius to surrender Jerusalem to 'Umar without a fight. Second, the *Narrative* argues that heretical Christians took advantage of the Muslim conquest and had themselves registered under separate names (Jacobites, Nestorians, etc.); 'Umar then forced the Orthodox Christian community to register under a distinct name, thus indirectly facilitating its self-identification. Third, the *Narrative* argues that the Muslims are so called because they are 'safe' (*sālimīn*) from their previous state of pagan ignorance (*jāhiliyya*) and because they have 'received' (*mutasallimīn*) earthly rule on account of their belief in God. Fourth, the text argues polemically that Islam's overly strict emphasis on God's oneness (*tawḥīd*) denigrates God in that it denies the doctrine of the Trinity. Fifth, it indicates that the virtuous Christian man (the probable author of the text) enjoyed considerable respect among Muslims.

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Narrative* offers a significant and unique testimony to how Arabic-speaking Melkite Christians of the Levant in the early Ottoman period imagined the Muslim conquest of Jerusalem. It argues that the Muslim conquest was ordained by God and was, moreover, 'providential' in that it provided the impetus for Melkite Christians to define their identity against rival Christian groups. At the same time, it also blames the Muslim authorities for granting official recognition to 'heretical' Christian communities and thus facilitating Christian sectarianism.

PUBLICATIONS

MS St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts – B1220, fols 128v-131v (1642; copied by Paul of Aleppo)

MS Damascus, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate – 290, No. 4 (1669; truncated at the end)

A. Treiger, 'Unpublished texts from the Arab Orthodox tradition (1): *On the origins of the term "Melkite"* and *On the destruction of the Maryamiyya cathedral in Damascus*', *Chronos. Revue d'Histoire de l'Université de Balamand* 29 (2014) 7-37, pp. 7-20 (edition, based only on the St Petersburg manuscript, and English trans.)

STUDIES

K.A. Panchenko, [Review of Treiger, 'Unpublished texts'], *Vestnik pravoslavnogo Sviato-Tikhonovskogo gumanitarnogo universiteta* 3.5 (2014) 137-44 (in Russian)

Treiger, 'Unpublished texts', pp. 7-20

Alexander Treiger

Synadinos

Synadinos of Serres, Papas Synadinos, Chatzēs Synadis

DATE OF BIRTH 21 September 1600
PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Melenikitsi (Macedonia)
DATE OF DEATH After 1662
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Born on 21 September 1600, probably in the Macedonian village of Melenikitsi, Synadinos was the son of the priest Sidērēs. We do not know the name of his mother, but we do know that he had at least two brothers, Zacharias and Gerakoudēs, as well as a sister, Bozē. At the age of 10, Synadinos was sent to the neighbouring village of Kaladendra to learn how to read and write from a priest named Papadēmos. At 14, he moved to Serrēs in order to become a weaver under the supervision of a converted Jew called Christodoulos. Two years later, in 1617, he married Avrampakina, the daughter of a goldsmith named Kyriazēs; shortly afterwards he returned to school, motivated by the desire to become a priest.

Synadinos was ordained in 1622, and a year later was given five parishes after their priest died of the plague. Step by step, while continuing to work as a weaver, the young clergyman rose through the ranks: in 1632 he was *logothetos* (minister) of the metropolitan church in Serrēs, and *sakellarios* (treasurer) in 1635. The death of his father and the jealousy of a rival caused him serious grievance, as he was excommunicated by Metropolitan Daniel of Serrēs. However, after a short self-imposed exile on Mt Athos, the intrepid (and wealthy) Synadinos bought his pardon, and was reinstated into his office. In 1637 or 1638, perhaps as compensation for his financial loss, he became *oikonomos*.

To this data given by Synadinos himself in his *Memoirs* can be added the information provided by the cartulary of the metropolitan church in Serrēs and Codex B of the monastery dedicated to St John the Forerunner on Mt Menikion. Several documents issued in 1645, 1647, 1650, 1657 and 1658 attest to him as priest and *sakellarios*, then priest, *chatzēs* (the name usually given to someone who had completed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land) and *oikonomos*, thus showing that he continued to play an important role in the life of the region until his death. The last document

that mentions him – a 12,000 *aspres* donation to the Monastery of St John in remembrance of his wife and of a certain Kortesa – dates from 1662.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

- P. Odorico, *Mémoire d'une voix perdue. Le cartulaire de la métropole de Serrès 17^e-19^e siècles*, Paris, 1994, pp. 68-75, 76-88
- Synadinos, *Conseils et mémoires de Synadinos prêtre de Serrès en Macédoine (XVII^e siècle)*, ed. P. Odorico et al., Paris, 1996
- P. Odorico, *Le Codex B du Monastère Saint-Jean-Prodrome (Serrès) B. XV^e-XIX^e siècles*, Paris, 1998, pp. 77-8, 114-17, 151-3, 160-1, 170-5, 193-5, 197-8

Secondary

- P. Odorico, 'Introduction', in Synadinos, *Conseils et mémoires de Synadinos*, pp. 13-20
- P. Odorico, 'Mnēmes kai historia tou Synadinou Serraiou (hē zoē enos klērikou tou dekatou evdomou aiōna)', *Serraika Analekta* 1 (1992) 122-35

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Chroniko tōn Serrōn, 'The chronicle of Serres'

'The chronicle of Papa Synadinos'

'Advice and memoirs of Synadinos, priest of Serres'

DATE 1642

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

Forced by an outbreak of the plague to seek refuge in the small village of Melenikitsi, probably his birthplace, Synadinos, priest and *sakellar-ios* of the metropolitan church in Serrēs, wrote down a chronological account of the events that occurred in Serrēs between 1597/8 and 1642. This account (fols 14r-94r in the unique manuscript) is preceded by a copy of the *Lament for the fall of Constantinople* by Matthaïos of Myra (fols 8r-13v), and is followed by an extended work of advice literature to his 'beloved and adored brother', meaning any potential Christian reader (fols 94v-200v). Two chapters of this work of advice are in fact a reworking in 'simple' (vernacular) Greek of the 13th-century paraenetic distichs of Maximos Planoudēs (c. 1260-c. 1305).

On Wednesday, 10 August 1642, Synadinos announced that the text was complete; however, in the following days or weeks he added several

other pieces of advice. As the *incipit* of the manuscript (Athos – Koutloumoussiou 153) is missing, we do not know how our author entitled his work, if at all. Several titles have been proposed by scholars: 'The chronicle of Papa Synadinos' (Spyridon Lambros); 'The chronicle of Serres' (P. Pennas); 'Advice and memoirs of Synadinos, priest of Serres' (Paolo Odorico). The last seems the most accurate. The author uses the vernacular Greek language of the time and region, with many terms of Turkish origin.

Synadinos describes an Ottoman town where the Christian community is in a minority. Conquered by the Ottomans in 1383, Serres had soon become an important Ottoman city; the mid-17th century French traveller Pierre Belon speaks of a 'grande ville assise en beau plat pays'. This 'large town' was inhabited by Turks, Christians (most of them Greeks), Jews, *koinari* (the descendants of nomadic Turkmen) and gypsies. According to Anastasios Karanastassis, there were around 4,165 Muslims (69.4%), 1,555 Christians (25.9%), and 280 Jews (4.7%) in Serres in 1569/70.

The sultan is the undisputed ruler of Synadinos' world: he is the *basileus*, 'the emperor'. Synadinos is moved by the death caused by rebels against Osman II (d. 1622) and praises Murad IV (r. 1623-40). As he cherishes peace and order more than anything, Synadinos admires the latter's iron hand; he credits Murad with forcibly imposing rule and justice in the previously unjust and chaotic Ottoman realm. Kenan Pasha's punitive measures taken against several villains and local tyrants during his 1626 stay in Serres are hailed as acts inspired by God. The sultan's victories against Persia of 1634, 1635 and 1638 are publicly celebrated. The execution for corruption of Derviş Ağa is depicted as proper retribution. It is no surprise, then, that Murad's death is mourned in fairly dramatic terms: 'It would be impossible to have another king like him', our author writes, for under his rule 'each and every Turk feared the sultan', such that 'one could see the wolf and the lamb walking together'. It goes without saying that here the 'Turk' obviously means Muslim, as opposed to Christian, in the same way as wolves are the opposite of lambs.

The tax registration of 1641 demanded by the new sultan Ibrahim I (r. 1640-8) is interpreted as a gesture aimed at eliminating the abuses perpetrated by the tax collectors. As for the deep financial crisis triggered by the 1641 monetary reform, a crisis which also affected Synadinos, it is imputed to the Grand Vizier Kemankeş Kara Mustafa Pasha, and not to the sovereign.

Synadinos does not comment upon the forced recruitment of Christian children for the Janissary corps (*devşirme*) in 1623 and 1637, although

both instances were abusive. However, he does depict in detail the hardships of living under Ottoman rule. It is not at all accidental that the 'chronographical' section of his memoirs opens with a description of the martyrdom of a certain Patroulas, probably a merchant who had accompanied Prince Mihai the Brave (in Romanian, Viteazul; r. 1593-1601) in Wallachia, and that this description is followed shortly afterwards by the depiction of the arbitrary execution of Manuel Mpostantsoglēs. After the fall of Constantinople, the Hellenes had become enslaved as the Ottomans became their masters.

Synadinos fears the Ottomans; for example, when he copies Matthaïos of Myra's *Lament*, he replaces the words 'Turk', 'barbarous' and 'enemy' with milder terms. He nonetheless paints in vivid colours the constant fear in which his fellow Christians lived, with the Muslims treating them all as 'unfaithful' and 'dogs'. Forced conversions to Islam, like that of Amarianos Temeroutoglēs, burglaries and cold-blooded murders, like that of papa Kritōn, voluntary conversions, like those of Papaskarlatos and papa Gavriēl, unjust executions, like that of Adamēs, profanation of the churches, for example, that dedicated to the Archangel Michael – all are part of everyday life for members of the Christian community. In this life, the Greek metropolitan of Serres also played a decisive part. Theophanēs Lambardopoulos, Damaskēnos, Timotheos, Achillios, Daniēl Mavromatopoulos, Galaktiōn, the metropolitans mentioned by Synadinos, were in charge of the Christians who constituted their flock. Named by the synod of the Great Church in Constantinople, but confirmed by the sultan, they were granted almost absolute power over the bishops and priests in their jurisdiction, as well as extensive power over the local Christian community. Responsible for collecting the taxes due to the patriarch of Constantinople, the metropolitans of Serres had to navigate carefully among the local Greek factions and find a *modus vivendi* with the Ottoman local lords. For both groups – leaders of the Christian community and high functionaries within the Ottoman apparatus – their position was not only prestigious and important, but also sensitive. Synadinos recounts proudly how several important members of the local community, his father among them, denounced the financial abuses of Metropolitan Damaskēnos before the Ottoman authorities and forced him to restrain his financial demands (1612/13).

Still, a similar attempt on behalf of Synadinos in 1639 failed ignominiously. Metropolitan Daniēl, one of the most remarkable Greek ecclesiastics of his time, had the plaintiff excommunicated. This is another sign that in the decades that had elapsed since the move against Damaskēnos

the church had grown stronger as an institution. Especially due to the actions of Patriarch Kyrillos Loukaris (d. 1638), whom Synadinos praises for his erudition, the ecumenical patriarchate had strengthened its grip over the metropolitans; in their turn, the latter were granted enlarged privileges over their flocks.

Nevertheless, the local notables retained their influence, and this all the more so by having 'colonised' the upper echelons of the ecclesiastical apparatus; by choosing an ecclesiastical career, they secured the secular predominance of their kin. As a member of a dynasty of priests, Synadinos himself is an excellent example.

SIGNIFICANCE

Synadinos' work is fascinating. Its genre is difficult to ascertain, as we are dealing with a mixture of literary types: lament, chronicle, advice literature. Nevertheless, the author's personality – his 'I' – permeates the entire text, giving it a unique flavour.

Although it has not received the attention it deserves, the 'Advice and memoirs' have the merit, among other things, of inserting much-required nuance into our treatment and understanding of the so-called *Tourkokratia* in the Balkans. The text proves that this period was not black-and-white, as there were many grey areas. Many members of the Christian elite were on good terms with their Muslim counterparts; Synadinos's own father, papa Sidērēs, is reported to have travelled several times to Istanbul to obtain a reduction in taxes, to have built a church and a monastery, and to have imposed himself as a respected citizen. Furthermore, many Christians – and Synadinos among them – found a way to prosper. Our author is a wealthy weaver. In addition, he has climbed the ecclesiastical ladder to become a pillar of his community. While metropolitans, patriarchs, princes, viziers and sultans – whether good or bad – come and go, it is people like Synadinos who endure.

The outbreak of plague in 1641 convinced Synadinos that men should escape injustice, resist worldly temptations, and turn towards God. Yet, this proved to be only a phase, as 20 years later Synadinos is still exercising his functions as head of his family, as priest and *oikonomos* of the metropolitan church in Serrēs and as a faithful servant of the sultan. Fortunately, his 'Advice and memoirs' have survived, offering the chance to understand better the 17th-century *homo ottomanicus*, as Johann Strauss ('Papasyndinos de Serrès ou l'*homo ottomanicus*') has so aptly phrased it.

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- P. Pennas, 'To Chronikon tōn Serrōn tou Papasynadinou, met' eisagōgikēs meletēs', *Serraika Chronika* 1 (1938) 7-72 (partial edition)
- P. Pennas, 'Ho thrēnos epi tē halōsei tēs Kōnstantinoupoleōs tou Serraiou hierēos Synadinou', *Serraika Chronika* 1 (1938) 73-80 (edition of the *Lament*)
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Ovidiu Olar

Ibrāhīm Ṭaybilī

Juan Pérez

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Possibly Toledo
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; after 1628
PLACE OF DEATH	Probably Testour (Tunisia)

BIOGRAPHY

The only information we have about Ibrāhīm Ṭaybilī comes through his works, written in Spanish during his time in exile in Tunisia. He was born a Morisco in Toledo, and was known in Spain as Juan Pérez. His situation in Toledo or Castile appears to have been fairly comfortable, as he mentions trips to the theatre and buying books. In a well-known passage, he recounts a visit to a bookshop in Alcala de Henares (Madrid), where he shows off his knowledge of books. While not a scholar, he does seem to have been aware of the literary fashions in the Spain of his time.

He left Spain in 1610, affected by the general expulsion of the Moriscos of Castile, although it cannot be ruled out that he had left voluntarily before that. He may have gone to France and from there sailed to Tunisia, where he appears to have moved in the elite social circles of the Moriscos who had settled there. Indeed, his *Contradicti3n de los catorce art3culos de la fe cristiana* ('Contradiction of the fourteen articles of the Christian faith') is dedicated to a *sharīf* of Hispanic origin, 'Alī ibn al-Niwālī ibn Sarrāj, the *kāhiya* (chief officer) of Yūsuf Dey (Dey of Tunisia), while another work suggests that he met in person shaykh Abū l-Gayth al-Qashshāsh, the protector of the Moriscos exiled to Tunisia.

Once settled in Testour, Ṭaybilī devoted his life to composing works in Castilian to promote the religious education of his exiled compatriots, providing arguments against Christianity and Spanish versions of Islamic doctrine. His *Contradicti3n* is the only extant work signed by his own hand, although he states in it that he has written more works in verse and prose. On the basis of the style of handwriting and the similarity of topics to those of certain manuscripts of Tunisian provenance, Bernabé Pons has attributed to Ṭaybilī the authorship of three acephalous manuscripts that do not provide their author's name: MS 9653 and 9654 in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid), and MS S 2 in the Real

Academia de la Historia, also in Madrid. The attribution of the last has been rejected by López-Baralt, who regards the author as unidentifiable.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Contradicción de los catorce artículos de la fe cristiana, 'Contradiction of the fourteen articles of the Christian faith'

DATE 1628

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

Ṭaybilī wrote his work *Contradicción de los catorce artículos de la fe cristiana* (in full, *Contradicción de los catorce artículos de la fe cristiana, misa y sacrificios, con otras pruebas y argumentos contra la falsa trinidad*, 'Contradiction of the fourteen articles of the Christian faith, mass and sacrifices, with additional evidence and arguments against the false Trinity')

in Testour (Tunisia) in 1628. The manuscript consists of 117 folios. Dedicated to the nobleman ‘Alī ibn al-Niwālī ibn Sarrāj, it has been edited by Luis F. Bernabé. The author presents it as a versification of the anti-Christian work by Muḥammad Alguazir, a Morisco from Pastrana (Guadalajara), then living in Morocco. Ṭaybilī nevertheless makes some additions of his own: an introduction, a prologue, an epilogue, some notes throughout the text and also a number of poems – mainly sonnets – dedicated to the Prophet Muḥammad and the Rightly-Guided Caliphs.

The topics covered are: the Trinity; Jesus as the (alleged) Redeemer; the conception and birth of Jesus; his passion and death; the mass as idolatry; the sacred host; confession and priests; the essence and attributes of God; that God watches, hears, and speaks, but has no bodily senses; the main attribute of God as being one; wanting, ability and knowing also being attributes of God, not of Christ; hearing, watching and speaking also being attributes of God; the dignity of humankind.

At the end of the work, Ṭaybilī mentions that he has completed a draft of another work that deals with the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain, and a translation from Arabic into Spanish of a book containing poems about the death of al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, neither of which is currently known to be extant.

SIGNIFICANCE

The polemical methodology of Alguazir and Ṭaybilī follows the familiar pattern of demonstrating that Christian beliefs contradict common sense and are illogical and heretical. Although some Muslim authorities are quoted, the main arguments are directed to show the intrinsic absurdity of Christian views, especially regarding Jesus. The text is thus a powerful tool for the instruction in Islam of the Moriscos: it relies on Islamic doctrine about God and Muḥammad, while also arguing against the basic tenets of Christianity, as though trying to erase any trace of Christian beliefs that might remain in the Moriscos’ minds.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense – 1976 (1628)

I. di Matteo, *Un codice spagnuolo inedito del secolo XVII d'Ibrahim Taybili*, Palermo, 1912 (partial edition)

Bernabé Pons, *El cántico islámico*

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MS 9653 of the Biblioteca Nacional de España

DATE First half of the 17th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

This acephalous untitled manuscript consisting of 211 pages offers a commentary in prose of poems by Ibrāhīm de Bolfad, a blind Morisco living in Algiers. The work refers to some Islamic topics, such as whether it is permissible to write about Islam in Spanish rather than Arabic, the attributes of God, the Prophet Muḥammad and his miracles, the afterlife, and paradise and hell. The prose is frequently hard to understand due to the overwhelming presence of Islamic concepts explained in a chaotic, disorganised fashion. It also contains some poems by Juan Alonso Aragonés, with commentary. Aragonés appears to have lived in Tetuan, and is presented as an expert in theology for whom the author of MS 9653 shows admiration and respect throughout. As in the other texts attributed to him, here too some passages describing the author's life in Spain can be found in the narrative, the most remarkable being a section recounting a visit to a theatre to watch a play about the miracles of Muḥammad.

The text does not contain any specific polemics against Christians or Christianity, but it does include repeated comparisons between Islamic and Christians beliefs, as well as explanations of the Islamic tenets. The author of the work appeals to the common sense of the Moriscos in Tunis. He focuses in particular on *tahrīf*, or alteration of Christian scriptures, being the only author who cites the Gospel of Barnabas as a book where Christians could 'learn the truth' (*ver la luz*). In the text attributed to him, Juan Alonso Aragonés also mentions that Muḥammad is the Messiah promised by God, a quite original idea as the Qur'an reserves this title for Jesus, and one that also appears in the Gospel of Barnabas.

SIGNIFICANCE

Despite its dense doctrinal content, MS 9653 offers a profoundly interesting example of the religious and polemical interests of the Moriscos exiled in Tunis. Both the narrative excursions into their former life in Spain and the digressions into Islamic doctrine are aimed at re-indocinating them as Muslims, and dispelling everything they remembered about Christianity.

The references to the Gospel of Barnabas and the concept of the messianism of Muḥammad give this text some significance within the field of Muslim-Christian polemics.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 9653 (first half of the 17th century)

R. Mami, *El manuscrito morisco 9653 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. Edición, estudio lingüístico y glosario por...*, Madrid, 2002

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J.M. Solá Solé, 'Los Mahomas de Rojas Zorrilla', in *Sobre árabes, judíos y marranos y su impacto en la lengua y literatura españolas*, Barcelona, 1983, 105-17

Penella, 'El sentimiento religioso de los moriscos'
Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens*

MS 9654 of the Biblioteca Nacional de España

DATE First half of the 17th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

MS 9654, covering 163 pages, an acephalous untitled manuscript, is a manual of the central precepts of Islam and the main sins that can be committed by a believer. Explanations are given in a simple fashion, without much scholarly embellishment. It includes some Spanish poems, and quotes extensively from the mysterious Juan Alonso Aragonés. In places, the author's attacks are not directed only at Christianity in general, but specifically target Pérez de Chinchón's *Antialcorán*.

SIGNIFICANCE

MS 9654 forms a thematic unity with MS 9653 as typical products of the Morisco intellectual circles in exile in Tunis. Quotations from Spanish authors are intermingled with explanations of the Islamic faith and attacks against Christian dogma and rites, based primarily on an appeal to apply common sense when comparing the principles of the two faiths.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España – 9654 (first half of the 17th century)

STUDIES

J. Chesworth, 'Using the "other". Morisco "borrowings" from Christian authors', in B. Franco et al. (eds), *Identidades cuestionadas. Coexistencia y conflictos interreligiosos en el Mediterráneo (ss. XIV-XVIII)*, Valencia, 2016, 225-32
Cardaillac, *Morisques et chrétiens*

Tratado de los dos caminos, 'Treatise on the two paths'

DATE Unknown; around 1650

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Spanish

DESCRIPTION

The manuscript of *Tratado de los dos caminos* consists of 255 pages. It is acephalous and no indication of authorship is given in the extant pages.

However, the text indicates that the author was a Spanish Morisco, probably from Castile, who was highly knowledgeable about contemporary Spanish literature, as manifested by the many quotations. The author writes from exile in Tunis, recounting the unfortunate situation of the Moriscos in Spain and their reception in the Ottoman province. The author also makes reference to some of his other, previous works on religious matters.

Tratado de los dos caminos is probably the most elaborate work produced in the Morisco diaspora. In their 2005 edition, Galmés de Fuentes, López-Baralt and Villaverde divide it into four parts: prologue; an allegorical description of the believer's battle against the enemies of the soul (from which the editors extract the title of the whole work, *Tratado de los dos caminos*); an exemplary novel entitled *El arrepentimiento del desdichado* ('The regret of the unfortunate'); and a treatise on Islamic beliefs, customs, and rites. With the main structure following that of two paths, one virtuous, the other sinful, between which a man must choose throughout his life, the author recalls the past life of the Moriscos in Christian Spain as that of a persecuted Muslim minority. In contrast, he bears testimony to their felicitous arrival in Tunis, facilitated by the Islamic solidarity of some of the Tunisian authorities. However, the text also betrays a certain nostalgia for the cultural atmosphere of Spain, given the numerous quotations from Spanish authors, though without any mention of their names.

Although no section is specifically dedicated to Christian-Muslim polemic, it is present throughout the text. Following a classical approach, the author appeals to the common sense of the Muslim believer as a reason to reject the Trinity, the divinity of Jesus, and so forth. Some Islamic authorities are cited, but in general it is the author's voice that is discernible throughout. The fourth part of the text, which contains an exposition of Islamic principles, is conceived as a mirror of the life of a true Muslim, as opposed to that of an infidel (in this case a Christian), in every aspect of human behaviour and belief.

SIGNIFICANCE

This text is perhaps the best example of a work that reflects the true degree of duality in the Morisco community. The author emphasises the Moriscos' character as Muslim believers, trying to teach the main tenets of Islam and providing the tools to reject Christian beliefs, while, at the same time, he sensitively recalls the cultural environment in which they

grew up, even quoting some Spanish literary works in order to make his message more attractive.

Although the appeal of the text lies in the way it mixes Arabic and Spanish material, the main characteristic of the *Tratado de los dos caminos* is quintessentially that of an Islamic work written for people who have lived in a predominantly Christian country, and have somehow forgotten the main Islamic principles and rites that a Muslim should accept.

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Luis F. Bernabé Pons

Kâtip Çelebi

Muṣṭafā ibn ‘Abdullāh, known as Kâtip Çelebi
or Ḥājī Khalīfa

DATE OF BIRTH 1609
PLACE OF BIRTH Istanbul
DATE OF DEATH 1657
PLACE OF DEATH Istanbul

BIOGRAPHY

Kâtip Çelebi, arguably the most important Ottoman thinker of the 17th century, was the son of a military officer and bureaucrat in the imperial chancery in Istanbul, and was himself apprenticed in the fiscal administration. Despite his achievements as an author and public intellectual, he never rose above the middle rank, as is reflected in his nicknames *kâtip*, meaning scribe, and *halîfe*, meaning assistant clerk. As a young man, he participated in military campaigns in Asia Minor, Iran and Iraq, during which he performed the *hajj* in 1634, before settling down in Istanbul after 1635. While he remained formally employed in the fiscal administration, inheritances from his mother and another relative left him independently wealthy; most of his wealth was spent on books.

Kâtip Çelebi's lifelong interest in learning was influenced by Kadızâde Mehmed (d. 1635), the eponym of an orthopraxic movement that promoted a rigid, rationalistic and interiorising form of Islam, often in violent conflict with contemporary Sufi orders. After Kadızâde, he took lessons with many other scholars, but was never regularly trained in a *medrese*, and most topics he wrote about, such as history and geography, were outside the canon of *medrese* subjects. Although at one point he called himself an 'illuminationist' (*ishrâqî*; *Sullam al-wuṣûl*, fol. 271r), and expressed respect for the great mystical philosopher Ibn ‘Arabî, mysticism as a doctrine and experience remained alien to him. Despite his low formal standing, he was well received in some of the intellectual circles of the time, which facilitated patronage for some of his works by top officials. Western scholars and diplomats also frequented these circles and it is likely, though not documented, that he had direct contact with them. It can be assumed that it was within such a context he encountered the French renegade who later translated numerous European texts for

him. Kâtip Çelebi himself never learned a Western language (see Hagen, *Osmanischer Geograph*, pp. 7-78 and *passim*, for broad social and intellectual contextualisation).

Driven by a sense of crisis in the political and social turmoil of the time, and a perceived gap between the achievements of Islamicate civilisations in the past and European advances in his own time, Kâtip Çelebi sought a remedy at both the personal and the political level in the dissemination of essential knowledge. After building a reputation as a teacher, he began his career as an author quite late in life: most of his works were written during the last decade of his life and many of them remained unfinished due to his untimely death. The most prominent group of his works can be described as his 'encyclopaedic project', consisting of a world history (*Fadhlakat aqwāl al-akhyār*), abridged in a chronological table (*Takvîmü't-tevârîh*), a history of the Ottoman Empire (*Fezleke*), a biographical dictionary of scholars and historical figures (*Sullam al-wuṣūl*), a bibliographical encyclopaedia (*Kashf al-zunūn*), and a world geography (*Cihannümâ*), all of which complement each other in establishing a new canon of Islamic civilisational knowledge. These are primarily compilations, partly in Arabic, partly in Turkish, containing little original information, but they are innovative in their scope and their organisation is designed for quick access. At the same time, *Cihannümâ* (in the last of several redactions) is largely based on Western sources, indicating that Kâtip Çelebi saw no contradiction in integrating factual knowledge from Christian contexts. Raw translations prepared in the course of his geographical and historical studies have been preserved, and were subsequently circulated as independent works. Several shorter works were written as specific interventions in political debates at the time, such as a treatise on state reform (*Düstûrî'l-amel*, 1653), a reform treatise-cum-history of the Ottoman navy (*Tuhfetü'l-kibâr*, 1656), and a discussion of the religious conflicts between Sufis and followers of Kadızâde (*Mîzânü'l-hakk*, 1656). The last, especially, gained popularity far beyond its original context. *Îrşâdü'l-hayârâ* can also be counted in this group of works (Hagen, *Kâtib Çelebî*).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

İrşâdü’l-hayârâ ilâ târîhi’l-Yunân ve’r-Rûm ve’n-Nasârâ, ‘The guide of the perplexed towards the history of the Greeks, Romans and Christians’

DATE 1655

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

İrşâdü’l-hayârâ is a short treatise (32 folios in the manuscripts used for Yurtoğlu’s edition, 38 in the Berlin manuscript), the composition of which was begun on 24 January 1655 (Ménage, ‘Three Ottoman treatises’, p. 421). Doubts about its authenticity, voiced by Yurtoğlu (*Katip Çelebi’nin*, pp. 25-8), are moot, resulting from his confusion of Gregorian and Julian dates. As its title and preface state, it was intended to provide essential facts about Christianity and the states of Europe in order to strengthen the Ottoman Empire in its current political struggles, especially its war with Venice over the possession of Crete (since 1645). As such, it is another manifestation of Kâtip Çelebi’s urge to help dispel

the crisis of the Ottoman Empire through the dissemination of factual information as it was then known.

The first part discusses the essentials of Christianity (baptism, Trinity, Incarnation, Eucharist, confession), and the second part is dedicated to political powers, starting with definitions of political systems (erroneously attributing democracy, aristocracy and monarchy each to a single ancient Greek philosopher), and of aristocratic and ecclesiastical ranks. These definitions are then followed by nine rather uneven chapters on European states: the Papacy, the Holy Roman Empire, France, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Transylvania, Hungary, Venice and Moldavia. The first five of these chapters consist mostly of lists of rulers, with occasional anecdotes (e.g. on Joan of Arc), which also include random bits of information on administration and government. The uneven coverage, which omits England, the Netherlands, Sweden and Russia, and the lack of a formal conclusion suggest that the work was not completed.

The work is inspired by Kâtip Çelebi's translation of Hondius's *Atlas minor*, one of the sources of *Cihannümâ*, as is indicated in the preface (Yurtoğlu, *Katip Çelebi'nin*, p. 38). Much of the historical information proper appears to have been hastily compiled from various European sources probably made available by Kâtip Çelebi's translator, who is very likely to have been a former Jesuit or Capuchin. Works by Thomas Freigius and Trithemius on French history are referenced in the text; other sources probably include the concise world histories by Johann Carion and Horazio Tursellini that are used by Kâtip Çelebi elsewhere. Flemming has hypothesised that some sections are based on a recent illustrated history of the Habsburgs, though this remains to be identified (*Türkische Handschriften*, pp. 94-5). The sections on the vassal states of the Ottoman Empire seem to include much oral and popular information. Despite the availability of a first-hand informant, the chapters on Christian religion are based on older polemical literature in Arabic, mainly Fray Anselmo Turmeda's *Tuhfa* (before 1420, see CMR 5, pp. 326-9) and Naşr ibn Yahyâ's *Al-naşîha al-îmāniyya* (12th century, CMR 3, pp. 751-4). As a result, contrary to Kâtip Çelebi's intention, the parts that deal with Christian sects are of negligible importance for the 17th-century Ottoman Empire, while there is no mention of Protestantism, although he was clearly aware of it (Yurtoğlu, *Katip Çelebi'nin*, p. 10).

SIGNIFICANCE

İrşâdü'l-hayârâ can be considered an early and imperfect forerunner of a genre of Ottoman treatises about Christian Europe that is continued in the much better informed works of the 18th century (for two texts

attributed to İbrahim Müteferrika, d. 1747, see Ménage, 'Three Ottoman treatises'), and the series of Ottoman embassy reports from Europe beginning in 1721. While other works by Kâtip Çelebi exist in dozens (*Cihannümâ*) or even hundreds of manuscripts (*Mizânü'l-hakk*), *İrşâdü'l-hayârâ* survives in only four copies, and has no discernible resonance in Ottoman letters. Lack of accessibility (many names are transliterated from the sources in Latin or French forms even where an Ottoman form existed) and the fragmentary character can only partially explain the lack of impact. More important is the ultimately anachronistic information, and the simplistic concept of history (in contrast to Kâtip Çelebi's other historical works), which ultimately does not translate into politically useful knowledge. Ménage calls it 'no more than a slight and rather naïve parergon [...] to the translation of the *Atlas Minor*', stating that it served, 'by its very triviality, as an index of the ignorance of Europe which prevailed in his day among Ottoman men of learning' ('Three Ottoman treatises', p. 423). However, Orientalism has used this text to overstate the case for Muslim ignorance (prominently Lewis, *Muslim discovery*, pp. 135-7). While *İrşâdü'l-hayârâ* demonstrates the inadequacy of available written sources preferred by a scholarly mind such as Kâtip Çelebi (Hagen, *Osmanischer Geograph*, pp. 293-4), practical information from diplomatic and commercial sources was circulating in Ottoman society. The distinctly polemic character, especially of the first section, contradicts widely held notions about Kâtip Çelebi, and Ottoman society in general as open-minded, curious and tolerant vis-à-vis other cultures and religions and most especially Christianity, although it is possible that the polemical phrases were just uncritically copied. Regardless of these details, the work is undergirded by a clear cut agenda aimed at restoring Ottoman political supremacy, and through it, religious victory as well.

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Gottfried Hagen

Gerasimos Vlachos

Gerasimos Blachos, Gerasim(os) Vлах(os), Gerasimo Blaco,
Girassimo Vlacho, Gerasimus Vlachus

DATE OF BIRTH Between 1605 and 1607
PLACE OF BIRTH Crete, probably Candia
DATE OF DEATH 24 March 1685
PLACE OF DEATH Venice

BIOGRAPHY

Gerasimos Vlachos was born between 1605 and 1607 on the island of Crete, presumably in Candia (Iraklio, Hēraklion). Crete was at that time a possession of the Republic of Venice. Gerasimos's family background and his education remain unknown. However, several notary acts from 1648 to 1652 mention him as a 'gentleman' (*afentis* / *afendis*), while a 1649-50 manuscript now held in the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest contains some texts written by him in Greek, Italian and Latin (BAR ms. gr. 889), which proves that he had a good command of those languages. A source from 1651 characterises him as highly learned (Legrand, *Bibliographie*, vol. 3, p. 363). By 1640, he had become a Greek Orthodox priest-monk (*hieromonach*), and he quickly earned a reputation as an outstanding preacher. The Jesuit missionary François Richard refers to him as a 'fameux Predicateur' (Richard, *Relation*, pp. 364-5). Some of the sermons Gerasimos delivered in Candia have been preserved.

With the beginning of the siege of Candia by the Ottoman army in 1648, life in the city became uncomfortable. Gerasimos therefore set his sights on a teaching position in Venice. His first application in 1650 was not successful and he had to wait five more years before he could move to the lagoon city, in May 1655. By this time, according to Podskalsky, Gerasimos already held the rank of abbot (Podskalsky, *Theologie*, p. 249), however in the first letters he wrote in Venice he did not use this title (Mertzios, 'Neai eidēseis', p. 282). In September 1655, Gerasimos was appointed as a teacher at the Greek school, and no later than early 1657 he became abbot of San Giorgio dei Greci (S. Zorzi scalotò), the ecclesiastical centre of the Greek diaspora. Despite this prominent position, however, his material situation proved to be precarious. He

therefore requested an annual allowance from the Venetian Senate, which was granted in recognition of his contribution to the defence of Candia (Mertzios, 'Neai eidēseis', pp. 282-5). Because his financial situation improved only slightly, he again approached the Senate in 1661 to request an assignment to a monastery under Venetian patronage on Corfu. In November 1662, he became abbot of the monastery of the Madonna di Paleopolis.

While serving on Corfu, he focussed on his scholarly work but also engaged in preaching. This period of life came to an end when the Greek community in Venice elected him metropolitan of Philadelphia on 3 September 1679. Patriarch Iakovos of Constantinople endorsed the decision in April 1680, although Gerasimos only arrived in Venice in January 1681. He was already in his seventies and suffering from gout, and so his episcopate only lasted four years. On 24 March 1685, Gerasimos Vlachos died from a stroke (Maltezou and Ploumidēs, *Hoi apoviōtēries praxeis*, p. 165, no. 795).

Gerasimos has been described as one of the most outstanding scholars of his time. His impressive library comprised 1,115 titles (Tatakēs, *Gerasimos Vlachos*, pp. 28-35). He also authored a large number of writings on theological, philosophical and linguistic subjects, though most of them remain unpublished (Tatakēs, *Gerasimos Vlachos*, pp. 44-6; Fonkich, *Issledovania*, pp. 652-64); only two of his works were printed during his lifetime. His writings are characterised by a scholastic style, and he used syllogisms freely; his textbooks show the strong influence of Jesuit concepts (Podskalsky, *Theologie*, p. 250; Chrissidis, 'Creating the new educated elite', p. 34). An exhaustive study of his works is still a desideratum.

One of Gerasimos's most prominent students was Iōannikios Leichoudes who, together with his brother Sophronios, founded the Greek academy in Moscow in 1689. Their curriculum for the school relied heavily on Gerasimos's textbooks. This explains why quite a number of Gerasimos's writings can be found in Russian holdings (Fonkich, *Grecheskie rukopisi*, pp. 233-5, 297, 340-1, 349-55).

Among Gerasimos's unpublished works is a treatise against the Jews, as well as one against Muslims and Islam entitled 'On the religion of Muḥammad and the Turks' (*Peri tēs tou Mōameth threskeias kai kata Tourkōn*). These were composed before 1671 and are included in cod. 191 held in Xenophontos Monastery on Mount Athos (Manousakas, 'Duo agnōsta erga'). The actual content of the manuscript requires further investigation.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Odolenie na Turskoe tsarstvo, 'The overcoming of the Turkish Empire' *Slovo na derznovstvitel'noe*

DATE 12 February 1657 (1656)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Church Slavonic

DESCRIPTION

Odolenie na Turskoe tsarstvo is conceived in the style of a letter addressed to the Tsar of Muscovy, Aleksei Mikhailovich (r. 1645-76), and dated 12 February 1656. Gerasimos wrote it after his arrival in Venice and his appointment as abbot of San Giorgio dei Greci. The manuscript covers 27 folios, 53 written pages, and in Waugh's 1977 edition it comprises ten closely printed pages. Its full title is *Odolenie na Turskoe tsarstvo, ili Slovo derznovennoe na turki k blagochestiveishemu i nepobedimomu tsariu moskovskomu gosudariu Aleksiiu Mikhailovichiiu, izdannoe ot Gerasima Vlakhi Kritskogo, avvy i kafigumena obiteli velikago Georgia Skolotskogo, predstatelia monastyrja Strovileiskogo, propovednika sviashchennago Euagliia i obshchego filosofii zhe feologii uchitelia po ellinskomu i latinskomu dialektu v slavykh Venetiakh* ('The overcoming of the Turkish Empire or a courageous homily against the Turks to the most pious and undefeated Muscovite Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, issued by Gerasimos Vlachos, Abbot and Hegoumen of the Great George Skalotae Monastery, provost of the Strovile Monastery, preacher of the holiest Gospels, and teacher of general philosophy and theology in Greek and Latin in the glorious city of Venice').

The original version was written in Greek, but this has not been preserved. The letter is now accessible only in a translation into Church Slavonic (Russian recension), with handwriting typical of the early 18th

century, indicating that it is a copy of the original translation. Waugh suggests that the translator was Arsenius the Greek (Arsenii Grek; given name Argyrius Angelachius Risioti), a priest monk who had at one time converted to Islam but returned to Orthodoxy, and who in the 1650s was employed at the Moscow printing office as a corrector (Uo [Waugh], "Odolenie", pp. 92-4; Tchentsova, 'Arsenios'). However, it is more probable that the translation was made by Epifanii Slavinskiĭ, who worked as a translator at the Foreign Office (*Posol'skii Prikaz*), where the document was processed. A strong indicator that Epifanii authored the translation is the word *dialekt* for 'language' in the text. *Dialekt* was a Polish loan word commonly used in Ukrainian, but not in Russian. Unlike Arsenios the Greek, Epifanii had a Ukrainian background and frequently used *dialekt* in his translations (Scheliha, *Russland*, p. 362).

The original letter was probably handed over to the Muscovite envoy in Venice on 24 February 1657, when representatives of the Greek community presented him with two books written in Greek (Novikov, *DRV*, vol. 4, no. 4, p. 284; Waugh, "Odolenie", pp. 91-2; Laskaridēs, *Hē stasi tēs Rōsias*, pp. 240-5). While the primary sources mention neither the *Odolenie* nor Gerasimos in this context, the relevant registers of the Muscovite Foreign Office of the Ambassadors do not give any other clues as to when else it could have been transferred to Russia (Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Obzor*, pp. 262-3; Bantysh-Kamenskii, *Reestr*, pp. 121-5).

This assumed date of delivery raises the question of the date of composition. The date given by Gerasimos, 12 February 1656, would imply that the text had lain unsent for more than a year. On the other hand, the fact that the completion and transfer both took place in February suggests a correlation. A likely explanation is that Vlachos dated the missive according to the Venetian calendar, 12 February 1656, which in fact corresponds to 12 February 1657 in the Gregorian calendar. The assumption that he wrote it in 1657 is further supported by the report from the Muscovite envoys. Two days after their negotiations with the Venetians over a possible Muscovite attack on the Ottomans, on 27 January 1657, the delegation visited the Greek Church of San Giorgio, when the issue was raised and discussed extensively (Novikov, *DRV*, vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 251-5; Laskaridēs, *Hē stasi tēs Rōsias*, pp. 210-18). The period of almost a month that elapsed between 27 January and 24 February 1657 would have certainly been enough time for Gerasimos to write the text. The title *Odolenie na Turskoe tsarstvo* was given to the work by either the translator or the copyist.

After a lengthy enumeration of the tsar's titles, Gerasimos introduces his cause by referring to examples from ancient Greece. As Isocrates pushed Philip of Macedon to fight the barbarian Persians, he himself encourages the tsar to liberate the 'Helleno-Romans' from 'Hagarian' (Ottoman-Muslim) oppression. The introductory section concludes with Gerasimos identifying himself as the author, and the date of completion.

The main body of the letter expounds the proposition that the tsar should go to war with the Ottoman Empire and end Muslim rule over Christians in the Balkans and Asia Minor. He supports his argument in a variety of ways, and these give the text its structure. The first section covers three pages in Waugh's edition and accounts for nearly one third of the entire text. It is entitled 'homily on a courageous [deed]' (*slovo na derznovstvitel'noe*), which can be considered the letter's original title, and which was taken up by the translator or copyist in the second part of the title he gave the letter as a whole (although here he corrupts the initial meaning by changing the nominalised adjective '*derznovstvitel'noe*' into the attributive adjective '*derznovennoe*', turning the 'homily on a courageous [deed]' into the 'courageous homily').

In this section, Gerasimos draws on the Old Testament and early Church history, explaining that in (Eastern) Christianity spiritual power is closely connected with temporal power. After the conquest of Byzantium, this harmonious partnership was destroyed. Life under Muslim rule led to a corruption of the Orthodox hierarchy and to simony in the highest episcopal ranks. 'Currently', he emphasises, 'we do not have a patriarch from God, but from the Hagarian by presents of money.' He concludes that Tsar Aleksei, who reigns over 'many barbarian peoples', is the hope of the oppressed and has been born to liberate them from Hagarian rule and from the worship of Muḥammad. He adds to Muḥammad's name in this context the epithet 'Sardanapalus', referring to the alleged last Assyrian king (7th century BCE) who was legendary for his decadent, luxurious and orgiastic life.

The short sections that follow are intended to support Gerasimos's main request. In 'On the symbols', he explains that everything, including any governance on earth, has both its beginning and its end in God. The 'evil empires' of the Old Testament and ancient history were sent by God, and subsequently God handed over Constantinople to Mehmed the Conqueror in 1453. However, God also gave Tsar Aleksei the power to fight the Ottoman Empire with success. In 'About signs', Gerasimos compares Aleksei to King David and calls him a 'magnificent and new Constantine'.

In 'About the just', he justifies action against the Ottomans and, in 'On the favour', he points to the favourable military situation of Muscovy: the tsar has a strong army and probably the assistance of the Orthodox people of the Balkans. In 'On the power', Gerasimos refers to the tsar's mighty army, its fine weaponry, the wisdom of its military leaders and the bravery of its soldiers, as well as the tsar's recent victory against the Poles. In 'On the supporters', he announces that, as well as the Orthodox peoples in the Balkans, Venice will join the tsar's expedition.

The last section deals with 'prophecies'. It is longer than the earlier ones, covering three-and-a-third pages in Waugh's edition. Gerasimos draws on ancient examples and refers to several old, well-known prophecies that circulated widely throughout the Hellenistic world: the oracles of Pseudo-Methodios of Patara, the oracular inscription on the tomb of Constantine the Great, and the prophecies attributed to the Erythraean Sybil. Remarkably, he also mentions Muḥammad as a prophetic authority, referring to the legend of the red (golden) apple that symbolises Constantinople and, ultimately, world domination (the symbolic red apple is, therefore, sometimes identified with Rome). The legend predicts that, 12 years after the conquest of the 'red apple' by the Muslims, it would be retrieved by Christian forces. More than 200 years after the initial conquest, Gerasimos reinterprets the number 12 to refer to the number of reigns of Ottoman sultans, concluding that the time has now come for the prophecy to be fulfilled, and that Tsar Aleksei is the only Christian ruler who can achieve this. The legend of the red apple had been popularised all over Europe by the Croatian-born Bartholomaeus Georgievicz in the 16th century (Setton, 'Bartholomaeus Georgevitz', pp. 29-46), and Gerasimos probably learned about it from his writings. Although his letter may contain one of the earliest (maybe the first) references to the legend in Muscovy (Waugh, '“Odolenie”', pp. 85-6), it probably did not initiate the legend's circulation in Russia.

Gerasimos's depiction of Muslims is stereotypical and pejorative. Muḥammad is called a 'pseudo-prophet' (contradicting the earlier, affirmative reference to Muḥammad's prophecy about the 'red apple'); Muslims bring death and destruction; they are barbarians and oppressors; they inspire the least respect, they are impure with regard to honour, they repudiate Christian morality, they are passionately gluttonous, tyrants, the enemies of benefactors and charity, and in matters of faith they are tempters like the Antichrist.

As Gerasimos wrote his text shortly after his arrival in Venice, his memories of the Ottoman siege of Candia would still have been fresh.

This explains why the letter conveys only hostility towards Muslims, but it would not have exactly served the letter's cause if he had alluded to peaceful, or even advantageous Christian-Muslim relations. Given the fact that Gerasimos only witnessed the early Ottoman conquests in Crete, he may never in fact have met a Muslim, or contemplated Islam beyond the stereotypes.

Gerasimos's remark that the patriarchs of Constantinople were installed by the sultan is worthy of attention, as it reveals some inconsistency in his line of argument, given that he affirms elsewhere that Ottoman rule was sent by God. His statement refers only to the institutional corruption of the patriarchate concerning the selection of candidates to the office, and not to any corruption of the Orthodox faith, otherwise it would have brought him, as a priest and abbot, into both internal and external conflict with the Church hierarchy. In the Russian context, his statement is also of interest. The Muscovite clergy frequently expressed their conviction that the fall of Byzantium was the result of heresies and that corruption of the original pure Greek Orthodox faith was continuing under Ottoman rule. This resulted in a dissociation of the Muscovite and Greek Churches in the 15th and 16th centuries, which was, however, gradually revised when the patriarchate of Moscow was established in 1589. Particularly during the reign of Aleksei Mikhailovich and the patriarchate of Nikon (1652-8/66), the Eastern patriarchs were highly esteemed and frequently asked for advice in matters of the liturgical reforms that were initiated at that time (Scheliha, *Russland*). Thus, Gerasimos's remark may have caused some irritation in Moscow, and this was perhaps one of the reasons why his letter was not widely circulated.

Gerasimos apparently did not write the letter on his own initiative, but was encouraged by the Greek community and even by the Venetian authorities, possibly with the promise of improving his economic situation. The chapter entitled 'On supporters' openly advocates a Venetian-Muscovite alliance against the Ottoman Empire, thus reflecting the Venetian foreign policy agenda. In view of the deep Muscovite dislike of Catholicism and Catholic states, the Venetian government probably thought it wise to obtain the support of an Orthodox abbot to promote the cause.

SIGNIFICANCE

Gerasimos Vlachos's conception of history does not differ greatly from that of the Byzantines: in his view, world history is a succession of

empires that ruled the world by the will of God, who decides everything in this earthly life. The conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II and Ottoman domination over the Christians were also acts decided by God, who therewith punished His people for their sins. However, Ottoman power would not last until the end of the world: a new empire – in this instance, the Russian one – would replace it, and a Christian emperor – the tsar – would prevail over the ‘Hagarenes’. Here, as in some other cases, Gerasimos presents oracles and prophecies as the main arguments to show that the precise moment for this event to take place was near.

He was deeply preoccupied by the fortunes of Christians living under Ottoman rule, and *Odolenie na Turskoe tsarstvo* was, indeed, not the only work in which he addressed this topic. In his sermon *Trionfo del illustrissimo signor Alvise Mocenigo...*, given on 25 November 1649, Gerasimos honoured the admiral Mocenigo, who immortalised himself during the first years of the Cretan War (Tatakēs, *Gerasimos Vlachos*, p. 46). Composed more than a decade later, his *Harmonia horistikē tōn ontōn kata tous Hellēnōn sophous* (Venice, 1661) opens with three dedicatory texts addressed to the Roman Emperor Leopold I, exalting the emperor's martial virtues and deeds and urging him to wage war on the Ottomans until all Christians are delivered (Legrand, *Bibliographie*, vol. 3, p. 136-9, no 443; Tatakēs, *Gerasimos Vlachos*, p. 19, 39).

Odolenie na Turskoe tsarstvo also testifies to the rising political significance of Muscovy as a regional power on a European level. The Venetian proposal of an alliance demonstrates that the threat of Muslim-Ottoman expansion facilitated attempts at forming coalitions among Christian powers in spite of confessional differences.

Gerasimos's missive did not stand in isolation. A number of similar requests by Greek Orthodox clergy were issued in the mid-17th century, appealing to the tsar for liberation from Ottoman rule. Among the authors can be found Patriarch Paisios of Jerusalem (1649), Metropolitan Gabriel of Naupaktos and Arta (1652), former Patriarch of Constantinople Athanasios Patellaros (1653), Archimandrite Neofit from Crete (1653), Metropolitan Paisios Ligarides of Gaza (1656), and others (Kapterev, *Kharakter*, pp. 348-81; Scheliha, *Russland*, pp. 61-2). While Paisios, Patellaros and Ligarides played a certain role in Russian church affairs, Gerasimos apparently did not have any further relations with Muscovy. This may explain why his pamphlet has not received much attention from either contemporaries or scholars. However, in one respect his letter is unique and differs from the other calls for liberation, in that it was produced

against a genuine political backdrop – the proposal of a joint Venetian and Muscovite venture against the Ottoman Empire. But Muscovy was not at all responsive to the invitation at that time, due also to its military engagement in the war against Poland-Lithuania and the Second Northern War, since in both conflicts the Khanate of Crimea, a vassal of the Ottoman Empire, played a critical role. Muscovy only entered the Holy League against the Ottoman Empire in 1686.

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Wolfram von Scheliha and Ovidiu Olar

Païsios Ligaridēs

Pantaleone Ligaridi, Pantaleo Ligaridis, Pantaleon
Ligaridius, Metropolitan Païsios of Gaza

DATE OF BIRTH Around 1609/10
PLACE OF BIRTH Chios
DATE OF DEATH 24 August 1678
PLACE OF DEATH Kiev

BIOGRAPHY

Born in Chios the son of Giovanni Ligaridēs and Orietta Callaronis, Pantaleone Ligaridēs was admitted into the Greek College of St Athanasius in Rome in 1623, when he was about 13 years old. Thirteen years later, in the Church of St Athanasius, he received with honours a doctorate in philosophy and theology. In the same church, he was ordained priest in December 1639 by the Uniate Metropolitan of Kiev, Raphael Korsak. Soon afterwards, he left Rome, heading for Istanbul as a missionary on the payroll of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide.

Ligaridēs spent several years in the Ottoman capital. His reports, dating from November 1642 to October 1646, are full of valuable data regarding the state of the Eastern Church in general and of the Patriarchal See of Constantinople in particular. However, for reasons unknown, he decided to leave and try his fortune elsewhere. In October 1646, he was in Târgoviște, the capital city of Wallachia, as the founder of a 'Greek and Latin school'. Yet there was much more to this character than meets the eye. He sided with the warden of Epiphany (Bogoiavlenskii) Monastery, Arseniï Sukhanov, during the theological debates conducted in May and June 1650 in the residence of Metropolitan Stephen of Wallachia. He converted to the Greek rite, was tonsured as a monk in Jerusalem, and was even ordained Orthodox metropolitan of Gaza by Patriarch Païsios of Jerusalem.

In 1658, Ligaridēs was *confessore, predicatore e teologo* ('confessor, preacher and theologian') of the Wallachian Prince Mihnea III (Michael III Radu, r. 1658-9). One year later, he seems to have been involved in the assembly of a local council in the capital of Wallachia. This was all taking place at the same time as he professed his allegiance to Rome and

repeatedly, though unsuccessfully, asked for money from the Propaganda Fide.

With Rome refusing to pay him, and his princely protector losing his throne and his life, Ligaridēs decided to visit Moscow. On 30 March 1662, bringing as gifts ‘a model of the Holy Sepulchre, Jordan water, and Jerusalem candles’, he entered the capital of the tsars. By the time of his arrival, a fierce conflict had erupted between Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich (r. 1645-76) and Patriarch Nikon (r. 1652-66) with respect to the relationship between secular and religious authority. Questioned on this delicate affair, Ligaridēs sided with the sovereign. Nikon had effectively abdicated, he said, and the tsar could convene a local synod to decide on Nikon. Satisfied, the tsar and his councillors turned to Ligaridēs for advice with respect to Nikon’s deposition.

The ‘former Vatican agent wearing the robes of an Orthodox Metropolitan’, as James H. Billington once aptly named him, was thus asked to find a solution to the Nikon ‘problem’, euphemistically labelled ‘the widowhood of the Church’. In response, Ligaridēs unveiled his master-plan: the tsar was to appeal to the four Eastern patriarchs whose authority was beyond dispute. Aleksei Mikhailovich agreed to contact the patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch and, after a long struggle, Nikon was deposed in December 1666. In order to justify his stance, Ligaridēs wrote a lengthy report on the matter, although it did not convince everyone, especially as Eastern ecclesiastics, such as Patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem, had serious reservations about the former Latin missionary turned metropolitan of Gaza and then turned accuser of Patriarch Nikon. Finally, the tsar himself grew cold. In 1673, the disgraced Ligaridēs, was allowed to move to Kiev, and he died there five years later in August 1678.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Chrēsmologion Kōnstantinoupoleōs, 'Book of prophecies past, present and future, about Constantinople'

DATE 1656

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

The *Chresmologion* was begun while Ligaridēs was in Rome. When exactly is not known, but the scholar already mentions the prophecies attributed to Emperor Leo the Wise in a letter sent in June 1643 from Istanbul to Francesco Ingoli, secretary of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. The work was completed in Wallachia, in 1654-5, and there is a strong chance that the author put to good use the rich library of *postelnic* (chamberlain) Constantin Cantacuzino, who employed him as teacher to his children. The foreword, dedicated to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, dates from 1656, when Ligaridēs, as Orthodox metropolitan of Gaza, became fully convinced of the role that Moscow could play in south-eastern Europe; nevertheless, the text arrived in Russia with its author, in 1662.

The autograph manuscript of the text is now lost or remains undiscovered; the work is preserved in two 17th-century copies, under the full title *Chrēsmologion Kōnstantinoupoleōs, neas Rōmēs, parōchēmenon, enestōs kai mellon, ek diaphorōn syngrapheōn syllechthen kai synarmosthen para tou panierotatou kai sophōtatou mētropolitou Gazēs kyriou Paīsiou, hīp-ertimou kai exarchou pasēs gēs epangelias* ('Book of prophecies past, present and future, about Constantinople, the new Rome, by different authors compiled and edited by the most holy and learned Metropolitan of Gaza, kyr Paīsios, most honoured and exarch over the entire Promised Land'). In the Jerusalem manuscript of 1656, the text covers 296 folios.

According to Paul of Aleppo, the son of Patriarch Macarius of Antioch, the *Chresmologion* 'contained the prophesies of the prophets, wise men and saints and things that had been foretold in respect of the events in the East, fulfilled by Hagar's children [i.e. Muslims], and relating to Constantinople and the conquest of the city; wonderful tales about the past; and, also, their prophecies about those things decided in the past in respect of the future'. Enthusiastic, Macarius insisted and obtained – not without effort and expense – two copies of the work, both prepared by the monk Iōannēs Sakoulēs of Chios.

The work is an ambitious collection of oracular texts, encompassing all human history since its inception – the first ‘oracle’ concerns ‘the first man, Adam’. The oracular pieces are of two types: ‘past’ prophesies that have already been fulfilled, and ‘future’ prophesies that foretell the liberation of Constantinople from the Muslims and the subsequent enthroning of a new Christian emperor in the city. The first category consists of 42 oracles, to which Ligaridēs adds the lament of the 1453 fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans composed by the Patriarch of Constantinople Gennadios II Scholarios, as well as the elegy on the same topic by Matthaïos Kamariotēs (d. 1489/90). The second category includes 13 oracles; between the fifth and the sixth, Ligaridēs inserts a short chronology by Nikēphoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (14th century).

The result is impressive, as the sources include the visions of prophets such as Daniel and Isaiah, the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodius of Patara, the revelations of the Sibyl of Cumae, the *Oracula Leonis* attributed to Emperor Leo the Wise, and the *Apocalypse* of Andreas Salos. Ligaridēs also employed Western (i.e. Latin) sources, such as, for instance, works by Alexander Gwagnin (1538-1614) and Martin Cromer (1512-89). But the major part of Ligaridēs’ material is Byzantine, ranging from the Church Fathers to the ecclesiastical historians. Several works might have been consulted in manuscript, but in many cases Ligaridēs used printed books: the 1585 *Turcograecia* of Martin Crusius, for example, in the case of Kamariotēs’s elegy. A full inventory of the sources remains to be undertaken. In Ligaridēs’ view, history is a succession of four great empires, the last being the Roman Empire. The *Chresmologion* starts with Adam and continues with Noah and Japheth, with the story of the tower of Babel, with Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Joshua, Samson, David and Solomon. The Sybilline prophesies ease the passage to Roman history, which is in fact Byzantium: Ligaridēs dedicates many chapters to the foundation of Constantinople, to Constantine the Great and his successors, and to the 1453 fall of Constantinople.

The idea of a transfer of power was not new, as it first appears in the biblical vision of Daniel. What Ligaridēs does develop is a flexible view of the relationship between Rome, Constantinople and Moscow. According to him, Constantinople was founded as ‘daughter and comrade’ of Rome; the centre of the Roman Empire was transferred from the Old Rome to the New one; the power of Old Rome survived, for it was universal. Yet, if this were the case, and the transfer from Old Rome to New Rome is not an end, then neither could the fall of Constantinople be seen as such.

A 'fair-haired people' will free the city from the Turkish yoke. According to Ligaridēs, the 'fair-haired people' were the Muscovites, as a special relationship existed between them and the Byzantines based on blood and civilisation. 'We, the Romans, handed on to the Muscovites not only our faith, but also the Empire', Ligaridēs writes. Nevertheless, although Moscow receives the honour and mission of acting as a 'New Constantinople' and 'Third Rome', it receives it only temporarily, until Constantinople would be liberated.

It is interesting to note the cyclical character of the *Chresmologion*. The first part starts with the creation and fall of the first man, it dwells at large on the Jews and Romans (the Byzantines), it depicts the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and it concludes with texts that offer a solution for the salvation of the soul – penance, prayers and faith in God. The second part starts with a 'first future oracle on the chronology of the world', continues with several prophecies concerning the Prophet Muḥammad, insists on the liberation of Constantinople by a 'fair-haired' race, clearly equated with the Russians, and concludes with the apocryphal visions of Ezra predicting the triumph of the Messiah over the enemies of the faith and the deliverance of the chosen people from captivity. By ending in this way and by dedicating the text to Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, a sovereign whose name itself ('Alexios' means 'Protector') predestined him to become the redeemer of the Greeks, Ligaridēs expressed his belief in the messianic role that Russia played in this everlasting messianic scenario of fall and redemption.

SIGNIFICANCE

In this scenario, the Prophet Muḥammad, the Arabs, the Saracens and their continuators, the Ottomans, fulfil an important role. Many of the oracles collected by Ligaridēs deal with the Prophet (for example, 'past' oracle 35, and 'future' oracles 2-6) and with the Arabs and the Saracens (for example, 'past' oracle 36), while the Ottomans – the 'Turks', as he calls them – appear constantly in the texts dealing with the 1453 fall of Constantinople.

By the time Ligaridēs wrote his *Chresmologion*, this role as represented was already established. The rise of Islam is seen as a punishment inflicted on the Christians by God in consequence of their sins. The fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans is also seen as the result of the innumerable transgressions perpetrated by the 'Greeks'. As a result, the 'sons of Hagar' – whether Arabs, Saracens, or 'Turks' – act as a scourge

sent by God and a divine punishment. As such, their fate is also sealed, for the prophecies cannot lie. A Saviour – whether ‘the Last Emperor’ of the Christians suddenly woken from his sleep, the ‘Enmarbled Emperor’ risen from the stone, or the ‘fair-haired people’ descending from the north – will defeat the ‘sons of Hagar’ and thus save the true and only ‘chosen people’.

Ligaridēs’ *Chresmologion* fascinated many readers. As mentioned, Macarius of Antioch and Paul of Aleppo endeavoured to secure some copies; fragments were even translated into Arabic. Nevertheless, this positive appraisal was far from universal. Patriarch Chrysanthos Notaras of Jerusalem (d. 1731), for example, writes at the end of MS Bucharest that it contains nothing more than ‘empty and deceitful words, for the most part’.

Modern scholars (noticeably V.G. Tchentsova and N.P. Chesnokova) also disagree with regard to the impact of Ligaridēs’ work, notably as to whether it had any measurable impact on the Russian books of prophecies of the time, including the *Chresmologion* by Nikolai Spafarij (Nicolae Spătarul ‘Milescu’, 1636-1708). Irrespective of the answer, it is safe to observe that Ligaridēs’ masterpiece belongs to a genre – oracular literature – whose popularity grows significantly in the second half of the 17th century, in the context of the wars between the Christian world and the Ottoman Empire (the war of Candia, 1645-69, above all), and the rise of Russia as a great power.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Jerusalem, Patriarchikē Vivliothikē – gr. 160, 296 fols (1656)

MS Athens, Metochion tou Panagiou Taphou – 23, fols 1-38 (1668; fragmentary copy)

MS Bucharest, Biblioteca Academiei Române – gr. 386, 447 pp. (17th century)

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- A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 'Thrēnos tēs Kōnstantinoupoleōs', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 12 (1903) 267-72, pp. 269-72 (the *Thrēnos* on the fall of Constantinople)
- V. Laourdas, 'Hō Paísios Ligaridēs kai hōi peri Krētēs chrēsmoi', *Krētika Chronika* 6 (1952) 204-10 (the oracles concerning Crete)
- Hionides, *Paisius Ligarides*, pp. 121-40 (English trans. of several excerpts)
- A. Pertusi, *La caduta di Constantinopoli. L'eco nel mondo*, Milan, 1976, pp. 378-87 (the *Thrēnos* on the fall of Constantinople; Greek text and Italian trans.), pp. 364-5, 486-7 (notes and comments)

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- V.G. Tchentsova, 'Paisii Ligarid, Nikolaï Spafarii i Franchesko Barotstsi: eskhatologicheskie idei pri dvore tsaria Alekseia Mikhaïlovicha', *Drevniaia Rus'* 1 (2014) 69-82
- V.G. Tchentsova, 'L'eschatologie byzantine dans la pensée historique à la cour d'Alexis Romanov: Paisios Ligaridēs, Nicolas le Spathaire et Francesco Barozzi', in P. Gonneau and E. Rai (eds), *Écrire et réécrire l'histoire russe d'Ivan le Terrible à Vasilij Ključevskij (1547-1917)*, Paris, 2013, 41-51
- N.P. Chesnokova, *Khristianskiĭ Vostok i Rossiia. Politicheskoe i kul'turnoe vzaimodeĭstvie v seredine XVII veka*, Moscow, 2011, pp. 173-5
- N.P. Chesnokova, "Khristologion" Paisiia Ligarida v rukopisnykh sobraniiax GIM i RNB. Predvaritel'nyie zamechaniia', in *Sovremennye problemy arkheografii. Sbornik stateĭ*, St Petersburg, 2011, 249-58

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- O. Olar, 'Profeție și istorie. Note asupra câtorva manuscrise călătore prin Țările Române (Matei al Mirelor și Paisie Ligaridi)' / 'Prophecy and history. Notes on manuscripts in circulation in the Romanian principalities (Matthew of Myra and Paisios Ligaridis)', in *Manuscrise bizantine în colecții bucureștene / Byzantine manuscripts in Bucharest's collections*, Bucharest, 2009, 35-46, 85-95
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Ovidiu Olar

Abū l-Ikhlāṣ al-Miṣrī

Abū l-Ikhlāṣ Ḥasan ibn ‘Ammār al-Shurunbulālī

DATE OF BIRTH 1585
PLACE OF BIRTH Shubrā Balūla, Minūfiyya, Egypt
DATE OF DEATH 1659
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Ḥasan ibn ‘Ammār ibn ‘Alī l-Shurunbulālī l-Ḥanafī, better known as Abū l-Ikhlāṣ al-Miṣrī, was also called al-Wafā’ī, as he was a follower of the al-Wafā’ī Sufi order. His father moved to Cairo when Abū l-Ikhlāṣ was six years old; there, during his childhood, he memorised the Qur’an and learned Islamic sciences. He visited Jerusalem in 1626 in the company of his teacher Abū l-Is‘ād Yūsuf ibn Wafā (d. 1641), a highly distinguished scholar of Ḥanafī jurisprudence, considered the greatest in his time, and he studied at the prestigious al-Azhar in Cairo under the patronage of some of the most eminent scholars of the period. He became a scholar of great repute and a prolific writer, leaving more than 50 works, most of which focused on detailed issues of *fiqh*. He had good relations with the state officials of his age, and also became an authority in issuing fatwas.

Abū l-Ikhlāṣ was said to be a man of high moral qualities. He died at the age of 75, and was buried in al-Mujāwirin cemetery in Cairo.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Secondary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-athar al-maḥmūd fī qahr dhawī l-juḥūd, 'The praised tradition in subduing the people of difficulties'

Al-athar al-maḥmūd fī qahr dhawī l-uhūd

Al-athar al-maḥmūd fī qahr dhawī l-uhūd al-juḥūd

DATE 1652

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

There are slight variations in the titles associated with this treatise. The original 1652 MS, which covers 9 folios, gives the title as *Al-athar al-maḥmūd fī qahr dhawī l-juḥūd*, while other MSS give the word *al-uhūd* instead of *al-juḥūd*. In *Hadiyyat al-ʿarīfīn* it is given as *Al-athar al-maḥmūd fī qahr dhawī l-uhūd al-juḥūd*.

This work, along with the treatise *Qahr al-milla l-kufriyya bi-l-adilla l-Muḥammadiyya li-takhrīb dayr al-maḥalla l-Jawwāniyya*, deals with rulings on churches, namely, whether Christians should be permitted to build churches in countries with a majority Muslim population. In his discussion of this issue, Abū l-Ikhlāṣ divides Islamic lands into three categories: first, lands populated by Muslims in the Islamic era; second,

lands the Muslims conquered by force; third, lands that the Muslims took without the use of force. He concludes that churches and monasteries constructed after Muslims took over in Egypt must be destroyed or turned into mosques, irrespective of whether they were constructed before or after the Muslim conquest. He makes reference to the consensus among scholars on this issue, and argues that the same ruling should apply to churches and monasteries established after the Muslim conquest, regardless of whether this was achieved by force.

As for lands taken by Muslims as a result of peace treaties, Abū l-Ikhlāş argues that churches and monasteries established prior to this should not be destroyed, but that Christians should not perform any of their rituals in public. He quotes the Pact of 'Umar and some qur'anic verses and Hadiths in support of his views.

Abū l-Ikhlāş also details all the opinions expressed by leading jurists of the four Islamic schools of jurisprudence. All the imams, Mālik, Abū Ḥanīfa, Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Shāfi'ī, were in agreement that Christians and Jews should not be permitted to establish new places of worship or renovate old ones in Muslim lands.

SIGNIFICANCE

This treatise deals with the fiercely debated issue of the establishment of churches and monasteries in Muslim lands. It makes many references to the case of the al-Jawwāniyya Monastery, established in Islamic Cairo, which is the main subject of Abū l-Ikhlāş's treatise *Qahr al-milla al-kufriyya bi-l-adilla l-Muḥammadiyya li-takhrīb dayr al-maḥalla l-Jawwāniyya*. Abū l-Ikhlāş took this firm stance against Christians and the Jews as he considered it a violation of the pact they had been offered by the Muslims. Therefore, he considered it incumbent upon Muslims to support their co-religionists in consolidating the rulings of God.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Algiers, National Library – Or. 2147, pp. 15-23 (1652)

MS Cairo, Al-Azhar Library – Or. 324698, pp. 283-92 (1653)

MS Algiers, National Library – Or. 9, pp. 133-7 (1657)

Abū l-Ikhlāş Ḥasan ibn 'Ammār al-Shurunbulālī, *Al-athar al-ma'hūd fī qahr dhawī l-'uhūd*, ed. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd al-Majīd Jum'a, Algiers: Maktabat al-Ghurabā' al-Athariyya, 2009

STUDIES

Perlmann, 'Shurunbulālī militant'

Al-durra l-yatīma fī l-ghanīma, 'The inimitable pearl on the spoils of war'

DATE Drafted in 1653/4

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

There are several extant copies of *Al-durra l-yatīma fī l-ghanīma*, two of which are preserved at the Khālidiyya Library in Jerusalem. One of these, MS Jerusalem – Or. 864, mentions that it was first drafted in 1653/4 (1064 AH), and the copyist is unknown. The other copy, MS Jerusalem – Or. 863, was copied by Ismā'īl al-'Amrūsī l-Dimashqī.

The title page announces that the work will discuss the pacts concluded by Muslims with the People of the Book, including issues relating to the destruction of churches, the fatwas of the four imams and the biography of Khālid ibn al-Walīd. In fact, it only discusses the issue of how the spoils of war should be distributed.

In *fiqh* terminology, *ghanīma* refers to spoils of war, while *fay*' refers to goods taken from the enemy without engaging in combat, either under the terms of a peace treaty or after combat has ended. The general ruling concerning any revenue generated through the spoils of war requires those participating in battle to hand everything over to their leader. The leader or supreme commander will then divide the spoils into five parts, four to be distributed equally among the fighting men, and the fifth to go to the treasury (Q 8:41).

In this work, Abū l-Ikhlāṣ focuses on the controversy over the opinion of some scholars that a leader has the option of either distributing all the spoils between the soldiers in accordance with this divine ruling as specified in Q 8:41, or of retaining under state control any land that has been captured. According to Abū l-Ikhlāṣ, this latter was the view of the Ḥanafī jurist Uthmān ibn 'Alī al-Zayla'ī, as mentioned in his commentary on al-Nasafī's *Kanz al-daqā'iq*. Abū l-Ikhlāṣ's response is that the consensus among the Companions of the Prophet was to impose the *kharāj* (poll-tax), thus contradicting the ruling that the *ghanīma* should be distributed among the soldiers. He thus sees no point in offering the option of either dividing the *ghanīma* or retaining the land.

In support of his argument that conquered lands should be kept under state control for the benefit of the entire Muslim *umma*, including future generations, Abū l-Ikhlāṣ quotes the practice of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. After his conquest of the Sawād (southern Iraq), 'Umar imposed *kharāj*

on the farmers, giving them the land to cultivate in return for a specified share of the annual revenue. With very few exceptions, the Companions of the Prophet accepted 'Umar's decision. Later scholars, including Abū Yūsuf in his *Kitāb al-kharāj*, supported 'Umar's *ijtihād* and his decision concerning land in the Sawād. 'Umar reasoned that to include land in the army's spoils of war could result in economic problems and unemployment among the former farmers, referring to Q 59:7 and 59:10 to support his view. These verses state clearly that *fay'* belongs to the poor among the immigrants and helpers and to 'those who come after them'. 'Umar stressed the last clause in applying his judgment.

To convince the Companions, 'Umar held a consultation session in which he said: 'You have heard the people who say I am depriving them of their due. I think that after Chosroes, no lands will be left for conquest. God has granted us their wealth and lands. I have distributed the wealth among Muslims, but I wish the lands to be left with their tillers; I will impose *kharāj* and *jizya* for them to pay, to cover the expenses of the army and for the children of Muslims and generations to come. You have seen the borders, we need the army to protect them; you have seen the big cities, to protect them requires a regularly paid army. If I distribute the lands, how will they be paid?' (M.S. Chaudhry, *Dynamics of Islamic jihad*, Lahore, 2000, ch. 6: <http://www.muslimtents.com/shaufi/b17/b176.htm>).

SIGNIFICANCE

This work supports the view of the second caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb regarding the situation of Christians under Muslim rule. 'Umar thought that conquered land should be left to the Christian farmers to cultivate in exchange for a certain share of the annual revenue. The argument was that this would be good for both Muslims, in terms of benefiting future generations, and also Christians, in reducing the level of unemployment that would otherwise have resulted from them not being able to cultivate land that would no longer be theirs.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Cairo, Al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya – Or. (Private: 1913, General: 26752)

MS Jerusalem, Al-Maktaba al-Khālidiyya – Or. 863, old ref. 28/699
(around 1700; copied by Ismā'īl al-ʿAmrūsī l-Dimashqī)

MS Jerusalem, Al-Maktaba al-Khālidiyya – Or. 864, old ref. 25/393
(around 1700)

MS Amman, University of Jordan Library – Or. 462 (around 1700)

MS Mecca, Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī – Or. 2783, Or. 25/1792, (1832;
copied by Muḥammad ibn Ghaym Minyāwī)

Abū l-Ikhlās Ḥasan ibn ‘Ammār al-Shurunbulālī, *Al-durra l-yatīma fī l-ghanīma*, Riyadh: Maktabat al-Ḥaramayn, (s.d.)

Abū l-Ikhlās Ḥasan ibn ‘Ammār al-Shurunbulālī, *Al-durra l-yatīma fī l-ghanīma*, ed. Anas Muḥammad Jāsim, Baghdad: Maṭba‘at Anwār Dijla, (s.d.)

Qahr al-milla l-kufriyya bi-l-adilla l-Muḥammadiyya li-takhrīb dayr al-maḥalla l-Juwwāniyya, ‘Subduing the unbelieving community [of the Christians] with Muḥammadan arguments for the destruction of the monastery of al-Juwwāniyya quarter’
Qahr al-milla l-kufriyya, ‘Subduing the unbelieving community’

DATE 1657/8

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This short treatise, along with *Al-athar al-maḥmūd fī qahr dhawī l-‘uhūd*, deals with rulings on churches, namely, whether Christians should be permitted to build churches in countries with a majority Muslim population. It covers four pages (pp. 278-82) in the Cairo manuscript. The author refers to the text as a summary of a long treatise bearing the same title, written in response to a question received in June/July 1653 (Sha‘bān 1063) concerning a ruling about a building that had been turned into a monastery inside Bāb al-Naṣr in Old Cairo, near the inner (al-Juwwāniyya) Christian quarter, a very old part of Cairo inhabited by Greek settlers. The case was brought before the supreme judge Yahya Efendi. Some of the rooms in the building, which was part of an estate belonging to the treasury, reflected Islamic origins, inscribed with verses of the Qur’an; for example, the ‘throne verse’ (*Āyat al-kursī*, Q 2:255) was inscribed on the ceiling. The building had been transformed into a monastery by the Christians, with Christian symbols on display, including the cross. The question under debate was whether this was a violation of the Pact of ‘Umar. This treatise was written in 1658, five years after the monastery was converted into a mosque.

Abū l-Ikhlās gives a clear-cut response: all Muslims are under obligation to resolve this situation, and support the ruler in bringing the

building back under Islamic control to turn it into a mosque. He supports this opinion with reference to the rulings pertaining to *awqāf* (endowments) given by Imām al-Khaṣṣāf in his *Aḥkām al-awqāf*.

After this concise response, Abū l-Ikhlāş expands on the details for his ruling: As the city of Cairo had been an Islamic city since Fāṭimid times, it was not permissible for a church or monastery to be built there. This opinion was given by the mufti of Egypt, Qāsim ibn Qutlubughā and is mentioned in all the classical books of *fiqh*. The qur'anic inscriptions found in the structure indicate that it had been an Islamic building and it should therefore be returned to the Muslims. Moreover, Muslims should not support Christians in their attempts to retain the building. Abū l-Ikhlāş then mentions that non-Muslims should be allowed to construct assembly rooms for prayer in private homes. He maintains that Egypt was conquered by force, so the construction of churches was not permitted.

In July/August 1653 (Ramaḍān 1063), the authorities ordered the destruction of the upper part of the building and the removal of all Christian symbols. The monastery was turned into a mosque, and an imam was appointed to lead the people in prayer.

SIGNIFICANCE

The treatise documents a case study of the application of an opinion expressed by an inhabitant of the al-Juwwāniyya quarter in Cairo.

PUBLICATIONS

Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd al-Majīd Jum'a lists three extant copies:

MS Algiers, National Library – Or. 9, pp. 131-2 (1657)

MS Algiers, National Library – Or. 2147, pp. 31-5 (1658)

MS Cairo, Al-Azhar Library – Or. 324698, pp. 278-82 (1657)

Abū l-Ikhlāş Ḥasan ibn 'Ammār al-Shurunbulālī, 'Qahr al-milla l-kufriyya bil-adilla l-Muḥammadiyya li-takhrīb dayr al-maḥalla l-Juwwāniyya', in *Al-athar al-ma'hūd fī qahr dhawī l-'uhūd*, ed. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Abd al-Majīd Jum'a (the edited text appears after the end of the main work)

STUDIES

Perlmann, 'Shurunbulālī militant', pp. 404-10

Mohsen Haredy

Ibn al-Ghurayr

Mār Ghrīghūrīyūs Yūḥannā ibn al-Ghurayr
al-Zirbābī al-Shāmī

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; about 1610
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown; probably Damascus, Syria
DATE OF DEATH	Between February 1678 and March 1686
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; probably Damascus, Syria

BIOGRAPHY

Yūḥannā ibn al-Ghurayr, Syrian Orthodox bishop of Damascus, was an important transmitter of the Syriac and Christian Arabic heritage in the 17th century, and the translator of several major works from Syriac to Middle Arabic. While no contemporary biography of him is known, his activities as a scribe, translator and occasional author can be traced with surprising precision for almost half a century, from the early 1630s to the late 1670s.

Yūḥannā first mentions being a deacon in a Syriac manuscript he copied in 1632/3. He then calls himself a priest during the period 1634-50, and a *chorepiscopus* in early 1653. On 16 January 1668, he was consecrated as the Syrian Orthodox bishop of Damascus, taking the name of Ghrīghūrīyūs (Gregorius), in a ceremony headed by Patriarch ‘Abd al-Masīḥ in the church of Mār Behnām in Damascus. His date of death is unknown, but it occurred between February 1678 and March 1686. His father, *al-mu‘allim* ‘Abbūd al-Ghurayr, died in 1653. Yūḥannā survived the death of two of his children, deacon Sargīs/Sarkīs (died before December 1660) and deacon ‘Abd al-Masīḥ (died on 11 December 1660), and of his wife who died before his consecration as bishop. He mentions the death of his son ‘Abd al-Masīḥ in an eight-line wall inscription/graffito still extant in the monastery of Mār Mūsā al-Ḥabashī in al-Nabk, which can be dated to October 1661. Yūḥannā’s family had probably lived in Damascus since the latter part of the 16th century.

At least 40 manuscripts directly related to Yūḥannā and his workshop can be identified, many containing several works. This figure, which includes some 30 autographs (and excludes descendant copies), is unparalleled for the period. The overwhelming majority of the manuscripts

produced by Yūḥannā are in Syriac and Garshūnī Arabic (Arabic written in Syriac script), but two manuscripts he copied in Arabic script can also be traced. One of these, MS Damascus – Zāhiriyya 5064, comprises a collection of 13 short medical treatises and poems by various Muslim authors, including an important medical text by Ibn al-‘Ayn Zarbī and two of Avicenna’s medical poems, *Urjūza fī l-ṭibb* and *Urjūza fī tadbīr al-ṣiḥḥa fī l-fuṣūl al-arba‘a*. As a testimony to the importance of the manuscripts copied by Yūḥannā, his autographs have already been used as witnesses in the modern edition of four works: Barhebraeus’ Syriac grammar, the *Book of splendours* (J.P.P. Martin, *Oeuvres grammaticales d’Abou’lfaraj dit Bar Hebraeus*, 2 vols, Paris, 1872), the *Apology of al-Kindī* (G. Tartar, *Dialogue islamo-chrétien sous le calife al-Ma’mūn* [813-834]. *Les épîtres d’al-Hāšimī et d’al-Kindī*, 2 vols, Strasbourg, 1977), the two poems by Avicenna (M.Z. al-Bābā [ed.], *Min mu’allafāt Ibn Sīnā al-ṭibbiyya*, Aleppo, 1984), and an ancient Arabic translation, perhaps by Daniel of Mardīn, of the *Discourse of wisdom* by Barhebraeus (E. Platti, “L’entretien de la sagesse” de Barhebraeus. La traduction arabe’, *MIDEO* 18 (1987) 153-94). A fifth edition, of the Syriac poem on the *Afflictions of exile* by Dāwūd al-Ḥimṣī (A. Butts, ‘The afflictions of exile. A Syriac *memrā* by David Puniqāyā’, *Le Muséon* 122 [2009] 53-80), is based on a manuscript copied in his workshop. Other manuscripts of different works copied by Yūḥannā are quite valuable, including a copy of a very ancient Arabic translation of Barhebraeus’ *Book of the dove*, which appears to be a *unicum*, and a copy of a 10th-century Arabic translation by Protospatharios Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā al-Anṭākī of the Greek homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus.

As a translator from Syriac to Arabic, Yūḥannā was mainly interested in the Syrian Orthodox Maphrian and polymath Barhebraeus (1225/6-86) and he translated five of his works: an epitome of his *History of times* (1641/2), the *Ethicon* (1645), the *Nomocanon* (1653), the *Laughable stories* (1656), and the *Book of rays* (1665). He also encouraged and no doubt supervised his son, deacon Sargīs, in the latter’s translation of Barhebraeus’ *Candelabrum of the sanctuary* (c. 1657). Among his other notable translations are the mid-6th-century *Commentary of Psalms* by Daniel of Ṣalaḥ from an incomplete Syriac exemplar, and the breviary of the Syrian church (both c. 1670). Yūḥannā’s translation of Barhebraeus’ *Laughable stories* has been edited.

In a letter he sent to Pope Innocent X in 1650, Yūḥannā explains that the Capuchin Father Brice de Rennes provided him with the first draft of his Arabic translation of the 12-volume *Annales ecclesiastici* of Caesar

Baronius, published between 1588 and 1607, and that at Brice's request he reworked it. Yūḥannā then proceeds respectfully to ask for the translation to be published, which indeed took place from 1653 onwards. This letter, recently found by Bernard Heyberger at the Propaganda archives, proves that Yūḥannā was employed in Damascus as a ghost-writer polishing the Arabic of the most important early Roman Arabic edition of the history of the Christian church.

Yūḥannā's production as an original author mainly consists of a collection of poems in Middle Arabic, which has not been greatly appreciated but is useful in dating certain episodes of his life, and also a few letters, most notably two apologetic epistles defending the miaphysite theology of the Syrian Orthodox Church against Catholicism, which was progressively establishing itself in Syria in the 17th century. Corresponding polemically with the Syrian Catholic Patriarch Andrew Akhījān, Yūḥannā was opposed to the creation of an independent Syrian Catholic church in Aleppo, which followed the arrival of Western missionaries and the diplomatic and financial support of France. Nevertheless, he maintained cordial relationships with the French missionary Michel Nau, as evidenced by his participation in the French enquiry regarding the mystery of transubstantiation in the Eucharist in the Oriental churches. An attestation he wrote regarding this subject was translated into French and published in Paris during his lifetime, in the *Perpétuité* of the Grand Arnould, attributed to 'GREGOIRE, nommé l'Evêque Jean le Syrien de Damas'. Many manuscripts from his workshop can be found today at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, probably sold through Michel Nau to the Marquis de Nointel, during the latter's embassy to Constantinople starting in 1670.

Yūḥannā was also an occasional poet. A suggestion by Joseph Nasrallah identifying him with a certain Yūḥannā ibn Ghubra'īl, author, before 1622, of a poetic reply to the poem of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya criticising Christianity, may be safely discarded. It may be noted, however, that his earliest dated poem (1645) concerns a certain Ibn Sa'īd who had 'abjured' (towards Islam?).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

- J. Fathi, *Kitāb al-aḥādīth al-muṭriba* (critical edition and French trans. of Yūḥannā ibn al-Ghurayr's translation of Barhebraeus' *Laughable stories*; forthcoming)

- J. Fathi, 'Yūḥannā ibn al-Ġurayr, passeur de la tradition syriaque et arabe chrétienne au XVII^e siècle', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 68 (2016) 81-209
- J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise Melchite du V^e au XX^e siècle*, Louvain, 1979-89, Damascus, 1996, part 4/1, p. 204
- M. Rajjī, 'Jean al-Chami al-Zorbabi ibn al-Ghoraîr, évêque syrien de Damas (XVII^e s.), traducteur-copiste', *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, Vatican City, 1964, vol. 3/2, 223-44
- M. Rajjī, 'Yūḥannā al-Shāmī al-Zurbābī al-mulaqqab bi-Ibn al-Ghurayr [wa-laysa Ibn al-Jarīr]', *Al-Mashriq* 48 (1954) 129-56
- M. Nau, *L'état présent de la religion mahométane*, Paris, 1684, vol. 1, pp. 39-41
- A. Arnauld [called le Grand Arnauld], *La perpétuité de la foy de l'Eglise catholique touchant l'eucharistie, deffendue contre le livre du sievr Clavde, ministre de Charenton*, Paris, 1673, vol. 3, 758-62

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Copies of the 'Apology' of al-Kindī

DATE 1655 and 1657

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Dating to around the year 830, the *Apology* of al-Kindī is the most significant Christian Arabic text criticising Islam in the classical period. It consists of a long epistle by a certain 'Abd al-Masīḥ ibn Ishāq al-Kindī responding to a short epistle by a certain 'Abdallāh ibn Ismā'īl al-Hāshimī, in which the latter invites the former to Islam. Some manuscripts include both letters, while others only contain al-Kindī's reply. A Latin translation of the text was produced in the year 1142 by the same team of scholars who worked on the first Latin translation of the Qur'an.

Yūḥannā made two copies of the *Apology*. The first, dated 1655 (MS Gotha 2884), includes al-Hāshimī's epistle (albeit in an abridged form), al-Kindī's epistle, and an appendix. The second, dated 1657 (MS Paris, BNF – Syr. 204), does not include al-Hāshimī's epistle, but only al-Kindī's, and the same appendix. It also contains other texts copied by a pupil, among them the debate between Theodore Abū Qurra and the Caliph al-Ma'mūn. These two copies stand out from other witnesses of the Arabic text for being copied from an exemplar dating to the year 1172/3, as is carefully noted by Yūḥannā. The text of al-Hāshimī's epistle, however, is derived from another exemplar containing a different recension, in

which the epistle is edited and abbreviated by a contemporary *chorepiscopus* of the Damascus church called Ṣalībī. This part of the text is therefore of reduced philological interest. The reason for this eclectic choice may be that the exemplar of the year 1172/3 only included al-Kindī's epistle and the appendix.

The second independent recension of *chorepiscopus* Ṣalībī's text, which includes his abridged version of al-Hāshimī's epistle, is derived from an undated copy brought from Cairo. This version is preserved in two Garshūnī manuscripts produced by the workshop in Damascus to which Yūḥannā belonged, and which he eventually headed. One of these, MS Vatican – Borgia Syr. 27, was copied in 1646 by the priest (later *chorepiscopus*) Mūsā ibn al-Kinn, a long-time collaborator of Ibn al-Ghurayr, and the second, MS Paris, BNF – Syr. 205, by four deacons, Ṣalībā, Yashū', Mūsā and Sarkīs. It has been suggested by the present author, for different reasons, that the Mūsā named here may be identified with Mūsā ibn al-Kinn, and Sarkīs with the son of Yūḥannā ibn al-Ghurayr, which may mean that the early dating of this manuscript, indicated as 1619, should be amended to the 1640s.

SIGNIFICANCE

While the Arabic text has been published several times, a critical edition is still wanting. The importance of Yūḥannā's copies, among the approximately 30 Arabic manuscripts indicated by Khalil Samir ('Version latine'), cannot be understated. The text of al-Kindī's epistle copied by Yūḥannā is considered to be the closest to the Latin recension of 1142. Furthermore, the appendix that follows at the end is not found in any of the other known Arabic copies, but is included in the Latin translation.

The several copies made of the *Apology* of al-Kindī by Yūḥannā and the Damascene circle, and the rendering of the text for the first time into Garshūnī script, attest to the significance of this work for Eastern Christians, who held it in high esteem not only for its defence of Christianity against Islamic criticism, but more so because of its highly unusual counter-offensive aimed at deconstructing Islam's core historiography and self-righteous image.

An indication of the way the work was seen may be derived from the descriptions of the Damascus manuscripts by C. Ciaramella and C. Farina, which indicate the presence of alternative, secondary rhyming titles in the beginning of two manuscripts. MS Gotha 2884, copied by Yūḥannā ibn al-Ghurayr, has in its opening: *sammaytuhu kitāb kashf al-ma'āyib min al-rajul al-'ālim al-ṣā'ib* (I called it: The book of the

exposure of defects by the learned and rightful man). This title is more composed than an earlier alternative title, which may have inspired it, given by *chorepiscopos* Ṣalībī at the opening of MS Paris, BNF – Syr. 205: *sammaytuhu [sic] hadhā al-kitāb al-sawāʿiq al-khāriqa allatī li-aṣlād al-kufr khāriqa al-kāshifa mā bi-yad al-ḥanafī faḥma wa-mā bi-yad al-masīhī durra ashaʿatha [sic] barīqa* (I called this book: The penetrating thunderbolts that burn the hardwoods of disbelief and expose [that] what is in the hand of the pagan is coal and what is in the hand of the Christian is a pearl [of] shining rays).

PUBLICATIONS

- MS Paris, BNF – Syr. 205 (written in 1619 according to the catalogue, but perhaps later in the 1640s)
- MS Vat – Borgia Syr. 27 (1646)
- MS Gotha, Research Library – ar. 2884 (1655)
- MS Paris, BNF – Syr. 204 (1657)

For editions and translations of the *Apology* see the entry on al-Kindī in *CMR* 1, pp. 585-94.

STUDIES

- Fathi, 'Yūḥannā Ibn al-Ġurayr, passeur de la tradition syriaque', section II.3.A.: Copies
- Kh. Samir, 'La version latine de l'Apologie d'al-Kindī (vers 830 ap. J.-C.) et son original arabe', in C. Aillet, M.P. Meléndez and Ph. Roisse (eds), *¿ Existe una identidad mozárabe? Historia, lengua y cultura de los cristianos de al-Andalus (siglos IX-XII)*, Madrid, 2008, 33-82, pp. 41-2
- F. González Muñoz, *Exposición y refutación del Islam. La versión latina de las epístolas de al-Hasimi y al-Kindi*, Coruña, 2005
- C. Ciaramella, *L'apologia di al-Kindī. Il concetto di Unità e Trinità di Dio*, Naples, 1980/1 (BA thesis, Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, with edition and trans. of the first part of the letter of al-Kindī)
- C. Farina, *L'apologia di al-Kindī. La questione del Corano*, Naples, 1980/1
- G. Tartar, *Dialogue islamo-chrétien sous le calife al-Ma'mūn (813-834). Les épîtres d'al-Hāšimī et d'al-Kindī*, 2 vols, Strasbourg, 1977
- Nau, *L'état présent de la religion mahométane*, vol. 1, p. 39

Arabic translation of the Syriac lament poem by Maphrian Ignatius Bar Qīqī

DATE 1659

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

The story of the Syrian Orthodox Maphrian Ignatius Bar Qīqī, who renounced Christianity for Islam in the year 1016, became known to Yūḥannā when he was preparing an Arabic epitome of Barhebraeus' Syriac history in 1641/2, while residing at the Syrian monastery of St Mark in Jerusalem.

According to Barhebraeus, Bar Qīqī, who was known as Archdeacon Mark of the church of Tagrīt, had a 40-year ecclesiastical career, being consecrated by Patriarch Athanasius of Ṣalḥ in 990/1 and consecrating 14 bishops over time. Accused repeatedly of adultery, and unwilling to change his ways, he left for Baghdad, where he converted to Islam. In his old age, he was reduced to asking for alms in the marketplace, while some Christians, having pity, would secretly admit him to their homes as a tutor to their children. It may be noted here that Elias of Nisibis, a contemporary of Bar Qīqī, adds some interesting details in his historical *unicum* which are not mentioned by Barhebraeus, including that Ignatius converted in the residence of the caliph in Baghdad, called himself Abū Muslim, and took several women. These texts leave the impression that the conversion was not due to genuine belief, but to the pursuit of material and sensual pleasure.

Towards the end of his life, Bar Qīqī wrote a long lament poem in Syriac, which, according to Patriarch Barṣaum, 'moves stone', attributing his actions to the devil. His return to Christianity may be assumed to have been clandestine, in order to avoid the death penalty associated with apostasy in Islam. The lament, comprising 164 lines, begins with the line, 'Through his cunning, Satan held a feast for wickedness'.

Having found Bar Qīqī's Syriac lament, Yūḥannā translated it into Middle Arabic poetry in January 1659. His translation, which is still unedited, survives in at least two manuscripts, a compendium copied by his student 'Abd al-Azal in 1668, and Ibn Ghurayr's undated autograph poetic collection, probably assembled after 1670.

SIGNIFICANCE

Beyond literary considerations, there may have been a practical reason in the choice made by Yūḥannā to translate a poem on the theme of

apostasy leading to sorrow and remorse. He must have wanted the text to be more widely read, since, for the purpose of simple preservation, it would have been sufficient to copy it in its original Syriac. The translation not only brought back to life a touching medieval poem from the Syriac heritage, relating to a tale of human fall and repentance, but also served Yūḥannā in admonishing his contemporaries to fight the threat of apostasy.

That some Christians in Syria were still converting to Islam in the 17th century may be ascertained through three representative examples, respectively of a sole individual, an entire village, and a whole region.

The story of a Syrian Orthodox Damascene convert is recorded in a Garshūnī note in a Syriac copy of the *Chronicle* of Barhebraeus, now at the Monastery of St Mark in Jerusalem (MS Jerusalem, Saint Mark – 211, fol. 232v). The note records the death, on 16 October 1670, of the reputable and pious Damascene master Naṣrallāh the jeweller, from the family of Ṣalīb, the son of the brother of a certain *chorepiscopus* Behnām (the writer of the said note). Naṣrallāh passed away, it is said, because 20 days earlier, his brother, ‘whose name should not be given’, died the ‘second death’ and ‘sold the jewel for coal’. Upon hearing the news concerning his wretched brother, who had become deprived of hope, Naṣrallah was taken with a fever for ten days and then passed away. The use of the same terminology given as a secondary title to the *Apology* of al-Kindī in 1646 leaves little doubt that the described event was an act of apostasy.

The collective conversion to Islam of a Melkite village of 500 souls in the Qalamūn Mountains during the time of Patriarch Macarius ibn al-Zaʿīm (1647–72) is recorded by Joseph Nasrallah on the basis of a letter by Bishop Euthymius Ṣayfī to the *Propaganda*. The impoverished inhabitants of ‘Ayn Tīnē had petitioned the patriarch several times to be granted permission to eat dairy products during Lent, for they could not afford the price of wheat. At his continuous refusal, the whole village converted, with the four priests becoming Muslim ‘*ulamā*’ and the village church being turned into a mosque (J. Nasrallah, ‘Voyageurs et pèlerins au Qalamoun’, *Bulletin d’Études Orientales* 10 (1943–4) 5–38, pp. 29–30).

Finally, the mass conversion to Islam of the Muḥallamiyya tribes in the south of Ṭur ‘Abdīn, formerly Christians following the Syrian Orthodox Church, has been estimated by I.A. Barṣaum to have occurred in about 1609 (or 1583), disputing earlier dating as legendary. Barṣaum notes that the Muḥallamī village of Kafr Sham produced a *maḡfrian* in the mid-1500s and had a monastery still running in 1583. The conversion

of the Muḥallamiyya involved several thousand closely-knit rural people in a wide geographical region, and is therefore of significant interest to historians as a late example of similar episodes that occurred in previous centuries. Unfortunately, no contemporary account of this conversion is currently known and the folk-stories collected three centuries later are unreliable (Barṣaum, *Maktabnūtho d'al athro d'Ṭur 'Abdīn*, with Arabic translation by Bulos Behnam, *Tārīkh Ṭur 'Abdīn*, Jounieh, 1964, pp. 167-9 in Syriac, and pp. 352-4 in Arabic). The different taxation registers starting in the 1500s for this region and preserved in the Ottoman archives, having meticulously recorded the names of villages and their levied inhabitants, represent a yet unexplored source which may potentially contribute to the establishment of a firm date for the Muḥallamī conversion.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Berlin, State Library – Or Oct 1425 [= Aßfalg 73], no. 60, pp. 780-800 (the Syriac version); no. 61, pp. 801-8 (Ibn al-Ghurayr's Middle Arabic trans.); see also nos 26-7, pp. 184-93 (copied 1668)

MS al-Sharfa [Charfet], Monastery of the Lady – collection Raḥmānī, 792, fols 220-8 (probably after 1670)

STUDIES

Fathi, 'Yūḥannā Ibn al-Ġurayr, passeur de la tradition syriaque', paragraph 3 of section II.3.B.: Traductions

I.A. Barṣaum, *Al-lu'lu' al-manthūr fī tārīkh al-'ulūm wa-l-ādāb al-suryāniyya*, Homs, 1943, pp. 365-6 (no. 189)

Jean Fathi

Nektarios of Jerusalem

Nektarios Patriarchēs Hierousalēm, Nektarios
Hierosolymōn, Nectarius Patriarcha Hierosolymitanus,
Nectarius Hierosolymitanus, Nektarios Sinaitēs, Pelopidēs
Nektarios, Polypodēs Nektarios

DATE OF BIRTH 1602
PLACE OF BIRTH Near Chandax, Crete
DATE OF DEATH 14 July 1676
PLACE OF DEATH Jerusalem

BIOGRAPHY

Nektarios of Jerusalem was born in Venetian Crete (Karamanidou, *Nektariou homiliarion*, pp. 21-5) under the secular name of Nikolaos Pelopidēs. He attended the School of the Metochion of the Monastery of St Catherine at Mt Sinai, situated in Chandax (present-day Heraklion, Crete). In 1620, he became a monk at St Catherine's Monastery, taking the name Nektarios. Over the following years, Nektarios was frequently sent on official journeys throughout the Ottoman Empire and the Danubian principalities to deal with the ecclesiastical and financial affairs of his monastery. In 1645, while on a journey to the Peloponnese, he went to Athens to attend courses by the eminent Aristotelian philosopher, Theophilos Korydaleus (d. 1646). Over the years, he became a good preacher and, according to the sources, was versed in Ottoman Turkish, Latin and Arabic, as well as his native Greek.

Early in 1661, Nektarios was elected archbishop and prior of the Monastery of St Catherine, but soon after, in April 1661, he was ordained Patriarch of Jerusalem. During the following years, he was constantly travelling, trying to promote the interests of his patriarchate in Jerusalem itself and in Constantinople. There, he was closely associated with the so-called Phanariots, the new Greek Orthodox bureaucratic elite of the Ottoman Empire. Nektarios cooperated with the grand dragoman Panagiotes Nikousios (d. 1673) on religious matters. Moreover, it was in the Constantinopolitan Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre, and under the spiritual authority of Nektarios, that Alexandros Mavrokordatos (the future grand dragoman of the Ottoman Porte, d. 1709) taught and

directed the newly-founded school, which was considered the continuation of the Patriarchal Academy. In 1669, Nektarios resigned in favour of Dositheos II and retreated to the Monastery of the Archangel Michael in Jerusalem. He died there seven years later.

Nektarios of Jerusalem participated actively in the ecclesiastical policy of the Eastern Church. During his pontificate, he was involved in the struggle between Patriarch Nikon of Moscow (r. 1652-66) and the Tsar Aleksei Michailovitch (r. 1645-76), as well as in the doctrinal controversies among Orthodox, Catholics and Calvinists. A confirmatory letter written by him was printed at the front of the first Orthodox confession of faith (*Orthodoxos homologia*), published in Amsterdam in 1666 and financed by Panagiotes Nikousios. Several of his letters have been published, together with approximately 45 sermons (Karamanidou, *Nektariou homiliarion*, pp. 143-300) related to his ecclesiastical activities.

After his resignation, Nektarios became famous as an important writer and controversial theologian of the Eastern Church. More specifically, within the context of the Eucharistic Controversy in France, he was asked to write two theological letters (1671-2). As a result, up until the mid-18th century, Catholics, Calvinists and Anglicans were publishing or refuting his treatises and epistles.

His main work was a refutation of the primacy of the pope entitled *Peri tēs archēs tou papa antirrēsis* ('Refutation of the pope's supremacy'), issued posthumously in Iași, Moldavia (1682), and then translated into Latin and published in London (1702). Handwritten translations into Russian and Arabic are also documented. Nevertheless, it was his *Epitomē tēs Hierokosmikēs historias* that made Nektarios of Jerusalem widely known among Greek-speaking readers.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Tou makariōtatou kai sophōtatou patriarchou tēs megalēs kai hagian poleōs Hierousalēm kyriou Nektariou pros tas proskomistheisas theseis para tōn en Hierosolymois phratorōn dia Petrou tou autōn maistoros peri tēs archēs tou papa antirrēsis, Iași, Romania, 1682 (short biography insert: of 4 fols, unpaginated); PID 1633424 (digitalised version available via *Biblioteca Digitală a Bucureștilor*; <http://www.digibuc.ro/cautare>)

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Epitomē tēs hierokosmikēs historias, eis pente meristheisa tmēmata, 'Compendium of sacred-secular history, divided into five parts'
Chronikos chronographos

DATE 1659-60

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek (vernacular)

DESCRIPTION

Nektarios wrote *Epitomē tēs hierokosmikēs historias* in 1659-60, while still a monk at St Catherine's Monastery. It seems that he had sent the book to Venice to be published even before he was elected to the patriarchal throne in Jerusalem (1661), but publication took place only one year after his death (Venice, 1677) (Manousakas, 'Epitomē', pp. 293-8). In this first edition, the work comes to 438 pages in quarto (pagination ends at 448, but this includes an error, as it skips from 329 to 340), together with 18 pages without pagination and a map. The full title is *Epitomē tēs hierokosmikēs historias, eis pente meristheisa tmēmata. Ōn, ta men tria prōta en syntomia dialamvanousin, ou monon ta tou hagiou theovadistou orous Sina, ou mēn alla kai ta tou ekeithen ōkodomēthentos theodoxastou monastēriou. Tōn d' hystērōn, to men periechei ta tōn vasilēōn pasēs gēs Aigypthou mechri Mōameth, kai tōn diadochōn autou heōs Soultan Selēm. To de peri tou autou Selēm, kai peri tēs machēs, hēn ēgeire kata Persōn; eti de peri tēs haireseōs tou Techēl, neou prophētou tōn Persōn, pragmateuetai. Hekaston tōn tmēmatōn echei ton autou pinaka. Proseti heteros tis pinax tinōn anankaiōn sēmeiōseōn hyparchei, pros periergeian kai ōpheleian tōn anagnōstōn. Syngrapheisa para tou makariōtatou prōēn Hierosolymōn Patriarchou, Nektariou tou Krētou* ('Compendium of sacred-secular history, divided into five parts. By which, the first three briefly narrate not only about the holy God-stepped Mount of Sinai, but also about the God-praised monastery founded there. From the last ones [parts], the content of the first concerns the kings of the whole land of Egypt up to Muḥammad and his successors until Sultan Selim. The other recounts about Selim himself and about the war he waged against the Persians;

moreover [it tells] about the heresy of Techēl [Ṣahkulu], the new prophet of the Persians. Each part has its own summary table. Additionally there is one more table containing some necessary notes for the sake of curiosity and utility of the readers. Written by the former patriarch of Jerusalem, the Most Reverend Nektarios the Cretan').

Of the total 438 pages, approximately 200 relate to Muslim history, but the main topic of the *Epitomē* is the history of Sinai and the description of the Monastery of St Catherine. According to Nektarios' preamble: 'The purpose of this history is to demonstrate the holiness of that holy place [Sinai]; and that it is first honoured by God, and secondly by people, as well as that God rescued it from many and great dangers until today' (1980 edition, p. 4). The demonstration of the sanctity of Sinai was inextricably linked by Nektarios to a specific, intra-ecclesiastical issue of the 17th century: the Sinaitic Question of whether the ecclesiastical province of Sinai – namely, the Monastery of St Catherine – should be included in the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Alexandria or the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (Anastasiou, 'Sinaitika').

Nektarios divided the book into two sections of nearly equal length, the first on sacred history and the second on secular. The first section comprises three parts and the latter two. The first part refers to Sinai as found in the Old Testament and to Moses (pp. 4-74), while the second expands on the early Christian history of Sinai and the founding of the Monastery of St Catherine by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I (r. 527-65), along with a detailed description of its holy sites and pilgrimages (pp. 75-186). The third part contains miraculous narratives connected with the monastery, information about important monks who lived there, an incomplete catalogue of the archbishops of Sinai, and an account of the Sinaitic Question during the 16th and 17th centuries (pp. 187-232). The second section concerns secular history. The fourth part gives a brief narration of the history of Egypt from ancient times to the eve of its Ottoman conquest (pp. 233-311), and the fifth refers to the last years of the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II (d. 1512) and the events of the first years of his heir, Sultan Selim I (r. 1512-21), up until the conquest of Egypt in 1517-18 (pp. 312-438).

The Muslim element in the *Epitomē* functions exclusively as part of Nektarios' main theme. He notes explicitly that 'the enumeration of the leaders of the Arabs after Muḥammad is not simple chronology, but we intend to demonstrate that the holy monastery, being guarded by God, was not affected by so many rebellions or devastated, unlike the others,

which had been ravaged in those places' (p. 3). The narrative focuses largely on Muslim leaders, who are perceived as instruments of Providence in favour (or retribution) of Eastern Christianity, and St Catherine's Monastery in particular.

Although the Muslim other can be identified throughout the *Epitomē*, relevant mentions are short and occasional up until the third part of the book. There are sporadic references to the Arab tribes of Sinai, who are accused of being troublemakers and thieves (pp. 6-7, 78-9, 434-8), and the so-called 'monastery slaves', who served the monastery despite the fact that they had converted to Islam (pp. 153-4, 161, 172, 438). In the third part of the *Epitomē*, Nektarios recounts two miracles that favoured the Sinai monastery and which involved Muslims. One of these miracles is associated with the oppressive policies of the Fāṭimid caliph Abū 'Alī Maṣṣūr al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (r. 985-1021) against the Christian population of Egypt (pp. 189-95), and the other with the consequences for the Sinai monks of the unrest that occurred in Egypt at the end of the 11th century (pp. 195-7). In addition, and by no means accidentally, this last part of the section on the sacred history finishes with the publication of a letter addressed to the Sinai monks by Gennadius Scholarius, Patriarch of Constantinople (d. around 1472), immediately after the fall of the city to the Ottomans (pp. 225-32). The letter contains many quotations concerning the proper attitudes and complete loyalty that Christian clerics and monks should observe towards authorities of a different, namely Muslim, religion.

The section on secular history could be characterised primarily as a political history of Egypt and the Middle East from the age of the Prophet Muḥammad until the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Selim I. In the fourth part, Nektarios tries to show that, despite the wars, unrest and disasters that followed the expansion of Islam and annihilated the Orthodox Christian communities in the region, the monastery managed to survive thanks to its sanctity and the will of Providence. In this context, the role attributed by Nektarios to the renowned *Ashtiname* (Covenant or Testament) of Muḥammad, a document supposedly granted to the monks of St Catherine's Monastery around 625-6, is crucial. In the *Epitomē*, the *Ashtiname* is translated into Greek vernacular and incorporated into a relatively detailed, but detached, biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (pp. 267-75). Nektarios argues that Divine Providence, through the *Ashtiname*, protected both the monastery and the Christian Church in general throughout the centuries of Muslim domination (pp. 271-4).

What follows in the *Epitomē*'s fourth part aims to prove the legitimacy of this assertion. The passages that cover the policy of Muḥammad's successors in Egypt towards the Christian communities are derived mainly from the world chronicle produced by the Coptic Arab al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd (1205-73) (Manousakas, 'Epitomē', pp. 312-8; Grossmann, 'Aravikes pēges', pp. 157-9).

Similarly, the fifth and last part of *Epitomē* represents a Greek translation of extracts from *Historie del suo tempo* (Italian translation of the Latin original, published in Florence, 1551-3) by Paolo Giovio (1483-1552) that focus on Ottoman history (Manousakas, 'Epitomē', pp. 319-24). Nektarios includes in his work accounts of the emergence of the Shīʿite Safavid dynasty in Persia, in conjunction with the Qizilbāsh movement in eastern Asia Minor, and their battles against Bayezid II (pp. 312-26). The book further deals with the wars of succession among Bayezid II and his sons (pp. 326-60), the new battles of Sultan Selim I against the Safavids (pp. 360-73) and the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 1517-18 (pp. 373-431). The purpose of the fifth part of the *Epitomē* can be understood by considering the key role that Nektarios assigned to Selim I within his general historical-theological explanatory scheme. According to this, Selim was the first Ottoman sultan to renew and enhance the privileges granted to the Sinai monks by the *Ashtiname* of Muḥammad. Moreover, the Ottoman conquest of Egypt brought the region back under the rule of Constantinople, ending the troubles for St Catherine's Monastery (pp. 3-4, 233-4, 311, 432-4).

In general, the *Epitomē* does not touch on the main aspects of Muslim theology and spirituality. As far as the theological works of Nektarios are concerned, they do not contain anything controversial about Islam either. Furthermore, the numerous references to persecutions of Christians and conversions to Islam are fairly neutral. Nektarios is extremely careful not to provoke the Ottoman authorities, and consequently avoids any discussion of matters concerning the official Muslim faith. However, he is not so cautious when he writes about Muslim groups that diverge from Ottoman Sunnī Islam. Twice in the *Epitomē* there are mentions of the Druzes, about whom Nektarios chooses to quote the critical remarks made by the Arab historian al-Makīn, to the effect that the Druze faith is a 'heresy' and 'apostasy' in respect to Muḥammad's faith, while the Druze central figure, the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim, is described as a sorcerer and a mentally deranged and brutal man (pp. 189-93, 298-300). Similarly, Nektarios translates the entire passage of Giovio's *Historie* regarding the

emergence of Safavid Shī'ism in Persia and Anatolia, along with the trouble it caused the Ottomans. Even if the founder of the Safavid dynasty, Ismā'īl I (r. 1501-24), his father, Shaykh Haydar (r. 1460-88), and one of the leaders of the Qizilbāsh Şahkulu rebellion (1511) named 'Techēl' are presented quite positively (pp. 313-17), their Shī'a faith is explicitly defined as 'heresy' (p. 318). In conclusion, Nektarios does not hesitate to reproduce narratives about the splits and rivalries within the Muslim religious community, but he does this with one rule in mind: that the narratives remain favourable towards Sunnī Islam, which the Ottomans had embraced.

SIGNIFICANCE

In summary, Nektarios of Jerusalem's *Epitomē* concerns Christian-Muslim relations primarily in respect to religious policy. The book discusses extensively – though implicitly – the issue of the existence of a Christian community within a Muslim state. Gennadius Scholarius was the first to raise and respond to this issue on the part of the Greek Orthodox Church, proposing a historical-theological scheme that justified and legitimised the Ottoman conquest through Divine Providence, according to which God was punishing the Byzantine Christians for their sins. Nektarios not only explicitly quotes Gennadius' assertions but takes the argument even further, reinforcing it by adding to Christian Providence the Muslim *Ashtiname* of Muḥammad. The *Epitomē* displays a fertile combination of the age-old survival strategies of St Catherine's Monastery with the existing ideology of the Great Church in Constantinople in the 17th century. In his view, the protection and privileges granted by the *Ashtiname* of Muḥammad, reaffirmed and enriched by Sultan Selim I after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt, had consolidated a convenient *modus vivendi* for the Greek Orthodox community as a whole under Islamic rule in the Ottoman Empire. Hence, it is by no means surprising that the very first edition of the *Ashtiname* is a Greek translation of it, inserted by Nektarios into his work (Manousakas, 'Epitomē', pp. 312-3).

In addition to this, Nektarios seems to be interested in and well-informed about the internal theological differentiations and religious schisms within Islam, although most of the relevant information is derived from his sources. Adding a short personal conclusion in Giovio's account, he emphasises that 'this is the difference between Persian Turks and Ottoman Turks, that the former have Ali as a teacher, while the latter have Umar' (p. 314). The generic term used in the *Epitomē* to designate the Muslims in general is *Tourkoi* (Turks). However, Nektarios also

often employs the religious designation *Ismaēlitai* (Ishmaelites) for the Fāṭimids of Egypt or the ethnic definition *Persai* (Persians) for the Safavids of Iran.

Although extensive extracts from the *Epitomē* were incorporated into the later *Perigraphē tou Sina*, a popular description of Sinai (seven editions between 1710 and 1887; Manousakas, 'Perigraphē tou Sina', pp. 29-43), these sections did not refer to Christian-Muslim relations. However, the *Epitomē* became a very popular book among the Greek-speaking readership of the 17th and 18th centuries, and the beginning of the 19th century, as it was republished five times before 1805. Apart from its use of the Greek vernacular, it seems that this publishing success was also due to its sacred section. Readers received the book primarily as an account of the history of Sinai and its monastery and of pilgrims who travelled there, regarding *Epitomē* as part of the popular category of pilgrimage books (Manousakas, 'Perigraphē tou Sina', p. 38-9). Thus, interest in the book primarily focused on St Catherine's monastery rather than on the broader field of Christian-Muslim relations in the Ottoman era.

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Nuh ibn Mustafa

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown; presumably late 16 th –early 17 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Amasya, Anatolia
DATE OF DEATH	1660
PLACE OF DEATH	Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Nuh ibn Mustafa, also known as Nuh Efendi or Vecdî, was an Ottoman scholar, born in Amasya. The exact year of his birth is unknown. He is also identified as *Rumî*, *Konevî* and *Misrî* in reference to the places he resided; *Hanefî* and *Halvetî* indicating his religious affiliations; and *Müftî*, *Fakîh* and *Hâfîz* showing his various academic competencies.

Nuh ibn Mustafa received his education in Amasya, Istanbul and Egypt. He studied Hadith and Islamic jurisprudence and was initiated into the Khalwatiyya order. He served as a mufti in Konya for a period of time. When his fellow countryman Amasyalı Ömer Pasha was appointed governor of Egypt, he accompanied him there. He spent the rest of his life in Egypt, contributing to scholarship and authoring works, until his death in Cairo in 1660.

Nuh ibn Mustafa was a prolific scholar who wrote over 50 works in various fields of Islamic sciences, especially jurisprudence, legal theory, *kalām* and mysticism (for a list of his works, see Türker, 'Nûh b. Mustafa'). It is claimed that he issued a fatwa on the necessity of fighting the Safavids following the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV's conquest of Baghdad in 1638.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-fawā'id al-muhimma fī bayān ishtirāṭ al-tabarrī fī Islām ahl al-dhimma, 'Important notes explaining the requirement on client people for a renunciation [when converting] to Islam'

DATE Mid-17th century; between 1630 and 1660

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This treatise, which covers folios 80-93 in the undated MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library – Hacı Beşir Ağa 652, addresses a debate on whether it is sufficient for a Christian converting to Islam to recite the *shahāda*, 'the testimony of faith' ('I testify that there is no god but God and I testify that Muḥammad is the messenger of God') or whether the convert also needs to announce his or her renunciation of their original faith (*tabarrī*). As Nuh ibn Mustafa writes, his contemporaries proposed three differing views. One group of scholars held that new converts could not be considered true Muslims until they had declared their renunciation of all other faiths; other scholars said there was no need for such renunciation and that the pronouncement of the *shahāda* was sufficient to consider converts Muslims; a third group abstained from passing judgment on the matter. Nuh ibn Mustafa was asked for his opinion on the debate, and this treatise is his response.

In the introduction to the treatise, Nuh ibn Mustafa states that the opinion requiring converts to make a renunciation (*tabarrī*) is an accurate, well-known and favoured opinion. Moreover, when outlining the details of the debate, he regards the viewpoint that does not require such a declaration as wrong. The context for this debate was the conversion to Islam of Cairene Christians, and the opinion in *Al-fatāwā al-sirājiyya* by the Ḥanafī jurist Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar (d. 1426), who lived in Cairo approximately two and a half centuries before Nuh ibn Mustafa, constitutes the focus of the debate in this work. Nuh ibn Mustafa also includes relevant information found in *Al-baḥr al-rā'iq* written by another Ḥanafī scholar in Egypt, Ibn Nujaym Zayn al-Dīn ibn Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī (d. 1563) (Nuh ibn Mustafa, *Al-fawā'id al-muhimma*, MS Hacı Beşir Ağa 652, fols 88r-88v [references that follow are to this MS]; see also Ibn Nujaym, *Al-baḥr al-rā'iq sharḥ Kanz al-daqa'iq*, Beirut [s.d.], vol. 5, pp. 80-1). Ibn Nujaym argues that the famous Ḥanafī scholar Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Shaybānī

(d. 805) considered renunciation of one's original faith to be necessary only for the *dhimmī* communities living in Iraq (Ibn Nujaym, *Al-baḥr*, vol. 5, p. 81), thus concluding that for the *ahl al-kitāb* living in Cairo it was sufficient to simply recite the *shahāda*.

In contrast, Nuh ibn Mustafa argues that the opinion that holds the utterance of *shahāda* as sufficient proof for conversion to Islam contradicts the widely-accepted opinion in the Ḥanafī legal tradition, and that to discuss the issue with respect to regional differences is incorrect, for there is no difference between Christians living in Iraq and those living in Egypt. In fact, the Christians in Egypt largely accept the first statement in the *shahāda*, and with respect to the second one they add, 'He is your Prophet, not ours', thus, in a way confirming the prophethood of Muḥammad. Nuh ibn Mustafa further notes that such words could be heard there even during his time. He concludes that Ibn Nujaym is in contradiction with the information provided here and in other sections of his work, and that he should have criticised this weak opinion.

Nuh ibn Mustafa supports the categorisation of people on the basis of their faith, using expansive references from classical Ḥanafī sources. He quotes from the Ḥanafī legal scholar 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Kāsānī's (d. 1191) *Badā'ī' al-ṣanā'i'*, which says:

It is ruled that materialists who deny the existence of the Creator [the Dahri's]; those who deny His Names [the Mu'aṭṭila]; the idolators who accept the Creator but deny his oneness (*tawḥīd*) [the Wathaniyya] and the Zoroastrians [the Majūsis] become Muslim upon saying '*Lā ilāha illā llāh*' ['There is no deity but God'], because these people are fundamentally against the declaration of the *shahāda*. A group of philosophers who accept the Creator and his oneness but deny prophethood are not considered to have become Muslim upon saying '*Lā ilāha illa llāh*', for they already accept this statement but reject prophethood. But if they also say, '*Ashhadu anna Muḥammadan rasūl Allāh*', they are considered to have become Muslim. As for Jews and Christians who accept the Creator and his oneness, and also prophethood, but deny Muḥammad's prophethood, if they recite the two statements of the *shahāda*, '*Lā ilāha illa llāh*, *Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*', they are not considered to have become Muslim until they renounce their original faith, because, even if they accept the prophethood of Muḥammad, they claim he was sent only to Arabs. (Nuh ibn Mustafa, *Al-fawā'id*, fols 94r-94v; 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Kāsānī, *Badā'ī' al-ṣanā'i' fī tartīb al-sharā'i'*, Beirut, 1986, vol. 7, pp. 102-3)

According to Nuh ibn Mustafa, some Jews and Christians accept the prophethood of Muḥammad: one group of them hold that Muḥammad

was sent to the Arabs only, while another group believe that there is a prophet called Muḥammad but he is yet to come in the future. Nuh ibn Mustafa is of the opinion that the renunciation ruling is valid for Jews and Christians living in a Muslim society. As for Jews and Christians living in the realm of *dār al-ḥarb*, the utterance of the two *shahādas* is sufficient for them to be considered Muslim.

Nuh ibn Mustafa also examines the opinions of Ḥanafī-Māturīdī scholars who assert that one can convert to Islam not simply through declarations, but also through actions. Should we consider Muslim a person who performs *ṣalāt*, Islam's foundational form of worship? He responds as follows: 'If an infidel prays *ṣalāt* in a Muslim congregation, the agreement is that he be considered Muslim, for this kind of worship is exclusive to the *umma* of Islam. There is a difference of opinion regarding solitary prayer; the preference being that this would not constitute proof of being Muslim, because solitary prayer is part of other scriptures too' (Nuh ibn Mustafa, *Al-fawā'id*, fols 98r-98v).

Nuh ibn Mustafa also states that reciting the call to prayer (*adhān*) without performing *ṣalāt* does not indicate one's conversion to Islam. To recite the call to prayer at the time of the prayer or at any other time, in a small or large mosque, cannot be considered sufficient proof of someone's being Muslim. However, if someone serves as a caller to prayer (*mu'adhdhin*) at a congregational mosque (*al-masjid al-jāmi'*) and his being a caller to prayer is public knowledge, then this is valid proof for considering him Muslim. Nuh ibn Mustafa then concludes with the following statement: 'A person's adoption of the signs/symbols of Islamic faith proves that they have left their religion and joined the Muslim community. Thus he becomes a Muslim not by word, but by action' (Nuh ibn Mustafa, *Al-fawā'id*, fol. 98v).

SIGNIFICANCE

Al-fawā'id al-muhimma is first and foremost a legal text on social status and identity. After all, social status in the pre-modern period was primarily determined by faith. One's status provided certain advantages and brought responsibilities to the individual. As it appears, the discussion centred on how the governing authorities would determine religious and thus, social status, together with the appropriate relevant rights and responsibilities. For instance, it was important for the government to establish who was Jewish and Christian in order to levy the poll-tax on them, as well as exempt them from conscription. Additionally, social identity mattered for the calculation of land tax duties. Determining who

were Jews and Christians in Cairo was important not only to ensure that they carried out their obligations but also to guarantee that they could justly exercise their rights. As is clearly stated in the work, this discussion is relevant for the non-Muslim *dhimmīs* living in a Muslim society. The requirement of *tabarrī* (renunciation) did not concern non-Muslims in a non-Muslim society, because they could convert simply by reciting the *shahāda*.

The fact that the work provides solutions based on Ḥanafī legal reasoning, which was being practised at the time, rather than with direct recourse to the Qurʾan and Hadith demonstrates that the matter was related to official authority. In *Al-fawā'id al-muhimma*, relations between Muslims and non-Muslims are examined within the context of public law, as it concerns non-Muslims living under Muslim rule. The work further serves as a valuable source for the history of Jewish and Christian communities living in Muslim lands in that it provides evidence that at least some of them did not mind expressing the commonalities between their faith and Islam. Their recognition of Muḥammad as a prophet, albeit one sent to Arabs exclusively, is an illustration of this co-existence.

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Tercüme-i Milel ve nihal, ‘Translation of Al-milal wa-l-niḥal’

DATE Mid-17th century; between 1630 and 1660

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

Nuh ibn Mustafa reports that he translated al-Shahrastānī’s (d. 1153) *Kitāb al-milal wa-l-niḥal* (‘Book of religions and sects’) into Ottoman Turkish on the recommendation of his teacher, whom he calls Yusuf Efendi Hazretleri, an important scholar in Egypt. He explicitly states that he took the initiative to change some sections of the original, sometimes by providing additional information and sometimes by shortening certain sections (Nuh ibn Mustafa, *Tercüme-i Milel ve nihal*, 1862, p. 4 [references that follow are to this edition]), and it appears that he has generally abridged this work. While he translates almost entirely the sections on Islamic sects and certain theological discussions in the first half of the work, he mostly summarises or leaves untranslated the section on philosophers in the second half. The work takes up 163 folios in the 1665 MS Istanbul, Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter Araştırma Kütüphanesi – Turkish Manuscripts 854.

Nuh ibn Mustafa appends long passages (p. 137) to the introduction of the chapter on non-Muslims, including Jews and Christians, which are not found in al-Shahrastānī’s original. Here Nuh ibn Mustafa elaborates on particular matters related to the People of the Book and the relationship between Judaism and Christianity, and he proceeds to write about the rational and scriptural proofs supporting the prophethood of Muḥammad.

After listing proofs of different kinds, he writes that Muḥammad is mentioned in the scriptures and that Muslim scholars are aware of this. He cites relevant passages from the Torah and the Gospel and interprets them. He then discusses the number of prophets and messengers and how religious laws may abrogate one another (*nesḥ*). He then concludes this appended section with a quotation from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s

(d. 1210) *Al-maṭālib al-‘āliya* regarding the wisdom behind *hikmet-i neshi şerâi’* or abrogation of religious laws (pp. 137-45).

In his translation of the section on Jews, Nuh ibn Mustafa mentions six main Jewish groups: the *Īsawīyya*, *Anāniyya* (*Karaim*), *Maghāriba*, *Burghāniyya*, *Mushkāniyya* and *Sāmira*, and provides a summary of the section. But he then includes some passages on the *Maghāriba* that are not found in al-Shahrastānī’s original. Apparently, according to this sect, God chose an angel to communicate with the people, and he never addressed any human being directly. Thus, they attribute all the instances involving talking to and seeing God in the Torah and other scriptures to talking to and seeing this angel. Nuh ibn Mustafa also includes additional information on Christian sects that is not in the original. For instance, he provides an analysis of the qur’anic verses on Jesus. In his translation of the section on the three major Christian sects, after mentioning the *Malkāniyya*, he quotes from al-Bayḍāwī’s (d. 1286) Qur’an commentary, *Anwār al-tanzīl*, while he partially summarises the sections on the other two sects, the *Nasṭūriyya* and the *Ya‘qūbiyya* (pp. 146-55).

In these ways, Nuh ibn Mustafa expansively adds to the sections on Jews and Christians, the religious communities that Muslims interacted with in Egypt, while he only summarises the sections on other faiths and ideologies (presumably because he did not consider them relevant for his audience). This affirms that he was driven by practical motives when translating the work (pp. 155-74).

SIGNIFICANCE

Nuh ibn Mustafa must have translated al-Shahrastānī’s *Al-milal wa-l-niḥal* to meet a practical need in his time. As he explains, he undertook the work on the recommendation of his teacher, so the translation was presumably intended to provide Ottoman officials who issued verdicts on non-Muslims with information about the religious communities living in their society. This is clearly indicated by the fact that he expanded the sections on Jews and Christians, while he simply summarised other sections on faiths that were not present in Egypt during his time.

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Murat Şimşek

Joseph Besson and the Jesuit mission to Syria

Joseph Besson

DATE OF BIRTH Around 1607
PLACE OF BIRTH Carpentras, France
DATE OF DEATH 1691
PLACE OF DEATH Aleppo

BIOGRAPHY

The Jesuit missionaries to Syria were latecomers to the apostolic ventures of the various orders officially recognised by the papacy. Unlike the missions to the New World or even to East Asia, the missions to Syria encountered extreme competition from well-established Catholic orders and non-Catholic indigenous Christians acting within in a highly sophisticated and complex Muslim society. These were the same challenges that confronted Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Society of Jesus, who made his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1523 only to find that his agenda for saving souls was met with significant resistance by the Franciscans, who were the recognised guardians of the Christian holy places. He was forced to return to Europe.

This notwithstanding, the Jesuit leadership continued to pursue contacts with the Christian population of Syria, hoping to bring more souls into the Catholic fold and to support those groups already professing the supremacy of Rome. In 1582 and 1596, delegations led by the Jesuits Jean-Baptist Eliano and Jerome Dandini, respectively, were sent with the intention of establishing missions or intervening in the affairs of the indigenous Christians. For these provisional visits, the Jesuits lacked monarchical or local (Syrian) support to intercede with the Ottoman authorities and help them establish a permanent mission. In 1621, they again attempted to establish a mission to Nazareth, led by Jerome Queyrot, but were swiftly rebuffed by the recently 'restored' Franciscans. It was not until 1625 that Louis XIII was persuaded to intervene diplomatically on the Jesuits' behalf, which led to the establishment of the first permanent Jesuit mission in Aleppo in 1627.

Most of the information available about the missions to Syria comes from the mission superiors in their hundreds of letters, written mainly in French and Latin (with a handful in Italian), their annual reports,

of which 11 have survived, and their books and manuscripts. After the 1660s, the letters and reports are fragmentary, with limited letters and no extant annual reports. Nearly all of the surviving Jesuit letters were addressed to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, and consist of brief updates and requests, usually expressed in fewer than 2,000 words. The annual reports, called *Relations*, were written by the mission superiors, and consisted of formalised accounts of the activities and accomplishments of the mission. They were addressed to the provincial leaders of the Province of Lyon and, later, the Province of France (Paris). Typically, these lengthy reports (each consisting of more than 15,000 words) were circulated among teachers and students at the various Jesuit institutions in Europe. These more public audiences had a taste for the heroic and marvellous and the narrative of these reports consequently favoured embellishment and inclined to the theatrical.

Biographical information on the Syria missionaries is sparse and does not provide much insight into their personal and professional lives prior to their departure for the eastern Mediterranean. Joseph Besson was born in Carpentras, France, in around 1607, and entered the Jesuit novitiate in 1628. He served as the rector at the College of Nîmes from around 1645 until the time of his departure for Syria. He was nearly 52 years old when he arrived in Sidon on 5 April 1659, and he then spent 32 years in Syria, serving as mission superior during his first six years, and dying in his eighties, during an outbreak of plague in Aleppo in 1691. It is certain that, prior to his departure for Syria, Besson intended to write a history of the mission to Syria and to promote its unique place among all the Church's missions. Within a year of his arrival, Besson wrote and published *La Syrie sainte*.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

La Syrie Sainte où La Mission de Jésus et des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus en Syrie, 'Holy Syria or the mission of Jesus and the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in Syria'

DATE 1660

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

During the course of the 17th century, Jesuit authors published seven books that provide rich insight into their mentality and self-perception. These are: Francis Rigordi, *Peregrinationes apostolicae R. P. Francisci*

*Rigordi ... qui XII novembris anni M.DC.XLIII Massilia solvens, per mare Mediterraneum, per Syriam, Arabiam desertam, Mesopotamiam, Chaldaeam, Persidem, sinum Persicum et mare Indicum Goam pervenit 18 martii anni 1646. Inde egressus 14 septembris ejusdem anni ... rediit Massiliam ... 4 junii anni 1649 (1652); Joseph Besson, *La Syrie sainte où la mission de Jésus et des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus en Syrie* (1660); Michel Nau, *Le voyage de Galilée* (1670), *Voyage nouveau de la Terre-Sainte, enrichi de plusieurs remarques particulières qui servent à l'intelligence de la Sainte Ecriture* (1679), *Ecclesiae Romanae Graecaeque vera effigies & consensus ex vris tum recentibus tum antiquis monumtis: accessit religio Christiana contra Alcoranum defense* (1680), *Religio Christiana contra Alcoranum per Alcoranum pacifice defensa et probata* (1680), *L'état présent de la religion mahométane, contenant les choses les plus curieuses qui regardent Mahomet & l'établissement de sa secte, qui n'ont pas encore été imprimées, aed des conférences sur la religion chrétienne & sur l'alcoran, où la vérité de la religion chrétienne est défendue & prouvée contre l'alcoran par l'alcoran même* (1680).*

These publications are either descriptive pilgrimage narratives focusing on geography and biblical sites, anti-Orthodox polemics, or anti-Islam polemics; they consistently reveal the ethnographic backgrounds of their authors. They present an excellent opportunity for studying cross-cultural contact in the Ottoman Empire. Like most Europeans, the Jesuits brought with them to Syria centuries of anti-Islamic and anti-Turkish attitudes, stereotypes that were not radically overturned by their experience, but were questioned and eroded as the missionaries adapted to their new life, meeting challenges from both their fellow Europeans and their Muslim and non-Muslim hosts in their struggle to fulfil their apostolic venture. Unfortunately, the published works do not reflect any general interest on the part of the Jesuits in understanding and adapting to their host society, as is revealed in their letters. Moreover, the assertions made in their published works, in particular the negative portrayals of the indigenous populations, whether Jews, Christians or Muslims, mask the more detached perspectives expressed in their letters. Through their experiences and observations, their letters, reports and books reveal the dialectical nature of cultural adaptation and their interactions and impressions of Muslims and non-Muslims in this Arabic-speaking province of the Ottoman Empire. Many of the Jesuits demonstrated remarkable commitment to their work and an ability to adapt to a foreign environment, engaging with the many layers of culture in Syria. One of

the important Jesuit works that combines ethnography, travelogue, and polemic/apology is Joseph Besson's *La Syrie sainte où la mission de Jésus et des pères de la Compagnie de Jésus en Syrie*.

Joseph Besson's work, written in 1660, cleverly combines the attributes of travel literature, anti-Muslim tropes and Jesuit propaganda to synthesise an image of missionary heroism and Ottoman and Muslim cruelty. Almost 500 pages in length, it is an admixture of ethnography, propaganda and travelogue. It is divided into two parts, of which the first, 'L'establissement et le progrès des missions de la Compagnie de Jesus en Syrie' (232 pages), is an embellished explication of the history of the Jesuit missions in Syria up to the time of his arrival in the region, and the second, 'Le voyage des lieux saints sur les traces de la mission de Jesus-Christ' (259 pages), is a travelogue of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Many of the stories from the first part of the work, with slight variations of tone and in theatre, were derived from his predecessors' annual reports. The second part is infused with biblical stories in which Besson follows in the footsteps of Jesus, giving explanations and histories of Christian holy places in Jerusalem and the surrounding area, some of which are perhaps drawn from Francis Rigordi's *Peregrinationes apostolicae R. P. Francisci Rigordi* (1652), who was on mission to Syria from 1643 to 1648. This latter part is an important complement to the history of the mission that was articulated in the first part, making a firm connection between the plight of Jesus and the suffering of the Jesuit missionaries.

Besson's ethnography is simplistic, reiterating established tropes and misconceptions of the indigenous population (Jewish, Christian and Muslim). He wrote to create an emotional and historical bond between the land, the Jesuits and the indigenous Christians, particularly emphasising the patriarchal role of European monarchs in retaking 'Holy Syria' and returning it to Catholic control through their support of the missions (and not by the sword). His fellow missionaries are depicted in heroic tones as they worked 'where one finds little more than chains and crosses' (Besson, *La Syrie sainte*, part 1, p. 67). According to Besson, the Catholics of Syria lived in despair under the oppression of 'the Turk, the Arab, the Moor, the Jew, the Schismatic, [and] the Heretic' (*La Syrie sainte*, part 1, p. 9). Many examples of persecutions and oppressions are scattered throughout the work, serving as constant reminders of the need for continued support for the mission. Besson gives the impression of universal Ottoman tyranny, reinforcing the dichotomy between Christian (Catholic) virtue and Muslim impiety. However, his characterisation of the

mission and of Muslims differs from the relatively detached and perhaps objective depictions of his peers found in their private correspondence. Besson maintained the language and methods of propaganda, which cast the image of intrepid missionaries working in a repressive and imperious empire governed by a false religious law.

SIGNIFICANCE

Besson's work should be seen in the light of the demise of medieval mentalities. His methods in articulating the experiences of his fellow missionaries do not present a break with the past, but a reinforcement of it. *La Syrie sainte* demonstrates his proclivity for exaggeration and aggrandisement and his adherence to the literary tropes current in European writing on the cultures of south-west Asia. This book provides an excellent opportunity for assessing and analysing the degree of misrepresentation of Muslims and non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire that was implicitly imposed on the author by the very nature of a 17th-century work of travelogue, ethnography and propaganda.

Besson's work is also one of the few works in which the author's testimony can be weighed against the original sources that form the basis for his narrative. *La Syrie sainte* also provides insight into the class structures and relative position of non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire, reinforcing the emerging historical portrait of a cosmopolitan domain in which sultans and officials exercised balance and tolerance towards non-Muslim minorities in the Arabic-speaking provinces.

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Mazin Tadros

Patmut'iwn nor vkayin K'ristosi srboyn Gabriēl

'History of the neomartyr St Gabriēl'

vkayabanut'iwn Gabriēli, 'Martyrology of Gabriēl'

DATE After 1662

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Patmut'iwn nor vkayin K'ristosi srboyn Gabriēl is a short anonymous work, preserved in Yerevan at the Maštoc' Matenadaran Institute of Manuscripts – M1173, fols 116v-118r. It records the martyrdom of Gabriēl.

The protagonist was born to Armenian Christian parents in the district of Galata, across the Golden Horn from Constantinople. As a young man he had been enlisted in the Janissaries and had served with them on various Ottoman campaigns. Subsequently, he left for Western Europe, where he spent 12 years in travel and pilgrimage, after which he decided to return home with the intention of confessing his Christian faith openly in the location where he had been compelled to deny it.

On the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, Gabriēl visited a cemetery, according to Armenian custom, wearing distinctive Christian headgear. Next day, after confession and holy communion, he went to the market in the same headgear, which provoked questions among Muslims present who recalled him being a Janissary.

When he made a public confession of his faith, he was brought before the *qāḍī* who clarified the charge and queried why he now showed disrespect for the laws of Muḥammad and rejected the honour he had once possessed. Retorting that those laws lead to perdition and that honour is transitory, he was struck on the mouth on the *qāḍī*'s order and taken before the pasha. From Gabriēl's hyperbolic confession, the pasha inferred he was insane and remanded him to jail overnight so that he could come to his senses. Meanwhile, his brave response the next day that it was the pasha and Muḥammad who were mad, not him, immediately provoked the pasha to deliver the death sentence by hanging. This was swiftly carried out.

Although his body was left swinging from the gallows for two days, the radiance on Gabriēl's face did not diminish in token of his innocence. Thereafter, a commotion among the Christians prompted the authorities

to take the corpse down from the scaffold and cast it into the sea, presumably to forestall their collecting the relics for veneration.

The final colophon confirms that the martyrdom occurred on Wednesday, 17 September 1662, and that the author was an eyewitness of the events. The work concludes by stating that in spirit the martyr now resides with the angels, as befits his name.

SIGNIFICANCE

Although Gabriël was born and brought up in Galata, it is significant that his parents had moved from the village of Xurnawil in the sanjak of Divriği (Armenian, Tiwrik) that possessed a sizeable Armenian population. Their economic migration illustrates a wider trend towards increased urbanisation in the 17th century as a result of the rises in taxation, problems in gaining credit, and the destabilisation of Anatolia due to the Celali revolts.

Similarly, the impact of the European military revolution had an impact on the Ottoman army, leading to the expansion of the Janissary corps by means of the *devşirme*. Consequently, since Gabriël's brother had already enlisted, during one of his visits he was seized, forcibly circumcised, and admitted to his brother's unit. In this capacity, the narrative indicates he was deployed to Crete several times in the course of the Cretan War (1645-69), in the early campaigns of which Ottoman troops captured most of the island, leaving Venice in sole control of the capital Candia (Heraklion).

Unable finally to come to terms with his forced conversion, Gabriël is presented as devising the plan of deserting from the Ottoman military and devoting himself to wander over the next 12 years in an unsuccessful attempt to salve his guilty conscience by taking a vow of pilgrimage. The author records that he visited the shrines of St James in Compostella and of Peter and Paul in Rome. In this way, he parallels the trail of a number of Armenian pilgrims and travellers who from the 13th century onwards visited such shrines in increasing numbers (e.g. his contemporary Simëon Lehaç'i).

Despite its small compass, the work features a significant degree of intertextuality, incorporating the new martyr more fully within salvation history by illustrating how facets of his narrative resound with biblical and ecclesiastical overtones. Thus, the protagonist is strengthened by the Holy Spirit, just like Jesus (Luke 4:1), while at his tribunal the Muslims gnash their teeth at his unrepentant statements, like souls in Hades (Matthew 8:12; 13:42, 50; 25:30), in which he qualifies as earthly the status

he possessed as a Muslim in contrast to the 'eternal' glory he now reaffirms as a Christian (2 Corinthians 4:17; 2 Timothy 2:10). Similarly, like the 16th-century martyr Paron Loys, the effect of his appearance on the Christian community is portrayed by the image of a rose in winter.

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Peter Cowe

Vladislav Menčetić

Vladislav Menze, Mençe, Minčetić

DATE OF BIRTH 27 October 1617
PLACE OF BIRTH Dubrovnik (Republic of Ragusa)
DATE OF DEATH June 1666
PLACE OF DEATH Dubrovnik (Republic of Ragusa)

BIOGRAPHY

Vladislav Menčetić, a son of Jeronim Menčetić and Anica Gozze (Gočić, Gočetić), was from a Ragusan patrician family, and was educated in his home town. He was connected to the influential Gozze family first through his mother, and later through his second wife. His first wife came from the Benessa (Beneša, Benešić) family. He had four sons and three daughters.

In 1637, Menčetić became a member of the Great Council of the Ragusan Republic. He held various administrative and military offices and, in 1664, became rector of the republic.

Menčetić is the author of the panegyric poem *Trublja slovinska* ('The Slavic trumpet'), printed in Ancona in 1665, the only work of his to appear in print during his lifetime. He also left in manuscript form a comical poem, *Radonja*; the poem *Plač Radmilov* ('Radmilo's lament'), a free translation of an idyll from *I sospiri d'Ergasto* by Giambattista Marino; an epistolary poem, *Knjiga Marojice Kaboge* ('The epistle of Marojica Kaboga'), and four short lyrical poems. According to some sources, he also wrote a tragedy, *Justina Mučenica* ('Justina the Martyr') which is no longer extant.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Trublja slovinska, 'The Slavic trumpet'

DATE 1665

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

Trublja slovinska, in full, *Trublja slovinska u pohvalu prisvijetloga i priizvrznoga gosp. Petra bana Zrinskoga, Adrianske sirene spjevao, pjesan Vladislava Jera Minčetića vlastelina dubrovačkoga* is a 460-verse poem containing elements of ode and epic, dedicated to the Croatian viceroy (*Banus*), general and poet Petar Zrinski (1621-71). It was occasioned by Petar's epic *Adrianskoga mora sirena* ('The siren of the Adriatic Sea', Venice, 1660), which was in fact written by Petar's brother Nikola Zrinski as a free translation of the Hungarian work *Adriai tengernek Syrenaia* ('Siren of the Adriatic Sea', Vienna, 1650). The introductory and concluding parts of *Trublja slovinska* are laudatory. Its central part briefly recounts the Battle of Szigetvár (1566), which brought fame to Petar's great-grandfather, the Croatian Viceroy Nikola Šubić Zrinski (Hungarian: Zrínyi Miklós), for his heroic defence of the city. Even though he did not succeed in saving the city, Nikola inflicted great losses on the Ottoman army. The final part, in which Petar is hyperbolically celebrated as a poet and a warrior, a Slovenian Mars and Apollo, also voices the wish for great Christian victories over the Ottomans, to occur precisely under Petar's leadership.

While Ragusan literature of the 16th century rarely touched on battles between Europeans and Ottomans due to the republic's policy towards the Ottoman Empire, the 17th century saw a change in this attitude. As a member of the Dubrovnik nobility, which opposed Ottoman control

over Ragusa, Menčetić strongly believed that the War of Candia (1645-69) would offer the perfect opportunity to put an end to Ottoman domination. This political orientation is clearly reflected in *Trublja slovinska*, where Ottomans are first and foremost presented as enemies of religion and the destroyers of Christianity. Thus, the Croatian Viceroy Petar Zrinski and his ancestor Nikola Šubić Zrinski are celebrated as heroes who excelled in battles against the Ottomans. Under Menčetić's pen, Zrinski becomes a new Moses, who will prevail over the new Pharaoh, the Ottoman sultan, ultimately to conquer 'Tsarigrad' ('the city of the emperors', the Slavic name for Istanbul). Here, there are prophetic tones in the poet's voice as he pictures the Christian banner flying over the Ottoman capital, symbolising the 'eastern moon' being vanquished by 'the western sun'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Trublja slovinska represents the first instance of Ragusan literature written in Croatian where the idea of *antemurale Christianitatis* ('the bulwark of Christianity') is openly formulated and refers to the Croatian Banate, at that time under Habsburg administration: 'Italy would have long since / Sunk beneath the waves, / Had Croatian shores / Not broken the force of the Ottoman sea' (trans. R. Harris, *Dubrovnik. A history*, London, 2003).

While during the 16th century the Republic of Ragusa, as an Ottoman vassal, advocated a policy of non-interference in conflicts between the Europeans and Ottomans, *Trublja slovinska* marks a departure as the first Ragusan literary text to reflect a change of attitude towards the Ottomans. It evidences the predominance of a current among Ragusan patriots who desired more active participation in anti-Ottoman coalitions, and who displayed a greater inclination towards making the Croatian Banate a place of resistance against the Ottomans.

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Lahorka Plejić Poje

Macarius ibn al-Zaʿīm

Makāriyūs ibn al-Zaʿīm al-Ḥalabī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown; about 1600

PLACE OF BIRTH Aleppo

DATE OF DEATH 22 June 1672

PLACE OF DEATH Damascus

BIOGRAPHY

Macarius (Makāriyūs) ibn al-Zaʿīm was born around 1600 in Aleppo into a clerical family; his father and his grandfather were both priests in the Greek Orthodox Church of Antioch. Christened Yūḥannā, he received a basic education at the hands of his father. He followed the family tradition and became a priest. Before his ordination, he had married and had at least one child, the well-known Paul of Aleppo (Būlus al-Ḥalabī; b. 1627), who grew up to be his father's companion, closest confidant, collaborator, secretary and biographer. There is evidence that Macarius learned the art of weaving and worked in that profession alongside his clerical obligations until he became bishop.

The influence and promotion of Meletius (Malātiyūs) Karma (1572-1635), Greek Orthodox metropolitan of Aleppo from 1612 to 1634, was decisive for Macarius' intellectual and spiritual formation. Karma has to be regarded as the *spiritus rector* of a religious and literary renaissance in the Orthodox Church in the Syrian lands, of which Macarius became a leading protagonist. Macarius served as Karma's deacon and was ordained by him to the priesthood. It was through Karma that Macarius was introduced to the Greek language and literature with which Karma had become familiar during a period spent at the St Saba monastery in Palestine.

Macarius was chosen as bishop by the people of Aleppo in 1635, by which time his wife had died. In memory of his benefactor, Macarius adopted the episcopal name Meletius (Malātiyūs). It was during his metropolitanate that he began his own intellectual activities. These were directed at two spheres that became central to his literary production: hagiography and history. From material that had been sent to him 'from all regions [of the patriarchate of Antioch]', he compiled a book of the lives of the saints, and ordered the translation from Greek into Arabic

of *Nea synopsis diaphorōn historiōn*, a history of the Byzantine and early Ottoman Empires by Matthew Kigalas.

In 1647, Macarius became patriarch of Antioch, with his residence in Damascus. He found the patriarchate in a precarious financial situation that was further aggravated when a rise in the taxes levied on Christians led to a wave of apostasy, which he fought by spending the little money he had. Finally, overwhelmed by the burden of interest, he was forced to travel to 'the countries of the Christians' and seek help from the Orthodox rulers of the Romanian principalities and the Slavonic world. A long journey led him between 1652 and 1659 to Moldavia, Walachia, the Ukraine and Russia. He successfully obtained ample alms, and was able to resolve the financial crisis of the patriarchate after his return.

In 1661, Macarius moved his patriarchal residence to his home town of Aleppo, where he lived for the next three years. In order to win support for his community against Ottoman oppression, he maintained close contacts with Roman Catholic missionaries and the French consuls, and he corresponded with the Vatican and the king of France. He even sent a Catholic profession of faith to Rome, though it was not taken seriously, and when he was faced with new financial problems he had to abandon his overtures towards the West and turn again to the East. Invited to Moscow by the tsar, he left Aleppo in 1664.

Remembering the close relations the Patriarchate of Antioch had with the Church of Georgia, he chose to travel through the Caucasus, and included prolonged stays in Georgia (1664-6 and 1668-9) on his way to and from Moscow. In Moscow, he presided as special guest of the tsar over the condemnation of the Russian Patriarch Nikon, who had fallen out with the emperor. Richly rewarded with gifts, he set off back to Syria in mid-1668. The homeward journey brought grief with the death of his son Paul in 1669 and the loss of many of his belongings to the thievish khan of Shemakha and other avaricious local rulers.

On his return home, he adopted a tough Orthodox stance, treating the Catholic missionaries with obvious reserve, and composing a refutation of the 'heresy' of the Calvinists. He died in Damascus on 22 June 1672.

Most of Macarius' works are translations, mainly of contemporary Greek authors such as Agapios Landos and Dorotheos of Monemvasia. Typical of his own literary production are *collectanea*, samplers of diverse information often also derived from Greek sources. These were all the fruit of his travels, as the sojourns in Romania, Russia and Georgia provided him with a wealth of material as well as – often unintentionally –

ample time. It is in the field of historiography that Macarius made his most original contributions to Christian Arabic literature. With his numerous works on the history of his patriarchate and its places, saints and ecclesiastical leaders, he founded a new kind of church historiography in the patriarchate of Antioch. However, although the patriarchate had for more than a thousand years been more or less under direct Muslim rule, he does not make much mention of Christian-Muslim relations in these writings. It is in the two samplers, written during his second journey to Georgia and Russia, that he touches on the subject of Islam and provides a rare, if not unique, example of how Syrian Christians thought of the religion of their Muslim overlords and compatriots in early modern times.

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Secondary

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- H. Kilpatrick, 'Makāriyūs ibn al-Za'īm (ca. 1600-1672) and Būlus ibn al-Za'īm (1627-1669)', in J.E. Lowry and D.J. Stewart (eds), *Essays in Arabic literary biography 1350-1850*, Wiesbaden, 2009, 262-73
- Rossiiskaia Akademiia Nauk, Institut vseobshchei istorii, Tsentr istorii vostokhnokhristianskoi kultury, Tsentr 'Paleografiia, kodikologiia, diplomatika', Obshchestvo 'Aleppo-Moskva' (ed.), *Istoricheskie traditsii russkosiriskikh kulturnykh i dukhovnikh svyazei: missiia antiokhiiskogo patriarkha Makariia i dnevniki arkhidiakona Pavla Aleppskogo. K 350-letiiu poseshcheniia patriarkhom Makariem Antiokhiiskim i arkhidiakonom Pavlom Aleppskim Moskvu. Chetvertie chteniia pamiati professor Nikolaia Fedorovicha Kaptereva. Mezhdunarodnaia nauchnaia konferentsiia 9-10 noiabria 2006 g. Materialy*, Moscow, 2006
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- C.-M. Walbiner, 'Die Mitteilungen des griechisch-orthodoxen Patriarchen Makarius ibn az-Zaʿīm von Antiochia (1647-1672) über Georgien nach dem arabischen Autograph von St. Petersburg', Leipzig, 1994 (PhD Diss. University of Leipzig), microfiche edition Berlin, 1995, pp. 8-38, 104-25 (pp. 8-28 and 104-20 contain the most comprehensive biography of Macarius currently available; it takes into consideration all previously published works)
- N. Idlibī, *Asāqifat al-Rūm al-Malikiyyīn bi-Ḥalab fī l-ʿaṣr al-ḥadīth*, Aleppo, 1983, pp. 57-71, 81-97
- J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise Melchite du Ve au XXe siècle*, 6 parts in 3 vols, Louvain, 1979-89, 4/1, pp. 87-127
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tafsīr bi-smillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm, 'An explanation of "In the name of God, the most gracious, the most merciful"'

DATE 1664-5

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This brief tract, or rather note, covering one folio in the Rome manuscript, forms chapter 26 of an originally untitled collection of treatises composed by Macarius during his stay in Georgia in 1664-5. It contains a Christian (re-)interpretation of the Muslim *basmala*, the invocation formula that introduces all but one *sūra* of the Qur'an and plays an important role in the religious life of Muslims.

Macarius argues that a re-arrangement of the letters leads to a new reading: 'Christ, Son of God, liberating pain'. He names his father, the priest Būluṣ, as the creator of this play on words.

SIGNIFICANCE

This little tract gives a rare, if not unique, insight into the feelings that Arab Christians in Syrian lands had towards Islam in the 17th century. It is not a theological or intellectual exercise but simply a mockery. As the tract originates from a parish priest, it is plausible to assume that 'jokes' of this kind circulated in the community. The fact that Macarius incorporated it into his work suggests that he shared these feelings



Illustration 4. Portrait of Macarius

and considered such information to be relevant for his readers, as he expressed repeatedly that the ultimate aim of his literary activities was to provide his co-religionists with useful knowledge.

That Macarius dared to put such an open insult of Islam on paper can only be explained by the circumstances in which he did so. He was in Christian Georgia, away from the direct influence of his Ottoman overlords, and he enjoyed enormous respect and even a sort of political power.

The tract did not meet with a wide reception. Only three copies of the sampler it forms a part of are known. It is certainly not by chance that the relevant page disappeared from the autograph, which was kept in the East until it was presented to the Russian tsar in 1913.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Aleppo, Greek Orthodox Metropolitanate – 179 (copy made from the autograph after January 1666; it is not known whether the MS contains the *Tafsīr*)

MS Rome, Apostolic Library – vat. ar. 689, fol. 86v (1757)

In the autograph (MS St Petersburg, Institute for Oriental Studies – B 1227), written in 1664-5, the page containing the treatise is missing.

C. Walbiner, 'Eine christlich-arabische (Um-)Deutung der muslimischen Basmala', in N. Koulayan and M. Sayah (eds), *Synoptikos. Mélanges offerts à Dominique Urvoy*, Toulouse, 2011, 567-72 (edition of the Arabic text p. 568 and German trans. pp. 568-9)

STUDIES

Walbiner, 'Eine christlich-arabische (Um-)Deutung'

Fātiḥa/muqaddima Kitāb al-naḥla, 'Introduction to "The book of the bee"'

DATE 1666

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Kitāb al-naḥla ("The book of the bee"), one of the samplers so typical of the literary production of Macarius, contains in its 'Introduction' (*Fātiḥa/muqaddima*) a rare piece of original writing by the author. *Kitāb al-naḥla* is a collection of remarks, excerpts and short tracts that are the fruit

of Macarius' reading, mainly of Greek books. It was compiled in 1666, when he was travelling from Georgia to Russia. The 'Introduction' takes up seven pages (pp. 144-51) in al-Zayyāt's edition.

In the 'Introduction', which is based on a number of mainly unnamed sources, Macarius presents a picture of the changes the (Orthodox) Christians in the Arab world endured from Antiquity up to the Middle Ages. He focuses on the languages used and also – especially in Islamic times – on persecution and oppression. As a starting point, he makes the observation that the people of the East spoke Greek in ancient times, with Syriac spoken in the villages. Further on, he deals with the prevalence of Arabic from Bosra down to the Yemen, a region he calls 'the lands of the Arabs', a 'miserable' language that only a few could read. The languages of reading and writing were Greek and Syriac. He reports in some detail on the spread of Christianity amongst the Arabs in pre-Islamic times, going so far as to say that even in 'Athrib' (Yathrib, Medina) and Mecca there were 'many churches and Christians, and they spoke the Arabic language'.

The great political and religious changes that resulted from the advent of Islam and the Muslim conquest of the Eastern world are only hinted at very discretely: due to reasons only known to Him, as a punishment or some kind of trial, God brought to an end the 'rule of the Christians' and gave 'another tribe' power over them. The Christians were derided and threatened with death if they did not give up their belief, 'And many of them preferred death and martyrdom and died as martyrs.' The 'accursed Jews' are identified as the instigators of many of the hardships the Christians had to suffer at the hands of the [Muslim] 'kings', of whom only one is mentioned by name – the Fāṭimid Sultan al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (r. 985-1021), who was responsible for severe persecution of the Christians in his realm.

Amongst the arbitrary measures Macarius highlights are actions aimed at forcing Christians not to speak their original languages – Greek, Syriac and Coptic – but to use only Arabic, as a result of which the Christians 'could no longer understand what they read and heard'. Thanks to the efforts of a number of pious men, a translation movement developed that provided the now Arabic-speaking Christians with the 'necessary matters', although due to the great wealth of literature, not all works could be translated, and this spurred Macarius on to follow the lead of these translators and to extract from Greek books what was not available in Arabic.

SIGNIFICANCE

The 'Introduction' contains a rare if not unique reflection by an Arab Christian of early modern times on the consequences of Muslim rule for the intellectual and spiritual development of his community. Islam – although never mentioned by that name – is depicted as a political system whose rule over Eastern Christians was associated with violence, discrimination and oppression. It led to Christians losing part of their literary tradition and historical identity through forced change of language.

Although Macarius refrains from using any explicitly Islamic terminology when speaking of the Muslims and their treatment of the Christians, his critique is obvious. It stands in sharp contradiction to the position held by his immediate successors in the leadership of the Melkite church(es), who tend to portray the historical relations between Islam and their communities as marked by mutual respect and tolerance.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Halle, Library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft – ar. 126, pp. 1-16 (the *Fātiḥa* covers the first four chapters; it differs slightly from the version edited by al-Zayyāt)

For other, partly unavailable or incomplete manuscripts of the *Kitāb al-naḥla*, see Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise Melchite*, 4/1, p. 91. It is not clear whether they contain the treatise in question. In the defective autograph (MS Homs, Greek Orthodox Metropolitanate – 27) the introduction is missing.

- H. al-Zayyāt, *Khazā'in al-kutub fi Dimashq wa-ḍawāḥihā*, Cairo, 1902, pp. 144-51; repr. 1982 (edition of the introduction from a MS al-Zayyāt discovered in the village of 'Arabīn near Damascus)
- Y. al-Ḥaddād, 'Qisṣat al-Masīḥiyya fi l-bilād al-'arabiyya min "Kitāb al-naḥla" li-l-Baṭṭriyark Makāriyūs al-Ḥalabī', *Al-Masarra* 60 (1974) 514-21 (slightly abridged version of al-Zayyāt's edition)

STUDIES

- C. Walbiner, 'A rare revelation. An Arab Christian of the 17th century on the influence Islam exercised on the development of his community over the course of time', in R.J. Mouawad (ed.), *Discrimination and tolerance in the Middle East*, Beirut, 2012, 19-27

Sharḥ mukhtaṣar, 'Short explanation'

DATE 1666

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

This treatise forms part of the *Kitāb al-naḥla* ('The book of the bee'), one of the 'samplers' that were a specific feature of Macarius' oeuvre (its full title is *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar yūdaḥ fihi muddat sinīn sāyir [= sā'ir] khulafā['] al-Islām wa-mulūkihim wa-'adaduhum wa-fi ayy al-bilād kān maqāmuhum wa-miqdār al-duwal allatī šarat min ḥin zuḥūr al-Islām ilā l-ān*, 'Short explanation in which the years [in power] of all the caliphs of Islam and their kings and their number is explained and in which city their residence was and the number of states which came into being from the emergence of Islam up to the present'). It was written in 1666, when Macarius was on his way from Georgia to Russia. The following analysis is based on the autograph, MS Homs, Greek Orthodox Metropolitanate – 27.

Comprising only four folios (91r-92v), the treatise starts with an enumeration and short characterisation of Muslim rulers, mainly mentioning their number, the duration of their rule (as a dynasty) and their places of residence, and the nine 'Islamic states' that had come into existence 'from the beginning' of Islam up to the present day (fols 91r-91v). In Macarius' understanding, the first state was that of the three caliph-successors of Muḥammad, who himself is not mentioned (as Macarius makes no reference to the emergence of Islam). This was followed by 11 (Shī'ī) 'caliphs', starting with 'Alī who resided in al-Kūfā. The Umayyads, who moved the capital to Damascus, are then listed as the 'third state'; no mention is made of the enmity between the Sunnīs and Shī'īs. The list of 'states' continues as follows: 4. the 'Abbāsids, 5. the Fāṭimids, 6. the Ayyūbids, 7. 'the Turkish state in the Egyptian lands' (the *Baḥrī* Mamlūks), 8. 'the Circassian kings of Egypt' (the *Burjī* Mamlūks), and, finally, 9. the Ottomans.

The sparse historical information provided about these 'states' contains no reference to the situation of Christians, even though the effect that Muslim rule had on the 'intellectual' life of the Orthodox community is discussed in the foreword to *Kitāb al-naḥla*. Macarius was well aware of the existence of Islamic states outside the Near East and North Africa, as he explicitly refers to 'the kings of Persia, the Mughals, the Tatars and Yemen', but he does not include these among the countries and kingdoms he mentions.

The rest of the treatise is devoted to a more detailed treatment of the Ottoman 'sultans' (fols 91v-92v), mentioning all the sultans from the founder of the dynasty, Osman I (r. 1288-1326), up to Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87), with the exception of Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603). Macarius provides biographical information on each, mainly the family relations between them, the duration of their reigns and their conquests. There is a brief allusion to political unrest in Aleppo during the sultanate of Ahmed I (r. 1603-17) (fol. 92r).

A short addition by a different hand continues the listing up to Sultan Ahmed III, who came to power in 1703 (fol. 92v), and in MS Halle 126 the part on the Ottomans has been greatly expanded, most likely by a later editor. The account of the succession of sultans, which is defective at the end, extends to Sultan Ahmed I (r. 1603-17).

Macarius adopts a positive stance towards the Ottoman sultans, whose Turkish honorary names he usually gives. Bayezid I, who was killed by Tamerlane, is described as a 'martyr' (*shahīd*), and about Mehmed IV, who was ruling when *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar* was composed, Macarius says: 'May God almighty preserve him.'

It is difficult to identify the sources from which Macarius drew for his treatise, though the accuracy of the facts suggests information of Muslim provenance. That Macarius did not rely on a single source becomes evident from the mixture of the traditional Sunnī dynasties with the Shī'ī succession of imams.

A stimulus may have come from the history of the Byzantine emperors by the Cypriot scholar Matthew Kigalas, which continues after the fall of Constantinople with the succession of the Ottoman sultans, who were also regarded as 'kings of the Byzantines' (*mulūk al-Rūm*). Macarius possessed this work, which became the most popular history book amongst the Arabic-speaking Greek Orthodox for two centuries. It was translated into Arabic in 1648 by some of his confidants, including his son Paul. However, a comparison of Kigalas' much more detailed depiction of the Ottoman sultans up to Murad IV (r. 1623-40) (based on MS Balamand, Monastery of Our Lady – 904) with the information provided by Macarius shows that Kigalas was not the (main) source for *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar*.

SIGNIFICANCE

This is the first Christian Arabic text, at least from early modern times, to describe exclusively – although very formally and briefly – the political history of Islam, which until then had only been used in works by

Arab Christians as reference for writing the history of the Christians – as in Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī's *Tārīkh al-azmina* ('History of the times', alternatively titled *Tārīkh al-Muslimīn*, 'History of the Muslims') – or more or less ignored, as in Macarius' own history of the patriarchs of Antioch.

That the spread of Islam meant a reduction in the power and freedom of Christians can only be inferred indirectly from the work by mentions of the conquests of important Christian centres such as Constantinople, Cyprus or Crete, in which no judgment is expressed and nothing is said about the consequences these conquests had for local Christians. As in all his 'literary' activities, Macarius pursued the clear aim of providing information that he regarded as useful for his fellow-believers, it can be concluded that he thought it necessary for them to have an unbiased knowledge of the succession of the Islamic dynasties, especially the Ottomans, whose subjects they were.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Homs, Greek Orthodox Metropolitanate – 27, fols 91r-92v (autograph written in 1666)

MS Beirut, Bibliothèque Orientale – 1343, fols 66r-67v (undated)

MS Birmingham, Mingana Collection – chr. ar. 60, fols 193v-197r (undated)

MS Ghosla/Lebanon, Dayr al-Kraym – 14, pp. 311-18 (undated)

MS Halle, Library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft – ar. 126, pp. 332-69 (undated; expanded version – defective at the end)

For other, partly unavailable or defective MSS, see Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise Melchite*, 4/1, p. 91. It is not clear whether they contain this treatise.

Carsten Walbiner

Paul of Aleppo

Būluṣ ibn al-Zaʿīm al-Ḥalabī, Būluṣ al-Ḥalabī, al-Shammās
Būluṣ, Archdeacon Paul of Aleppo

DATE OF BIRTH 1627
PLACE OF BIRTH Aleppo, Syria
DATE OF DEATH End of February 1669
PLACE OF DEATH Tiflis (Tbilisi), Georgia

BIOGRAPHY

Born into the fourth generation of Christian leaders in the Greek Orthodox family al-Zaʿīm, Paul was the son of the priest Yuḥannā ibn al-Zaʿīm, who later became Metropolitan of Aleppo as Meletius (1635-47), and in 1647 was elected Patriarch of the Church of Antioch and all the East as Macarius III (1647-72). Paul's mother died while he was a child, and thus he was raised by his father, receiving an education in Greek Orthodox culture, rites and rituals that was traditional in Christian clerical families of the Levant. He spent his youth among priests, monks, Church leaders and scholars; he was also in contact with Western missionaries, such as the Franciscans.

Living in Aleppo and Damascus, predominantly Muslim cities, he became knowledgeable about the Islamic faith and its various forms. He married young and had two sons. He was ordained deacon in 1647, and was soon made Archdeacon of Aleppo, Damascus and the whole Patriarchate. He served as his father's secretary and accompanied him on visits to the diocese, as well as to Eastern Europe in 1652-7, and to Georgia and Moscow in 1664-9. On the way back to Syria he fell ill and died in Tiflis, in vague circumstances.

During his journey through Eastern Europe, Paul kept a journal in which he recorded in minute detail a wealth of information about the geography, history, politics, ethnicity, architecture, habits, languages and so forth of the territories and populations that he became acquainted with. As he himself reports, he completed his journal after his return to Syria, adding current information, refining some of his written notes, and inserting recollected details and explanatory paragraphs. This untitled journal (often referred to in Arabic as *Safrat* or *Riḥlat al-baṭriyark Makāriyūs*), the longest and most complex text that Paul composed, is

considered to be his major work, for which he is best known to scholars of Christian Arabic literature.

At his father's request, and sometimes together with him, Paul composed several other works: a *Description of the foundation of the great city of Antioch*, comprising a collection of legends and wonders that occurred there based on local folklore; translations of the *History* of George Kedrenos and a work composed by the Capuchin monk Brice de Rennes, printed in Rome in 1655; a brief description of the situation in Georgia for the Muscovite authorities, composed during his second journey with his father; an abbreviated version of *Notitia antiochena* by Pseudo-Anastasios; possibly two topographical descriptions, one of Rome and the other of Hagia Sophia Church in Constantinople (uncertain authorship). In addition, a large part of *Kitāb tārikh al-Rūm al-ʿajīb* ('The wonderful history of the Rūm'), a translation of Dorotheos of Monemvasia's *History* prepared at Macarius' request, is also attributed to him and he was also known as an excellent copyist of texts in Arabic, Greek and Coptic script.

Paul of Aleppo is considered one of the most important Arab Christian writers of the 17th century, and, as Hilary Kilpatrick remarks ('Makāriyūs ibn al-Zaʿīm'), his journal is 'by far the most significant travel account in Arabic in this period'.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Paris, BNF – Arabe 6016, fols 1r-311r (Paul of Aleppo's journal of his travels in Moldavia, Wallachia, the lands of the Cossacks, and Muscovy)

Secondary

- I. Feodorov, 'Studiu introductiv', in *Paul din Alep, Jurnal de călătorie în Moldova și Valahia*, Bucharest, 2014, 7-85, pp. 11-13
- V.G. Tchentsova, 'Eše raz o date konyini Pavla Aleppinskogo', *Vestnik Pravoslavnogo Svyato-Tihonovskogo Gumanitarnogo Universiteta* 40 (2014) 100-10
- H. Kilpatrick, 'Makāriyūs ibn al-Zaʿīm (c. 1600-1672) and Bīlus ibn al-Zaʿīm (1627-1669)', in J.E. Lowry and D.J. Stewart (eds), *Essays in Arabic literary biography, 1350-1850*, Wiesbaden, 2009, 262-73
- I. Feodorov, 'Un lettré melkite voyageur aux pays roumains. Paul d'Alep', *Kalimat al-Balamand. Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines* 4 (1996) 55-62
- J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Eglise Melchite du V^e au XX^e siècle*, vol. 4/1, Louvain, 1979, pp. 219-24

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Safrat al-baṭriyark Makāriyūs al-thālith al-Anṭākī,
'Journey of Macarius III of Antioch'

DATE 1652-68

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

In his untitled journal, referred to in Arabic as *Safrat* or *Rihlat al-baṭriyark Makāriyūs*, Paul wrote a detailed first-hand account of events, people and places he encountered during his long journey in foreign lands. The journal, which covers fols 1r-311r in MS Paris, BNF – Arabe 6016, the longest, richest and most reliable version, is made up of sections that address several topics, not all related to the journey. It begins with a brief explanation of the circumstances and reasons for embarking on it, and the plan to take notes of everything seen or heard en route. Then follows a chronicle of the heads of the Orthodox Church of Antioch and All the East from its earliest times up to Macarius' predecessor. Paul narrates his father's election as Metropolitan of Aleppo, his visits in the Antiochian diocese, their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and his father's election as Patriarch of Antioch, followed by another long tour through the diocese. After a brief report of his preparations before leaving for Istanbul and the route by land and sea to the capital city of the empire, the narrative continues with an account of their sojourn in the capital from 20 October 1652 to early January 1653. Then follow travel notes on Moldavia (roughly covering nine months), Wallachia (seven months) and Cossack lands (seven months). The next section is devoted to recollections from Muscovy, where they stayed for nearly 15 months, followed by a section on the second stay in Moldavia (roughly six weeks) and another sojourn in Wallachia (two years), where they mostly stayed in the two chief cities of Târgoviște and Bucharest. Finally, Paul narrates the return to Aleppo and then to Damascus.

Of the seven years and nearly four months they were away from Damascus, Paul and Macarius spent half of the time in Christian countries considered by the Sublime Porte tributaries (Moldavia and Wallachia), a third in territories controlled by Christian rulers (the Russian tsar and Cossack chieftains), and the rest within the *Dār al-Islām* (Syria, Constantinople and Anatolia).

Several accounts of conquests and wars waged by Muslim rulers against Christian peoples are included in the journal. The conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans in 1453 is only briefly referred to, in the second part of the text, although, while he is visiting the city, Paul mentions several churches that had been turned into mosques. In the first section, concerning the history of Syria and of the Antiochian Church, he includes the dramatic story of the conquest of Antioch by the Mamlūk Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars in May 1268: more than 40,000 people were killed, its great churches were burned down, and all goods were snatched and assets seized. He adds that the city was so badly damaged by the conquerors that the metropolitan headquarters of the Antiochian Church had to be transferred to Damascus. There is also a regretful note about the diminished number of Christians in Syria after its lands were taken over by Islam.

While visiting Moldavia and Wallachia (south-eastern European countries that were to a certain extent under Ottoman control), the Syrian delegation often witness political conflict and military battles, the removal of local princes by the sultan, and social unrest caused by Turkish governors' abuses. Occasionally, a Romanian prince complains about the high level of taxes forced on his people by Ottoman rulers, a situation familiar to the Syrian travellers. They were not surprised either by the requirement for the newly elected prince of Moldavia or Wallachia to ask for a *ferman* of endorsement from the sultan. The Poles' and Cossacks' resistance to the Ottoman military pressure and repeated attacks from the Tatars are referred to in several parts of the journal, with vivid reports of major battles. In the autumn of 1658, when he is close to leaving for home, Paul mentions the desecration of churches in Bucharest by Muslim soldiers during the brutal campaign ordered by Sultan Mehmed IV against the Wallachian Prince Mihnea (Mihail) III Radu.

Despite this, Paul's general tone concerning Muslim rule and its representatives, both in Syria and in the east-European countries, is one of appreciation and conformity. Sultan Mehmed's stay in Damascus in July 1637, on his way to conquer Baghdad, is depicted as a glorious moment: the church leaders and local people were happy to see the sultan in all his might, accompanied by soldiers as numerous as raindrops; this was a 'dream-like' week for them; there was abundance everywhere and no shortage of goods. Elsewhere, Paul calls the sultan 'emperor' and 'the great sultan', remarks in Moscow that the sultan is equal in power to the tsar, both deserving the title *Avtokrator* (from the Greek *autokratōr*), and

repeatedly refers to the custom at banquets in Moldavia and Wallachia of drinking a cup to the sultan's health and long rule.

Patriarch Macarius, who had received the regular *ferman* of endorsement from the pasha of Damascus, maintained amicable relations with the Ottoman governors and officers, offering gifts when appropriate and observing age-old protocols. Paul observes that the intervention of Sublime Porte officials in the Christian lands of Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania was often meant to restore order to troubled states of affairs, to establish peace, or to bring agreement between two rivals for the throne – evidently in a desire to secure a steady flow of income to the Ottoman treasury. The Sublime Porte respects the known agreements made with Romanian princes of previous centuries, and thus in January 1658 Mehmed IV punishes his Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha Küprülü for trying to change the established rules of taxation and military contribution to the sultan's wars in order to advance his career. At times, the Ottomans, who 'were very sensible', refrained from interfering in a conflict between two Christian sides, telling the Poles and Russians, for example, 'you are Christian and it is not our place to intervene between you'. In January 1658, summoned by the sultan to attack a rebel Wallachian ruler, the Tatars repeatedly tell the common people, who are Christians, that 'no harm will come to them because they are the sultan's faithful servants'.

An inquisitive and accurate observer, Paul notes with surprise the religious freedom he witnesses in Moldavia and Wallachia: crosses erected on the roadside, churches everywhere, their spires 'rising like minarets', Christian feasts celebrated freely and noisily, church bells ringing loudly at all times of day and night, pigs raised in herds. Moreover, the Muslim presence appears to be unobtrusive; he does not mention the existence of mosques or any other Islamic establishments, and remarks only once, in Iași, that a building adjoining a Christian monastic school had reportedly been erected by Muslims. In Moldavia, he examines with astonishment on the wall frescoes of two churches, one in Vaslui and the other in Iași, a scornful portrayal of Turkish soldiers and 'their dervish' in the Devil's company, all damned for their rejection of the message of Jesus Christ. Indeed, in Moldavia frescoes painted in the 16th century on the outer façades of five monasteries do show, in their depictions of the Last Judgment, Turks and Tatars, Armenians, Jews, Arabs, and Latin believers, all on their way to Hell.

This relative detachment towards Ottoman authority is emphasised by Paul's story of Neagoe Basarab, a Prince of Wallachia who secretly built a magnificent stone church in Curtea de Argeş while pretending to erect a mosque in Vidin (on Muslim territory), for which he had obtained the sultan's *ferman*. Another Romanian prince whom Paul portrays in great detail is Mihnea III Radu (r. January 1658–November 1659), who did not relinquish his Christian faith even though he lived in Istanbul and at the imperial court itself for nearly 40 years. When he seized the Wallachian throne, he became a model of Christian devotion and endeavour in defence of the Greek Orthodox Church, and openly opposed the Muslim faith, refusing, for example, to place an Egyptian *dinār* on the altar during the ritual consecration of the metropolitan church of Bucharest.

Relations between Muslims and the local Christian population are described as outwardly harmonious in Ottoman-controlled territories, both in the province of Syria and in Wallachia and Moldavia. The Turks who lived in Romanian lands – merchants, dignitaries and the military – seemed to get along well with the locals; they trusted the princes (while fearing them) and felt protected by them in times of war with neighbouring Christian peoples such as the Poles. Turkish was a language known and spoken by Romanian rulers, such as Vasile Lupu, Prince of Moldavia (r. 1634–53). Paul notes the respect that Muslims, whether court dignitaries or simple people, showed for Christian saints. When Vasile Lupu obtained the relics of St Paraskevi the New, kept at the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in Istanbul, the sultan ordered an agha and guards to accompany them to Iaşi. In another evocative episode reported by Paul, when the inhabitants of Cyprus were attacked by locusts, they requested a *ferman* from the sultan instructing the monks of the Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos to lend them the head of St Michael, Bishop of Synnada, which was famous for driving away this pest. And the story goes, in Paul's words, that 'all the inhabitants in Rumelia, Muslim and Christian, do the same [...]. And this is such a wonderful story.' In the opening section, Paul also reports that in 1642 Muslims participated alongside Christians and Jews in the ritual of placing bowls of water brought from Persia above the door of the citadel of Damascus, in order for the birds called *samarmar* to gather around and drive away the locusts.

Muslim Tatars are mentioned in connection with the resettlement of Anatolian tribes in Dobrudja, on the western coast of the Black Sea: Paul was told that Sultan Mehmed I (r. 1413–21) had moved them there to protect the borders of the empire. He notes that most of them were

Qaramanlı people from his home country and that they belonged to 'a race that hated Christians'. They were merciless in battle and repeatedly caused bloodshed in Wallachia, Moldavia and Polish territories at the very time that Paul and his companions were journeying.

An unfriendly attitude towards the Muslims is expressed more openly in Paul's reports of his sojourn in the lands of Muscovy. At the tsar's court, Patriarch Macarius is told that speaking Turkish – the language of a Muslim people – is unbecoming of a Christian hierarch, as this language 'soils one's hearing'. In Moscow, the Syrian traveller noted a general attitude of reserve and even irritation with Muslims: foreigners coming from the territory of Islam were not welcome in the city; they were considered unclean, and touching them was to be avoided. Sometimes, people said, envoys from the Christian Orthodox lands tributary to the Ottoman Empire were not allowed to enter a church, as they had been soiled by their contact with the Turks. Paul reports twice on the destruction of local mosques and minarets by order of Nikon, the Patriarch of the Church of Muscovy.

As for his more personal views, Paul rarely expresses criticism or aversion for Muslims, Turks, sultans or Ottoman officials. Occasionally, harsh words are used to report the abusive conduct of certain governors, such as Kara Hasan Pasha, who was over-taxing and extorting the citizens of Aleppo in 1647, though other Ottoman governors are praised, including Husayn Pasha, son of Nusûh Pasha, who ruled Aleppo in 1642. The impoverishment of the Antiochian Church and its faithful through over-taxation is presented as the main reason for Patriarch Macarius' decision to leave on his long journey to eastern Europe. Paul mentions that, unable to maintain their churches and other buildings, the Christians of several cities had to hand these over to the Muslim authorities, and that four valuable mitres from the patriarchal treasury had to be pawned when Macarius III took office in order to pay a part of the huge ecclesiastical debt. Also, when he arrived in the village of Therapia (Tarabia) near Istanbul, Paul reports that there were 120 Christian homes there and none belonging to Muslims because the local Church of St George protected the village and every time a Christian wanted to embrace Islam, his house was ruined – which kept people from abandoning their faith.

That said, as a rule Paul's reports are neutral, providing non-judgmental information on political, social, geographical or ethnographic topics. Borders are defined according to the religious attachment of their administration – within the *Dār al-Islām* or not; a few cities in Romanian

lands are described as 'Muslim', when an Ottoman military presence is noted. The capital city of the empire is more often called Istanbul than Constantinople, but occasionally both names occur in the same paragraph. Paul several times includes in his narrative the habitual words of praise for the ruling sultan: 'Long live the sultan', 'May God preserve him' (Mehmed IV). In Constantinople, the people living inside the imperial palace are 'protected by God, who safeguards their might'. After the great fire that occurred in Istanbul on 10 November 1652, turning entire neighbourhoods to ashes, its people were required to build everything anew, which they achieved in not more than one month – 'for how could it be otherwise under his [the sultan's] rule?', comments Paul.

Paul mentions that they stopped near Konya in the village of Akşehir where Mulla Nasreddin Hoca (the 13th-century sage and story-teller, known in Arabic popular literature as Joha) was buried. While in Konya, they did not fail to visit the Mevlevi Sufi community devoted to Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (whom Paul calls 'Mullā Ḥandakār'); Paul expresses his admiration at the splendour of the place. In Istanbul, Paul was eager to visit not only a large number of churches and Christian holy places, but also the chief Muslim sites – great mosques and sultans' tombs. While in Moldavia, Macarius and his companions protected some Muslim city-dwellers during battles between two competing Romanian princes. Paul explains in a long note the names given to Muslims: 'sons of Hagar' and 'Saracens'. The Wallachians' contempt for the *Arapi* (from the Arabic '*arab*') – defined as Muslims or Christians from Syria – is reported as an ethnic issue, with no connection to their faith. While in Russia, Paul repeatedly reports on the Muslims of Kazan and Siberia, describing their customs and way of life as an ethnologist would, with a certain surprise but in an overall non-judgmental manner. He was told of the presence of 60,000 Muslims in the city of Kazan, that most of the inhabitants of Siberia are Muslim, and that in the lands of Muscovy there are communities of Arabs, Turks and Ḥanafis. He is also interested in local Muslim rituals, reporting on the wedding of a Siberian sultan's son. In Iași, he and his father befriended two Turkish brothers born in Rumelia who, as *subaşı*, had accompanied their father, a local pasha, at the battle of Baghdad: they had been baptised in Moldavia by the late Patriarch Theophanos of Jerusalem. In Putivl', in the Cossack lands, the Syrians participated in the baptism of some Tatars; in the lands of Muscovy Paul mentions the christening of Muslims several times, entire Siberian tribes and Kazan Muslims embracing the Christian faith (the latter, seemingly

for economic reasons). In a rare comment going beyond factual report, he mentions that they met baptised Muslims who became more devoted to their new faith than born Christian believers; after embracing Christianity they were required never to speak Turkish again, lest they become sullied as before.

As has been argued recently by Tchentsova, *Le premier voyage du patriarche d'Antioche*, pp. 89-97, Paul's reports are written in a cautious and tactful style, concealing information that might harm his father and the interests of the Church of Antioch, or the Syrians' security, both while away and after their return to Syria. Reports and letters referring to Patriarch Macarius' second journey to Moscow in 1668-9 prove that he repeatedly found himself in a dangerous position, risking accusation by the Ottoman authorities of spying for the Muscovites and conniving against the empire. His role as a secret messenger (although not as important as the Patriarchs of Jerusalem Paisios and Dositheos) between the rulers of Moldavia, Wallachia, the Cossacks or the Poles and the Muscovite court is documented in letters preserved in the Russian archives. In 1657-8, the Romanians' eagerness to rid their countries of Ottoman rule involved attempts at coalition with their more powerful Christian neighbours, and especially with the Tsar of Moscow. Other sources show that the messages carried by Macarius III contained audacious plans for alliance, aimed at freeing the Christian lands that were constantly threatened by the Ottoman sultans' ambitions for conquest – an issue that is absent from Paul's journal.

The fact that the sultans are generally mentioned in positive terms and that historical facts connected to this journey and documented by other sources are not covered by Paul supports the supposition that he completed his journal after his return to Syria, inside the *Dār al-Islām*.

SIGNIFICANCE

The reader of Paul's journal is left with a general impression of tolerance and benevolence in relations between Christians and Muslims: open antagonism between Christianity and Islam is seldom expressed, and there are neither polemical nor hateful notes regarding Muslims, Turks or the Ottoman rulers. This was to be expected, perhaps, with Christian hierarchs of the Church of Antioch, constrained by historical circumstances to endure in a territory ruled by Islam. During the journey in eastern Europe, relations between the Ottoman administration and Christian rulers of the various countries were unstable and even

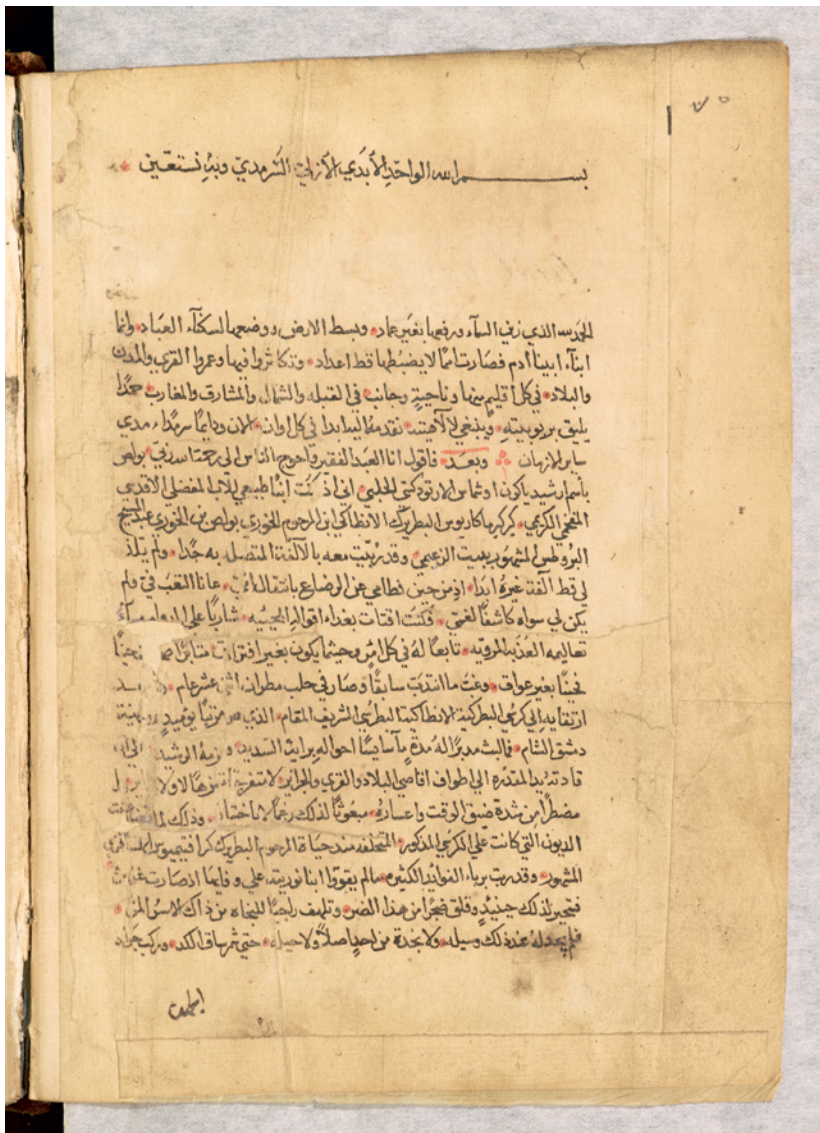


Illustration 5. Opening page of Journey of Macarius III of Antioch, MS Paris, BNF

conflicting at times, which accounts for Paul's detailed reports of battles against and flights from Ottoman and Tatar invaders. Obviously, political tensions and military clashes between the Christian Moldavians, Wallachians and Poles, on the one hand, and the Muslim rulers of the Ottoman Empire (time and again assisted by Tatar chieftains), on the other, often recall the distinctions between the two faiths and civilisations. The general feeling that Paul noted in these regions was that princes and common people were afraid of seeing their lands turned into a *paşalık* governed by Muslim rulers.

Two attitudes are discernible in Paul's composition, which are reportedly similar to his father's: one towards the sultan and the ruling body of Ottoman governors and officers, the other towards the ordinary people. Referring to the Ottoman rulers with reverence and appreciation seems more like a strategy of survival. Nevertheless, Paul openly describes the religious freedom that he witnessed in Moldavia and Wallachia – a relatively independent approach to Ottoman authority that was unthinkable in Syria at the time. For Neagoe Basarab, the Prince of Wallachia, skilfully to deceive the Sublime Porte for the benefit of the Greek Orthodox Church was considered by Paul a major achievement. Certain events connected to the patriarch's mission as a messenger between princes and hierarchs are cautiously overlooked, which reflects Paul's constant concern not to make his father or himself objects of the Ottoman rulers' wrath.

As for the common people, Paul is obviously interested in everything connected to Christianity wherever he goes, but he also pays attention to Islamic architecture, rituals, customs and so on, often comparing them to those he was familiar with in Syria. Relations between Muslim Turks and the populations of Wallachia and Moldavia are described as relatively peaceful. The patriarch helps the Muslim merchants and city-dwellers, when asked, and attends their baptisms whenever possible. An unfavourable attitude towards Muslims is expressed in Paul's narratives most often when he is in Moscow, reflecting the local people's antagonistic views of them and their freedom to express them.

Despite the fact that Paul chose to leave out some politically sensitive information, his extensive, detailed picture of the Muslim presence in the countries that he visited, relations between the Christian rulers and populations and the Sublime Porte through its representatives (Turks and Tatars), the seemingly compliant and amenable attitude (less manifest in the lands of Muscovy) of Christian eastern European populations

towards Muslims (whether Sublime Porte officers and attendants, army personnel or merchants), the salient points where the two faiths collided (such as military alliances or the baptism of Muslims), and, last but not least, the first-hand information he provides on Muslim customs and rituals, both in Ottoman lands and in the Christian territories of eastern Europe, make Paul's journal an essential source for research into Christian-Muslim relations. Such an interest in Muslims and their way of life is rarely found in other early modern Christian Arabic travel memoirs, whose authors rarely refer to the Islamic presence.

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Ioana Feodorov

Yakob Karnec'i

Yakob Karnetsi, Hakob Karnetsi, Jacob d'Erzeroum

DATE OF BIRTH 1618
PLACE OF BIRTH Karin, Erzerum
DATE OF DEATH Unknown; after 1672
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Yakob Karnec'i was born in Karin, Erzerum, and is believed to have spent most of his life in his native city. He was a priest and the son of a priest. He was also a historian who wrote a topography of 'Upper' Armenia (*Tetagir Verin Hayots*), concerning the province of Erzerum. His other works include a chronology covering the period 1482-1672; Kevork Bardakjian regards 'the years 1627-72 [as] authentically mirroring Ottoman and local Armenian realities' (Bardakjian, *Reference guide*, 2000, p. 71). Karnec'i also wrote a short biography of his father Gëorg.

It is not known when he died, but it can be assumed that it was at some point not long after 1672, as the chronology does not go beyond that date.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tetagir Verin Hayots, 'The topography of Upper Armenia'

DATE 1668
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Telagir Verin Hayots ('The topography of Upper Armenia') was written in 1668 by Yakob Karneç'i and concerns the area around Erzerum. The first published edition, in 1903, *Patmut'iwn S. Astuatzin ekeletswoyñ Karnoy*, edited by Karapet Kostaneants' (1853-1920), and based on a manuscript that is now lost, is 75 pages long and omits repetitious material. This edition was translated into French and annotated by Frédéric Macler in 1919 (references that follow are to this version). The critical edition, *Šinuatz Karnoy k'atak'in, or kochetsaw T'ëudopōlis, or ayžm Arzrum veraydzaynial kochi*, by V. Hakobyan in 1956, is 34 pages long, and the text differs considerably from the Kostaneants' edition.

Although it is a topography, describing the 'lie of the land' around Erzerum, it also deals with many geographical, economic and ethnographic topics, as well as political issues (Perso-Ottoman wars, Ottoman internal policy), and relates incidents concerning Ottoman officials. It also contains accounts of Armenian churches in the region, giving traditional stories of their founding.

Karneç'i used and acknowledged works by Movsēs Khorenatsi, Nersēs Šnorhali and others, as well as other unacknowledged sources.

He records that Armenians and Georgians were living in and around Erzerum and that they all spoke Armenian, and also that there were increasing numbers of 'Hagarenes'. In 1643, the mullah of Erzerum, who was known as a 'fierce man and enemy of Christians', was instructed to conduct a census of the people of Erzerum on the orders of the Grand Porte in Istanbul. He imposed heavy taxes on the Christians, which led to the Georgians in the region converting to Islam (pp. 176-7).

After a detailed description of the extent of the Ottoman lands, reference is made to 'Mahmêt' having appeared in 612 and devoured the Christian lands. This is followed by a petitionary prayer: 'That the Lord Jesus Christ save and deliver our Armenian nation of these (the Turks!). Amen' (p. 197).

Karneç'i reports that an order was issued in 1662 for the destruction of ten Greek and Armenian churches, and for Christians in Istanbul, T'ok'at' and Sivas to be compelled to wear black caps and forbidden from wearing turbans (p. 203).

In his 1903 edition, Konsteants' includes the story of the 12 Turks who broke into an Armenian church in Karin (Erzerum) and stole precious vessels. The pasha hunted them down and had them so severely punished that they all died (pp. 224-7). This episode is not included in the 1956 Hakobyan edition (Bardakjian, *Reference guide*, p. 71).

SIGNIFICANCE

Tetaġir Verin Hayots offers insights into the ways Armenians lived under Ottoman rule in the 17th century. The description of their treatment, together with that of Georgians also living in and around Erzerum, points to stoicism and trust in God on the part of the Armenians, whilst expressing disdain for the Georgians, who were too ready to convert to Islam in order to avoid taxation.

The Ottoman officials are sometimes acknowledged as being learned in the Qur'an (p. 196), but they are also described as being cruel and harsh. The order to wear black caps suggests the enforcement of *dhimmī* regulations and consequent restrictions on Christians in the main centres of the empire, although the pasha's actions in hunting down the thieves is an acknowledgement that the Ottoman authorities in Erzerum could treat Christians on equal terms with everyone else.

Tetaġir Verin Hayots is one example of accounts written by Armenians of the events of their lives and the struggles they faced as Christians on the borders of the Ottoman and Safavid empires. Other examples include *Dawt'i banasiri Bališetswoy tzaġkak'at* by Dawit' Bališec'i, which goes up to 1663, and *Khachatur Kafayetsu taregrut'yuně* by Khachatur Kafayet'si, which relates the life of Armenians in Crimea from 1605 to 1658.

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John Chesworth

Grigore Ureche and Simion Dascălul

DATE OF BIRTH	Grigore Ureche, around 1591; Simion Dascălul, unknown, probably in the 1620s or 1630s
PLACE OF BIRTH	Grigore Ureche, Moldavia, exact location unknown; Simion Dascălul, probably Transylvania
DATE OF DEATH	Grigore Ureche, between 15 April and 3 May 1647; Simion Dascălul, after 1670
PLACE OF DEATH	Grigore Ureche, Moldavia, exact location unknown; Simion Dascălul, unknown, probably Moldova

BIOGRAPHY

Grigore Ureche was born in Moldavia in about 1591, as the son of the grand boyar Nestor Ureche and Mitrofana Jora. He studied 'liberal arts' in Poland at the Jesuit school in Lvov, becoming fluent in Latin, Polish and probably Greek. He began his political career in 1627, during the reign of Miron Barnovschi Movilă (r. 1626-9) as head of writers in the royal chancellery. He participated in the 1633 revolt against the Greek-Levantine entourage of Prince Alexandru Iliaș (r. 1631-3), as did Vasile Lupu, who became prince in 1634, rewarding Ureche by appointing him high *spătar* (constable), a position that he held until 1642. He then became great *vor-nic* (magistrate) of Lower Moldavia. Ureche was married to Lupa, daughter of Voruntar Prăjescu, descendent of an old Moldavian family, with whom he had four children. His daughter Antimia became a very learned person, which was extremely rare for a woman of her time. Ureche died sometime between 15 April and 3 May 1647.

Very little is known about the life of Simion Dascălul (Simion the Teacher). The linguistic particularities in the Romanian he used in his chronicle suggest that he came from Transylvania, where he was probably born in the third or fourth decade of the 17th century. He was brought to Moldavia at some point between 1650 or 1660 as a private tutor for the children of the local boyar Gavril Costache, and died sometime after 1675/6. After a family relationship was established between the Costache and the Ureche families, the chronicle composed by Ureche ended up in the hands of Simion, who copied or translated it. He then completed it using new historical sources, for which reason it is practically impossible to differentiate between the text written by Ureche and that written by Simion.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Carte ce se cheamă letopiseț, ce într-însa spune cursul anilor și decălecarea țării Moldovei și viața domnilor, 'The chronicle of Moldavia from its foundation, and on the years and the lives of [its] rulers from Prince Dragoș to Prince Aron'

DATE Approximately 1643-7 (Grigore Ureche's original chronicle);
approximately 1660-70 (Simion Dascălul's expanded chronicle)

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Romanian

DESCRIPTION

Grigore Ureche wrote his chronicle during the reign of Vasile Lupu (r. 1634-53), probably in 1643-7, towards the end of his own life. The chronicle covers the period between 1359 (considered the year of Moldavia's foundation as a state) and 1594 (the reign of Aron the Tyrant).

The original manuscript has not been preserved, but it was later copied (or translated) and completed by Simion Dascălul; therefore, it is fair to attribute the present version of the chronicle to both authors. It should be noted that some manuscripts of the chronicle contain several other lesser interpolations by Misail Călugărul and Axinte Uricarul.

Simion's version was probably written in the 1660s, and contains many defamatory statements about the Romanian people, taken from a Hungarian chronicle. For this reason, his work was criticised severely by contemporary scholars (e.g. Miron Costin, Constantin Cantacuzino), and as a consequence most Romanian and foreign historians of the 19th and 20th centuries have refused to acknowledge him as co-author of the chronicle, although some historians argue the opposite, considering Simion as the sole author (Giurescu, *Noi contribuțiuni*). A more conciliatory approach is adopted by C.C. Giurescu ('Introducere', 1937; review, 1960), who attributes the chronicle to both Ureche and Simion.

As the original manuscript of Ureche's text is not extant, the language of the original chronicle has also been open to debate. Most historians posit that Ureche wrote his chronicle in Romanian, but some believe that it was written in Latin or Slavonic and subsequently translated into Romanian by Simion. In the best edition now available (Panaitescu, 1958), the chronicle covers 162 pages, and comprises an Introduction and 31 chapters, corresponding to the number of Moldavian princes from Ștefan I to Aron the Tyrant.

Ureche and Simion borrow information from various Polish and other chronicles and cosmographical works (e.g. Ioachim Bielski, Maciej Miechowski, Marcin Cromer, Aleksander Gwagnin, Gerard Mercator), from Romanian and Hungarian chronicles (no longer extant) and from memoirs and legends that circulated orally. In the passages ascribed to him with more certainty, Ureche shows evidence of a critical approach in interpreting his sources, while Simion accepts them without much critical evaluation.

In *Carte ce se cheamă letopiseț*, the Ottoman Empire plays an important role: Moldavia was under Ottoman domination from 1455 onwards, and it says, 'We are serfs under their hand (power) and yoke.' Besides information regarding Moldavian-Ottoman relations, Ureche and Simion also include in the work a chapter 'On the kingdom of the Turks and on their beginning and their expansion, how they started and grew and widened to such a glory and honour and strength'. This chapter is an adaptation of one or several works in circulation at the time (Mercator,

Sebastian Münster, Miechowski, Antonius Maginus of Padua), to which the two Moldavian authors added some personal observations. Among these observations, one can note the parallel that Ureche and Simion draw between the situation of the Christians under Ottoman domination south of the Danube and that of the Moldavian people. In reference to the *devşirme* system that the Ottomans operated in the Greek and Serbian regions, the authors underscore that Moldavia and Wallachia were not affected by this practice. In exchange, the twin principalities had to fulfil military obligations towards the Porte and 'to give them [the Ottomans] money all the time'. In the same chapter, the authors summarise Ottoman history from Osman Gazi, the founder of the dynasty, to Mehmed III (r. 1595-1603), describing the organisation of the military and the opulence found at the court of the sultans.

Although their narrative stops in the 1590s, Ureche and Simion portray the men from previous centuries as of their own epoch, i.e. the second half of the 17th century. By this time, Ottoman power was strongly implanted in Europe and its domination over Moldavia was a well-established fact. Nonetheless, they did not rule out the idea of fighting the 'unbelievers', though they consider this impossible without a general mobilisation of Christendom. Of the Moldavian princes, the hero in the wars against the Ottomans (and the Tatars) is identified as Ştefan the Great, (r. 1457-1504), whom the chroniclers depict as 'an emperor and a victor over the pagan tongues (nations)'. But Ştefan's resistance to Ottoman expansion could not last for long, as he did not receive any help from other Christian rulers, so that, towards the end of his life, he had to submit to the Ottoman Empire in order to preserve Moldavia's identity and the Christian faith. This moment is described in the form of a will the prince communicates to his nobles, in which he advises them and his own successors to submit to the Turks, because 'they are the strongest and the wisest' (of all their neighbours). This 'will' was respected by the Moldavian elite, and thus Ureche and Simion show appreciation for the princes (Petru Rareş, Alexandru Lăpuşneanu, Petru the lame) who followed that path. In contrast, they are extremely critical of Ioan the Terrible (Romanian: *Ioan cel Cumplit*, r. 1572-4), the only Moldavian prince who dared openly to oppose the Ottoman Empire, as they believed that this put the country in serious danger.

Like their predecessors Macarie, Eftimie and Azarie, Ureche and Simion proved highly critical of the greed and corruption of Ottoman officials. In their view, these two negative attributes are in some way

'natural', as they were an intrinsic part of Muslim Ottoman culture and way of living. The chroniclers repeatedly state that money plays a crucial role in the Ottoman attitude towards Moldavia: princes are dismissed, replaced or confirmed by the sultan in exchange for money, and only those who practise bribery, thereby responding to the Ottoman insatiable thirst for money, manage to secure their positions.

The fact that Moldavian princes were compelled to collaborate with the Ottomans does not remove the fundamental religious opposition between the two peoples. For Ureche and Simion, as well as for the monastic chroniclers of the 16th century, the Turks were first and foremost 'pagans', and thereby natural enemies of Christendom. Although they do not pursue this topic in detail, it is clear that their world was divided into two irreconcilable sides, with 'the Cross and Christendom' on the one and the pagans and enemies on the other, following 'the dirty law of Mahomet' or 'the gloomy law'. Ureche and Simion's anti-Muslim stance can also be discerned in their description of the Ottoman dignitary Mehmed beg Mihaloğlu: when he succeeded in imposing his control over Wallachia in 1522, 'people despised him because of his gloomy faith'.

The authors' attitude towards Prince Iliăş Rareş (r. 1546-51), the only Moldavian ruler to convert to Islam, is highly revealing of their opinions of the Muslim other. Although Rareş tried to maintain the image of a good Christian, in reality he listened to no one but his 'young Turk advisors' and spent his nights with the 'Turkish whores' he had gathered around him. It was in these circumstances that he finally abandoned his ancestral traditions and embraced Muslim law (religion). Christianity was in terrible danger, the chroniclers note, for if this situation were to continue, all Christian people would desert 'the light' of Christianity, and choose the 'darkness' of Islam. Divine punishment struck not only the prince but indeed the entire country, revealing clearly to all the seriousness of such a transgression; as a consequence, God sent a terrible period of deep frost all over the country, completely desiccating all vegetation, fruit-trees and vineyards. On his death, the renegade 'handed over his soul to the Devil, by following the Turkish law', one of the authors writes, thus showing his agreement with the dominant Christian theological discourse, which labelled Muslims the 'agents of Satan'.

SIGNIFICANCE

Although Ureche and Simion borrow various elements from 16th-century Slavonic chronicles, all of them composed by clerics (Macarie, Eftimie, Azarie), the religious dimension is not pervasive in their work. This is

probably due to the intellectual background of the two authors, but it also echoed the political situation in the 17th century. After almost two centuries of direct contacts and exchanges with the Ottomans, the Moldavians succeeded in 'taming' Muslim otherness and integrating it into their cultural framework. In other words, they knew and acknowledged it as a fact in exactly the same way as they acknowledged Ottoman political domination over their country. This notwithstanding, from a strictly religious standpoint, the two chroniclers truly believed (like their predecessors) in an irreducible difference between the Christian Moldavians and the Muslim Turks, and could not conceive of any possible connection or influence between the two sides.

In its present form, *Carte ce se cheamă letopiseț* is the first chronicle in Romanian to cover such an extensive period, namely from the mid-14th to the late-16th century. It circulated widely, as is demonstrated by the relatively high number of manuscripts in which it is found, and it had a great impact on future historical writing in Moldavia. It was also particularly important in giving a portrait of the ideal Moldavian (and later Romanian) 'crusader', in the form of Prince Ștefan the Great, who successfully led the fight against the 'unbelievers' all alone, without help from any other Christian powers. The image of this Christian hero *par excellence*, which Romanian scholars and writers would come to construct in the 19th century, was in fact defined for the first time in the pages of this chronicle.

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- C. Giurescu, *Noi contribuțiuni la studiul cronicilor moldovene. Letopisețul lui Eustratie logofătul și letopisețul latinesc, cronicile lui Grigore Ureche, Simion Dascălul și Misail călugărul*, Bucharest, 1908, pp. 3-93

Petronel Zahariuc

Albertus Bobovius

Wojciech Bobowski, Albertus Bobovius Leopopolitanus,
Ali Bey, Ali Ufkî; Ali Bey es-Santuri ('the cymbalist')

DATE OF BIRTH Approximately 1615
PLACE OF BIRTH L     (present-day Ukraine)
DATE OF DEATH Approximately 1675
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

In 1632, the young Albertus Bobovius was captured by Tatars during an invasion of his native area of Poland (currently part of the Ukraine). He was transported to Istanbul and there sold as a slave (Privratsky, 'History of Turkish Bible translations', pp. 135-8). He converted to Islam, adopting the name Ali, and for almost 21 years he was educated at the palace, also acting as a musician and servant. After completing his education, he went to Egypt in the service of a senior Ottoman officer, whose name is unknown. When he returned to Istanbul, he was freed from slavery, presumably by this same officer.

Around 1650, through the services of Isaac Basire, chaplain to the English ambassador in Istanbul, Bobovius entered the service of the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Bendish (in office from 1647 to 1660). In 1654, Bobovius translated the Anglican catechism into Ottoman Turkish for Basire, and in 1658 he translated the *Ianua linguarum* by Johannes Amos Comenius. He also worked for Heneage Finch, Lord Winchilsea, Bendish's successor (in office from 1660 to 1668). Between 1662 and 1664, Bobovius worked on an Ottoman Turkish translation of the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha, either directly in the pay of the Dutch Resident in Istanbul, Levinus Warner, or under his guidance, paid by Lord Winchilsea (Privratsky, 'Turkish Bible', pp. 126-34; Neudecker, 'From Istanbul', pp. 175-8; Neudecker, 'Two little studied Turkish translations').

It was towards the end of this second phase of his career that his relations with England strengthened. In 1666, he not only wrote his *Grammatica Turcico-Latina*, dedicated to his 'friend and father' Henry Denton, chaplain to the English ambassador Heneage Finch from 1664, but also wrote a letter to his old friend Isaac Basire (MS Oxford, pp. 19-20) to

strengthen contacts and ask him for help in realising his ambition of continuing his career in England (and, by implication, returning to the Christian faith).

However, Bobovius never made it to England. He may have been prevented by his appointment to the Ottoman chancellery in 1669 (his position is not stated, but it was probably as an interpreter). This might have made his other ambitions seem less important or, more probably, the Ottoman authorities, not wanting him to take his valuable knowledge of the Ottoman court to England, made him an offer he could not refuse. Bobovius' true religion has been a matter of discussion. It has been stressed by Elçin that there is evidence of Islamic sentiments in his *Mecmûa-i sâz ü söz*, though the Christian sentiments are much more impressive (Neudecker, 'From Istanbul', pp. 187-8; Privratsky, 'Turkish Bible', pp. 131-2).

A brief note on his various names: 'Wojciech Bobowski' is his original Polish name, while 'Albertus Bobovius' is the name he used and by which he was known in his contacts with Western scholars and diplomats. In his *Grammatica Turcico-Latina*, he calls himself 'Albertus Bobovius Leopopolitanus', meaning 'from Lvów', Leopolis being the Latin name for that city. The Muslim names 'Ali Bey', 'Ali Ufkî', 'Ali Bey es-Santuri' are most commonly used by himself and others in the context of his career at the Ottoman court.

He wrote several other works that demonstrate his interest in, and knowledge of, the Western world:

Album de poésies turques ('Album of Turkish poems') written around 1650 (MS Paris, BNF – A.F. 292, and MS London, BL – Sloane 3114; published by Elçin in 1976 as *Mecmûa-i sâz ü söz*; Neudecker, 'Wojciech Bobowski', p. 172). These are Ottoman Turkish songs, using Western musical notation. Of special interest in the context of Christian-Muslim relations is Bobovius' mention of the 'Cantilena Bacchica'. The first words of this song read 'Bibamus, bibamus, vinum bibamus' ('let us drink, let us drink, let us drink wine').

Grammatica Turcico-Latina Alberti Bobovy Leopolitani ('Turkish-Latin grammar by Albertus Bobovius from Lvów') written in 1666 (MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Hyde 43; see Ethé, *Catalogue*, col. 1252, no. (199) 2237; Neudecker, 'Wojciech Bobowski', pp. 177-88). The date Bobovius uses on his title page is 'Initio anni a partu virginis 1666' ('The beginning of the year 1666 since the delivery of the Virgin'); also of interest is

his dedication, contained as part of the title, 'incepta pro amico et patre Henr. Denton Anglicanae nationis capellano ac hierophanta' ('started for [my] friend and father Henry Denton of the English nation chaplain and priest'). This reflects his friendship with Henry Denton, who had come to Istanbul in 1664 as chaplain to the English ambassador Heneage Finch, Lord Winchilsea. The addition 'Leopolitani' is also telling, as it shows he still (or once again?) identified with his native Lvów.

Dialogues en Français et en Turc ('Dialogues in French and Turkish'), undated (MS Paris, BNF – A.F. 235; Neudecker, 'Wojciech Bobowski', p. 177).

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Thomas Smith 98, pp. 19-20 (letter from Bobovius to Dr Isaac Basire, Constantinople [Pera], 27/17 August 1666 [dates refer to the Gregorian and Julian calendars, respectively])

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Thomas Smith 98, pp. 21-2 ('Papers concerning Ali Bei')

Hezârfen Hüseyni, *Tenkîh-i tevârîh-i mülûk* (MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek – Diez A Fol. 6, fol. 201v)

T. Hyde (ed.), *Tractatus Alberti Bobovii de Turcarum Liturgia, peregrinatione meccana, circumcisione, aegrotarum visitatione, &c.*, Oxford, 1690. Printed in English as 'Albertus Bobovius, A treatise concerning the Turkish liturgy', in *Four treatises concerning the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Mahometans*, London, 1712, pp. 109-50, with Hyde's preface on pp. 105-8

Secondary

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C. Behar, *Saklı Mecmua; Ali Ufkî'nin Bibliothèque Nationale de France'taki (Turc 292) Yazması*, Istanbul, 2008

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- H. Neudecker, 'From Istanbul to London? Albertus Bobovius' appeal to Isaac Basire', in A. Hamilton, M. van den Boogert, and B. Westerweel (eds), *The republic of letters and the Levant*, Leiden, 2005, 173-96
- W. Feldman, *Music of the early Ottoman court*, Berlin, 1996
- H. Neudecker, 'Wojciech Bobowski and his Turkish grammar (1666). A dragoon and musician at the court of sultan Mehmed IV', *Dutch Studies-NELL* 2 (1996) 169-92 (contains an annotated bibliography of Bobovius' works, pp. 171-8)
- H. Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible translation by Yahya bin 'Ishaq, also called Haki* (1659), Leiden, 1994
- C. Behar, *Ali Ufkî ve Mezmurlar*, Istanbul, 1990 (contains a summary list of Bobovius' works, p. 33)
- Ş. Elçin, *Ali Ufkî hayatı, eserleri ve Mecmûa-i sâz ü söz*, Istanbul, 1976
- H. Wurm, *Der osmanische Historiker Hüseyin b. Ga'fer, genannt Hezarfenn, und die Istanbulers Gesellschaft in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 13), Freiburg im Breisgau, 1971, pp. 91-4
- H. Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Pushtu manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1889-1954, vol. 2
- Art. 'Ali Ufkî', in *Türk Ansiklopedisi*
- T. Kut, art. 'Ali Ufkî Bey', in *Diyanet İslâm Ansiklopedisi*
- F. Babinger, art. 'Wojciech Bobowski', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Kraków, 1936, vol. 2, pp. 156-7
- Catteau, art. 'Ali-Bey ou Ali Beigh', in *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, Paris, 1811, vol. 1, p. 574

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Talim-i ortudoksin Pavlus diker Apullus suvarır Allah bitirir, 'Christian doctrine: Paul plants, Apollos waters, God gives the growth'

Doctrina Christiana, Paulus plantat, Apollos rigat, Deus dat incrementum, 'Anglican Catechism'

DATE 1654

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

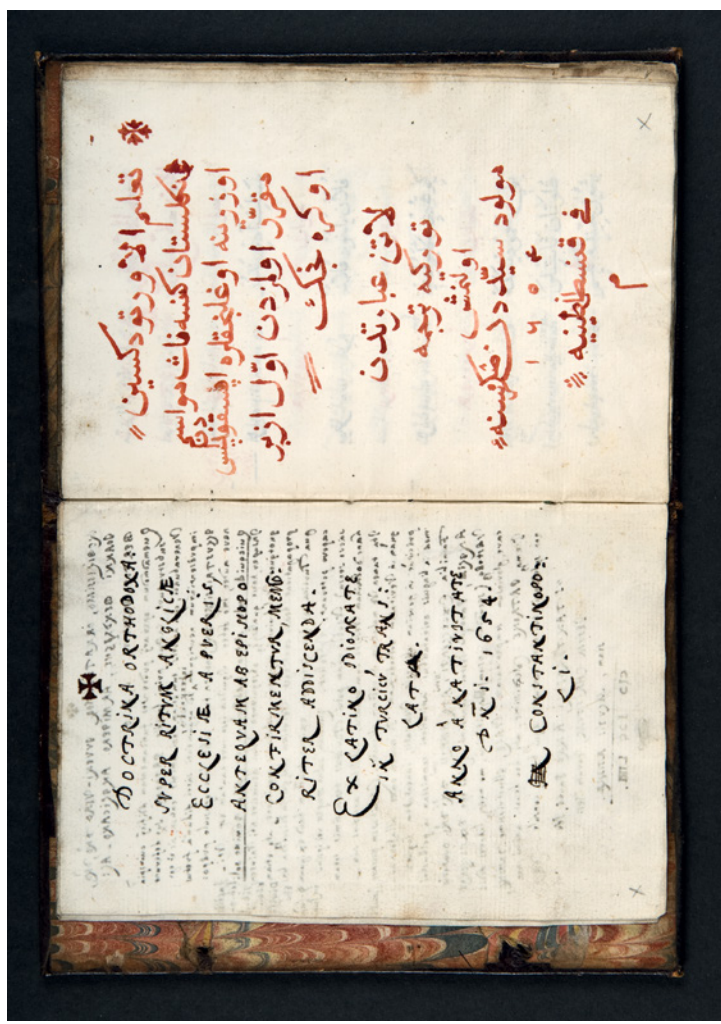


Illustration 6. Title page of Albertus Bobovius, *Talim-i ortudoksin*

DESCRIPTION

Talim-i ortudoksin is Bobovius' Ottoman Turkish translation of the traditional Anglican Catechism (which forms part of the Book of Common Prayer), containing the 23 'Questions and Answers' (a fuller version of the title is *Talim-i ortudoksin ingilistan kenisenin mevâsim üzerine oğlancıklara episkoposdan mukarrer olmazdan evvel ezber öğretecek Latin ibaretinden Türkiye (l. Türkçe) terceme olunmuş Mevlûd-i Seyyid'den sonra sene 1654 fi Kostantiniyye*). The translation is a fairly literal rendering of the 1560 Latin edition of the Catechism. Two manuscripts of this text have survived, one in Glasgow and the other in Durham (Young and Aitkin, *Catalogue*, p. 501; Rud, *Codicum manuscriptorum*, p. 417). They are both dated '1654, Constantinople' (MS Durham, p. 1; MS Glasgow, pp. 5 and 6). MS Glasgow mentions the name of the translator twice, first at the beginning of the dedication (p. 5), *Nobilissimo, ornatissimoque juveni-viro domino, domino, joanni bendyshe, armigero anglicano – Albertus Bobovius salutem plurimam dicit* ('To the most noble and excellent young man my lord John Bendish, English knight, best wishes from Albertus Bobovius'), and second at the end of the translation (p. 45), *Scriptis et composuit Albertus Bobovius magister linguarum* ('Written and composed by Albertus Bobovius, master of languages').

The text in Durham is described in the catalogue as 'a tract in the Arabick language', one of 'a bundle of miscellaneous tracts, chiefly in the hand-writing of Dr Basire'. It comprises 32 pages, partially numbered in modern Arabic numerals (16-31). The Glasgow text takes up the whole of a 50-page manuscript, though the pagination runs only to 43. The order of the pages in both manuscripts is Western, but the language used is Ottoman Turkish (and in the case of the Glasgow text, also Latin).

The texts in the two manuscripts are identical, except that MS Durham contains only the Ottoman Turkish translation whereas MS Glasgow also includes the Latin text. The title pages are identical, except that in MS Glasgow the Latin translation has been added. That the manuscripts belong together is also clear from the short but telling motto that both have on the title page, MS Durham in Ottoman Turkish, '*Pavlus diker, Apullus suvarır, Allah bitirir*', and MS Glasgow in Latin, '*Paulus plantat, Apollos rigat, Deus dat incrementum*' ('Paulus plants, Apollos waters, God gives the growth').

The Ottoman Turkish text in both manuscripts is written in red ink (the Latin in MS Glasgow in black), in the handwriting of Nicolaus Petri, a Christian from Aleppo. In outward appearance too, the texts are very

similar, being written on paper of the same dimensions (160 × 110 mm), and on a similar number of pages. Both are written in columns, those in MS Glasgow numbering 12 lines, in the other 14. But half of each line is left blank in MS Durham. In MS Glasgow, this space has been filled in with Latin text, corresponding to the Ottoman Turkish, so MS Glasgow should possibly be considered as the more recent and, because of the dedication, as the final version (Neudecker, 'Two hitherto little studied Turkish translations').

The translation was commissioned by the divine and traveller Isaac Basire de Preaumont (1607-76), who was well-known as an enthusiast in the dissemination of the Anglo-Catholic faith throughout the East. During his many travels, he had translated the Catechism into the local languages (Neudecker, 'From Istanbul to London?', p. 182; Brennen, 'Life and times', pp. 75-6). The 'Papers concerning Ali Bei' (MS Oxford) reveal that Bobovius met Isaac Basire in Istanbul and that the latter commissioned the translation from Bobovius. However, the dates mentioned in the 'Papers' (1652-3) cannot be correct: the second half of 1653 seems to be the earliest possible date (Neudecker, 'From Istanbul to London?', p. 182).

Bobovius probably delivered (a draft of) his work to Basire in Istanbul in 1653. It is not known exactly what happened afterwards, but it is reasonable to assume that Basire distributed copies of the translation in the East, as he had intended (Neudecker, 'From Istanbul to London?', p. 177). He must then have brought home the copy that is now in Durham, for on his death his papers, including this text, were handed over to the Cathedral library in accordance with his will. Another copy ended up in Glasgow. No printed editions of the text are known, and there are no indications in Basire's papers that he intended to have the text printed.

It is interesting that the translation was made by someone who was to all outward appearances a Muslim. Bobovius was then working in the service of the English ambassador in Istanbul, Sir Thomas Bendish, and must have undertaken this translation privately. That he considered this work not mainly as a source of (additional) income, is supported by the occurrence of Christian notions and phrases in the Ottoman Turkish text. A few of these are:

- 1) The dates used are Christian. One is to be found in the motto that is part of the title, *Mevlûd-i Seyyid'den sonra sene 1654* ('In the year 1654

after the birth of the Lord'). Another is in the dedication to John Bendish in MS Glasgow (p. 5): *Constantinopoli, anno partae, per Jesum Christum, verum Messiam, salutis aeternae. MDCLIII* ('In Constantinople, in the year 1654 since eternal salvation was born through Jesus Christ, the true Messiah').

2) The text of the dedication itself: [...] *Insuper, hocce qualicumque obsequio meo volui devincire tibi universos quotquot, vel huiusce mijsterij salutaris cognitione, atque etiam propagatione beari continget. [...] Quoniam (salvo semper rei ipsius sacro sensu) verbis, quàm potui Turcicis tersissimis totam hanc doctrinam vestire, cum ornatu, fideliter annexus sum — Ita tamen ut maluerim in rectam aliquando Latinitatem peccare quàm in veritatem orthodoxam* ('Moreover, with this my allegiance, whatever its worth, I wish to bind to you all those who will be blessed by the knowledge of this salutary mystery, and its dissemination; [...] because I have faithfully endeavoured to dress this entire doctrine tastefully in Turkish words as correct as possible (while always leaving the sacred meaning of the content intact), but I have preferred offending against correct Latinity now and then to offending against the orthodox truth'; translation by Corinna Vermeulen, Leiden).

3) The final remark, possibly a kind of motto (MS Durham, p. 32; MS Glasgow p. [44]): *Gök altında İsa ve Mesih hazretlerinin ism-i şeriflerinden gayri bir nesne insanlara virilmemiş ki anunla insan selim ola* ('Under Heaven there is nothing other given to men than the noble names of Jesus and his lordship the Messiah, whereby man could be saved'). This phrase is undoubtedly based on Acts 4:12, '[And there is salvation in no one else] for there is no other name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved'.

SIGNIFICANCE

The fact that this is a Turkish translation of the traditional Anglican Catechism is significant in itself and, moreover, the translation was undertaken by a Muslim as a private endeavour.

PUBLICATIONS

- MS Durham, Cathedral Library – Hunter oct. 140:14, pp. 1-32 (1654; Ottoman Turkish – incomplete)
- MS Glasgow, Hunterian Museum – 352, pp. 1-50 (1654; Ottoman Turkish – final version)

STUDIES

- Neudecker, 'Two hitherto little studied Turkish translations'

Neudecker, 'From Istanbul to London?'

L. Saunders, art. 'Bendish, Sir Thomas, second baronet (1607-1674)', in *ODNB*

Neudecker, 'Wojciech Bobowski and his Turkish grammar'

C. Brennen, 'The life and times of Isaac Basire', Durham, 1987 (PhD Diss. University of Durham)

J. Young and P.H. Aitkin, *A catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow*, Glasgow, 1908

T. Rud, *Codicum manuscriptorum ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelmensis catalogus classicus*, Durham, 1825

Ianua linguarum D. Comenij ex lingua Latina in linguam Turcicam versa, 'The door of languages by Johannes Comenius translated from Latin into Turkish'

Zerrin ve küşâde dillerin kapısı türkî ve efrencî, 'The door of tongues unlocked'

DATE 1658

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

This is the Ottoman Turkish translation of Johannes Amos Comenius' (1592-1670) *Ianua linguarum reserata aurea, sive Seminarium linguarum & scientiarum omnium, hoc est compendiosa Latinam (et quamlibet aliam) linguam una cum scientiarum artiumque fundamentis perdiscendi methodus sub titulis centum, periodis mille comprehensa* ('The door of languages unlocked, or the seedbed of all the languages and sciences, etc.'). first published in Leszno, Poland, in 1632. The idea behind this book was first, to teach language (Latin or any other language), and second, to make readers familiar with the entire world, with every element in its proper place in relation to the universe. Language, therefore, is only a means; the knowledge of the world the ultimate goal (Blekastad, *Comenius*, pp. 170-6; Murphy, *Comenius*, pp. 16, 29, 79). This should be seen in the light of Comenius' ideal of universal education, which consists of three elements: learning, morality and faith (Murphy, *Comenius*, p. 79).

The basis for a universal upbringing should be laid in the mother tongue, and next should follow 'foreign languages', then 'neighbouring' languages and finally Latin, as a *lingua franca* for understanding other nations. The study of Latin, therefore, was not primarily prescribed as part of a humanist education or for the study of antiquity, but was intended for everyday use. Accordingly, the vocabulary in this textbook, as well as the subject matter, is rather elementary. Nevertheless, the work contains over 8,000 words and more than 1,000 sentences.

In the *Ianua*, the pupil is led through God's creation, and during this journey he learns all about the cycle of things. Subjects are presented under 100 different headings. They include the elements, minerals, plants, animals, human beings, work, spiritual and social life, virtues, the end of days, and so forth (Murphy, *Comenius*, p. 16). It is clear that, while Comenius aims at universal knowledge and understanding, his point of view is thoroughly Christian.

The book appeared first in Latin and soon after in Czech. Because of its great success, it was very soon translated into several European languages: Polish, German, Swedish, Greek, English, French, Spanish, Italian, Hungarian and Dutch (Murphy, *Comenius*, p. 17).

An Arabic translation appeared in or shortly after 1642, prepared by Peter van Gool, the Aleppo-based brother of the Leiden professor of oriental languages, Jacobus Golius. This same Peter van Gool reports in a letter to his brother that he has found, presumably in Aleppo, some translators who can undertake translations into other oriental languages, namely Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Mongolian, but he does not mention any names (Young, *Comenius in England*, pp. 48-9). It is highly improbable that he could have meant Bobovius, who at that time was still a slave in the sultan's palace in Istanbul, besides which, this all took place at a much earlier time than our manuscript. However, some years later Jacobus Golius might have felt responsible for the translation project and asked Bobovius, the translator he already knew from the Ottoman Turkish Bible translation project, to undertake this translation.

With this Ottoman Turkish translation, and with all the others, Comenius hoped to spread Christianity and Western civilisation among the Muslims of the Near East, as well as the inhabitants of North America. His aim with this translation was thus the same as with another: that of the Bible (Neudecker, *Turkish Bible*).

Two copies of Bobovius' translation of this text have survived, one in Glasgow, the other in Paris (Young and Aitkin, *Catalogue*, p. 479; Blochet,

Catalogue, pp. 89-90). MS Paris is dated 'Constantinople, 1658'. MS Glasgow is undated, but is probably from around the same period; a note on the title page says that in the year 1663 the manuscript was bought from 'Mr. Thompson Cook'. This indicates an English buyer, and the item is considered to have been in London (or England) since 1663. How it got to the Hunterian Collection is not known, although the bookseller Joseph Ames and bibliophiles Joseph Letherland and John Channing had interests in oriental manuscripts, and items from their libraries were later bought by Hunter (personal communication from the Keeper of the Hunterian Collection). The following description is based on a study of MS Glasgow.

The text of the manuscript starts on p. 1 (which is actually p. 19) and is written in two columns. The right-hand column contains the Ottoman Turkish text, most probably in the hand of Nicolaus Petri (Petri's handwriting has been identified in a number of manuscripts in Leiden; see J. Schmidt, *Catalogue of Turkish manuscripts in the library of Leiden University and other collections in the Netherlands*, vol. 1, Leiden, 2000), while the left-hand column contains the Latin version. The copyist is unknown, but the hand is different from that of the Ottoman Turkish translation of the Catechism, also kept in Glasgow. The ink used for the Ottoman Turkish text is darker (or applied more thickly) than that used for the Latin. It can be inferred that the Latin text was added after the Ottoman Turkish, both from the way the Latin text has been applied to the pages and also because the text is in Latin and Turkish only up to chapter 84, and then continues in Turkish only.

To this we must add, however, that the Latin text has not been added everywhere without interruption and is partly missing in many chapters. For instance, in Chapter 11, paragraphs 105-10 are given in both languages, but 111-24 are in Ottoman Turkish only. There are many instances of this. The reason for this is unclear, as the Ottoman Turkish text is complete so the full Latin text must have been available to the translator. We must therefore assume that a draft translation was made and then copied to produce this neat but incomplete version. The beautiful outward appearance also points to the fact that this was intended to be the neat version. Both the paper and the binding are eastern. The pagination, which is contemporary 17th century, only runs up to the end of Chapter 21.

The name of the translator, Bobovius, is only mentioned in MS Paris. Bobovius was identified as the translator by Şükrü Elçin (*Ali Ufkî hayatı*, pp. 12, 14), and by Annie Berthier ('À l'origine', p. 81). What Elçin has

referred to as Bobovius' *Türkçe Sözlük* ('Turkish dictionary'), a reference repeated by Cem Behar ('Ali Ufki'nin bilinmeyen', p. 301), is in fact his Ottoman Turkish translation of Comenius' glossary to the *Ianua linguarum* (Neudecker, 'Wojciech Bobowski and his Trukish grammar', p. 176; Neudecker, 'Two hitherto little studied Turkish translations').

SIGNIFICANCE

It is clear that, while the aim of the original work was universal knowledge and understanding, the point of view of the author, Comenius, is thoroughly Christian. By translating this text, Bobovius showed that he subscribed to this view, if not explicitly, or at least can hardly have been against it for, although he was at the time in the service of the English ambassador, this work was not related to diplomatic relations and must therefore have been undertaken privately.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Paris, BNF – A. F. 216, fol. 198r-427v (1658)

MS Glasgow, Hunterian Museum – 160, 167 folios (undated; probably around 1658)

STUDIES

Neudecker, 'Two hitherto little studied Turkish translations'

Neudecker, 'Wojciech Bobowski and his Turkish grammar', p. 176

Schmidt, *Catalogue*, vol. 1

D. Murphy, *Comenius. A critical reassessment of his life and work*, Dublin, 1995

A. Berthier, 'À l'origine de l'étude de la langue turque en France. Liste des grammaires et dictionnaires manuscrits du fonds Turc de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris', in J.-L. Bacqué-Grammont and R. Dor et al. (eds), *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin par ses disciples, collègues et amis*, Istanbul, 1992, 77-82

C. Behar, 'Ali Ufki'nin bilinmeyen bir musiki elyazması *mezmurlar*', *Tarih ve Toplum* 7 (1987) 300-3

Elçin, *Ali Ufki hayatı*

M. Blekastad, *Comenius. Versuch eines Umrisses von Leben, Werk und Schicksal des Jan Amos Komenský*, Oslo, 1969

E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits Turcs*, Paris, 1932, vol. 1, pp. 89-90

R.F. Young, *Comenius in England*, London, 1932 (also contains a partial trans. of J.A. Comenius, *Continuatio admonitionis fraternae de temperando charitate zelo ad S. Maresium*, Amsterdam, 1669)

Young and Aitkin, *Catalogue*, p. 479

J.A. Comenius, *Continuatio admonitionis fraternae de temperando charitate zelo ad S. Maresium*, Amsterdam, 1669 (partially translated in Young, *Comenius in England*)

Nâmûs-i Musa yani Tevrat-ı şerif lisan-ı İbrânî'den Türk diline mütercem, 'The Law of Moses, namely the Noble Torah, translated from the Hebrew tongue into the Turkish language'

DATE Between about 1662 and 1665

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

Nâmûs-i Musa is Bobovius' Ottoman Turkish translation of the Old and New Testaments, as well as a collection of the Old Testament Apocrypha (apparently influenced by the sponsors of the Dutch Reformed Church; see Privratsky, 'History of Turkish Bible translations', p. 20). The translation was an initiative of Jan Amos Comenius (Komenský, 1592-1670), who was inspired by a millennial vision in which the conversion of the Ottomans played an important role, so an Ottoman Turkish translation of the Bible was needed. Levinus Warner, the Leiden orientalist and manuscript collector and the Dutch Republic's Resident in Istanbul from 1655 onwards, was first invited by Comenius to translate the Bible in 1657 (Malcolm, 'Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg', p. 330). Warner, however, busy with his other duties, commissioned the Bible project to Yahya ibn Ishak (also called Hâkî), his personal dragoman in Istanbul (Neudecker, 'From Istanbul to London?', p. 185). The project was backed financially by the Dutch merchant Laurentius de Geer (1614-66), and academically by the Leiden orientalist Jacob Golius (van Gool, 1596-1667).

In Hâkî's translation, which exists in manuscript, we find what must be Bobovius' critique of it. Warner apparently asked Bobovius for advice on the quality of Hâkî's work and, on receiving an unfavourable evaluation, hired Bobovius instead to produce a new translation (Malcolm, 'Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg', p. 334; Privratsky, 'History of Turkish Bible translations', p. 20; Neudecker, *Turkish Bible*, pp. 367, 386).

There are several versions, draft and neat, of this new translation. Bobovius worked on the draft version between 1662 and 1664 (Schmidt,

Catalogue, vol. 1, pp. 84-90), and a year later, in 1665, two fair copies ('secretarial copies') were produced and sent to Golius along with the draft. One of the fair copies is almost complete and preserved in Leiden (Cod. Or. 1101a-f); the other contains only Isaiah and several books of the Apocrypha. The draft in Bobovius' hand and the secretarial copies are kept in Leiden. Another fair copy, in Bobovius' hand, survives in Amsterdam. On the basis of Bobovius' handling of New Testament textual variants, Privratsky holds that Bobovius' source text was one of the modern vernacular versions based on Erasmus' Greek New Testament (Privratsky, 'History of Turkish Bible translations', pp. 18-19).

After Bobovius' draft manuscripts were sent to Jacobus Golius in Leiden, a single page from Isaiah was printed in 1662 (Schmidt, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, p. 92). It was probably one of the fair copies that was used as the source text for the first printed Ottoman Turkish New Testament in 1819 and Bible in 1827.

Privratsky discusses and rejects the story that Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87) himself ordered Bobovius to re-start the translation after Hâkî. At the time when Bobovius was working on this translation, he was not actually in the sultan's service. In 1666, Golius began reading Bobovius' fair copy, criticised his work and proposed that Shâhîn ibn Kandî of Aleppo (who worked as a copyist for Golius in Leiden from 1656 onwards, see Schmidt, *Catalogue*, vol. 4, p. 13) should revise the text. Bobovius was not aware of this proposal. As we know, he wanted to revise his (own) translation himself, in England, using Theodore Beza's commentary, but this plan came to nothing, and neither did that of employing Kandî. The Dutch translation project ended with the deaths of all the key figures except Bobovius: Levinus Warner (1665), Laurentius de Geer (1666), Jacobus Golius (1667), and Golius' successor in Leiden, Johann Heinrich Hottinger (1667) (Privratsky, 'History of Turkish Bible translations', pp. 21-5).

In this Bible translation, or rather in the margins, Bobovius shows his sympathies for the Christian faith at a time when he was officially a Muslim living in Istanbul. One telling example is to be found at the end of the Gospel of John (Cod. Or. 390d, fol. 116r): 'Anno salutis humanae 1664' ('in the year of humankind's salvation 1664'), where the year is given according to the Christian calendar, though not merely as a neutral numerical value (1664) but with the explicit addition of 'salutis humanae'. Although this is just one example, it is reinforced by the use of Christian dates, and also the motto in 'The teaching of the Orthodox Church', and the date in the 'Turkish-Latin grammar'. There is another example at the

end of 3 Maccabees (Cod. Or. 390c, fol. 208r): 'D[omine] Warnere da bonum potum quia iam finitum opus totum. A di 27/17 Decembre 1664' ('Mr Warner, give a good drink, because the complete work has already been finished. 27/17 December [according to the Gregorian and Julian calendars, respectively] 1664'). Reference is made here to celebratory drinks on the occasion of the completion of the project. Whether or not this refers to alcoholic drinks is not stated, but is likely on the basis of the other circumstantial evidence. Finally, at the end of the Gospel of Matthew (Cod. Or. 390d, fol. 32v), we find the phrase: '*Mattâ'nun İncili tamam oldu ve'l-mecdü li-llâhi ebeden*' ('Matthew's Gospel is finished and glory be to God forever'), and the same at the end of the Gospel of Mark (Cod. Or. 390d, fol. 51v) with the addition of '*dâ'imen ebeden âmin*' ('always and forever amen'). The terms *ilâh* and *âmin* are used in the context of the three monotheistic religions, and it is impossible to state on the basis of these two occurrences that they point to Christian sympathies. However, considered in conjunction with the use of Christian dates, and the absence of references to Islam, their use may be taken to be significant.

The fact that Bobovius left his personal additions in the Gospels of John and Matthew, and in 3 Maccabees, rather than the Old Testament (scripture of the Jews), may also be considered noteworthy.

SIGNIFICANCE

The general significance of the text lies in the fact that this translation by Bobovius would eventually form the basis for the first printed Ottoman Turkish New Testament (1819) and Bible (1827). With regard to Christian-Muslim relations, it is important because it is a translation of the Christian sacred texts by a Muslim living in Istanbul. The translation work was carried out by Bobovius while he was in the pay or at least under the guidance (but in the pay of Lord Winchilsea, the English ambassador) of the Dutch Resident in Istanbul, Levinus Warner. He moved in Western Christian circles and may have been influenced by them. As demonstrated above, in the text and in the margins, Bobovius clearly shows his sympathies (if no more) for the Christian faith.

PUBLICATIONS

For details of MSS, see Schmidt, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, pp. 84-92, 416-22, 435-7; vol. 2, pp. 267-8; vol. 4, pp. 12-27.

A single page from Isaiah was printed in late 1662 as a proof (Schmidt, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, p. 92).

The New Testament based on Bobovius' translation was printed for the first time in Paris (British and Foreign Bible Society, 1819), and a complete Bible shortly afterwards (Bible imprimerie royale, 1827). This became the basis for further Ottoman Turkish translations.

STUDIES

- Privratsky, 'History of Turkish Bible translations', pp. 9-26, 128, 131
 Schmidt, *Catalogue*, vol. 1, pp. 84-92, 416-22, 435-6, vol. 4, pp. 10-20
 Malcolm, 'Comenius, Boyle, Oldenburg'
 Malcolm, 'Comenius, the conversion of the Turks'
 F. Toprak, *XVII. Yüzyıla ait bir İncil tercümesi. Inceleme – metin – sözlük*, Ankara, 2006, pp. 117-349, 646-53
 J. Schmidt, 'An ostrich egg for Golius. The Heyman Papers preserved in the Leiden and Manchester University Libraries', in J. Schmidt (ed.), *The joys of philology. Studies in Ottoman literature, history and Orientalism (1500-1923)*, Istanbul, 2002, vol. 2, pp. 53-9
 Neudecker, *Turkish Bible*, pp. 376-82
 B. Flemming, 'Zwei türkische Bibelhandschriften in Leiden als mittelosmanische Sprachdenkmäler', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 76 (1986) 111-18

Letter written by Albertus Bobovius to Isaac Basire

DATE 27/17 (according to the Gregorian and Julian calendars, respectively) August 1666

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

Albertus Bobovius wrote this letter to Isaac Basire from Pera, Istanbul, on 27/17 August 1666. The letter is not only dated, but also signed, *Albertus Bobovius in perpetuum Magister Linguarum* (p. 20). Bobovius informs Basire that he has carried out extensive translations of the Bible for Levinus Warner and says that, after Warner's sudden death (the actual word used is 'killed', but as yet there is no satisfactory explanation for this), he wants to continue the work and publish it, using the comments made by Theodor Beza (Neudecker, 'From Istanbul to London?', pp. 184-6).

The letter is clearly intended to revive and strengthen Bobovius' old contacts after several years of silence, with the implicit but clear aim of finding employment as a translator at the court of Charles II. This should be considered in connection with Bobovius' ambition to continue his career in England, which is hinted at by Thomas Hyde, the English orientalist and librarian at the Bodleian Library. On Bobovius' early death, Hyde wrote (in Latin): 'It is highly to be deplored that he was prematurely snatched away by death before he could return to the Christian faith, which he intended to do wholeheartedly, longing to be able to earn his bread in some honest way in England among Christians and to be removed from the pressure of the infidels' (Neudecker, *Turkish Bible*, p. 372, n. 49). Towards the end of the letter, Bobovius thanks Basire for introducing him to Sir Thomas Bendish (English ambassador 1647-60), who hired him as a translator. He hopes to be able to help Basire in return, indicating that he had hopes of obtaining a position (in England) that would allow him to do people favours.

Bobovius addressed his letter to Basire in London. At the time, Basire was living in Durham, though he was in London regularly to carry out his duties as chaplain to the king, to undertake missions for the Dean and Chapter of Durham, and to look after his own affairs. In 1667, he visited London twice, so we may assume that he received the letter then. The letter, together with the 'Papers concerning Ali Bei' (MS Oxford), were taken to Istanbul from London in 1668, most likely by Thomas Smith (Neudecker, 'From Istanbul to London?', p. 179).

The 'Papers concerning Ali Bei' (MS Oxford, pp. 21-2, 24), although they are not written by Bobovius but about him, are closely associated with this letter and will therefore also be described here. They are, moreover, the most extensive contemporary account of Bobovius' life. They are unsigned, undated and anonymous. That they were written in London can be deduced from the context. The date can also be deduced, because the 'Papers' state that the letter (dated August 1666) has been written recently. The 'Papers' must therefore have been composed towards the end of that year, or no later than 1668, when they were given to Thomas Smith (Neudecker, 'Wojciech Bobowski and his Turkish grammar', pp. 169-70). The 'Papers' and the letter were taken to Istanbul from London in 1668, most likely by Thomas Smith (Neudecker, 'From Istanbul to London?', pp. 179).

The 'Papers' mention Bobovius' skills and accomplishments, as well as the names of Englishmen who could recommend him. They also reveal

that Bobovius met Isaac Basire in Istanbul, and the second paragraph indicates that Basire commissioned the Ottoman Turkish translation of the Anglican Catechism from Bobovius (Neudecker, 'From Istanbul to London', pp. 181-2).

The final paragraph of the 'Papers' confirms that Bobovius hoped to move to England. It mentions that he has written Basire a letter (the letter described here), and that 'because the latter has high hopes that Bobovius will be a good Christian, and with his knowledge of [Eastern] languages and the secrets of the Ottoman Empire will be an asset to the [English] king, he [Basire] promises to bring Bobovius' case to the attention of the Superiours. If his plan is accepted, one word of the king to the English ambassador in Constantinople will be enough to bring him [Bobovius] to England.'

This last paragraph therefore links the 'Papers' to the letter, as the 'Papers' refer to what has been implicitly said in the letter. It is clear that the 'Papers' must have been written to recommend Bobovius in the circles of the English court (Neudecker, 'From Istanbul to London?', pp. 187-8).

SIGNIFICANCE

This letter, together with the 'Papers', is very important for gaining knowledge and understanding of Bobovius' life. It mentions explicitly his desire to leave the Ottoman Empire (and, implicitly, the Muslim faith).

PUBLICATIONS

MS Oxford, Bodleian Library – Smith 98, pp. 19-20, address on p. 26 (1666; Latin – the only surviving MS)

Neudecker, 'From Istanbul to London?', pp. 190-3

STUDIES

Neudecker, 'From Istanbul to London?'

R. Hunt (ed.), *A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, with references to the Oriental and other manuscripts*, 7 vols, Oxford, 1895-1953, vol. 3, p. 473, no. 15703

Mezâmîr, 'Psalms'

DATE Approximately 1665-73

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

The manuscript of the *Mezâmîr* contains 14 psalms with staff notation. According to Privratsky ('Turkish Bible', pp. 27-8, 130), each of Bobovius' musical psalms is longer and more poetic than the Psalms in his Bible translation. Considerations of rhyme, metre and the tastes of a Muslim audience influenced the way Bobovius turned the psalm into a hymn. He adapted the tunes from the Genevan Psalter and set them to the Ottoman Turkish modal system, clearly in order to make them acceptable to a Turkish audience. The *Mezâmîr*, as Ottoman chamber music, were intended, according to Privratsky, for a cultured and mystical audience in Istanbul. He worked on these musical psalms towards the end of his life.

Freire ('Between Calvinism and Islam') describes Bobovius' Psalter as a 'hybrid work, compromising and mixing two identities', made using adaptations of tunes of the Genevan Psalter (being itself an expansion of an earlier Huguenot Psalter). According to Freire, this Psalter is musically 'in-between', being an adaptation of the French and Genevan melodies composed by Claude Goudimel and others. Whether Bobovius had received actual copies of the music scores or memorised the tunes cannot be established, but it is clear that their origin lies in the early metrical psalters used by Reformed communities all over Europe, including Lvóv. However, he made considerable changes, e.g. transforming the Genevan 'modes' of that time and genre into Turkish 'modes'. Modes, as opposed to contemporary scales, represent, in Freire's words, a kind of 'humour' and correspond to the general 'mood' of each respective psalm. The Turkish modes were similar, but not quite the same as the European ones.

In addition to the modes, in some cases changes have also been made to the melody, and therefore the metre of a poem, for the purpose of incorporating a larger number of syllables into the Ottoman text, as compared to the early modern French.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work, a Christian psalter set to Ottoman musical form, is an example of the transmission of the Genevan Psalter outside Christendom in the early modern period. As a work composed by Bobovius at a relatively late age, it shows that he took a strong interest in the Bible and Christianity towards the end of his life.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Paris, BNF – Suppl. Turc. 472, 5 fols (approx. 1665-73; Ottoman Turkish – the only surviving manuscript)

C. Behar, *Musikiden müziğe. Osmanlı/Türk müziği: gelenek ve modernlik*, Istanbul, 2005, pp. 17-56 (the 14 psalms in romanised transliteration)

STUDIES

L.G. Freire, 'Between Calvinism and Islam. Mimicry, hybridity and Ali Ufki's Ottoman Psalter', paper presented at the conference, 'Cultural encounters. Researching ethnicities, identities, and politics in a globalised world', Exeter, 21 May 2011, 1-14; http://www.academia.edu/602003/Between_Calvinism_and_Islam_Mimicry_Hybridity_and_Ali_Ufkis_Ottoman_Psalter

Privratsky, 'History of Turkish Bible translations', pp. 27-8

Bloch, *Catalogue des manuscrits Turcs*, vol. 1, pp. 364-5

Hannah Neudecker

Minkarizâde Yahya

Şeyhülislam Minkarizâde Yahya Efendi

DATE OF BIRTH 1609
PLACE OF BIRTH Istanbul
DATE OF DEATH 1678
PLACE OF DEATH Istanbul

BIOGRAPHY

Of the 174 Ottoman *şeyhülislams*, Minkarizâde Yahya was one of the longest serving and most influential in the Ottoman religious and political milieu. He was born into a scholarly family in Istanbul in 1609 and received an excellent education, studying with famous mystics and scholars such as the Sufi Aziz Mahmud Hüdâyî (d. 1628) and Şeyhülislam Hocazâde Esad Efendi (d. 1625). An erudite and promising scholar, Minkarizâde commenced his teaching career in Istanbul *medreses* such as Kürkçübaşı (1637), Hadım Hasan Pasha (1641), Sahn-ı Semân (1644), Siyavuş Pasha (1645), Yavuz Sultan Selim (1646) and the celebrated Süleymaniye Medresesi (1648). He continued his career as a *kadı* (judge) in the 1650s, serving in prestigious Ottoman cities such as Mecca, Cairo and Istanbul. Health problems forced him to leave his post on several occasions, but he was always reemployed. In 1658, he was chosen as the *mümeyyiz-i ulemâ* (examiner of the *ulemâ*) for his erudition, and in 1662 he was appointed as the *Rumeli kazaskeri*, one of the two chief military judges in the Ottoman judicial system, the highest positions after that of *şeyhülislam*. That same year, Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87) appointed him *şeyhülislam* to replace Sun'îzâde Seyyid Mehmed Emin Efendi (d. 1665), who, like many 17th-century *şeyhülislams*, had held the post for less than a year.

Minkarizâde remained *şeyhülislam* for almost 11 years, during a period of relative calm and stability in the Ottoman Empire that was attributed largely to the military and political genius of the Köprülü family, whose members served as grand viziers between 1656 and 1683. According to contemporary historians such as Abdi Pasha and Silahdar Mehmed Ağa, during his tenure Minkarizâde developed a very good relationship with the sultan, and received several personal gifts from him. In the religious

and political arena of the imperial court, Minkarizâde's rival was Vâni Efendi (d. 1685), the sultan's preacher. Vâni Efendi was a puritanically minded *kadızâdeli* (anti-Sufi fundamentalists), who was initiated into the palace under the auspices of the Grand Vizier Köprülü Ahmed Pasha in 1661. Minkarizâde and Vâni Efendi vied for the sultan's attention and appreciation on religious and political issues. Minkarizâde's recurring illnesses meant that he could not accompany the sultan on his travels and expeditions, while Vâni Efendi was always at his side. For this reason, Vâni Efendi had more influence over the sultan and imperial politics, and in popular imagination, and some contemporary literature mistakenly refers to him as the *şeyhülislam*.

Minkarizâde was an interesting figure for another reason. He was one of the most crucial actors in the trial of Sabbatai Sevi, who claimed to be the Jewish messiah, and in Sevi's subsequent conversion to Islam in 1666. Along with Vâni Efendi and the governor (later grand vizier) Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha, Minkarizâde served as one of the interrogators during Sevi's trials at the Edirne Palace in 1666 and 1673, which were observed by the sultan.

Minkarizâde was a popular teacher and prolific writer. Apart from *Fetâvâ-yı Minkarizâde* ('Fatwas of Minkarizâde') and *Risâle-i beyân-ı millet-i İbrahim* ('A treatise explicating "the religion of Abraham"'), which are presented below, his most important work is *Al-ittibâ' fî mas'alat al-istimâ'* ('A discourse on listening to the recitation of the Qur'an'), a treatise on etiquette when listening to the Qur'an. None of his works have yet been published. Towards the end of his tenure, Minkarizâde's illness peaked and, after a partial stroke in 1674, he was removed from his post. He died four years later in Istanbul and was buried in the courtyard of the Minkarizâde Medresesi, which he had founded in Üsküdar, Istanbul; his *medrese* and tomb were destroyed in an earthquake in 1855. His student, Çatalca Ali Efendi (d. 1692), was appointed to succeed him as the new *şeyhülislam*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Nev'izâde Atâî, *Zeyl-i şekâük*, Istanbul, 1851, p. 771

Defterdar Sarı Mehmed Pasha, *Zübde-i vekayiat*, ed. A. Özcan, Ankara, 1995, p. 907
S.A. Kahraman, A.N. Galitekin and C. Dadas (eds), *İlmiye salnâmesi*, Istanbul, 1998, p. 823

Abdurrahman Abdi Pasha, *Vekâyi'-nâme*, ed. F.Ç. Derin, Istanbul, 2008, p. 519

Secondary

M. İpşirli, art. 'Minkarizâde Yahyâ Efendi', in *Diyanet İslâm ansiklopedisi*

İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devletinin ilmiye teşkilatı*, Ankara, 1984

M.C. Zilfi, 'The Kadizadelis. Discordant revivalism in seventeenth-century Istanbul', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45 (1986) 251-69, pp. 254-5, 257

M.C. Zilfi, *The politics of piety. The Ottoman ulema in the postclassical age (1600-1800)*, Minneapolis MN, 1988, pp. 136-9

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Risâle-yi beyân-i millet-i İbrahim, 'A treatise explicating "the religion of Abraham"'

Millet-i İbrahim, 'The religion of Abraham'

DATE Approximately 1660s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

In this short, unpublished treatise (fols 10-12 in the undated MS Antalya), also known as *Risale-i fi-kavlihi Teâlâ millete ebîküm İbrahim* and *Risâle fi's-suâli ve'l-cevâb fî hakki milleti İbrahim*, Minkarizâde attempts to answer the question of 'whether it is acceptable for a Muslim to say that s/he is of the *millet-i İbrahim*'. The term *millet* (Arabic *milla*), meaning religion or community within the early Islamic context, appears several times in the Qur'an and Hadith, as in Q 16:123: 'Then We revealed to you, [O Muḥammad]: Follow the religion of Abraham (*millat İbrâhîm*), as one by nature upright (*hanîf*); and he was not of the idolaters.' Commenting on this verse, Minkarizâde states that the qur'anic imperative to 'follow the religion of Abraham' actually means 'follow the religion of Muḥammad'. He cites earlier Muslim scholars such as Pazdawî (d. 1089), al-Bayḍawî (d. 1286), al-Nasafî (d. 1310), Birgivî (d. 1573), and Ebussuûd Efendi (d. 1574), who reflected the belief that pre-Islamic religions, especially Judaism and Christianity, were the true religions of God, but had become corrupted over time. However, even in the absence of the true religion, there had always been people who were *hanîf* (upright), and who genuinely followed the Abrahamic tradition and held to the oneness of God in their beliefs and practices. The *hanîfs* were the precursors of the followers of the Prophet Muḥammad. Muḥammad's message contains the *şeriats* and *millets* of all the previous prophets, and it is therefore redundant and incorrect to say: 'I follow the *şeriat* and

millet of Abraham'. Minkarizâde illustrates the relationship between the old and new *şeriat*s using the example of inheritance: When a legacy is bequeathed to an inheritor, the former owner loses all rights over it; similarly, when Muḥammad inherited the *şeriat*s and *millets* from the earlier prophets, this made him the sole rightful owner of their messages. At the end of his text, however, Minkarizâde makes a slight exception for the cosmopolitan elite (*havâss*), allowing them to call themselves followers of the *millet-i İbrahim* as they were capable of grasping the subtleties of the issue.

It is very likely, though not certain, that Minkarizâde composed this text within a context where the *kadızâdelis* were condemning the use of the term *millet-i İbrahim* to refer to Islam (Zilfi, 'Kadizadelis', pp. 254-5, 257; Zilfi, *Politics of piety*, pp. 136-9).

SIGNIFICANCE

This treatise is a rare example of an Ottoman scholar developing a discourse about the status of non-Muslims in the lands of Islam. From the fatwa literature, court records and other archival documents, we know that the Ottomans built up a highly sophisticated method for governing minorities and managing diversity within the empire, but we do not have fully developed discursive texts explaining how they managed this. Although Minkarizâde does not mention the Jews and the Christians or the *ahl al-kitâb* and *dhimmîs* specifically, he preserves in this treatise the classical Islamic and Ottoman attitudes towards non-Muslims, specifically Jews and Christians. For example, his disdain of the anti-Jewish and anti-Christian sentiments on the rise during this period is expressed in his defence of the age-old Ottoman tradition of holding multi-faith (Muslim, Christian, Jewish) public prayers on special days, against the arguments of the *kadızâdeli* Vâni Efendi, who was vehemently against this practice (Zilfi, 'Kadizadelis', pp. 264-5).

PUBLICATIONS

- MS Antalya, Tekelioğlu İl Halk Kütüphanesi – 810, fols 10-12 (undated)
- MS Burdur, İl Halk Kütüphanesi – 12-01, fols 23v-26v (undated)
- MS Burdur, İl Halk Kütüphanesi – 873-02, fols 17r-21r (undated)
- MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye – 4952, fols 35-55 (undated)
- MS Istanbul, Millet – Ali Emiri 282, fols 2-4 (undated)
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- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Fatih 5379, fols 271 (undated)
- MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Fatih 5435, fols 118-23 (undated)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Giresun Yazmalar (tüyatok) 3594, fols 237v-258r (undated)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – H. Hayri-Abd. Efendi 147, fols 265-7 (undated)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hacı Mahmud Efendi 4685, fols 1-25 (undated)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – İbrahim Efendi 860, fols 133-5 (undated)

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MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – M. Arif-M. Murad 23, 4 fols (undated)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Mihrişah Sultan 440, fols 79-80 (undated)

MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Yazma Bağışlar 1438, fols 103-16, 117-19 (two copies; undated)

MS Princeton, University Library – Garrett 400L, 4 fols (1857-8)

STUDIES

Zilfi, 'Kadizadelis'

Zilfi, *Politics of piety*

Fetâvâ-yı Minkarizâde, 'Fatwas of Minkarizâde'

DATE 1662-74

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

Fetâvâ-yı Minkarizâde is one of the major Ottoman Turkish fatwa collections, composed by Minkarizâde Yahya Efendi during his tenure as *şeyhülislam* between 1662 and 1674. Judging by the large number of extant manuscripts in various libraries (none of them has been published), we can safely assume that it was one of the more widely used fatwa collections in the empire. The styles adopted by the copyists have led to variations in the number and organisation of the fatwas. For example, MS Harvard 1402 has almost 40 main chapters and dozens of subchapters in 478 folios, while MS Nuruosmaniye 2001 has the same number of chapters in 638 folios. Variations in the length of later manuscripts also stem from the inclusion or exclusion of certain fatwas. Minkarizâde himself did not include the sources and proof texts for his fatwas in the collection; these were added by Ataullah Mehmed Efendi (d. 1715), one of Minkarizâde's students and briefly *şeyhülislam* in 1713, who edited and annotated Minkarizâde's fatwas.

The organisation of the text follows the pattern of classical Ḥanafî books of jurisprudence. For example, MS Harvard 1402 opens with a chapter on 'purity' and ends with a chapter on 'circumcision', and MS Nuruosmaniye 2001 opens with a chapter on 'purity' and ends with a chapter on 'inheritance'. This is a typical fatwa collection, covering almost all aspects of law such as prayers, pilgrimage, ablution, alms, fasting, marriage, divorce, burial, inheritance, capital punishment, war, jihad and *zimmîs*. Like many other early modern Ottoman works, Minkarizâde's fatwas use the term *zimmî* to refer primarily to Orthodox Christians rather than Armenians or Jews, who are referred to specifically as *Ermeni tâifesi* and *Yahudi tâifesi*.

Fetâvâ-yı Minkarizâde contains more than 200 fatwas on *zimmîs*, mostly in the section *Kitâb-ı siyer*. To give an example, one fatwa reads: 'Question: Should the Christian wife of Zeyd the Muslim die, would she be buried in the Muslims' cemetery or the infidels' cemetery? Answer: She would be buried in the infidels' cemetery' (MS Nuruosmaniye 2001, fol. 6r). Another fatwa reads: 'Question: Would it be permissible for Muslims to eat the meat of an animal slaughtered by Zeyd the Jew who was appointed as butcher [by the Jewish community]? Answer: Yes, it is permissible' (MS Nuruosmaniye 2001, fol. 343v). A significant number of fatwas concern cases of conversion. For example, one reads: 'Had Hind the Christian not converted to Islam after [her husband] Zeyd the *zimmî* was ennobled with the glory of Islam, would it be religiously imperative [for Zeyd] to renew his marriage contract? Answer: No' (MS Nuruosmaniye 2001, fol. 18r).

SIGNIFICANCE

The legal opinions in *Fetâvâ-yı Minkarizâde* are mostly based on concrete rather than hypothetical or clichéd questions. Therefore, they present an immensely rich source for social, cultural, economic, legal and religious history, as well as for the history of Muslim-Christian relations in the 17th-century Ottoman Empire.

PUBLICATIONS

There are dozens of copies of the text in various libraries, including:

- MS Burdur, İl Halk Kütüphanesi – 1980, 376 fols (1688)
- MS Istanbul, Topkapı – Ahmed III Kitapları 788, 266 fols (1695)
- MS Cambridge MA, Harvard Law School Library – 1402, 478 fols (1720)
- MS Istanbul, Beyazıd Devlet Kütüphanesi – Beyazıd 2765, 249 fols (1745)

- MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye – 2001, 580 fols (undated)
MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye – 2002, 544 fols (undated)
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MS Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye – 2037, 422 fols (undated)
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MS Istanbul, Beyazıd Devlet Kütüphanesi – Beyazıd 2789, 119 fols (undated)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Aşir Efendi 137, 530 fols (undated)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Esad Efendi 1088, 417 fols (undated)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hamidiye 610, 531 fols (undated)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Hamidiye 355, 295 fols (undated)
MS Istanbul, Süleymaniye – Şehid Ali Pasha 1055, 348 fols (undated)
MS Istanbul, Hacı Selim Ağa – Hacı Selim Ağa 449, 342 fols (undated)
MS Adana, İl Halk Kütüphanesi – 1054, 352 fols (undated)

Cengiz Sisman

Johann Michael Wansleben

DATE OF BIRTH 1635
PLACE OF BIRTH Erfurt, Thuringia
DATE OF DEATH 1679
PLACE OF DEATH Fontainebleau, France

BIOGRAPHY

Johann Michael Wansleben (often known as Vansleb) was the son of a Lutheran pastor in Erfurt. His biographer notes that he possessed intellectual gifts that provided numerous opportunities for him, which were wasted on his addictions to a frivolous lifestyle and drink. He received a classical education in Latin in Erfurt and went on to study languages and theology at Königsberg. It was in Gotha, not far from Erfurt, that he met the German Orientalist Hiob Ludolf (1624-1704), who took him in to study Ethiopic. Ludolf would later regret his student's reckless lifestyle. Together the two published *Lexicon aethiopico-latinum* in 1661, but it contained so many errors that Ludolf later produced a second edition by himself in 1699.

It was through Ludolf that Wansleben was introduced to Ernest I, Duke of Saxony-Gotha (1601-75), who wished to send a Lutheran mission to Ethiopia. The duke was interested in finding miaphysite Ethiopians who might come back to Germany, be taught the Protestant faith and then return to Ethiopia as missionaries. Owing to his language skills, knowledge and connections, Wansleben was invited to undertake this mission.

He left for Ethiopia via Egypt in 1663, but he never reached his destination. He spent two years in Egypt travelling throughout the country collecting Coptic texts and recording his visits, taking so long that Ludolf, embarrassed by Wansleben's lack of productivity in his primary mission, accused his pupil of debauchery, polygamy and wasting his financial resources.

Wansleben left Egypt in 1665, but rather than returning to Thuringia he travelled to Rome, certainly as a result of his broken relationship with Ludolf. It was in Rome that he forwarded to the duke a report of his trip (*Relazione dello stato presente dell'Egitto*, 1671). Here he met the Jesuit Orientalist Athanasius Kircher (1602-80) and eventually converted to

Roman Catholicism. The nature of his conversion and the reason for it are not known, but Wansleben found kinship with Athanasius' scholarly interest in Egypt and Coptic, which may have been a contributing factor.

Through his associations and previous knowledge of Egypt, he was once again given an opportunity to return under a commission from the French government to collect manuscripts. He left Paris in 1672 and travelled to Syria before heading to Egypt. He travelled around visiting ancient monuments and Coptic monastic sites. He used this second trip to develop his third work, *Histoire de l'église d'Alexandrie* which was completed after he returned to Paris. Apparently his wild lifestyle caught up with him again during this journey, as he was charged by local Egyptians with drunkenness and accused of being an agent of the French government. Word of his troubles reached Paris, and in 1675 he was recalled by the French government, which refused to pay him for his work. Spent and poor, Wansleben managed to secure a position as a vicar in the Fontainebleau section of Paris, serving there until he died at the age of 43. His life and significance are yet to be studied with the care they deserve.

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- Johann Michael Wansleben, *Relazione dello stato presente dell'Egitto, nella quale si dà esattissimo ragguaglio delle cose naturali del paese, del governo politico, che vi é, della religione de'Copti, dell'economia delli Egizii e delle magnifiche fabriche, che ancor'hoggidi visi ci veggono. Scritta dal signore Gio. Michele Vanslebio*, Cramoisy, 1671 (original in Latin)
- Johann Michael Wansleben, *Histoire de l'église d'Alexandrie, fondée par S. Marc, que nous appelons celle des Jacobites-coptes d'Egypte*, Paris, 1677
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Nouvelle relation en forme de journal, d'un voyage fait en Egypte, The present state of Egypt; or, a new relation of a late voyage into that kingdom performed in the years 1672 and 1673

DATE 1677

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE French

DESCRIPTION

Nouvelle relation en forme de journal is a 423-page report of Johann Michael Wansleben's journey from Marseilles to Constantinople, then on to Tripoli and through Syria, en route to Egypt, in the years 1672 and 1673, followed by his return journey to Paris. An English edition, *The present state of Egypt; or, a new relation of a late voyage into that kingdom performed in the years 1672 and 1673*, was published in London in 1678; a second edition of the French original was published in 1698.

This work records Wansleben's second voyage to Egypt, the first having been undertaken in 1664 under the auspices and support of Ernest I, Duke of Saxony-Gotha. On this voyage Wansleben was under the protection of the local French consulate, which under the auspices of the Capitulations between France and the Ottomans provided protection and freedom of movement for all western Catholic merchants and missionaries in the Ottoman Empire.

Wansleben's primary attention is given to the geography and governance of the country, and the status of Coptic Orthodox practices, monasteries and holy sites. References to Islam, Muslims and inter-faith relations are scattered throughout the narrative. He uses the nomenclature 'Mahometans' and provides a general overview of the Muslim dynasties and rulers of Egypt from the conquest to the time of his visit. In this

review, he makes a distinction between the 'Arabians' (whom he regards as the ruling Arab Muslims from the time of 'Amr ibn al-Āṣ to the period of Fāṭimid rule), the 'sultans' (that is, the rule of the Ayyūbids, the Mamlūks of Circassian and Turkish origin, and the Ottomans), and the 'Moors', who he claims are indigenous Egyptian converts to Islam. However, he does not use the term Arabians consistently. He often makes reference to those nomadic tribes of peoples living in the deserts of Egypt as Arabians, who were a 'brutish' people. These are often called the 'Bleymmes' in other literature, as distinct from the early Arab Muslims who settled in Egypt.

Wansleben also describes the Christian inhabitants, the Copts, Greeks and Franks, as well as the Jews of Egypt. He claims that at the time of the Arab invasion there were 600,000 Copts, but by the time of his visit in the 18th century there were only 16,000. One of the reasons for the decline, claims Wansleben, is that the Muslim government oppressed the Copts, killing their leaders, selling their women and children as slaves and subjecting them to taxes. The persecution, he writes, was the main cause for many conversions to Islam. He writes that the Copts were greatly oppressed and were 'looked upon as the scum of the world, and worse than the Jews'. In addition, they were forbidden from entering mosques lest they 'defile' a Muslim holy site. This period of rule in Egypt proved difficult not only for the local Egyptian Muslims, but even more so for the minority communities.

Wansleben remarks that the Arab Muslims adopted Coptic systems of governance when ruling Egypt, including the growing seasons of the Nile that would include taxation tables based upon the annual inundation. While the Copts held the tradition of holding liturgical processions to ask God to bless the land during the inundation, he notes that the patriarch was now prohibited from holding such public processions. After the Arab Muslim conquest, such public ceremonies were only held in the smaller villages along the Nile and it was the role of qadis to inspect the rise of the Nile after the afternoon prayers.

It is clear that Wansleben read Arabic, having learned this under Hiob Ludolf. He utilises a number of Arab historians as his travel guides, including Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Zūlāk and al-Maqrīzī, as well as the French traveller Jean de Thévenot, who visited Egypt in 1655. It is most probable that he used Thévenot for much of his itinerary. Whether he copied Thévenot's stories and traditions into his own writings, or actually visited the variety of places listed in the work is not certain, but there is no reason to doubt his own first-hand accounts.

Wansleben provides information on several local Christian and Muslim traditions regarding Jesus and Muḥammad, including the well at Maṭariyya noted by the Copts as one of the places where Mary washed the baby Jesus on the flight into Egypt, and since that time a place of miracles. (This story is, of course, well known in Christian apocryphal literature.) The Muslims, he remarks, believe that the well is filled with the waters of the well of Zamzam in Mecca, though he regards this as a 'fable'. In the village of Agiasma there is a holy fountain called 'Ayin al-Mundura', from which both Christians and Muslims come to drink.

He remarks that Maṭariyya was also known as the place where a sycamore tree miraculously split in two, providing a place for Jesus, Mary and Joseph to hide from Herod's soldiers who were pursuing the Christ child. The opening in the tree was covered by spiders, who wove their webs over the entrance to the niche. While Wansleben does not mention it, this particular Christian tradition is similar in form to the account in the biography of Muḥammad of how spider webs covered the entrance to the cave in which Muḥammad and Abū Bakr hid when they fled Mecca. When Wansleben visited this place in 1656, the tree had just recently fallen over and had been chopped up for relics.

In a meeting with the Greek Orthodox archbishop of Sinai in Cairo, Wansleben was told of the tradition of Muḥammad's protection of the monastery of St Catherine, which freed the monks from the annual tax. The document of protection, with an impression of Muḥammad's own hand, was given, he says, by the Prophet in thanks for the monks' hospitality during his travels with his uncle as a young boy. In a similar tradition, he notes that in the Church of Mu'allaqa in Old Cairo there is a contract between 'Amr ibn al-ʿĀṣ and the Copts granting legal ownership of the church, signed with 'Amr's own handprint.

Finally, he provides a first-hand account of the official ceremony of the procession of sending the 'burying cloth' that was sent from Cairo to Medina to cover Muḥammad's tomb.

SIGNIFICANCE

Wansleben's records, although not entirely unique to this literature, provide a late 17th-century dating for local Egyptian traditions being appropriated by Christian and Muslims. He was the first Protestant to convert to Roman Catholicism and return to Egypt as a Catholic missionary-scholar.

He follows Peter Heyling, the first Lutheran to visit Egypt in 1633. Wansleben's account of Catholic missions in Ethiopia, and Peter Heyling's Lutheran presence there, as found in Jonathan Edwin's English

translation and publication of Wansleben's journal, *A brief account of the rebellions*, bring the Protestant-Catholic debates of the 17th century into conversation with Oriental Christian and Muslim relationships in Egypt.

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Pougeois, *Vansleb, savant orientaliste et voyageur*

H.E.G. Paulus, *Sammlung der merkwürdigsten Reisen in den Orient. In Uebersetzungen und Auszügen mit ausgewählten Kupfern und Charten, auch mit den nöthigen Einleitungen, Anmerkungen und kollektiven Registern*, vol. 3, 1794

David D. Grafton

Jaketa Palmotić Dionorić

DATE OF BIRTH Around 1616
PLACE OF BIRTH Dubrovnik
DATE OF DEATH 20 February 1680
PLACE OF DEATH Dubrovnik

BIOGRAPHY

Jaketa Palmotić Dionorić was the only child of the nobleman and poet Ivan Gozze. He was admitted to the Major Council of the Dubrovnik Republic in 1643, and held various administrative offices. In 1665, he was appointed by the Ragusan authorities as ‘ambassador of the tribute’ and went to Istanbul where, due to the international political circumstances and an illness, he remained for over two years. In the meantime, in 1667, Dubrovnik was struck by a disastrous earthquake in which his entire family (his wife Jelena Nikola-Pavlo Pozza and their three children) were killed.

In September 1669, Palmotić was again assigned on a diplomatic mission to the Ottoman Empire, although without his personal agreement. The journey was difficult and lasted almost a month. Near Adrianople, where Sultan Mehmed IV was hunting, he was received for an audience, during which he delivered a magnificent speech that he had written for the occasion. The sultan was so moved by Palmotić’s words that he agreed to renounce his claim to an unreasonably high tax that would have brought the Dubrovnik Republic to an end, already weakened as it was by the earthquake and an exhausting political crisis.

On his return home, Palmotić held various official positions as a member of the civil and criminal courts and a member of the senate, as well as being elected as rector of the Republic in 1671 and 1674.

In addition to *Dubrovnik ponovljen* (‘Dubrovnik revived’), Palmotić also wrote *Didone*, a tragedy in verse based on Book Four of Vergil’s *Aeneid*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

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H. Mihanović-Salopek and V.B. Lupis, *Željezni duh. Prinos Jakete Palmotića Dionorića Hrvatskoj književnoj baštini*, Zagreb, 2010

S. Ćosić and N. Vekarić, *Dubrovačka vlastela između roda i države. Salamankezi i sorbonezi*, Zagreb, 2005, p. 185

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Dubrovnik ponovljen, 'Dubrovnik revived'

DATE 1678-80

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

The baroque epic *Dubrovnik ponovljen*, which is composed of 20 cantos (15,548 lines in octosyllabic quatrains), is concerned with the events following the great Dubrovnik earthquake of 1667. It describes a disaster that killed almost half the population and the responses of the desperate survivors, and it goes on to outline the diplomatic endeavours to resolve the most serious political crisis in the relationship of the republic with the Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of the catastrophe. With documentary precision, but also by inserting fictional sections of narrative, Palmotić describes his long and dangerous journey as tribute envoy to the Porte, along with his days in Adrianople and Istanbul, and the course of his negotiations with the Ottoman dignitaries.

Palmotić weaves into the narrative of his journey to Istanbul various fictional encounters, including the story of a female demon who is burnt to death for having her husband killed, which enables him to explain Islamic attitudes to an adulteress and the cruel punishment that ensues (Canto 6, lines 3,444-4,084). His account of the *kaymakam* Kara Mustafa is a concise portrait of Dubrovnik's fierce enemy in the Ottoman hierarchy, with an expression of wrath on his terrifying face reminiscent of hell. By contrast, the *defdedar* Ali Ağa, an official whose duty is to count the Ragusan *ducats* for the sultan, arouses Palmotić's sympathy with his humane approach and compassion for Dubrovnik's disastrous situation. Palmotić comments that this noble man has nothing in common with Islam except the name (Canto 12, lines 8,590-6).

Fearing for the survival of the republic and also for his own welfare, Palmotić expresses distrust for Islam and Muḥammad (Canto 19), but he also observes that the Ottomans are equally distrustful of the Ragusans, doubting the sincerity of their friendship and regarding their diplomacy

as cunning and deceitful (Canto 7, lines 4,545-50). Canto 15 contains the most dramatic section of the epic, portraying the hunting enjoyed by the sultan as ruthless and unnecessary killing of wild animals. This blood-sport is reminiscent of a struggle between unequal partners, though in the fight between a cunning hawk and a bear, which ends in the hawk's victory, he sees the victory of Ragusan diplomacy. The final canto, which tells how the diplomatic crisis between the Republic of Dubrovnik and the Ottomans comes to a resolution favourable to the Ragusans, remained unfinished owing to Palmotić's death.

SIGNIFICANCE

Palmotić's epic offers a dual account of the Ottoman character, identifying elements of evil and irrationality alongside charity and sympathy for the predicament that Dubrovnik found itself in after 6 April 1667.

Palmotić's mission was successful thanks essentially to members of the Ottoman hierarchy who assisted and supported the Ragusan diplomatic efforts. He acknowledges their goodness and goes as far as to say that there is no difference between Ottoman and Ragusan piety. But he also sees Satan behind those who oppose the Ragusan diplomatic efforts in the Ottoman court, inciting individuals to act against Dubrovnik (Canto 14, lines 9,845-900).

When political tension escalates to the point where Ottoman troops invade the borders of the republic, Palmotić introduces supernatural protectors for either side, St Blaise from the heavenly world for the Dubrovnik Republic, and the Prophet Muḥammad from hell for the Ottomans. In the battle between the two, Blaise wins (Canto 19, lines 14,970-15,060), a way of announcing that the Republic of Dubrovnik was recovering from the catastrophe that had struck it.

PUBLICATIONS

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- F. Švelec, 'Dubrovnik ponovljen Jakete Palmotića prema Osmanu Ivana Gundulića', *Forum* 29 60/7-8 (1990) 183-99

Slavica Stojan

Panagiōtēs Nikousios

Panagiōtakēs Mamōnas, Panagiōtēs Vyzantios, Panaioti
Nicusio, Panagiōtakēs, Panaiotachie, Panagiotes, Panagiotti,
Panagiotti, Panaïaoty, Panaiot, Panaioti, Panaiotti,
Panajot, Panajoti, Panajotti, Panajotty, Panayotti

DATE OF BIRTH 1613 or 1621

PLACE OF BIRTH Probably Chios; possibly Constantinople or
Nicosia

DATE OF DEATH 2 October 1673

PLACE OF DEATH Isaccea, Dobrogea (in present-day Romania)

BIOGRAPHY

Panagiōtēs Nikousios' biography is difficult to establish due to the scarcity and contradictory nature of the extant sources, especially concerning his origins and early career. He was most probably born on the Aegean island of Chios in either 1613 or 1621. The first date is given in an unpublished memorandum by Kaisarios Dapontes and some notes preserved in the Holy Mother Monastery on Halki Island (Stamatiadēs, *Viographiai*, p. 29), while the second is given by D. Kalvokoresēs ('Viographikai exakrivōseis', pp. 117-19, 125).

He always signed his Greek texts with his first name (Panagiōtēs), while his letters in Italian bear the signature 'Panaioti Nicusio'. Moreover, the seal he used bore the Greek letters 'PN' and 'NK'. He is sometimes referred to as 'Vyzantios', which seems simply to denote the fact that he lived in Constantinople. His place of birth is assumed to be the island of Chios or Constantinople, or even Nicosia, given that the surname 'Niko(u)sios' has been interpreted as denoting a man from Nicosia; contemporary sources claim that he was born in Chios. His father was called Michaël and was a furrier.

Panagiōtēs Nikousios studied in the school of the Greek Orthodox theologian Meletios Syrigos, an official of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, who oversaw his education. It is possible that he also studied at the Jesuit missionary school in Chios. His attendance at the Universitas Artistarum of Padua, which is often mentioned in historiography from the 19th century onwards, has not been corroborated. On the contrary, his contemporaries state that he had not studied in Roman Catholic western

Europe, or even that he never left Constantinople to study abroad. Apart from Greek, he also knew Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Italian and Latin, and possibly Hebrew. He was interested in astrology, Kabbalah and Djafr, and he practised divination. His library, which was considered exceptionally important by his contemporaries, included works of ancient Greek and Byzantine literature, Arabic and Persian treatises on alchemy and Djafr, as well as works by his contemporary Athanasius Kircher (1602-80).

On 23 May 1645, Nikousios became dragoman (interpreter) for the Habsburg diplomatic mission in Constantinople upon the recommendation of Meletios Syrigos. In 1657, he entered the service of the Sublime Porte at the request of the Grand Vizier Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pasha and later received the title of Grand Dragoman (*baş tercüman*), which he kept until his death. This office allowed him to play an important role in shaping relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Christian states of Europe. He received the title of Genoese nobleman, as a result of the significant role he played in developing diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Genoa (his first wife belonged to the Calvocoressi family in Chios, which was of Genoese origin). Furthermore, the Sublime Porte granted him the revenues from the island of Mykonos for the duration of his life as a reward for his decisive role in the negotiations for the surrender of Candia (Venetian Crete) to the Ottomans in 1669.

In addition to his political career, he played a leading part in many ecclesiastical debates of his time, in particular the issue of the Orthodox Church's rights in the Holy Land. He also published his *Orthodoxos homologia tēs katholikēs kai apostolikēs Ekklēσίας tēs Anatolikēs* ('Orthodox profession of the Catholic and Apostolic Eastern Church', Amsterdam, 1666), the official exposition of Orthodox dogma. He died suddenly on 2 October 1673 in the Ottoman military camp in Isaccea (Dobrogea, present-day Romania), during the campaign against the Poles. He was probably murdered by order of the Grand Vizier Köprülüzade Fazıl Ahmed Pasha.

His ideas are preserved mainly in the form of short written discussions, such as that held with the Moldavian chronicler Miron Costin on the topic of Trajan's wall, and in his correspondence, such as his two letters to the archbishop of Crete, Neophytos Patelaros, and the bishop of Ierapetra, Athanasios Karavelas, on the immortality of the soul (Papadopoulos, 'Panagiōtou Nikousiou peri athanasias tēs psychēs', pp. 292-301). According to Papadopoulos, these letters were recorded in a codex, probably of Sinaite origin, although their present location is not known.

Nikousios also maintained correspondence with major figures of the Ottoman Greek community, as well as with the German Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher, and his letters to the scholar Eugenios Giannoulēs Aitōlos have also survived.

Nikousios also left a brief Kabbalistic note interpreting the Tetragrammaton in the light of the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as some comments recording the fall of Candia in 1669, and the Ottoman-Venetian conflict in the eastern Mediterranean between 1459 and 1575, in a work recording some Orthodox anti-Catholic polemics by Markos Eugenikos, Gennadius Scholarius, John Bishop of Citros and Germanus.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Dialexis tou Panagiōtou Nikousiou meta tou
Vâni Efendi sophou didaskalou tōn Agarēnōn,
 'Dialogue of Panagiōtēs Nikousios with
 Vâni Efendi, wise doctor of the Hagarenes'

DATE Between 1662 and 1680

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek

DESCRIPTION

The *Dialexis* (in full, *Dialexis tou paneugenestatos chrēsīmōtatou te kai sophōtatou diermēneutou kyriou Panagiōtou poiētheisa meta tinos sophou didaskalou tōn Agarēnōn en Kōnstantinoupolei kata to etos tēs ensarkou oikonomias tou Kyriou ēmōn Iēsou Christou achxb*, 'Dialogue of the most noble, most useful and most wise interpreter, Kyrios Panagiōtēs, with a certain wise doctor of the Hagarenes, in Constantinople, in the year 1662 after the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ') records a conversation that supposedly took place in July 1662 between the Christian Panagiōtēs Nikousios, the dragoman to the Ottoman Grand Vizier Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, and Mehmed ibn Bistam Vâni Mehmed (Vâni Efendi, also sometimes referred to as Vanlı Efendi), a well-known *kadzâdeli* preacher and adviser to the grand vizier. The text covers eight-and-a-half pages in two columns in its first edition (Sakellion, 'Panagiōtou Nikousiou tou gegonotos', 1868, pp. 361-71), and 24 pages in the second (Sakellion, 'Panagiōtakē tou Mamōna', 1889, pp. 249-73). The person who recorded the dialogue is unknown, but we cannot exclude the possibility that Nikousios himself recorded at least an early version, or somebody in his immediate entourage.

The conversation recorded in the *Dialexis*, which must have been in Turkish, is said to have taken place five days after 'the celebration of the Turks', the Muslim holiday of Mevlid, as de la Croix explains (*La Turquie*, p. 382). It would therefore have been translated into Greek and circulated in written form later. In any case, it was already well known within scholarly circles in the Ottoman capital in the next decade. Although the authenticity and the time of composition have been questioned (Zervos, 'À la recherche des origines', pp. 314-15), the fact that a French translation was published by de la Croix in 1695 (omitting the first part, which concerns the movements of the celestial bodies) indicates that the source text was presumably circulating in Istanbul while de la Croix was

working there as a secretary to the French embassy between 1670 and 1680. Furthermore, MS Bucharest, Biblioteca Academiei Române – gr. 85 is exactly dated (12 December 1676), and therefore represents a *terminus ante quem* for the composition of the *Dialexis* in this period.

There are several extant manuscripts of the *Dialexis*, all of which are bound with other Christian apologetic works. For example, the Patmos MS contains a translation of John Cantacuzene's *Against Muhammadans*, and MS Athens, Historikon Mouseion tou Neou Hellenismou – 55 contains short treatises on Judas and on Christ's resurrection. It is this latter manuscript that Sakellion believes to be a direct copy of the autograph, possibly inscribed by one of Nikousios' successors as grand dragoman. In this manuscript, the *Dialexis* follows immediately after a rather flattering biography of Nikousios, presumably authored by the copyist.

The *Dialexis* narrates that in July 1662 during a visit by Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1642-93) to the mosque of Eyyub, the grand vizier, Köprülü Fazıl Ahmed Pasha, and Vâni Efendi (Vanlı) were contemplating some armillary spheres in the huge library of the nearby palace of Ebû Said (possibly that of Hoca Sâdeddinzâde Ebû Said Mehmed Efendi, a former *şeyhülislam*, who died in 1662). When the grand vizier expressed interest in the spheres, Ebû Said suggested that he should ask his interpreter, Panagiôtēs Nikousios, to explain them. The next day the spheres were sent to the grand vizier's palace and Nikousios explained their function.

The introduction to the work narrates the events leading up to the dialogue between Panagiôtēs Nikousios and Vâni Mehmed Efendi. The dialogue is organised by the Grand Vizier Fazıl Ahmed in his palace, in the presence of the *Rumeli kazaskeri*, the *Haremeyn Müftüsü*, all the students of Vâni Mehmed Efendi and 'the distinguished officials of the court'. It begins with questions from the grand vizier about the significance of the equator and meridian circles on the terrestrial globe in Ebû Said Mehmed Efendi's library, and includes information about the following: the way to find the longitude and latitude of a city (according to the work by Claudius Ptolemy and using as examples Damascus and Córdoba), the history of Córdoba, Claudius Ptolemy's work, the more recent astronomical discoveries by Christians through the use of telescopes, the cosmological theories of Galileo, Copernicus and Tycho Brahe, geographical discoveries by Christians and the voyages of Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci, the borders of the kingdoms of the world, whether China and Cathay are different states, the expansion of the Spanish Empire, whether America was inhabited before its

discovery by Europeans and whether its existence was known in Claudius Ptolemy's time.

The main part of the dialogue follows. Vâni Mehmed Efendi asks: 'Considering that you know all this, why do you not become a Muslim?' He then turns the discussion to theological matters and asks Nikousios whether he considers Jesus to be a god or a prophet. When Nikousios replies that he regards Jesus as God, Vâni Efendi speaks of the Muslim view of Jesus, stating that Jesus presented himself as 'the servant and prophet of God'. After he had performed several miracles, the Jews wanted to kill him, at which point God raised him to heaven and substituted another Jew with the same name. Nikousios responds by outlining the Christian view of Jesus, basing himself on the Gospels.

Vâni Efendi then says that the original Gospels had mentioned the Prophet Muḥammad, but that Christian priests concealed this. He asserts that the *paraklētos* (sought one) Jesus mentions, who was to come after him, was Muḥammad, and that Aḥmad, a title of Muḥammad (Q 61:6), means exactly that. Nikousios counters that *paraklētos* in fact refers to the Holy Spirit of Truth, but Vâni Efendi insists that this is an addition made by Christians to the original Gospel.

Vâni Efendi then asks in what language John's Gospel was written. When Nikousios answers that it was Greek, Vâni replies that the original was in Hebrew, hence the phrase *Eli Eli lama sabachthani* (in fact, Matthew 27:46, Mark 15:34), which according to him (or rather, according to an Armenian priest who had turned Muslim) means 'My God, send quickly the last Prophet to save the world'. Nikousios argues that the inclusion of a Hebrew phrase can be explained because these words also have another, mystical meaning, which can be known through the science of Kabbalah. He then interprets it word by word in line with the meaning given to it in the Gospel. He further notes that, if this were referring to 'the last Prophet', the Gospel would say so clearly, to which Vâni Efendi answers that God wishes the Christians to misunderstand the text and be tempted.

Vâni Efendi then refutes the Christian doctrine of the divinity of Jesus, arguing that the fact that Jesus was born of a virgin and performed miracles does not prove that he was divine. Vâni Efendi also adds that Muḥammad performed miracles more recently, including the miracle of the poisoned lamb, the stem of the date-palm crying, and the splitting of the moon, and they were more credible and marvellous, to which Nikousios responds that Jesus' miracles were more numerous and significant.

Vâni Efendi then argues that the unsurpassable eloquence of the Qur'an, the mysteries it contains and the way in which it predicts future events all prove the supremacy of Islam. To this, Nikousios answers that Jesus told of false prophets who would follow him. The two also discuss the relation between Moses' Law and Jesus' Law, the meaning of Deuteronomy 33:2, and whether the place-name 'Pharan' refers to Mecca.

The last item concerns the orientation of the Church of Hagia Sophia. Vâni argues that it was built towards the rising point not of Aries, but of Capricorn, which is the direction of Mecca, because God wished to prepare this temple for the Muslims. Nikousios responds that it was built with this orientation out of respect for Jerusalem, which is in the same direction. The dialogue closes with Nikousios' reply to the grand vizier's question as to whether he had decided to become Muslim or not, and his final refusal to convert.

SIGNIFICANCE

The topic and contents of the *Dialexis* fully reflect the ideological climate of the time in which the dialogue took place. Vâni Mehmed Efendi's efforts to convert Panagiôtēs Nikousios to Islam were certainly in line with the policy of Islamisation of non-Muslim subjects that was advocated by the conservative party of Kadizadeler, of which he was the main representative.

From the Christian point of view, the *Dialexis* is the last known Greek dialectical refutation of Islam during the *Tourkokratia*. It is part of a tradition going back to the Byzantine era, although it is written in simpler and more accessible language than earlier texts.

Nikousios' arguments are not particularly original, with the exception of his references to the use of Kabbalah. His interest in Hebrew occultism was almost unique among his Orthodox contemporaries and is attested in other works of his (Koutzakioti, *Attendre la fin du monde*, pp. 171-2, argues that he may well have translated Sabbatai Sevi's Hebrew letter to his followers announcing that Jewish days of mourning should be transformed into feasts of joy). It could even be said that the *Dialexis* shows more of Vâni Efendi's argumentation than of Nikousios', exemplifying Muslim views of Christianity rather than Christian views of Islam. Vâni uses a variety of qur'anic quotations and many familiar polemical arguments, including those based on *tahrîf*, as well as biblical prophecies regarding Muḥammad.

During the 18th century, the *Dialexis* was 'widely known' (Dapontes, 'Katalogos historikos', p. 166; see also 'Athanasioû Komnēnou Hypsēlantou

Ekklesiastikōn te kai politikōn', p. 164). Nikousios' fame as a defender of the Christian faith was widespread in the Greek Orthodox world into the 19th century.

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George Koutzakiotis and Marinos Sariyannis

Mik'ayēl ordi Barłam grč'i

Mik'ayēl son of the scribe Barłam

IAyrs ays anun Gaspar, 'This youth named Gaspar'
Vkayabanut'ıwn Gaspari, 'Martyrology of Gaspar'

DATE 1682

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Nothing is known about the author of this work, apart from his name, which is included in the poem. The work is a *tał* poem of 44 lines of 11 syllable lines arranged in four-line verses with stanzaic rhyme; it is cited by its *incipit*. It forms a continuation of the author's verse martyrology of Dawit' Sebastac'i, since Gaspar, who as a result of various trials had earlier renounced Christianity, was moved to emulate this martyr's bold confession of faith in Sivas and face the consequences of publicly identifying with it once more.

The author informs us that unlike Dawit', Gaspar was knowledgeable about his religion and consequently felt deep remorse about his apostasy of 25 years' standing and attempted to atone for it by prayer and fasting. Armed now with Dawit's resolve, he exchanged his white Muslim headgear for the blue assigned to Christians, walked boldly to the market, and sat in a prominent location where he was bound to be recognised. In answer to a query as to why he had changed his attire, he stated it was because he was a Christian. The interlocutor then called others to attest to his being a Muslim, and they in turn escorted him to the city commander's office and thereafter to the tribunal, where he was condemned for refusing to confess Islam. Again proclaiming his loyalty to Christ at the place of execution, not far from where Dawit' had been martyred two months earlier, he was strung up on the gallows. After a short while he was lowered down in a final attempt to persuade him to comply, but when this proved futile, he was hoisted up once again and quickly suffocated. The crowd then stoned his lifeless body.

To reinforce his renewed affirmation of Christian identity after a hiatus of a quarter of a century, Gaspar adds to his credentials by affirming himself as a pilgrim, someone who has made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem

especially to participate in the Easter celebrations there. The term he employs is *mahtesi*, which Armenian folk etymology interprets as 'I saw the [place of the] death [of Jesus]'. In fact, it derives from the Arabic form *maqdisī* relating to the name al-Quds by which Jerusalem had been known since Mamluk times.

SIGNIFICANCE

The martyrdom of Dawit' Sebastac'i proves a powerful enough witness to cause Gaspar to return to his former faith in full knowledge of the consequences, and even to face them openly. His action will have made a strong appeal both to Armenian Christians who were contemplating conversion and to those who had converted. It will have attested to the strength of Christianity to bring people back to faith even after many years of immersion in Islam, and implicitly to prove its superiority as the embodiment of truth.

PUBLICATIONS

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Y. Manandean and H. Ač'aṙean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*,
Vaṙaršapat, 1903, pp. 518-19 (critical edition)

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vol. 3, p. 360

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Press, 1927, vol. 3, col. 2631

Patmut'iwn nahatakut'ean Dawt'i Sebastac'woy,
‘Versified narrative of the martyrdom of Dawit’
Sebastac'i’

DATE 1682

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

This work is a *tat* poem of 364 lines of 11 syllables arranged in four-line verses with stanzaic rhyme. An acrostic composed of the first letters of lines 312-23 incorporates the author's 'signature', spelling out the phrase

'Mik'ayili ban e' ('This is Mik'ayēl's discourse'). A continuation of the verse then treats the related martyrology of Gaspar Kṛuan who gained the courage to reaffirm his Christian faith after denying it for 25 years, and suffered a similar death.

After a conventional opening section in which the poet tearfully beseeches the martyr to intercede with Christ to grant him the inspiration to produce a paean worthy of his martyrdom, the narrative begins by locating events in the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87) and his appointment of Mehmed Emir to the command of the Rûm Eyalet in 1675. Since Mehmed Emir was engaged on the Western front, he sent a representative, and it was during the latter's tenure in the province that the martyrdom took place.

The protagonist was born into a poor family in Sivas. He left his (unnamed) trade because of financial difficulties, and now at the age of 21 he serves as a barber at the city baths. At the end of their shift, his Muslim co-workers divide up their earnings, and on the day in question they call him to receive his share, using the term *gâvur* to designate him as an unbeliever. Taking umbrage at this, the youth replies, 'Who's an unbeliever? I'm an Armenian.' To his surprise, they retort that they needed no further witnesses to his conversion to Islam since his refusal to be classified as a *gâvur* is tantamount to renouncing Christianity.

They immediately lead him to the shaykh, stating that he had cursed his prior religion and glorified Muḥammad. When the official finds him still stalwart in his rejection of their testimony, he directs him to the *qāḍī*, who interprets the legal situation as being one that lays him open to the charge of retracting his earlier confession of Islam. Remanded to jail, he is shackled and tortured by night by having his flesh excoriated with iron instruments. After this, the *qāḍī* sends him back to the shaykh's hall, where the shaykh's son attempts to win him over by lavish inducements, but in vain. Once more in prison, he is deprived of food and subjected to further torture, strung up by his feet overnight and placed in water the next day to suffer the winter cold, and again strung up from the ceiling and beaten repeatedly with a hemp rope.

Arraigned before the shaykh again, he is strung up from the ceiling, this time by one foot, pierced by swords, and struck with rocks and sticks. When he still remains obdurate, the shaykh orders the mob to stone him, for which he is lowered into a pit, stoned and pulled out, three times. At this point, a friend of the emir counsels him to utter a curse against Islam in order to incite the mob to hasten his death, because otherwise

this slow process might make him unable to speak and so expose him to unnecessary agony. However, Dawit' argues that God would not condone any such action, and so finally one of those present comes forward and stones him from close quarters, after which he is pulled up out of the pit to allow the mob to complete the sentence. This all occurred on 22 February 1677.

In the final section, the poet notes the presence of an apricot-coloured light that spreads out over the place of martyrdom. Two days later, the *qādī* orders the corpse to be dismembered and fed to the dogs, but someone pays a bribe for the Christian community to be allowed to retrieve the body and take it for burial to the Church of the Forty Martyrs in the city. The work closes with the poet's appeal for the martyr's intercession.

A codicil narrates a later event that substantiates the martyr's sanctity. A priest named Yovhannēs brings a consignment of barley to sell near the spot where Dawit' was stoned and arranges for someone to guard it overnight. The guard, who is from the surrounding countryside and not aware of Dawit's execution, is startled by the appearance of a light diffused over the place of his martyrdom and tells the priest what he has witnessed. This occurs on the eve of the feast of the Forty Martyrs. The poet then concludes by stating that many witnesses confirm that they have seen that light both at the place of the martyrdom and at Dawit's tomb.

SIGNIFICANCE

It is noteworthy that the work periodically employs Turkish and Muslim terms and phrases, such as *gāvur*, representing the Arabic *kāfir* ('unbeliever') to add realism to the dialogue. Similarly, at one point Muḥammad is referred to by the honorific *hazret* as a mark of dignity, while Dawit's co-workers claim he had offered up *salāvat* ('prayers') in the Islamic format.

Also of interest is the variety and value of the rewards the various officials offer Dawit' to induce him to accept Islam, and the comparative significance and weighting given to the two religions. Significantly, the *qādī* emphasises the role of Islam in 'empire and glory', presumably indicating pride in the victories of the Ottoman state and its expansion around the eastern and southern Mediterranean and advances into Eastern Europe, as well as the reestablishment of the caliphate. Very unusually, a Christian convert to Islam is brought into the proceedings, one who now enjoys fame and standing in the city, in an attempt to sway the

youth's allegiance. After this, the shaykh's son not only promises many gifts, but arranges for his servant to bring to the hall a sum of silver and a horse accoutred with a bridle (although as a *dhimmī* Dawit' would not be allowed to ride it). He promises to introduce Dawit' to the sultan and to obtain a commission for him that would give him command over a number of towns. Almost without parallel, also, is the humane interjection by the emir's friend, who presumably had experienced many such scenes, to help the youth cut short the agony he was enduring, although Dawit', according to character, refuses to follow his advice.

In contrast, the narrative includes several features that closely associate the youth's situation with Christ's passion. For example, special mention is made of the crowd striking and slapping him, and spitting upon him as he makes his way to the tribunal (cf. Matthew 26:67; Luke 22:63; John 19:3). Similarly, the episode of the jailer's wife witnessing his torture in prison, seeing his face shining and informing her husband recalls the dream of Pilate's wife after which she seeks to halt the judicial proceedings against Jesus (Matthew 27:19). Finally, the timing of the appearance of the light to the watchman at the place of execution in the transition from Saturday night to Sunday morning underlines similarities with the resurrection of Christ (Matthew 28:1-3; Mark 16:1-2; Luke 24:1).

The poem also aligns Dawit's martyrdom with that of the Vardanank', arguing that it occurred on the feast of the earlier martyrs who had died in defence of Christianity at the Battle of Avarayr in 451. Likewise, allusions are made to the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, soldiers in the Legio XII Fulminata stationed in Lesser Armenia under Roman jurisdiction, who perished in the persecutions unleashed by the Emperor Licinius in 320. The watchman is said to have observed the arc of light at the place of Dawit's execution on the eve of their feast day, while one of the youth's tortures was to experience cold by being immersed in water for several hours, evoking their execution by being exposed on a frozen lake overnight.

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Press, 1927, vol. 3, col. 2630

Peter Cowe

Petar Bogašinović

DATE OF BIRTH Around 1625
PLACE OF BIRTH Ragusa (Dubrovnik)
DATE OF DEATH 13 November 1700
PLACE OF DEATH Ragusa (Dubrovnik)

BIOGRAPHY

Petar Bogašinović was a Ragusan poet. A commoner by birth, he worked as a barber and surgeon and was engaged in commerce. In 1652, he married Lukrecija, the daughter of the Dubrovnik surgeon Petar Danese, from whom in 1663 he inherited medical books and surgical instruments.

Bogašinović performed several civil services in the Republic of Ragusa, as a notary, scribe, and vice-chancellor, chancellor and depositary of the State Granary. In addition to the narrative poem *Beča grada obkruženje od cara Mehmeta i Kara Mustafe velikoga vezijera*, he wrote and published popular religious literature (prayer booklets, offices of various saints, translations of the psalms). The only texts preserved today are the prayers printed as an addition to the book *Sedam salama pokornieh kralja Davida* ('Seven penitential Psalms of David') translated into Croatian by the Ragusan Stijepo Đurđević, which Bogašinović edited and published in Padua in 1686 (pp. 46-88), and *Responsorio i molitve svakdanje od nedilje od s. Antuna od Padue* ('The responsory and Sunday prayers of St Anthony of Padua'), published posthumously in Venice in 1704. Bogašinović died in Dubrovnik on 13 November 1700.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Beča grada obkruženje od cara Mehmeta i Kara-Mustafe velikoga vezijera, 'The siege of Vienna by Sultan Mehmed and the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa'

DATE 1684

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Croatian

DESCRIPTION

Beča grada obkruženje od cara Mehmeta i Kara Mustafe velikoga vezijera (in full, *Beča grada obkruženje od cara Mehmeta i Kara-Mustafe velikoga vezijera složeno u pjesan u jezik slovinski po Petru Toma Bogašinovića Dubrovčaninu*, 'The siege of Vienna by Sultan Mehmed and the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa. A poem composed in the Slavic language by Petar Toma Bogašinović of Dubrovnik') is a historical epyllion (short narrative poem), preserved in two editions (Linz, 1684; Padua, 1685). The introductory part contains a dedication to Bogašinović's fellow citizen and contemporary Petar Bernard Ricciardi, a commander of the Croatian troops of the Habsburg imperial army, and two poems in praise of the author (in Latin and Croatian). The first edition comprises one canto of 740 verses, while the second, expanded edition contains two additional cantos of 424 and 396 verses, respectively. The second canto is preceded by another dedication to Ricciardi, written in 16 twelve-syllable verses, and by five Latin epigrams praising the poet and his work. Including in total 1560 verses, *Beča grada obkruženje* is made up of eight-syllable quatrains with a rhyme scheme *abab*.

In accordance with the title, the first canto thematises the second Ottoman siege of Vienna, representing the events from March to September 1683 (the sultan's decision to conquer the Habsburg capital, the advancement of the Ottoman army towards Vienna, the breaching of the defence line on the River Raba, the retreat of the Habsburg Emperor Leopold I to Linz, the Battle of Vienna, the defence of the city and the Ottoman defeat, the return of Leopold I). The canto ends with praise for King John III Sobieski of Poland (r. 1674-96), who is considered primarily responsible for the Christian victory. In the second canto, panegyric verses that glorify German, Polish and Croatian commanders of the Christian army and Pope Innocent XI are intertwined with the narration of historical events that took place at the end of 1683 (the liberation of Esztergom, and Kara Mustafa's execution in Belgrade ordered by Sultan Mehmed IV). The thematic focus of the third canto are the further victories of the Holy League troops (Habsburg Monarchy, Kingdom of Poland, Republic of Venice) in Central Europe (Visegrád, Vasz, Virovitica) and the Mediterranean (Island of Santa Maura/Lefkas, Preveza), as well as their unsuccessful attempt to liberate Buda in 1684.

While the narrative passages pursue the chronology of the historical events, Bogašinović's comments and the panegyric verses that glorify the Christian heroes demonstrate a religious/theological type of causality. Seen from this perspective of Christian narrative, the victories of the Habsburg, Polish and Venetian troops are thus explained as a result of Christian virtues, while the defeats of the Ottomans are interpreted as a consequence of pride, the sin which, together with greed, is often attributed to the Muslims in early modern anti-Turkish literature. This kind of moral opposition between Christians and Muslims is evoked through the biblical stories of David and Goliath and Judith and Holofernes, which announce the conflict between the huge Ottoman army and the militarily inferior, but morally superior, Christian troops.

Accordingly, the Turkish defeat at Vienna is represented as a divine miracle and a victory over pride. Likewise, the Christian protagonists are divinised: John Sobieski is represented as *athleta Christi*, Leopold I as a God-given monarch, and Christian 'knights' as heroes led by Providence. Conversely, Mehmed IV is characterised as an infidel and proud autocrat, who will be punished by God, Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa is represented as an evil persecutor of the Christian peoples, who deservedly ends up with Lucifer in hell, and the traitor 'Budiani' (Hungarian count Christoph Batthyány) is compared to Judas Iscariot. Such a strategy of divinisation of the Christians and demonisation of the inimical Turks, typical of early

modern Croatian literature, was a common feature of anti-Turkish discourse in Christian Europe in general.

SIGNIFICANCE

Beča grada obkruženje is a unique work within Bogašinović's opus. Following the Ragusan tradition of epic poetry (Antun Sasin, *Razboji od Turaka*; Ivan Gundulić, *Osman*; Jaketa Palmotić Dionorić, *Dubrovnik ponovljen*), Bogašinović's epyllion discloses resemblance in theme and motif with Vincenzio da Filicaia's Italian cycle of occasional poems *Canzoni in occasione dell'assedio e liberazione di Vienna* (Florence, 1684). With its simple structure, inconsistent composition and unpolished literary style, it was never considered a great literary work. However, its factual historical theme and flow of religious and political sentiments made it very popular in Dubrovnik. Composed without serious aesthetic ambition, it functioned as a kind of a chronicle in verse, i.e. a report of significant contemporary political and military events. Like numerous literary works written in Europe in the wake of the recent Christian victory at Vienna, the laudatory style of *Beča grada obkruženje* evokes an atmosphere of optimism and celebration. Seen in a narrower political context, it signals support for the new, pro-Habsburg course of Ragusan foreign policy. Reproducing negative images and stereotypes of the Muslim other, Bogašinović's epic poem is a representative text of early modern European anti-Turkish literature.

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MS Dubrovnik, Scientific Library – 345, pp. 49-102 (19th century)

Petar Bogašinović, *Becia grada obkruscegnie, od zara Mehmeta i Kara Mustafe velikoga vesiera sloceno u piesan u jesik slovinski po Petru Toma Bogascinovichia Dubrovcanina*, Linz, 1684 (this edition comprises one canto)

Petar Bogašinović, *Becia grada obkruscegnie, od zara Mehmeta i Kara Mustafe velikoga vesiera sloceno u piesan u jesik slovinski po Petru Toma Bogascinovichia Dubrovcanina*, Padua 1685² (expanded with two additional cantos)

Petar Bogašinović, *Beča grada obkruženje od cara Mehmeta i Kara Mustafe velikoga vezijera*, in D. Fališevac et al. (eds), *Hrvatska književna baština*, Zagreb, 2004, vol. 3, pp. 361-414 (first critical edition)

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- Z. Bojović, 'Beča grada obkruženje od cara Mehmeta i Kara Mustafe velikog vezijera Petra Bogašinovića i istorijska osnova speva', in M. Pantić and M. Stojanović (eds), *Književnost i istorija*, Niš, 1996, vol. 2, pp. 133-42

Ivana Brković

‘Alī l-Munayyar al-Shāfi‘ī

DATE OF BIRTH	Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH	Egypt
DATE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly after 1683/4
PLACE OF DEATH	Egypt

BIOGRAPHY

The scant information available about ‘Alī l-Munayyar l-Shāfi‘ī is all contained in the unedited portions of his polemical text *Tafhīm al-jāhilīn* in the Cambridge manuscript. Brockelmann (*Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, Supp. 2, p. 975) mentions al-Munayyar as the author of *responsa* on legal problems, but adds that nothing is known about where or when he lived. Perlmann (‘Alī al-Munayyar’) points out that the Cairo addenda list for 1936-55 dates such legal *responsa* to 1683/4 (1095 AH). This would suggest that al-Munayyar lived in 17th-century Egypt. There are some discrepancies in the transliteration of his name: Perlmann follows Brockelmann’s ‘al-Munayyar’, while E.G. Browne gives ‘Munīr’ (*A hand-list of the Muḥammadan manuscripts ... preserved in the library of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1900, p. 48), and M. Steinschneider also refers to him as ‘Alī el-Munīr (*Polemische und apologetische Literatur*, repr. Cambridge, 2013, p. 407). Al-Munayyar’s teacher ‘Alī l-Buḥayrī could provide a slim clue about the pronunciation of his name. Al-Buḥayrī may have been the teacher of the great 16th-century Sufi scholar, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī. It is known that al-Sha‘rānī’s teacher was laid to rest in the *zāwiya*, the Sufi corner, of the Sīdī Muḥammad al-Munayyar cemetery. If our author was a descendant of this earlier Muḥammad al-Munayyar, it may give an indication of the vocalisation of his name.

According to the information given in the Cambridge manuscript, al-Munayyar refers to himself as a disciple of the 16th-century Sufi master ‘Alī l-Buḥayrī, who in turn was the *naqīb* (successor) of ‘Alī l-Nabtīti, both of whom had died by the time he was writing. He refers to Egypt, and expresses concern about the increasing significance of and freedom awarded to *dhimmīs*, pointing to their public positions in finance, business and the medical professions.

It is likely that al-Munayyar was a Sufi. Perlmann argues that the title that al-Munayyar ascribes to himself, *al-‘abd al-faqīr* (the poor servant),

is proof of his Sufism. This cannot alone be taken as confirmation, but he is also called *murshid al-sālikīn* (‘guide to those on the path of learning and spiritual enlightenment’), which suggests a connection to a Sufi order. More importantly, he mentions stories about Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111), a central figure in Islamic Sufi thought and practice, as well as the 9th-century Egyptian Sufi saint Dhū l-Nūn al-Miṣrī. He uses Sufi language as a means of arguing against Christians and Jews, and he uses Ghazālīan language of mystical light pouring into the hearts as a sign of true enlightenment and true religion, as opposed to what he perceives as the ignorance of Christians. He also refers to Q 83:14, which makes mention of *rān*, ‘rust’, a concept often used among Sufis to signify the sin and distraction of the world.

From these fragments of information, it seems safe to say that al-Munayyar was a 17th-century Egyptian scholar, jurist and Sufi shaykh. As a legal specialist, he would have been knowledgeable about the law, while his work shows that he was also knowledgeable about *kalām*. This foundation in law and theology is coupled with a Ghazālīan practical Sufi approach towards ‘knowledge in action’ with respect to his dogmatic legal response about Jews and Christians living in the countryside.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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Secondary

Perlmann, ‘Alī al-Munayyar’

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Tafhīm al-jāhilīn dīn al-Yahūd al-maghḍūb
 ‘alayhim wa-l-Naṣārā al-ḍāllīn, ‘Enlightening
 the ignorant about the faith of the Jews with
 whom God is wrathful and of the Christians
 who are astray’

DATE 17th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Tafhīm al-jāhilīn dīn al-Yahūd al-maghḍūb ‘alayhim wa-l-Naṣāra al-ḍāllīn is a long title for a relatively short treatise of 59 folios. Perlmann translates it as ‘Enlightening the ignorant about the faith of the Jews with whom God is wrathful and of the Christians who are astray’ (Perlmann, ‘Alī al-Munayyar’). The title incorporates the last verses of *Sūrat al-fātiḥa*, the first chapter of the Qur’an: ‘Lead us on the straight path, the path of those whom you have favoured and not of those with whom you are wrathful nor those who are astray’ (Q 1:6-7). Most commentators tend to suggest that those with whom God is wrathful are the Jews, and those who have gone astray are the Christians. This understanding informs al-Munayyar’s discussion.

Al-Munayyar says that, together with a fellow Muslim, he has observed a dangerous situation among the people of the countryside who do not frequent scholars and need to be guided. Led by men who claim knowledge, they consider Judaism and Christianity to be on a par with Islam, so that neither Jews nor Christians can be considered infidels. He feels compelled, therefore, to write a response (*jawāb*) in the form of an exposition (*bayān*) of the true teachings of Judaism and Christianity, refuting them and showing the nature of unbelief (*kufṛ*) among Christians and Jews.

He alludes to the invisibility of the official religious hierarchy to the masses, and aims here to fill the gap caused by this estrangement between the official religious leadership and the people. This activism recalls al-Ghazālī’s scathing rebuke of the jurists of his own day, and his insistence that the jurist has a duty ‘to go out into the rural hinterland of his town, and to the Bedouins, the Kurds and the like, and to give them religious instruction’ (M. Cook, *Commanding the right and forbidding the wrong in Islamic thought*, Cambridge, 2000, p. 445). Thus, al-Munayyar’s treatise is not just a piece of abstract polemic but an attempt to show in his own political and social context how the Qur’an is a sufficient guide on its own in refuting Jews and Christians.

Unsurprisingly, at the heart of his argument stands the doctrine of *tawḥīd*, the unity of God and the mission of Muḥammad as the Seal of the Prophets, and the insistence that any religion that preceded Islam has since become invalid (*bāṭil*). His treatise is essentially a restatement of the classical Islamic consensus. The contents of *Tafhīm al-jāhilīn* are not new. They include the accusation of falsification of the Bible (*taḥrīf*), the qur’anic suggestion that the Jews take ‘Uzayr as son of God (Q 9:30), and

the rebuke against the Christian doctrine of the Trinity and the divinity of Jesus. In short, al-Munayyar tells his readers that God is wrathful with the Jews while the Christians have gone astray, because both groups have tampered with their original scriptures and developed strange doctrines about their prophets and God.

The section on Christianity is the longest in the treatise (fols 17-42). Al-Munayyar first asks: ‘How did the Christians develop the doctrine of the Trinity and divinity of Christ?’ In answer, he refers to Paul and, like the Mu‘tazilī theologian ‘Abd al-Jabbār (d. 1025), he suggests that Christ’s religion was falsified by adopting Roman customs. He suggests that for 81 years the Christians followed the teachings of Jesus in a pure fashion, but then fighting broke out between them and the Jews. Paul arose as a hater of Christians, but pretended to repent, turned to Christianity and displayed piety. He taught the doctrine of the Trinity and of Jesus’ divinity to a certain Nestor, developed the terminology of the hypostases, and preached that Christ was the Son of God. His teachings caused disputes among the Christians, and thus Paul the provocateur achieved his goal.

A lengthy discussion follows on the meaning of the terms ‘spirit’ and ‘word’, two main attributes of Jesus in the Qur’an (Q 4:171). Al-Munayyar explains that these are not the uncreated Logos and Spirit of Christianity, but simply the expression of the divine utterance ‘Be and it is’ (Q 3:39), indicating that Jesus was a creature. He goes on to object to Christian explanations of the Trinity, arguing that God is above all comparisons and metaphorical descriptions. He follows with a lengthy discussion on the substance (*jawhar*) of God and the ‘absurdity’ of speaking of three persons in one being, and with a very brief rejection of the crucifixion of Jesus following the denial in Q 4:157, without any lengthy discussion.

Al-Munayyar advises believers to avoid mixing with Jews and Christians because they are the enemies of God and his messenger. This means discouraging the use of non-Muslim doctors or engaging with Jewish and Christian moneychangers because they are not trustworthy. He bases his contention on Q 5:51, ‘O you, who have believed, do not take the Jews and the Christians as allies. They are [in fact] allies (*awliyā*) of one another’, and he supports it with stories about the Caliph al-Ma’mūn, who was discouraged from employing non-Muslims in affairs of state such as tax collection and the military, and about many other Muslim leaders from earlier times. In earlier times, he observes, Christians and Jews often served important functions as physicians, teachers and tax collectors in

the administration of a number of governments, but he insists that this practice should not be repeated.

SIGNIFICANCE

Is al-Munayyar's treatise a fight for social status or a religious doctrinal debate? It is ultimately a bit of both. On the one hand, it can be seen as a justification for the mistrust that Muslims should rightly feel about Jews and Christians who participated in Islamic public life for purposes of serving their own ends, and on the other it can be taken as a warning against the temptation to convert to Judaism or Christianity, which some Muslims may have experienced at this time (see O.F. Meinardus, *Two thousand years of Coptic Christianity*, Cairo, 1999, pp. 52-61, and A. Hamilton, *The Copts and the West, 1439-1822*, Oxford, 2006, pp. 27-8).

The existence of only a single manuscript of the treatise suggests it did not circulate widely. However, it remains significant as a witness to the social and sectarian divisions of 17th-century Egypt.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Cambridge, University Library – Qq.29, fols 1-59 (no date given – possibly 19th century; see Browne, *A hand-list of the Muḥammadan manuscripts*, p. 48)

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STUDIES

Perlmann, “Alī al-Munayyar”

L. Yarbrough, “A rather small genre”. Arabic works against non-Muslim state officials’, *Der Islam* 93 (2016) 139-69, pp. 143, 156-7, 165, 169

Yazid Said

Evliya Çelebi

DATE OF BIRTH 1611
PLACE OF BIRTH Istanbul
DATE OF DEATH After 1687
PLACE OF DEATH Possibly Cairo

BIOGRAPHY

Apart from a few chance pieces of evidence, our only source on Evliya Çelebi's life is his autobiographical *Seyahatnâme* ('Book of travels'). He tells us there that he was born in Istanbul in 1611, and that his father was the imperial goldsmith. His father's family came from Kütahya in central Anatolia, and had long-standing ties to the court. Despite the seeming obscurity of his mother, who was probably brought to Istanbul as a slave from Abkhazia, her family offered Evliya access to ruling circles through her kinsman Melek Ahmed Pasha, who subsequently became a leading statesman and his foremost patron (Dankoff, *Intimate life*). Evliya had a *medrese* education, learnt to recite the Qur'an, and mixed in intellectual circles. In 1636, he caught the eye of Sultan Murad IV (r. 1623-40) and entered the palace school, where his studies widened and he developed his talents in, inter alia, music and horsemanship, and as a raconteur. The sultan designated him his 'boon companion', and sought him out when he wished to be entertained (Dankoff, *Ottoman mentality*, pp. 33-45).

Evliya Çelebi eschewed the career as a courtier or state official for which his education fitted him. He chose instead to devote his life to being a 'world traveller', as was inscribed on a ring that he wore. He was inspired to embark upon this path by his youthful outings around Istanbul and his conversations with dervishes who had roamed the world and described to him its marvels. He expressed his desire to travel in 1631, following a predictive dream in which he found himself in the presence of the Prophet Muḥammad, who gave his blessing to the endeavour (Dankoff and Kim, *An Ottoman traveller*, pp. 1-8). Evliya Çelebi did not find the opportunity to make his first, short, trip away, to the former Ottoman capital city of Bursa, until 1640 (Dankoff and Kim, *Ottoman traveller*, pp. 35-44), but after this he spent most of his life on the road.

Evliya usually supported himself by attaching himself to a senior Ottoman official appointed on a mission somewhere in the empire, or

beyond its frontiers. He performed a variety of duties, as courier, tax collector or political envoy, for instance, but his roles as prayer-caller and Qur'an-reciter, wit and sage companion, were arguably as important. He also witnessed military engagements against both foreign foes and internal rebels. On occasion, Evliya had the opportunity to set off on his own expeditions; these included both diversions of limited extent from his official itinerary, and full-blown journeys of exploration.

Evliya's earliest extended trips, between 1640 and 1648, took him to northern Anatolia, the Caucasus and Crimea, and Tabriz. In late 1648, he went from Istanbul across Anatolia to Greater Syria. In 1651-3, he made his first journeys in the Balkans. In 1655-6, he travelled in east and south-east Anatolia, Iran and Iraq. From 1659, he was again in the western part of the empire, where he participated in campaigns that concluded in a peace treaty with the Habsburg emperor; he was a member of the delegation sent to Vienna in 1665 to confirm this. In 1666-7, he travelled with the Crimean khan far into the Volga-Don region. In 1668, he went to Crete, where he witnessed the surrender of the island to the Ottomans in 1669; he returned home by way of Greece and Albania.

In 1671, Evliya set out to fulfil his long-held desire to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. He took a circuitous route through western and southern Anatolia, where he had not been before. Following his pilgrimage, he visited the Nile delta and then undertook an expedition south, towards the source of the river, returning from this journey in April 1673. He spent the rest of his life in and around Cairo and never saw Istanbul again.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Seyahatnâme, 'Book of travels'

DATE 1673-87

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Ottoman Turkish

DESCRIPTION

Evliya Çelebi's monumental, 10-volume *Seyahatnâme* is his only known narrative work. It is considered to be the longest travel account in any language, and has no parallel in style and content in Ottoman or indeed any other literature. The author set out to write a comprehensive record of the Ottoman domains in his time, incorporating this into a first-person travelogue recounting his journeys and adventures in a highly entertaining fashion. He organises his findings systematically, 'beginning with the history and administrative organisation of the town, its names in various languages and their etymologies, and its geographic position; continuing

with a description of the town's topography, with particular attention to fortifications; including descriptions of houses, mosques, medreses, schools, inns, baths, and fountains; town quarters and religious affiliations; climate; the appearance, dress, manners and customs of the populace; proper names and speech habits; the ulema, poets, physicians, and other notables; markets, shops, products, and comestibles; parks, gardens, and picnic-spots; and concluding with graves and shrines, along with biographies or hagiographies of the dead' (Dankoff, *Ottoman mentality*, p. 17).

Evliya comments in detail on everything he saw and that befell him. Towns and cities were his primary focus but, even as he documents a place, his playfulness shines through and colours his writing, which seamlessly shifts from documentary to legend and fable. He had many adventures as he travelled: among his panoply of experiences was enduring shipwreck in the Black Sea (Dankoff and Kim, *Ottoman traveller*, pp. 47-55), chasing his runaway slaves, having his horse shot from under him on the fringes of the Battle of St Gotthard (Dankoff and Kim, *Ottoman traveller*, pp. 222-30), encountering a pair of tigers, and crossing the swirling icefloes of the Straits of Kerch. Religious affiliation and its manifestations was one of the myriad nuggets of information that he considered to be integral to his panorama of the empire and its peoples.

The *Seyahatnâme* begins with the topography and history of Istanbul: Evliya Çelebi's discussion of the city's past reveals a dispassionate attitude to Christians. He describes Hagia Sophia (Ayasofya) both as a church (*deyr*) and as the mosque (*câmi*) that it was in his time (Dankoff, Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, p. 58); he writes that the former Church of the Pantocrator (Zeyrek mosque) was called the Monastery of St John (*Sencovaniyye*) 'in the time of the Christians' (*zamân-i nasârâda*) (Dankoff, Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, p. 63); and he notes that the grand mosque built by Mehmed II on the site of the Church of the Holy Apostles replaced 'a neglected church' (*bir deyr-i garîbi*) (Dankoff, Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, p. 64).

Evliya also reports on what he finds in Istanbul's outlying districts. In Hasköy on the Golden Horn, for instance, he notes seven churches (*kenîse*); inter alia, there were two Greek (*Urum*) neighbourhoods with three 'filthy' churches (*deyr-i telvîsleri*), and an Armenian neighbourhood (Dankoff, Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, p. 203). Whereas we might expect the people of this predominantly

Jewish district to attract Evliya Çelebi's disapproval, he allows himself only this jibe at Christian practice. As in other non-Muslim neighbourhoods, he notes that there were taverns (*meyhâne*) in Hasköy, and adds that the muscatel wine (*misket şarâbı*) of one of the taverns was famous among the dissolute who frequented the place (*harâbatî erenleri*). He also remarks on the beautiful Greek girls (*mahbûbe Urum keratsaları*). Adjacent to Hasköy is the district of Kasımpasha where, Evliya states without comment, there was a flourishing monastery in olden times (*zamân-i kadîmde ma'mûr manastırlık imiş*) (Dankoff, Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, p. 204).

Across the Golden Horn from the Topkapı palace, the seat of Ottoman power where Evliya spent much of his youth, was the former Genoese colony of Galata, where Muslims were in the minority: a census taken in Evliya Çelebi's time showed that there were 200,000 non-Muslims (*kâfir*) and 64,000 Muslims (Dankoff, Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, p. 212). Non-Ottoman Christians lived alongside local Christians in Galata, and here Evliya was afforded one of his first encounters with these foreigners, whose ancestors he refers to as 'Europeans of bad character' (*Freng-i bed-reng*) (Dankoff, Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, p. 20). He writes that there were 18 Muslim neighbourhoods, 70 (*sic*) Greek (*kefere-i Rûm*) neighbourhoods, one Jewish, two Armenian, and three of 'cranky Europeans' (*Freng-i pür-reng*), and he counted 70 (*sic*) churches (*kefere kenîsesi*) (Dankoff, Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, p. 212). Tavern-keeping was the domain of Galata's Greeks, he informs us, and he describes how he saw drunkards lying in the gutter along one of Galata's thoroughfares (Dankoff, Kahraman and Dağlı, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, p. 213; Dankoff and Kim, *Ottoman traveller*, pp. 17-21). Although he tells us here and on several occasions that he did not drink alcohol himself, he does not condemn this behaviour.

During the course of his travels, Evliya encountered significant populations of Christians living throughout the Ottoman lands. As was his practice when describing the villages around Istanbul, he reports how many neighbourhoods they comprised in each place, sometimes distinguishing between Greeks and Armenians and sometimes not. In 1671, he visited the port city of Izmir when on his pilgrimage journey to the Muslim holy places. Izmir was experiencing an economic boom that attracted numerous non-Ottoman Christians, and in which their local co-religionists also participated. He records the presence there of the

representatives (*balyoz*, 'bailo') of seven states, and their interpreters and consuls (Dağlı, Kahraman and Dankoff, *Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 9, p. 53), and he reports that a census in 1658 counted, *inter alia*, ten European and Jewish neighbourhoods (*Freng ve Yahûdî*), two Armenian, and ten *kefere zarbı* (presumably denoting Greeks) (Dağlı, Kahraman and Dankoff, *Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 9, p. 51). He applauds the vibrant commerce on European ships (*Freng-i bed-reng gemileri*) (Dağlı, Kahraman and Dankoff, *Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 9, p. 53), and notes that Christians (*kâfir*, presumably meaning European here) were protected by the authorities from physical attack. Employing the imagery he uses to describe the Muslim boys of Bursa and elsewhere, he comments on the non-Muslim beloveds of Izmir – Christian youths and 'immature priests' (choristers? altar-boys? *mûğpîçe ve ruhânîpîçe nâ-resîde kefere dilberleri*) – whose tousled locks drove their admirers to distraction (Dağlı, Kahraman and Dankoff, *Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 9, p. 53). He writes that there were seven dark churches with idols (*puhâne-i diyyurları*). Yet even in this city of many Europeans, he barely departs from his even-handed, documentary style. The harsher appellations he employs for non-Ottoman Christians, in Izmir as in Galata, suggest, however, that he ranked them below Christians who were fellow Ottoman subjects.

In Vienna, Evliya found himself in the capital city of the Ottomans' greatest European foe, the Habsburg Empire, where Muslims were few. It is unclear how long he stayed there, but his ample, humorous report of what he knew of the place's history, and of what he witnessed, bears scant traces of enmity. Censure is evident in the pro forma negative comment that prefaces his panegyric on St Stephan's Cathedral, entitling it 'Dispraise' (*alâmet-i bî-medh*), and characterising priests as 'stubborn and dirty' (*ânîd-i pelîd*), and monasteries as 'houses of mis-worship, the un-good work of a non-upright king' (*kral-ı dâllerin nâ-hayr-ı bed-âyîn hâneler*) (Dağlı, Kahraman and Dankoff, *Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 7, pp. 102-3). His account of his stay in Vienna embodies his curiosity and wonder at everything he saw, including, for instance, mechanical devices, a surgical procedure at which he was present, his own visit to the dentist, and his audience with the Emperor. Evliya was aware of the schism between the Hungarian Protestants (*Macar Luturyan mezhebi*) and the Austrian Catholics (*Nemse Papişte mezhebi*), but concluded objectively that both communities were 'unbelievers without faith' (*ikisi de kâfir-i bî-dînler*) (Dağlı, Kahraman and Dankoff, *Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 7, pp. 86-7; Dankoff and Kim, *Ottoman traveller*, pp. 230-49).

While on his pilgrimage journey in 1672, Evliya visited Jerusalem, the third most holy place in Islam. He toured sites sacred not only to Muslims, and to both Muslims and Christians, but also to Christians alone. He devotes much space to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, observing that during Christ's time it was the Christian Ka'ba (*millet-i mesîhiyyenin kâbeleri*). He passes on what he learnt about 'the infamous' Easter celebrations at the Church, when 5,000-10,000 'dissolute, hell-destined infidels' (*Kızıl Yumurta bednâmlarında beş on bin küffâr-ı füccâr-ı dühahkarâr*) gathered there (Dağlı, Kahraman and Dankoff, *Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 9, p. 245). He says that he managed to gain entry to the church on an earlier visit in 1648, and his careful description of the site encompasses both its architectural and sacred features. He expresses his disapproval of what he interprets as idol-worship and states that the church lacks spirituality. Further, he asserts, 'The austerities practised by the monks here are certainly admirable, though we do not look favourably on them; for, according to our religion, *There is no monkery in Islam*' (*Ve bunda sâkin olan ruhbânların perhîzlerine aşk olsun, ammâ biz ana nazar etmeziz. Zîrâ bizim mezhebimizde 'Lâ ruhbâniyyete fi'l-İslâm' dır*) (Dağlı, Kahraman and Dankoff, *Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 9, p. 247). He further compares the decorative elements of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to those of St Stephan's Cathedral, and finds the latter superior (Dağlı, Kahraman and Dankoff, *Evlîyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 9, p. 246; Dankoff and Kim, *Ottoman traveller*, pp. 315-38).

SIGNIFICANCE

Evliya Çelebi was an observant and pious Sunnî Muslim and also, as was not unusual at the time, a dervish. Growing up in the multi-religious city of Istanbul, he was used to being in proximity to Christians and other non-Muslims. His travels across the sultan's domains took him to villages, towns and cities where Christians lived and where their churches, monasteries and shrines were visible. He was thus thoroughly familiar with these 'infidels' and with the structures where they practised their religion, and he passes on what he knew of their history.

As far as we know, he was unique among Ottomans in the way he led his life, and in his curiosity about every aspect of what he saw on his travels. We have no comparable text to set alongside his *Seyahatnâme* for the purpose of assessing how representative he was of his times, and of his place in Ottoman society insofar as attitudes towards Christians were concerned. Rhyming epithets such as those he uses appear in Ottoman state documents, and thus should probably not be taken as indication

that he harboured personal animosity towards Christians, or other 'others'. When considering how tolerant Evliya was, Dankoff reminds us that, although he was proud of his Turkish ancestry, he 'shares the pejorative Ottoman view of the Anatolian Turks as unrefined bumpkins' (*etrâk-i bî-idrâk*, 'mindless Turks', also *etrâk-i nâ-pâk*, 'impure Turks' (Dankoff, *Ottoman mentality*, pp. 63-4). He admired many aspects of European culture, and takes pride in telling his readers about his friendships with Christians, both Ottoman and European.

Evliya Çelebi was a contemporary of the Rasputin-like, firebrand preacher Vâni Efendi, who viewed campaigns against the European states as a Manichean struggle between Islam and Christianity, and, taking advantage of the great fire of 1660 in Istanbul, turned on both local and European Christians to dispossess them of their churches, and was subsequently influential in outlawing the profitable wine and spirits trade from which many Christians made their living (Baer, 'Honored by the glory of Islam', ch. 2). In contrast, Evliya Çelebi's easy acceptance of those who were unlike him is exemplified in the phrase 'it is not shameful' (*ayb değil*), which he applied to customs and practices that he knew would be condemned in his own circles, but which he considered to fall within the norms of the society in question (Dankoff, 'Ayıp değil!'). On his visit to Vienna, he saw that men and women mixed freely, and that unaccompanied women chatted with the Ottoman delegation. Such behaviour, he reflected, was 'not considered shameful' (*ayb değıldir*) and he does not voice criticism of it (Dağlı, Kahraman and Dankoff, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 7, p. 89; Dankoff and Kim, *Ottoman traveller*, p. 231).

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Caroline Finkel

Eremia Č'ēlēpi K'ēōmiwrčean

DATE OF BIRTH 1637
PLACE OF BIRTH Constantinople
DATE OF DEATH 1695
PLACE OF DEATH Constantinople

BIOGRAPHY

Eremia Č'ēlēpi K'ēōmiwrčean was born on 13 May 1637 into a priestly family in Constantinople. He was the oldest of four siblings and his brothers Gēorg and Komitas followed their father into the priesthood. He also received an ecclesiastical education, beginning at the age of nine under the tutorship of one of his mother's relatives, and then studying with the learned churchmen Eliazar Ayntapč'i and Martiros Lrimec'i, and being trained in manuscript and literary studies, music and languages. In 1649, he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he stayed for eight months with his maternal uncle Ambakum. He married in 1654 and had a daughter and a son, who became a celibate priest.

From 1659, Eremia began a career as secretary to successive Armenian patriarchs of Constantinople, in which capacity he acted as an adviser to the hierarch, establishing contacts with important European diplomats and travelling on various missions to the Middle East and eastern Europe to maintain contacts with diverse Armenian communities.

Other travels were occasioned by his business responsibilities, including his representation of the interests of the wealthy merchant banker Abro Č'ēlēpi, with whose support Eremia set up a press in Constantinople in 1676, which published two titles.

Returning from a trip to the eastern sphere of the Armenian homeland in 1686 to visit one of his sons, he was deeply affected by the premature death of his two other children and the ongoing internal disputes within the upper echelons of Armenian society in the Ottoman capital. As a result, he withdrew from public life during the last decade of his life, devoting himself to literary pursuits.

Eremia left a rich legacy that treats a multiplicity of themes in a variety of genres and media. Several of his works relate to historical matters, such as his *A brief history of the Ottoman sultans* in verse, covering

the period from Osman I (r. 1299-1323) to the accession of Mehmed IV (r. 1648-87) composed on the basis of Armenian and Turkish sources, which generated a prose epitome in 1695. Together with these should be mentioned his *Stampōloy patmut'iwn* ('History of Constantinople'), treating the years 1661-89, and his *History of the fire in Constantinople of July 1660*, written in the following year, which combines prose narrative, verse commentary and the third dimension of coloured illustrations. Similarly, his *Ōragrut'iwn* ('Diary') of 1648-62 unites observations on his daily round with descriptions of many central events of his time, in some of which he played a personal role. This topic was later reprised and elaborated in his *Taregrakan patmut'iwn* ('Historical chronicle') covering the period 1648-90, which offers an overview of Ottoman history of the second half of the 17th century.

Another of Eremia's interests lay in geography, which found expression in a lost work on the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa, but of which only the map and introduction survive. He also produced a map of the most important Armenian monasteries and shrines at the request of the Bolognese nobleman Luigi Ferdinando Marsili in 1691. The latter got to know Eremia during an embassy to the Sublime Porte for negotiations on behalf of the European powers. Eremia also penned a *Brief description of the Bosphorus of Constantinople* in Armenian and Italian, also lost.

As an educated layman trained in ecclesiastical disciplines, Eremia produced *Calendrical knowledge*, a study of the relationship between the Armenian, Jewish, Greek and Latin calendars, and examination of various issues relating to the development of Armenian calculations in comparison with those of the other traditions.

Eremia also composed various genres of religious and lyric poetry, such as his collection in praise of the Holy Places of Jerusalem of 1678, published a series of his letters as model exemplars and wrote a series of six works treating Jewish themes. In addition, he was active in translating various works into Turkish. These embraced religious texts such as the New Testament, Psalter, Menologium and the popular prayerbook *I confess in faith* by Catholicos Nersēs Šnorhali, as well as fiction, such as the *Alexander romance* and *The romance of Paris and Vienne*, which had been translated into Armenian in the previous century, and an apparently lost Turkish compilation of Armenian history down to the Middle Ages produced at the request of Ottoman intellectuals. This was later

employed by the Arab historian Munajjim Bāshī (d. 1702) in his own account of the subject in *Jāmi' al-duwal*.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ōragrut'wn, 'Diary'

DATE 1648-62

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

The 17th century marks the inception of diary writing among Armenians, of which Eremia's work constitutes one of the first examples. He began it at the relatively young age of 11 and the account covers the years 1648-62, recording events, both large and small, in most of which the author was involved at some level. Composed in simple Classical Armenian and possessing no real literary merit, the narrative is nevertheless of great interest for its observations on the local impact of Ottoman international

policy, intrigues between the hierarchies of the Christian minorities and their engagements with Ottoman judicial and governmental authorities, relations between the Janissaries and religious minorities, and everyday contacts between individuals Eremia would come across in his daily round. The diary covers folios 1r-373v in the Jerusalem manuscript.

One of the main military backdrops to Eremia's diary was the Cretan War (1645-69), which placed major demands on the Ottoman fleet. Thus, one of the recurrent themes is the need to find oarsmen to man the galleys. An entry for 1649 presents a vizier investigating means of dragooning religious minorities into service. A subsequent entry in 1655 relates to the case of a local Christian under pressure to apostasise. On his refusal, a vizier wants him to be sentenced to death, but the mufti refuses and instead sentences him to serve on a warship. Remarkably, the man survives the hardships of the campaign, but is only released to his family after payment of a large sum.

The other primary theatre of war in this period was Hungary. An entry in 1660 refers to the Crimean Tatars allying with Poland-Lithuania against the background of the Transylvanian rebellion against Ottoman rule under Prince Rakoczi with Habsburg support, and the Ottoman campaign to re-establish control in the area. Meanwhile, another note in 1657 relates to the interception by the grand vizier of correspondence between the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople, Parthenius III, and the Greek bishop in the Russian lands about raising funds for the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Since Russia was the enemy of the Ottomans, his initiative was viewed as an act of treason, for which he received the death sentence. When he refused Mehmed IV's invitation to convert to Islam, he was taken to the gallows on 24 March 1657 at the 'Gate of the Hook'. There, as Eremia records, he remained hanging from the gallows for three days, after which his body was thrown into the sea, then drawn into the middle of the Bosphorus by boat where it was finally tied to a stone and cast into the depths. Meanwhile, search parties investigated other possible cases of collusion among the upper echelons of Constantinopolitan Greek society. The account continues that Gabriel II had himself declared patriarch on 23 April, as a result of a large bribe to the vizier, but the church's Holy Synod had him deposed scarcely a week later.

Eremia's diary is also a valuable source on relations between the Christian *millets* and the Ottoman government, one important aspect of which was the periodical problem of jurisdiction over the Holy Places in Jerusalem. A significant example of this was a dispute between the

Greeks and Armenians over the administration of the Monastery of St James, which was traditionally the seat of the Armenian patriarch of Jerusalem. Thus, the Greek lobby gained an edict from the Grand Vizier, Mehmed Pasha Köprülü, granting them rights over the monastery and condemning Bishop Eliazar Ayntapc'i, the most prominent Armenian defender of his church's rights there. In consequence, the property passed under Greek rule for a year and a half, while Ayntapc'i languished in jail with only Eremia to visit him and raise funds for his release, in which endeavour he was ultimately successful. Meanwhile, the monastery returned to Armenian possession.

The Sublime Porte's ratification was necessary for the installation of a new patriarch, an event which occurred in this period with unprecedented frequency as clerical cupidity united with the ambition of factions of the wealthy Armenian lay community and the venality of Ottoman officials. In this regard, Eremia comments that the repeated returns of Patriarch Dawit' Arewelc'i, who had held office in 1639-41, 43-4, 44-9, and was now suing to be re-inaugurated in 1650, meant the Armenian community had to pay a large sum each time for his reinstatement, and this had brought them to dire poverty. Another entry for 1660 indicates that Ottoman officials demanded a large sum of money to approve the tenure of Lazar I Sebastac'i.

The religious minorities' dependence on Ottoman provincial authorities forms another theme of the diary. A remark from 1660 reveals that a pasha's permission was required for church repairs, as was granted in T'ok'at' in that year. Similarly, during Eremia's pilgrimage in 1649, a pasha organised an entourage of local Arabs to protect the author's group from possible bandit attack. Another recurrent theme is the need for a senior Armenian clergyman to intercede with officials for the lowering of taxes levied on the Armenian community.

The diary tabulates a series of abuses against religious minorities by the Janissary corps, which became more frequent in the later period. On one occasion in 1660, a group of Janissaries encountered a prominent Greek woman and took her to a garden, though they were quickly apprehended there by the gendarmerie and more than seven of them were sentenced to death by drowning as a penalty for their action.

The diary is also replete with notes on the author's daily routine and family, and the interaction between individuals in his locality. One such narrative concerns a Muslim woman who approached an Armenian man sitting outside a church, announced that she was pregnant by him and

demanded support. On his refusal, she informed her son, who was a Janissary, who then brought the matter before his superior, who in turn demanded money from the priests for the maintenance of the woman and her child. When they too refused, he informed the pasha, who commanded the Armenian *vardapet* to find the man and the priests, and held several other priests in custody as surety for his compliance. However, since the Janissaries' primary concern was financial, when the priests' families offered a large sum for their release, they quickly complied.

SIGNIFICANCE

The diary provides a vivid and unselfconscious description of Christian communal living within Ottoman Muslim society. It shows that Christians were able to maintain reasonably independent existences, and could claim their rights just like Muslims, although they had to be vigilant lest their actions incur the displeasure of Muslims, with predictable consequences. There was little they could do to escape the reality of being a client community.

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Ačaṙyan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri baṙaran*, vol. 1, p. 57; vol. 2, pp. 140-1

Stampōloy patmut'wn, 'History of Constantinople'

DATE 1684

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

This verse composition was started in 1661, put aside for 20 years, and finally completed in 1684. Divided into eight long chapters, its 2,084

lines are composed in a simple register of Classical Armenian replete with Turkish, Arabic and Persian loanwords, its topographical description enlivened by a mixture of popular tales and legends. Of minor literary merit, the account gains salience through the information it affords about the various classifications of structure in the Constantinopolitan topography and their role as local hubs of socio-economic activity.

The work is dedicated to a certain Vardan *vardapet*, who may be identified with Vardan Balisec'i, the illustrious abbot of Amrdolu Monastery in the Lake Van region, who visited the Ottoman capital in 1660 and commissioned the poem.

Rather than being an historical account, as the title suggests, the work is framed as a guided tour of the city both inside and outside its walls, in which the narrator introduces his companion to the major areas of Armenian habitation, beginning at Yedikule, where they embark on a ship and sail along the European coastline past Samatia to Ayvansaray. There they disembark and continue by horse to the Armenian cemetery at Balıklı, after which they visit in turn the districts of Balat, Eyüp, the Golden Horn, Galata, Pera and Tophane. Subsequently, they sail up the whole of the city's European shoreline from Fener via Sarıyer and Büyükdere to the entrance to the Black Sea. Crossing to the Asiatic side at that point, they sail down the eastern side of the Bosphorus past Beyköy, Üsküdar and Kadıköy, pausing to look at the many palaces and impressive buildings en route. Finally, they briefly skirt the Princes' Islands before returning to their point of origin.

SIGNIFICANCE

In addition to describing the many imperial palaces and the ceremonies and forms of entertainment that went on in them, together with government offices and public gardens, the work signals the main places of worship, mosques, churches and the centres of various Catholic orders. In discussing commercial relations at the wharfs, Eremia notes the movements of European ships and their role in exports and imports, as well as the activities of foreign consulates in regulating this traffic. In treating the bazaars, workshops and warehouses near the city walls, and the villages outside, Eremia continually remarks on the significance of the religious minorities' involvement in trade and artisan crafts, their domiciles and their economic contribution.

The work complements Eremia's diary in depicting daily life in the capital, in which Christians mingled with Turkish Muslims with a degree of freedom.

PUBLICATIONS

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Ačaryan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri baṙaran*, vol. 2, pp. 140-1

Taregrakan patmut'īwn, 'Historical chronicle'

DATE 1693

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Based in part on Eremia's diary, this largely unpublished verse chronicle composed in 1692-3, and covering fols 1r-94v in the Venice manuscript, provides a tripartite account of the years 1648-90. Building on the author's interest in documenting fires, which finds expression in several other works, the first part of the poem treats this subject together with accounts of other natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes and epidemics that occurred around the Ottoman capital and in the Asiatic provinces of the empire. The second part focuses on Ottoman foreign policy and the internal operation of the Sublime Porte, while the third primarily handles the rivalries between the major sees of the Armenian Church in both the Ottoman and Persian Empires.

SIGNIFICANCE

The second section of the work largely explores religious interrelations in terms of the Ottoman wars of the period with Hungary, Austria and Venice, highlighting the achievements of successive sultans and grand viziers in their conduct of hostilities. The third section presents the negotiations that took place in the 1660s between Armenian hierarchs such as Bishop Eliazar Ayntapc'i and the Grand Vizier Mehmed Pasha Köprülü, together with lay Armenian financiers, to create a pan-Ottoman catholicate of Armenians that would be independent of the universal jurisdiction of the Armenian catholicos of Ējmiacin in the Persian sphere. This catholicate functioned for a brief period before Ayntapc'i was elected to the see of Ējmiacin and set about annulling the arrangement to revert to the *status quo ante*.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Venice, Mxitarist Library – V509, fols 1r-94v (1693)

S. Eremian, 'Eremia Č'ēlēpii taregrakan patmut'iwn', *Bazmavēp* 8 (1902) 368-9; 9-10, 473-9 (partial edition)

STUDIES

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Polarean, *Hay grotnēr*, p. 558

Sahakyan, *Eremia K'ēōmiwrčēan*, pp. 69-70

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Peter Cowe

Ziyāda ibn Yaḥyā l-Naṣb al-Rāsī l-Muhtadī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Syria
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Cairo, Egypt

BIOGRAPHY

Ziyāda ibn Yaḥyā l-Naṣb al-Rāsī l-Muhtadī (the convert), is known by two *nisbas*, 'al-Naṣb' (referring to the city of Naṣībīn in Syria) and al-Rāsī (city of Rās al-ʿAyn in Syria). One of the manuscripts of his work *Al-baḥṭh al-ṣarīḥ* gives his name as Ziyāda ibn Yaḥyā l-Shaṭl al-Rāsī. In *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn*, al-Baghdādī gives his name as Ziyādatullāh al-Muhtadī.

Little is known about the details of his life, and there is controversy among historians about the century in which he lived. Thomas Arnold (d. 1842) mentions in *The preaching of Islam* that Ziyāda lived in the 17th century. This opinion is supported by the fact that in *Al-baḥṭh al-ṣarīḥ* Ziyāda quotes from *Al-sīra l-Ḥalabiyya* by ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Aḥmad al-Ḥalabī, who was born in Egypt in 1567 and died in 1643. Moreover, in his abridgment of *Al-ajwiba l-jaliyya li-daḥḍ al-daʿawāt al-Naṣrāniyya* ('The clear answers in refuting the Christian allegations'), Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭayyibī (d. 1899) writes in his introduction that 'Shaykh Ziyāda wrote his book *Al-baḥṭh al-ṣarīḥ* after he converted to Islam in the 11th century of the Islamic calendar...'

There is also controversy as to where he grew up. The *nisbas* al-Naṣb and al-Rāsī suggest he lived in Damascus. Moreover, in his abridgment of *Khulāṣat al-tarjīḥ li-l-dīn al-ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Ṭayyibī mentions that Ziyāda's two works, *Al-baḥṭh al-ṣarīḥ* and *Al-ajwiba l-jaliyya*, were found in the library belonging to Muḥammad Bāshā al-Muʿazzam in Damascus, bearing the date 1848.

Although Ziyāda was a Christian theologian, he doubted his faith. He therefore studied Islam and its sources thoroughly, and eventually decided to convert and afterwards devoted his life to refuting Christian 'misconceptions' about Islam. His books became a reference for later Muslim writers inviting Christians to convert to Islam. In answering what he saw as 'misconceptions', Ziyāda would quote the Old and New

Testaments and compare their various versions and translations, Arabic, Hebrew, Greek and Syriac.

Ziyāda is known to have authored two books, *Al-baḥṭh al-ṣarīḥ fi ayyimā huwa l-dīn al-ṣaḥīḥ* and *Al-ajwiba l-jaliyya fi daḥḍ al-da'awāt al-Naṣrāniyya*. Al-Ṭayyibī produced an abridged version of the first, titling it *Khulāṣat al-tarjīḥ li-l-dīn al-ṣaḥīḥ*. This abridgement was published on the margin of Raḥmatullāh al-Hindī's *Izhār al-ḥaqq*.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Al-baḥṭh al-ṣarīḥ fi ayyimā huwa l-dīn al-ṣaḥīḥ,
'The frank research into which is the true religion'

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Al-baḥṭh al-ṣarīḥ discusses highly disputed issues between Christianity and Islam. It covers 197 folios in the Dār al-Kutub MS, which is complete and is written in good handwriting, but neither the date of copying nor the name of the copier are known. In the Tübingen MS, there are a number of missing folios between the beginning of the 25th 'doubt' and the middle of the 28th 'doubt'.

The work focuses on the following themes:

1. Invalidation of the Christian claim that Jesus is God and proof that he was one of the prophets sent by God to guide humanity. To cover this issue, Ziyāda adduces six statements that negate the divinity of Jesus.
2. Invalidation of the use of Jesus' miracles to prove that he is God.
3. Response to the misconceptions raised by Christians about Muḥammad.
4. Eleven predictions in the Torah and the Gospel of the coming of Muḥammad.
5. Proof that the Bible is not an authentic scripture, supported by the internal evidence of 30 'doubts'.

Each theme is covered in its own chapter in extensive detail. Understandably, Ziyāda relies heavily on the Qur'an. For historical issues he uses *Al-sīra l-Ḥalabīyya* by 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Aḥmad al-Ḥalabī (d. 1643), and for the names of the Prophet Muḥammad he quotes from the book *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* by Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Jazūlī (d. 1465). On issues relating to Christianity, he uses the Old and New Testaments, and for church history he refers to the work by Sa'īd ibn Baṭrīq, and the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus. The quality of the Arabic is poor in places and the work contains many grammatical errors throughout. For this reason, the editor, Su'ūd ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khalaf, had difficulties in understanding many sentences.

The relation between this book and the author's second book, *Al-ajwiba l-jalīyya li-daḥḍ al-da'awāt al-Naṣrānīyya*, is that, after finishing *Al-baḥṭh al-ṣarīḥ*, he sent it to one of his friends, Abū Ibrāhīm al-Ḥadīdī al-Manī', who read it and asked some questions. The answers to these questions form the basis of *Al-ajwiba l-jalīyya*.

SIGNIFICANCE

This work falls into the category of polemical books that focus on a rejection of Christian doctrine and a call to believe in Islam and its final prophet, Muḥammad. This category also encompasses, among others, the works of Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328), Raḥmatullāh al-Hindī (d. 1891) and the convert 'Abd al-Aḥad Dāwūd (formerly David Benjamin Keldani, d. 1940). Its use of familiar polemical themes from many centuries earlier shows the continuing strength and influence of arguments and attitudes that had originated in early Islamic times.

PUBLICATIONS

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 Or. 706 (date of copying unknown)
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*Al-ajwiba l-jaliyya li-daḥḍ al-da‘awāt
 al-Naṣrāniyya*, ‘The clear answers in refuting
 the Christian allegations’

DATE Unknown

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

After finishing *Al-baḥṭh al-ṣarīḥ*, Ziyāda sent it to one of his friends, Abū Ibrāhīm al-Ḥadīdī al-Manī‘. Al-Manī‘ read it and was about to convert to Islam, but a group of Christian scholars asked him some questions that cast doubt on the Islamic faith. Al-Manī‘ wrote out these questions and sent them to Ziyāda, who answered them in a further book, *Al-ajwiba l-jaliyya li-daḥḍ al-da‘awāt al-Naṣrāniyya*. After reading these responses, al-Manī‘ was convinced that Islam was the true faith and declared his conversion.

Questions treated by Ziyāda in this work include, among others: Is the religion of Islam a universal religion or was it sent to the Arabs only? What about the qur’anic verses that praise the Jews, the Christians and Jesus? What about the verse that reads: ‘Guide us to the straight path’? Does it mean that Muḥammad was not sure of his message, and so asked God for guidance? What about the verse that reads: ‘It is he who causes life and death...’? Does this not support Jesus’ divinity and that he is God? Why does the Qur’an contain non-Arabic words even though it was revealed in Arabic?

SIGNIFICANCE

This book affords a valuable insight into the kind of questions being discussed by Arabic-speaking Christians and by Muslims at this time, revealing the degree of knowledge of the Qur'an sometimes possessed by Christians, presumably in their search for ways to defend their own faith by discovering arguments to support it in the scripture of the Muslims.

PUBLICATIONS

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STUDIES

Al-Za'tarī, *Al-ajwiba l-jaliyya*

Mohsen Haredy

Franciscan missions in Bulgaria

The presence of Catholic groups among the generally Greek Orthodox Bulgarian population is mainly due to the work of Franciscan missionaries in the 17th century. The founders of the Bulgarian mission were Bosnian friars who had gained vital experience of evangelistic work in the Balkans. Their history began at the end of the 13th century, when the Franciscans launched a mission in the medieval Bosnian kingdom, which was notorious in the Christian world for the heresies spread among its inhabitants. In 1339/40, the Bosnian Franciscan vicariate was established; this later extended its activities far beyond the geographical and political frontiers of Bosnia.

Bosnian Franciscans were present in Bulgarian lands as early as the 14th century. They came in association with the Hungarian occupation of Vidin (1365-9), when King Louis I of Hungary (r. 1342-82) attempted to impose Catholicism on the Bulgarian population. He insisted on eight friars from the monastery of Olovo in Bosnia being sent to organise a mission in Bulgaria. This resulted in the establishment of an area of Franciscan responsibility called *Bulgaria*, as part of the Bosnian vicariate.

In the 15th century, the Franciscans from Bosnia suffered substantial damages and heavy losses as a consequence of the Ottoman invasion. There were also some structural changes, and the Bosnian vicariate was transformed into a province of the Franciscan Order under the name *Bosna Argentina*. However, they not only survived, but even found a successful way of developing their activities under the rule of the sultan, being granted certain privileges.

By the end of the 14th century, the Bulgarian lands had been conquered by the Ottomans, but it was not till the end of the 16th century that Bulgarian Catholics in the region of Chiprovtsi appealed to Rome to provide them with priests. As a result, several Bosnian friars, led by Pietro Salinate (Petrus Salinates Bosnensis; Petar Solanin) (c. 1550-1623), were sent to Bulgaria in 1595, and organised the second, significantly more successful, Franciscan mission there. In spite of all the difficulties caused by the Ottoman authorities, the demands of the Orthodox clergy and occasional reluctance on the part of the local people, the mission succeeded in strengthening Catholic areas in Bulgarian lands and even increased the influence of the Roman Church at the expense of the so-called Paulicians, who lived along the Danube and Osam rivers and in

the region of Plovdiv. Rome greatly appreciated Pietro Salinate's achievements, and ordained him bishop of Sofia (Sardica) in 1601.

The 17th century saw the flourishing of the Franciscan mission. The friars were active in providing pastoral care, evangelising, maintaining churches and monasteries, organising schools and functioning as the true leaders of the Catholic people. Bulgarian Franciscans established a Catholic missionary hierarchy in the Bulgarian lands by restoring ancient episcopal sees and also participated in Catholic missions north of the Danube (in Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia).

From Pietro Salinate onwards, the main bishops and Franciscan missionaries were Bulgarian friars, becoming leading figures among the local Catholics. The second bishop of Sofia was Ilia Marinov (Elias Marinius; Elia Marini) (1577/8-1642), who successfully continued the missionary work of his predecessor. As a result, an independent area of Franciscan responsibility was founded in 1625. The next bishop of Sofia, Petar Bogdan Bakšić (Pietro Diodato Bacsi; Petrus Deodatus) (1600/1-74), became archbishop of Sofia, with a diocese comprising the Bulgarian lands, Wallachia and Moldavia. He was one of the most active Bulgarian Catholic leaders, distinguishing himself not only through his pastoral work and literary activities – translations, religious and historical writings and poetry – but also through his diplomatic endeavours to gain European support for the Bulgarians living under the rule of the sultan.

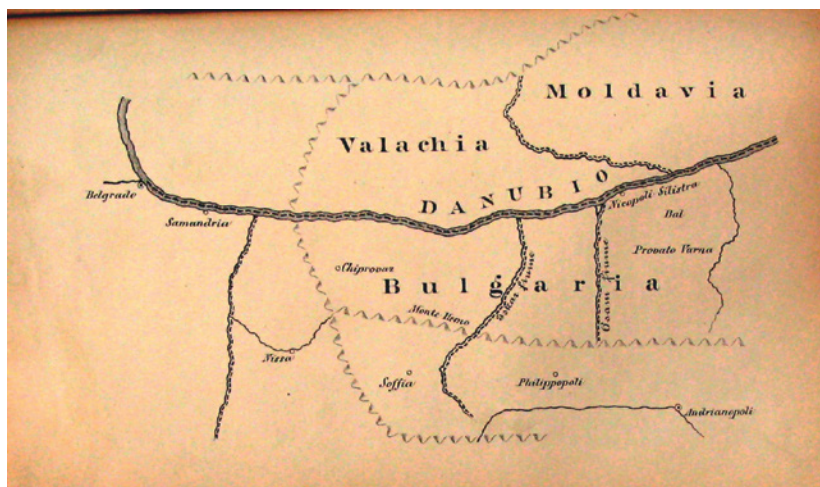


Illustration 7. Map of the Bulgarian lands by Petar Bogdan Bakšić, 1643

In 1643, the archbishopric of Marcianopoli (Martianopoli) was established for Catholics living in the eastern Bulgarian lands and Moldavia. The first archbishop was Marco Bandini (Marco Bandulović) (1593-1650), a Franciscan friar from Bosnia, although he resided in Bacău in Moldavia. For the needs of the Catholics in the Bulgarian lands, the bishopric of Nikopol (Nicopoli) was established, administered by Filip Stanislavov (1608/10-74), a former Paulician and the only member of the senior Catholic clergy in Bulgaria who did not belong to the Franciscan Order.

The second archbishop of Marcianopoli, Petar Parčević (Pietro Parcevich) (1612-74), was an outstanding Bulgarian patriot who devoted a major part of his life to political and diplomatic activity against the Ottomans. Other important Bulgarian Franciscans include Francesco Soimirović (Franciscus Soimiri) (c. 1614-73), Petar Bogdan's disciple and collaborator. He headed the Franciscan custody of Bulgaria and was later ordained bishop of Prizren and archbishop of Ohrid. He was also the author of historical works.

The archbishop of Sofia, Stefan Knežević (Giovanni Steffano Conti; a Comitibus) (1623/5-91), and the bishop of Nikopol, Anton Stefanov (Antonio Stephani) (1644/5-92/3), were both active diplomats and political figures. They led the Bulgarian Catholics during the difficult period of the outbreak and suppression of the Chiprovtsi uprising in 1688. This insurrection of the Bulgarian Catholics against Ottoman rule was inspired by Christian success during the War of the Holy League (1683-99). Its failure marked the end of the Franciscan mission in the Bulgarian lands. The uprising led to severe retaliation from the Ottoman authorities and a large number of Catholics from the Chiprovtsi region, together with the Franciscan friars, were forced to abandon their homeland and find refuge north of the Danube, first in Wallachia and then in Transylvania.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

DATE 17th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Italian and Latin, and occasionally Illyrian

DESCRIPTION

The written heritage of the Franciscan missionaries in Bulgaria consists of their theological, philosophical and historical works, as well as their

correspondence with Rome, a major part of which is addressed to the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, which administered all Catholic missions in the world from 1622 onwards. Of great interest are the detailed reports that each missionary was obliged to send regularly to the Congregation, describing conditions in the various regions to which they had been sent. In addition to this correspondence with Rome, some Franciscans were also in contact with important European rulers and diplomats. One of the most active in this respect was Petar Parchevich, who was welcomed at the Venetian, Polish and Habsburg courts. The Franciscan missionaries' works, reports and letters were written mainly in Latin and Italian, but sometimes they also used Illyrian, a Slavic language written in Latin script.

In terms of Christian-Muslim relations, the Franciscans' letters and reports are more interesting than their theological and other works. The correspondence with Rome usually concerns various organisational problems that Franciscans faced as missionaries living in the lands of the infidels (*in partibus infidelium*), such as insufficient funds, problems with the Ottoman authorities, disputes with the Orthodox clergy, difficulties in repairing their churches and monasteries, lack of liturgical vessels, and so forth. These letters and reports more frequently describe facts rather than attitudes. The 'diplomatic' correspondence is written in a different manner: the letters are dominated by anti-Ottoman discourse and are more emotional, aimed at gaining sympathy for Christians under Ottoman rule.

The term these documents generally use to designate Muslims is 'Turks'. Religious designations, such as 'infidels' or 'Mahumetani', are not often used, but the opposition between Christians and Muslims is evident. The Turks are sometimes described as 'barbarians' but this is not due entirely to their religious identity, but rather to the various challenges that confronted the Franciscans within the Ottoman territories. Furthermore, the friars were aware that they were missionaries in ancient Christian lands conquered by the Ottomans, and this also influenced their attitudes towards the Turks. Ottoman domination is usually described as tyranny (*tirannia*), a yoke (*iugum, giogo*) and slavery (*servitù, schiavitù*), so representatives of authority are often referred to as 'tyrants' and 'satraps'. The poor Christians, represented as wholly devoted to the Roman Church, are forced to live in extremely cruel conditions under Ottoman rule (*sotto quella crudelissima mano del Turco*) (Letter of Pietro Solinate of 1612, see Primov, Sariiski and İovkov, *Dokumenti za katolicheskata*, p. 14).

The Christians face discrimination and restrictions in practising their faith; for instance, they are not allowed to build new churches or use church bells, and the Franciscans insist that conditions for Catholics under Ottoman rule are worse than those faced by other non-Muslim denominations, especially Jews and Orthodox Christians. The Ottomans impose heavy taxes and various other burdens on Catholics. They humiliate them and their Franciscan priests – for example, by demanding bribes for granting permission required to repair their churches, or obliging them to provide food and lodging for Ottomans passing through their villages. According to Franciscan reports, the Catholics live in constant fear of Turkish abuse, which increases during the Ottoman-European wars. Sometimes, churches are destroyed or converted into mosques, and the Catholics are unable to prevent these abuses because the Turks are numerous and powerful (*sono molti e potenti*) (Petar Bogdan's report of 1640; see Fermendžin, *Acta Bulgariae*, p. 86). Thus, the main contrast is between the Ottoman ruling class and the poor, oppressed and humiliated Christians who suffer the burden of Turkish dominance (*le gravezze de Turchi*).

In the Franciscan correspondence, the Turks are mainly cruel oppressors, money-grabbers (*avidi al denaro*) and cunning misers (*avari astuti*). More emotive epithets are used in the letters written in the years leading up to and immediately after the Chiprovtsi uprising of 1688, especially in those describing the situation after its suppression. For example, Petar Parchevich refers to the Turks as 'beasts' (*gran bestia*) and 'savages' (*Turcarum saevissimorum*) (Pejacsevich, 'Peter Freiherr von Parchevich', pp. 497, 502, 621). A very vivid description of the difficult situation experienced by the population along the Danube after the Turnovo uprising (1686) is provided by Anton Stefanov, who informs the Congregation that 'wild boar have been ravaging the vineyard and have almost completely ruined it' (Spissarevska, *Chiprovskoto vŭstanie*, p. 192). Great emotion is expressed by Stefan Knezhevich in his report of 20 October 1688, when he recounts with pathos the details of the massacres and devastation in the Catholic villages that were perpetrated by the cruel enemy (*cru-del' inimico*) during the suppression of the Chiprovtsi uprising (Primov, Sariiski and Ŗovkov, *Dokumenti za katolicheskata*, pp. 426-8).

The Franciscan correspondence does not generally provide any theological discussion or detail about Islam, despite the fact that the friars must have been well-acquainted with the religion. The 'false errors' (*falsi errori*) of the Turks is the term used to designate their faith. Presumably because Muslims were already well-known as the enemies of Christianity

and, probably, to avoid potential conflict with the Ottoman authorities, there are no further explanations of these Turkish religious 'errors', and any expression of a particular attitude towards Islam or open criticism of it is avoided. For example, the letters and reports frequently contain sorrowful announcements that a church has been converted into a mosque, but no further comment is made.

In terms of Christian-Muslim relations, one interesting figure is Kras-tyo Peikich (Christophor Peichich Bulgarus) (1666-1731), who did not belong to the Franciscan Order but was closely related to the Bulgarian Franciscans, being born in Chiprovtsi. He had to leave the Bulgarian lands after the 1688 uprising, and later graduated from the Collegium Urbanum in Rome and became a Catholic missionary, working mainly among Bulgarian immigrants in Transylvania and Wallachia. In 1717, he published a form of guide for Catholic missionaries living among Muslims (*Mahometanus dogmatice, et catechetice in lege Christi, alcorano suffragante instructus*, Tyrnaviae, 1717), the only work composed by a Bulgarian Catholic that openly discusses Christian-Muslim relations.

A serious problem for the Franciscan missionaries was that of Catholic 'renegades' (*rinegati*) who embraced Islam or wished to do so. These Christian conversions are usually put down to the tyranny of the authorities and the social and economic advantages that could result from professing the Turkish faith within the Ottoman Empire. At times, even representatives of the clergy yield to temptation; Anton Stefanov reports the case of a priest who neglects his pastoral duties and then, instead of obeying the bishop and Church discipline, declares that he prefers to become a Turk (Primov, Sariiski and Iovkov, *Dokumenti za katoliches-kata*, pp. 447, 462-3).

From a religious point of view, the Franciscan missionaries appear to consider the Orthodox clergy as a far more dangerous enemy than the Muslims. The Franciscans mainly have negative, even hostile, attitudes towards 'schismatics' or 'Greeks', and both the Orthodox faith and the customs and rituals of the Orthodox community are openly criticised. 'Schismatics' are considered competitors for Christian souls even more cruel than the Turks; in most instances, Turks are regarded as more humane (*più humani*) than the Orthodox clergy (Petar Bogdan's report of 1640; see Fermendžin, *Acta Bulgariae*, p. 79). However, this attitude changes slightly over time, especially in the 1680s, when anti-Ottoman feelings are strong among Bulgarian Catholics, and some of them begin to consider the Orthodox as potential allies against the common Ottoman enemy.

Bulgarian Franciscans appear genuinely to have believed that the Ottomans were only the temporary masters of Christians. The most prominent Catholic figures considered themselves to be some sort of political representatives of the Bulgarians under the Ottomans, and their religious activities are interwoven with diplomatic and political activities. Some of them spent a large part of their lives trying to persuade European powers to help the Bulgarians. These efforts increased during the Ottoman-European wars, particularly the Wars of Candia (1645-69) and the Holy League (1683-99). The Franciscans believed that a good Catholic ruler would rescue them from the Ottoman yoke, referring to 'crusade' sentiments among European rulers and their duty to relieve suffering Christians. In an attempt to persuade the Habsburg emperor of the benefits of a war against the Ottomans, Anton Stefanov even claims that it would be very easy to baptise all the Turks (Tsvetkova, 'Novi dokumenti za osvoboditelnite', p. 250).

SIGNIFICANCE

The Franciscans were part of the 17th-century Bulgarian intellectual elite. They were educated in Catholic colleges in Italy and, being fluent in Italian and Latin, were familiar with European intellectual trends and political ideas of their time. They might be considered, in this respect, as the main bearers of modern ideas to the Bulgarians. Even though the friars only had strong influence among Catholics, who were a marginal group compared with the Orthodox Bulgarian population, these prominent Bulgarian Catholics nonetheless played an important role, as they were the only people in contact with Christian Europe and hence the only ones able to provide Rome and the European courts with relevant information about the Bulgarians under Ottoman rule.

One significant outcome of the 17th-century Franciscan missions in Bulgaria is their literary heritage, which constitutes the so-called Chiprovtsi Literary School. These works differ greatly in style from contemporaneous Orthodox works, and represent a separate branch in the Bulgarian literary tradition. The history of the Chiprovtsi Literary School did not end in 1688 but continued to be developed by the Franciscan friars and other prominent Bulgarian Catholics. The representatives of this second period did not live and work in the Bulgarian territories, but their achievements are nevertheless considered an integral part of the Bulgarian Catholic heritage.

Bulgarian Franciscans were Catholic missionaries in 'the lands of infidels', experiencing all the difficulties that Ottoman dominance

could cause to the common people. Their letters and reports provide valuable insight not only into Christian-Muslim conflict in the 17th century, but also into relations between religious groups within the Ottoman Empire in general. However, attitudes towards Muslims were not always expressed explicitly, probably out of awareness of Ottoman domination. The Franciscans shared the general Christian hatred of the 'Turks', but this appears to be mainly due to the tyrannical rule of the Ottomans, rather than for purely religious reasons. For example, their attitude towards Muslims did not prevent them from admiring beautiful mosques. This notwithstanding, the missionaries described the Turks as cruel tyrants who oppressed the poor Christians, and sought salvation through the intervention of an honoured Catholic ruler who would free them from their servitude under the Ottomans.

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An anonymous Jacobite author

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH Unknown
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

The author of this fragment is unknown, although from the arguments he chooses in the debate with his Muslim opponent he was evidently a Jacobite. While the manuscript stems from the 17th century, the author could have lived much earlier.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Fragment of a controversial dialogue between an anonymous Jacobite and a Muslim

DATE Unknown
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

MS Gotha ar. 2882 contains a fragment of a controversy between an anonymous Jacobite and a Muslim. The manuscript, which is a collection of several pieces, was written at the end of the 17th century in an unknown place. It contains stories treating very different subjects, mainly legends of biblical figures and saints, but also disputes and a homily. Most of them can be dated to the 14th century, but the period covered ranges from the 12th to the 17th century. The provenance of the manuscript collection is unknown.

The subject of the discussion is the dual nature of Jesus Christ. The argumentation is based on citations from the Qur'an and on works by philosophers such as Aristotle, Plato and Hermes Trismegistus. The author argues on the basis of the Nestorian Christology of two natures and two essences in Christ, and demonstrates to the readers of his Jacobite community that this is more suitable than any others in the discussion with Muslims about Jesus. As the beginning and end of the dialogue

are missing, it is not clear whether it also originally treated other subjects than Christology.

SIGNIFICANCE

The themes and methods of argumentation of the dialogue have their origin in the early Middle Ages. That they were still of interest and convincing in early modern times is proved by the appearance of the dialogue in a manuscript composed in the 17th century.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Gotha, Research Library – ar. 2882, fols 16r-24v (late 17th century)

STUDIES

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Harald Suermann



Illustration 8. An annotated view of Mecca by Gaspar Bouttats. Significantly, there is no obvious representation of the Ka'ba or the Grand Mosque, and the main focus in the town, and thus of pilgrimages, appears to be the tomb of Muhammad

The correspondence of Greek church leaders with Russia

The correspondence of Greek church leaders and monastic authorities with the Russian court and church is preserved partly in the original languages (Greek, Slavonic), and partly in contemporary translations made by the employees of the Muscovite Bureau of Ambassadors (*Posol'skii prikaz*). A large part of this correspondence is accompanied by documents concerning the letter carriers' stay in Russia. The senders include famous Orthodox church leaders, such as the patriarchs of Constantinople, Cyril Loukaris and Athanasios II Patellaros, the patriarchs of Jerusalem, Theophanus III Karakallos and Dositheus II, the patriarchs of Antioch, Macarius III Ibn al-Za'im and Athanasius III Dabbas, the patriarch of Alexandria, Metrophanus Kritopoulos, and the metropolitan of Kiev Peter Moghila, well-known participants in international diplomacy such as archimandrite Daniel Olivenberg 'the Greek' from Athens, who was a diplomat in the service of the Zaporozhian Host in the 1650s, theologians such as the hieromonk and 'teacher of the Great Church' Meletios Syrigos, and others about whom nothing is known from other written sources.

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

DATE 16th-18th centuries

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Greek (vernacular), Slavonic

DESCRIPTION

The addressees of the correspondence sent to Moscow by leaders of the Eastern churches are for the most part Russian tsars or patriarchs, and more rarely representatives of the Russian state administration. From the form, provenance and contents of the letters, several main types of missives can be distinguished: patriarchal letters of recommendation in support of monastic authorities or private persons; letters from monastic authorities or Orthodox hierarchs and clergy containing requests for 'alms'; letters of gratitude for such 'alms'; letters of an *avvisi* type containing political information.

The contents of the letters are strongly influenced by the political and confessional context and by the models of etiquette relevant for

such correspondence. Letters are addressed to 'His Great Majesty', the Orthodox sovereign, heir of the 'pious Greek [i.e. Byzantine] emperors', or the Moscow patriarch. They depict the receiver as the protector of the humble sender (*topoi* of modesty), who is experiencing all kinds of difficulties and hardships under the dominion of the 'impious' and 'lawless' Turks or 'Hagarenes'. 'The rich alms' requested by the senders are thus the only way to survive in this hostile environment. The incessant persecution of the 'impious' is seen as God's punishment for sins, and the result of the 'enemy's' (the devil's) harassment of Christians, particularly in letters of recommendation or requests for the 'tsar's alms': the various complaints included in these texts may reflect genuine economic or confessional problems in a Christian community, or may be fictitious. There are instances where *topoi* concerning religious persecution are copied from one letter to another, thus representing a rather distant reality, at times relating to a different community or situation taken by the authors as an example from the history of some other Orthodox community.

Although in such texts realities are transformed, and suffering is exaggerated or depicted in unlikely detail, in essence the description often reflects a real event or situation. In this material, it is not rare to find imitations of patriarchal or monastic letters, written or signed by 'falsifiers' or, better, 'imitators', who were interested in material gain or were unable for various reasons (e.g. distance, military activity, or affiliation to a political-ecclesiastical clan different from that of the patriarch in charge) to obtain a genuine document.

Patriarchs' recommendations in support of specific persons are short, with a brief mention of the suffering of a particular Christian, always of noble origin, at the hands of the 'Turks' on the basis of unfair charges, facing the enslavement of his family, and the threat of forced conversion to Islam. Reparation of ancient or damaged churches is often presented as a cause of economic ruin for monasteries, Christian communities or pious private persons, who had invested their money in the restoration of the church, but found themselves being punished for this by the Muslim authorities or having to pay huge penalties. The transformation of churches into mosques in Constantinople and the destruction of monastic foundations (e.g. the monastery of St John the Forerunner near Sozopolis in 1629-30) reflect reality, but are sometimes supplemented with unlikely details or descriptions.

Patriarchal letters and letters of *avvisi* offer a wealth of reliable information about the misfortunes of Christians living under Muslim rule,

as well as the direct persecution of church leaders by the Ottomans. Examples here are: the execution of two patriarchs of Constantinople, Cyril Loukaris in 1638 and Parthenius III in 1657; the short but impressive imprisonment of Patriarch Paisios Lambardis of Jerusalem in 1657; and Patriarch Macarius of Antioch's fear of punishment on returning to his diocese after participating in negotiations about the transition of allegiance of Moldavia to the Russian tsar in 1656. *Avvisi*-type letters from Greek clergymen and lay persons provide concrete information about Ottoman state military actions, governmental changes at the sultan's court and revolts in the empire, and the bad habits of the 'Turks' in general and of the sultans in particular. The Ottoman sultans are represented as incapable governors with a penchant for luxury, and Christian victory over them as an impressive event, promising the future liberation of the Orthodox people by the 'Orthodox tsar'. The authors of the letters at times refer to the ancient prophecies, confirming expectations of liberation, or describe the fear experienced by the 'Turks' when hearing of future attacks by Christian armies and/or suffering military defeats (e.g. letters from Metropolitan Gabriel Vlasios of Nafpactos and Arta, from Benedict, Great archimandrite of the Great Church, and from the Metropolitan of Chalcedon, Dionysios Naltsabasmatis – known as the 'Archbishop of Thessaly' or 'Metropolitan Daniel', two pseudonyms used by him to conceal his real name, as it appears he was afraid of revealing his identity). The concrete purposes of the correspondence did not allow the authors to go into any more detailed description of theological or religious aspects of Christian-Muslim coexistence; on the contrary, they simplified their relations, portraying the Muslim 'other' simply as an oppressor belonging to the ruling stratum of Ottoman society.

Other types of letters (e.g. synodal acts, letters confirming the authenticity of relics or icons) are less relevant as sources of direct information about the coexistence of Christians with the 'Muslim world' and Ottoman authorities, but are of great importance as constitutive documents for the Eastern Church in its contacts with Russia, as these were influenced by the relations of the Church (and of the Ecumenical Patriarch as head of the Christian population of the Ottoman Empire) with the Ottoman government.

The geographical provenance of the correspondents and letters is diverse and broad, and it is possible to find letters from all corners of the 'Christian East', i.e. the Ottoman provinces and the tributary principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. However, from closer analysis

of the correspondence it can be concluded that the majority of letters were written either in Constantinople or in the Romanian principalities, where Greek monasteries and patriarchates possessed so-called 'dedicated monasteries' (*metochia*).

The correspondence with the Greek clergy dating back to the 16th century has survived in only a very small number of original pieces owing to a number of fires in the Moscow archives. However, the surviving material allows the observation that the correspondence of the Orthodox clergy with Moscow in this period was rather limited. The most active phase in the relationship of the Moscow court with the Orthodox East was in the 17th and beginning of the 18th century, with the tsars' growing interest in their neighbouring territories (Poland-Lithuania, Moldavia) and their concurrence with the sultans about annexing some regions or encompassing them within their own sphere of influence. The idea of 'protecting' the Orthodox people by the 'most pious tsar' was the ideological reason for such intervention and provoked an intensification of contact and correspondence between the two sides. In the 18th century, the volume of correspondence diminishes, to increase again during the 19th century, as the Russian Empire reinforced its presence in the Near East and the confrontation with the Ottoman Empire intensified.

SIGNIFICANCE

The correspondence of Orthodox clergy with Russia offers a valuable source of information on the situation in the 'Christian East', shedding light on relations between local Christian communities and the Ottoman Muslim authorities. Even when the contents of the letters are based on real facts, they involve large-scale elaboration of an imaginary narrative that models a specific 'role' for Muslims as the oppressors and unjust persecutors, thus emphasising even more strongly the role of an 'Orthodox tsar' as the saviour of the enslaved Christians and protector of the Orthodox faith, insisting on his help, which is crucial for their survival. However, the actual effect this rhetoric had on Russian politics proved to be rather limited. Moreover, the material support provided by the Muscovite court to Orthodox Christians within the Ottoman Empire was far less in quantity and significance than that provided by the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia during the same period.

PUBLICATIONS

The Russian correspondence with the Eastern Church hierarchs and monastic authorities is preserved in several Moscow archival depositories.

The 16th-century documentation is rather scarce because successive fires destroyed the archives of the Russian diplomatic services, the last occurring in 1626. From this date onwards, Russian correspondence with the Christian East is well preserved, and the loss of material is insignificant.

The major part of the letters and related documentation is kept in the repositories of the Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv drevnikh aktov (Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts, RGADA):

MS Moscow, RGADA –

fond 52 inventories 1-4 ('Relations of Russia with Greece')

fond 27 inventory 1 ('Secret office')

fond 68 inventories 1-2 ('Relations of Russia with Moldavia and Wallachia')

fond 89 inventory 1 ('Relations of Russia with Turkey')

fond 40 inventory 1 ('Relations of Russia with Hungary')

There are also some items scattered in various other fonds in this archive.

Other documents are preserved in the manuscript department of the Gosudarstvennyi istoricheskii muzei (State Historical Museum) in Moscow, and in the Arkhiv vneshnei politiki Rossiiskoi imperii (Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, AVPRI), fond 52, inventories 1-2 ('Greek department').

There are also some items scattered in various other fonds of the Rossiiskaia gosudarstvennaia biblioteka (Russian State Library) in Moscow.

STUDIES

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V.G. Tchentsova, 'Les documents grecs du XVII^e siècle. Pièces authentiques et pièces fausses. 4. Le patriarche d'Antioche Athanase IV Dabbâs et Moscou: en quête de subventions pour l'imprimerie arabe d'Alep', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 79 (2013) 173-95

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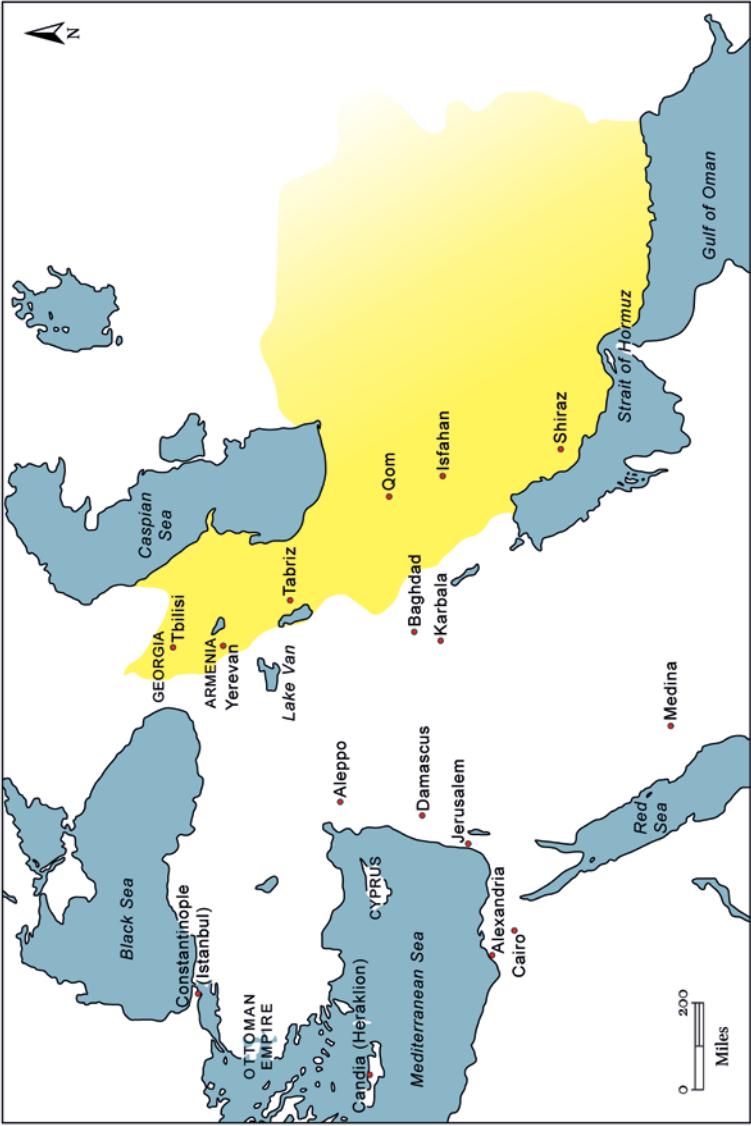
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Vera Tchentsova

The Safavid Empire



Map 2. The Safavid Empire around 1660



Map 3. Ottoman and Safavid borderlands around 1660

Yovanisik Carec'i

DATE OF BIRTH 1560
PLACE OF BIRTH Car, Upper Xaç'en
DATE OF DEATH After 1621
PLACE OF DEATH Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

Yovanisik Carec'i was born in Car near the town of Kelbajar in the current Republic of Karabagh. Becoming a monk at the local monastery of St Thaddeus, he studied under his paternal uncle Yovhannēs *rabunapet* (senior instructor at a monastic school), with whom some scholars have confused him because of the similarity of their names (Yovanisik being a diminutive form of Yovhannēs). He has also been confused with Nersēs Gnnec'i, who held the same rank, by whom he was awarded a licence to preach and teach as *avardapet*.

One of his duties associated with the monastic scriptorium was to oversee the repair of older manuscripts, one of which is M2776 in which the repairer, Alek'sanos the monk, copied Yovanisik's chronicle in some of the spare folios at the end. He also commissioned the repair of MS M2519, an autograph copy of biblical commentaries by the late 14th-century scholar Matt'ēos Ĵulayec'i. According to an inscription on the south wall of a church in the village of Alk'ilisa in the region of Siwnik', he paid for its building. A seal of his from 1621 is the last extant evidence for his life.

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Secondary

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H. Ač'aryan, *Hayoc' anjanunneri bařaran*, Yerevan, 1946, vol. 3, pp. 536, 693

M. C'amč'ean, *Patmut'iwn Hayoc' i skzbanē ašxarhis minč'ew c'am Teapn* 1784, Venice, 1786, vol. 3, p. 529

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ard znetut'iwn ew zdarnut'iwn..., 'Now the hardship and the bitterness...' (Chronicle from 1572 to 1600)

DATE 1600

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Yovanisik's chronicle lacks a title and so it is cited here by reference to the incipit. His account is prefaced by an introduction (omitted by Arak'el Dawrizhets'i from his incorporation of the work into his own historical narrative) situating the events to be described within the broader context of Armeno-Muslim relations. In the main body of the text the author discusses internal Safavid issues relating to the complex succession of sovereigns from the final years of Shah Ṭahmāsp I (r. 1524-76), to his son Ismā'īl II (r. 1576-7), to Ismā'īl's almost blind brother Muḥammad Khudābanda (r. 1578-87), to the opening years of Muḥammad Khudābanda's son 'Abbās I (r. 1588-1629). These he treats with regard not only to dynastic matters, but also to the contested loyalties of the Qizilbash, provincial revolts (e.g. Gilan), and external threats (Ottoman and Uzbek) provoked by weak central rule in Iran during this period.

Within this overview, one of the main foci is the campaigns of the Fifth Ottoman-Safavid War (1578-90), successively directed by the Ottoman vizier Lala Mustafa Pasha, Özdemiroğlu Osman Pasha and Ferhat Pasha, who brought this phase of hostilities between the regional powers to a conclusion with major gains for the Ottoman side throughout southern Caucasia and Dagestan.

The work ends with two codicils, of which the first relates to King Simon of Kartli's short-lived renewal of the struggle to regain control of the central kingdom of Georgia in 1595. However, this led to a successful counter-offensive by Cafer Pasha, Ottoman *beylerbey* of Van, who defeated the Georgian forces at the Battle of Nakhiduri and took the king captive to Constantinople, where he ultimately died. The narrative breaks off the tale in 1600, however, with the king's progress stalled in Erzurum during a local revolt. The final portion of the chronicle is devoted to scenes from the Austro-Ottoman War in Hungary (1593-1606),

highlighting naval engagements on the Danube between the Ottomans and Magyars.

SIGNIFICANCE

Yovanisik prefixes his narrative with an introduction that owes much to the tradition of political lament. In it, he attributes the Muslim occupation of the Armenian plateau to divine retribution for communal Armenian sin, and this has resulted in the destruction of the built and natural environment. As a result of the high tax regime, many have sold their possessions and land, but have still been unable to extricate themselves from the burden of debt. Meanwhile, the upper and lower echelons of the Armenian nobility now serve Islamic states, while Christian shrines are dismantled and the stones employed to construct forts to guard the various regions. Many other Armenians are compelled to leave their ancestral homelands and scatter throughout the world. The model for this portrayal is obviously that of the Jewish dispersion, which, in turn, offers insight into the chronicler's views on the operation of history.

The author does not expand on his methodology, source collection or principles of organisation beyond straightforward chronological progression, but inspires confidence in his basic trustworthiness when he acknowledges his inability to describe the forts Lala Mustafa Pasha erected in various parts of Georgia (Tiflis, Dmanisi, Gori, Loṛē, etc.) because he has not seen them. In contrast, his moving account of the terrible famine of 1579-80 throughout the eastern Armenian provinces, particularly Amaras, Varanda and Dizaka, suggests that Yovanisik was an eyewitness to some of the scenes he describes of strong men tearing open lambs and calves with their own hands and eating their innards raw, while the weak forage for ears of corn in the midden and crush them to a pulp to try to assuage their hunger. He also reveals that his understanding of history has a religious underpinning, which allows for the reapplication of biblical prophecies and divine intervention, as in his interpretation of the killing of Lala Mustafa Pasha on his return to the Ottoman capital not only as a consequence of his slander but as divine vengeance for the innocent blood he had shed. However, it should also be observed that the historian does not display a narrow religious or ethnic bias in his judgments, as when he recalls how Shah Ṭahmāsp was eirenic in character, fair in levying taxes, and assiduous in upholding public morality, or how Shah 'Abbās I had a deep love for Christians and kept a cross in his treasury, which he used to take with him on campaign.

His comments on the conduct of the Ottoman-Safavid War are significant for the specific details he contributes, such as that Lala Mustafa Pasha's onslaught in the Ararat region resulted in the capture of 60,000 Armenians and Muslims, whom he took back to Ottoman territory. In contrast to other sources, Yovanisik maintains that King Simon of Kartli weakened in his faith while in Persian captivity and adopted Islam, and that his release under Shah Ismā'īl was conditional on his maintaining his new creed. On his return home, however, he faced so much pressure from the Christian clergy and his wife and family that he returned to the veneration of 'the cross of Christ', a characteristically Armenian expression for Christianity.

As recorded above, by the treaty of 1590 the Persians accepted that Georgia was part of Ottoman territory. However, five years later King Simon of Kartli sought to return to guerrilla warfare, on which Yovanisik affords some interesting details. Overcoming the Ottoman fortress at Gori after an eight-month siege, he dismantled the structure with the help of its Muslim garrison, tossing the masonry into the River Kur before killing the men and taking the women and children captive. In response, the Ottoman commander Cafer Pasha was despatched from Tabriz to the region of Ararat, where he mustered a large force to pursue Simon, including 20,000 Armenian and Muslim peasants armed with various agricultural implements. Yovanisik's account of Simon's arrest is also striking. After he gave many of his men time off to move their families to safety in the mountains before the battle, a small Turkish contingent aimed purely at plunder encountered the king while he was drinking with a small group and captured him without realising who he was, only later sending word to Cafer Pasha by special courier.

Yovanisik communicates valuable details concerning Ferhat Pasha's attack on Yerevan in the campaign of 1582-3. Reducing much of the city, the Ottoman troops again employed the masonry from several of the churches to build a powerful fortress (parts of which still stand today). The commander wanted to demolish the largest church, too, but was prevented by a certain Aṛak'el *vardapet*. Yovanisik remarks that the shrine was still desecrated by having Muslim troops, mules and horses billeted in it for a month.

PUBLICATIONS

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(1335; repaired 1600)

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Aṙak'el Davrižec'i, *Girk' patmut'eanc'* [Book of histories], Amsterdam, 1669, ch. 54, pp. 589-621

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STUDIES

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Peter Cowe

K'aikhosro Ch'oloqashvili

DATE OF BIRTH Around 1550
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH 1613
PLACE OF DEATH Kakheti (Eastern Georgia)

BIOGRAPHY

Biographical information about K'aikhosro Ch'oloqashvili is extremely sparse: we know nothing about the date or place of his birth. Presumably he was born in the mid-16th century and lived in the kingdom of Kakheti, the eastern part of present-day Georgia. He was a member of the famous Georgian aristocratic family of Prince Ch'oloqashvili. His father, Oman, was a distinguished army commander in Kakheti, known for his participation in battles against the Persians. K'aikhosro's parents and other relatives are memorialised in a book and in fresco inscriptions at the Holy Cross Monastery in Jerusalem.

We know that K'aikhosro held the position of prefect (*mouravi*, head of the royal administration) in Kakheti. We do not know precisely when, or even during the reign of which king, he was appointed to this post; all we know is that he inherited the position from his father. We also know that he was especially respected by Queen Ketevan of Kakheti, who in 1624 would be martyred for her Christian faith in the Persian city of Shiraz and then canonised as a saint.

Apart from his administrative duties, K'aikhosro was also entrusted with military roles, and information survives of a very successful military career. He particularly distinguished himself in the struggle against the north Caucasian predatory tribes, such as the Leks, who attacked the Kingdom of Kakheti from the north.

At some point, probably towards the end of his life, K'aikhosro composed *Omainiani* as a continuation to Šot'a Rust'aveli's *Vep'xistqaosani* ('The knight in the panther skin').

Over the years, K'aikhosro's influence at the Kakhetian court grew, especially because King Teimuraz I, son of Queen Ketevan, spent much of his time in Persia. Away from his homeland for prolonged periods, the king grew increasingly suspicious (as did the Persian court, above

all Shah 'Abbās I, and the Kakhetians who had, like Teimuraz, left their homeland for Persia) that K'aikhosro might be intending to marry the widowed Queen Ketevan and take power in Kakheti. On his return to Kakheti in 1613, King Teimuraz became even more convinced that K'aikhosro wanted to seize power in his kingdom, and he immediately had K'aikhosro executed.

It has been previously thought that the author of the work was more likely to be K'aikhosro Mukhranbatoni (see scholars such as Zakaria Chichinadze and Ekvtime Taqashvili). The 1937 first edition of the poem names the author simply as K'aikhosro, without any surname, as the editor, Giorgi Jakobia, believed the author's identity to be dubious (it was the surname rather than the first name that was under dispute, as all sources give the first name as K'aikhosro). Today, however, K'aikhosro Ch'oloqashvili is accepted as the author.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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Secondary

- K. Kekelidze, *Dzveli k'art'uli literaturis istoria* [History of Old Georgian literature], Tbilisi, 1981⁵, vol. 2, pp. 369-75
- L. Kekelidze, 'K'aikhosro Ch'oloqashvili's "Omainiani"', in L. Kekelidze (ed.), *K'aikhosro Ch'oloqashvili 'Omainiani'*, Tbilisi, 1979, 3-20
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Omainiani

DATE Probably between 1590 and 1613

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

Omainiani is extant in 13 manuscripts of varying length, mostly incomplete or fragmentary, of which two are complete; the text exists in five extensive versions as well as some abbreviated versions. It consists of 440 four-line stanzas, interspersed with prose episodes. The first printed edition of the work contains 120 pages; the later has 147 pages. The work includes a prelude of 25 stanzas, giving a portrayal of Georgian and Persian poets, in particular of the Georgian Rust'aveli and the Persian Ferdowsi.

The only certainty about the date of composition is that it was before K'aikhosro's death in 1613; it is presumably, therefore, sometime between 1590 and 1613.

Omainiani tells the story of its main protagonist, Omain, son of Saridan, the son of Tariel, and is a continuation of the Georgian classic poem of the 12th and 13th centuries, Šot'a Rust'aveli's *Vep'xistqaosani* ('The knight in the panther skin'). Omain is the direct descendent of two royal couples who appear in in *Vep'xistqaosani*, his mother being the daughter of the Arabian Tinatin and Avtandil, and his father the son of the Indian Nestan-Darejan and Tariel.

Omain, who is king of India and a man of powerful heroic qualities, hears from the son of the King of the Seas about the beauty of Burne-Melik, the daughter of the king of Egypt, and decides to marry her. He faces a long quest, undergoing many adventures, during which he defeats a number of powerful rivals and kills a white demon. Omain marries Burne-Melik, and then falls in love with the daughter of the king of Baxl and Bukhara, who becomes his second wife. The story of Omain's prowess and beauty spreads widely, and both the Byzantine caesar of Rome and the king of Persia come to visit him, soon to be joined by other monarchs. This assembly offers a pretext for a great feast, but when the time to part comes, everyone is downcast.

SIGNIFICANCE

The work of a Christian author, K'aikhosro Ch'oloqashvili, *Omainiani* portrays life in Islamic lands, although this is a fanciful and imaginary fairy-tale Islamic world, described in a generally oriental, ornamental

manner. In style and form, *Omainiani* draws from Šot'a Rust'aveli's *Vep'xistqaosani*, with many of Omain's exploits following a similar pattern to those described in *Vep'xistqaosani*. Many similar pastiches had appeared during the 'Golden Age' of Georgian literature, but this work stands out as forming an entire sequel (Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, p. 108). It is interesting that the poem's prelude mentions a powerful and fearless monarch, Shah 'Abbās I, ruler of Persia, as a 'great conqueror of many lands' (stanza 19). Such equanimity is at odds with the Georgian Christian view of Shah 'Abbās I as their implacable enemy.

As an adventure writer, Ch'oloqashvili was not interested in religious affiliation or any moral values outside those of the courtly hero. In his writing, he shows a remarkable tolerance for Muslim practices and the heroes of Islam. Ch'oloqashvili makes his hero, Omain, polygamous, which is unique in Georgian classical literature. While he does not condemn Islam, Ch'oloqashvili does not promote Christianity either.

PUBLICATIONS

There are 13 manuscripts of *Omainiani*, most defective or fragmentary; two are complete:

MS Tbilisi, Giorgi Leonidze Literary Museum – 19886 (1700-10)

MS Tbilisi, Korneli Kekelidze National Manuscript Centre – S-1284 (18th century)

There is a list of MSS in K'aikhosro, *Omainiani. Vep'xistqaosani gagrdzeleba, romani me-17 saukunisa* [Omaniani. A continuation of the Man in the Panther Skin, a novel of the 17th century], ed. G. Jakobia, Tbilisi, 1937, pp. vii-xiii.

Kaikhosro, *Omainiani*, ed. Jakobia, pp. 1-120 (text), pp. 123-35 (a list of variants in the MSS)

L. Kekelidze (ed.), *Kaikhosro Choloqashvili, Omainiani*, Tbilisi, 1979, pp. 23-170

STUDIES

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Kekelidze, *Dzveli k'art'uli literaturis istoria*, vol. 2, pp. 369-75

Kekelidze, 'K'aikhosro Ch'oloqashvili's "*Omainiani*"

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Rukhadze, 'K'aikhosro Ch'oloqashvili da misi "Omainiani"
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Kekelidze, *K'art'uli lit'erat'uris ist'oria*, vol. 11, pp. 220-4

Merab Ghaghanidze

Bahā' al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī

Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥārithī l-‘Āmilī,
Shaykh Bahā'ī

DATE OF BIRTH 18 February 1547
PLACE OF BIRTH Baalbek
DATE OF DEATH 1 September 1621
PLACE OF DEATH Isfahan (buried in Mashhad)

BIOGRAPHY

Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥārithī l-‘Āmilī, known as Shaykh Bahā'ī, was a leading Twelver Shī'a polymath whose contributions span the fields of Islamic law, jurisprudence, Hadith, qur'anic commentary, mathematics, astronomy, literature and poetry. He trained no fewer than 77 scholars in the fields of theology, literary studies and the religious sciences. He was a prolific scholar who produced numerous works in Persian and Arabic, some of which remain unpublished. He is renowned for his literary collection, *Al-kashkūl*, with its marked inter-textual pieces. Bahā' al-Dīn's rich and multifaceted intellectual make-up also reflected his interest in the occult sciences, as well as riddles and the poetry of the obscure.

He was born into an Arab Syrian family from the Jabal ‘Āmil (modern-day south Lebanon). He could not have been older than seven or eight when his family moved from Ottoman Syria to Safavid Iran. His father, Ḥusayn ibn ‘Abd al-Ṣamad (d. 1576/7), was a well-known jurist who occupied the post of *shaykh al-Islām* in Herat and possibly Qazvin during the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp (r. 1524-76). Bahā' al-Dīn's works reflect his training at the hands of the prominent jurist, Zayn al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī (d. 1558), known as *al-shahīd al-thānī* (the second martyr), in the verification and categorisation of Hadith as well as *ijtihādī* rationalism, the derivation of the law through the use of *ijtihād* (rational inference). He authored several works on *fiqh* (substantive law), Hadith, doctrine and ethics, and wrote commentaries on the *fiqh* works of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 1325) and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Makkī al-‘Āmilī (d. 1384), known as *al-shahīd al-awwal* (the first martyr). Even though Bahā' al-Dīn's clerical services to the Safavid state were evident during the reign of Shah Muḥammad Khudābanda

(r. 1578-87) and his predecessor, his fame and contributions to Isfahan's intellectual life were closely associated with the court of Shah 'Abbās I (r. 1587-1629).

Shah 'Abbās appointed him as the *shaykh al-Islām* of Isfahan. He grew weary of the political intrigues and rivalries at the royal court, and appears to have admonished the shah for his cruelty after he ordered his *qurchī-bāshī* (royal bodyguards) to kill one of his sons and prohibited anyone from picking up the body for burial. Bahā' al-Dīn appears to have been questioned by the shah about his association with common Sufi/literary circles that were viewed with suspicion by the court. He took a break away from his busy life in Isfahan between 1583 and 1585 to go on pilgrimage and travel to a number of Ottoman cities. During at least some of his travels, he dressed as a Sufi dervish. Various sections of *Al-kashkūl* as well as his poems reflect his affinity with the Sufi tradition and interest in the occult sciences.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ḥurmat dhabā'ih Ahl al-Kitāb, 'Prohibition on the consumption of meat slaughtered by the People of the Book'

Dhabā'ih Ahl al-Kitāb

DATE 1611

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Arabic

DESCRIPTION

Shah 'Abbās I commissioned Bahā' al-Dīn to write this treatise. He intended to send it to the Ottoman ruler, Sultan Aḥmad (r. 1603-17) in 1611 with Khidr ibn Ḥusayn Māridīnī Efendi (d. 1613), an Ottoman envoy to the Safavid court, who had been instructed by the Grand Vizier Nasūh Pasha to conclude a peace treaty with Shah

‘Abbās. Khiḍr had come from Istanbul carrying a treatise that delineated the objections of the Ottoman Sunnī jurists to a number of legal and doctrinal positions upheld by the Twelver Shī‘a jurists of the Safavid Empire. His embassy took place before a truce was reached and a peace treaty concluded between the two sides. Nasūh Pasha had Khiḍr assassinated in 1613 for boasting that he was a more capable negotiator of this Ottoman-Safavid truce than the grand vizier, so it is unlikely that Naṣūḥ waited two years to eliminate him or that this treaty was actually signed and formalised in 1611, as Devin Stewart has suggested. The truce was in fact agreed in late 1611, but the peace treaty was not promulgated until 19 November 1612. The peace treaty was fragile, and Shah ‘Abbās did not abide by his promise to send the Ottomans a certain amount of raw silk annually. War broke out between the two again three years later.

Bahā’ al-Dīn notes in the treatise that the Ottoman jurists voiced their objections first to the doctrine of the Imamate, namely, the Twelver Shī‘a belief that God through his mercy would not leave believers without guidance after the death of the Prophet. This guidance was provided by the twelve infallible Imams. The second objection was associated with the legal basis of the Twelver Shī‘a prohibition on the consumption of meat slaughtered by the People of the Book. The Ottoman jurists accused their Safavid counterparts of ‘going against an unambiguous qur’anic verse’ that permits believers to eat meat [from animals] slaughtered by the People of the Book. In response, Shah ‘Abbās ordered Bahā’ al-Dīn to counter these objections and show that the arguments of the Shī‘a jurists did not violate the qur’anic direction. It is clear from the treatise that Shah ‘Abbās treated Ottoman objections to these positions as a form of slander against Twelver Shī‘ism, in as much as they questioned its conformity to the Qur’an.

In addition, the treatise offers a general account of the various positions of the major Twelver Shī‘a jurists on the legal status of meat slaughtered by the People of the Book. It delineates the legal methodology utilised by Bahā’ al-Dīn and earlier jurists, and their approaches to Hadith and the Qur’an, as well as the use of *ijtihād* (rational inference) to establish legal proofs on the lawfulness or prohibition of meat slaughtered by Christians and Jews, and groups associated with ‘the People of the Book’.

The treatise also shows that the doctrine of *taqiyya* (dissimulation), which was practised by the Imams and the Twelver Shī‘a at various periods in time, established, in the eyes of Bahā’ al-Dīn, the most decisive

basis for his conclusion that meat slaughtered by the People of the Book was impure and hence illicit. Dissimulation appears as a hermeneutical tool helping him and other Twelver Shī'a jurists establish the reliability of certain Imāmī reports and reconcile those that contradict each other.

Bahā' al-Dīn agrees that Q 6:118 specifies that believers are permitted to eat the meat slaughtered by the People of the Book after the invocation of God's name (*tasmīya*). Verse 118 states, 'So eat of [meats] on which Allāh's name hath been pronounced, if ye have faith in His signs.' Verse 121 of the same sura states, 'Eat not of [meats] on which Allāh's name hath not been pronounced: That would be impiety. But the evil ones ever inspire their friends to contend with you; if ye were to obey them ye would indeed be pagans.' Bahā' al-Dīn notes that the last verse has been interpreted by most Muslim Sunnī jurists as permitting believers to eat from the meat slaughtered by the People of the Book, especially Christians and Jews. But he follows a distinct interpretation of 'God's name', as meaning 'Allāh's name', and argues that neither Christians nor Jews invoke Allāh's name. Christians utter the name of God to refer to Christ or to a 'father of Christ', while Jews refer to the father of 'Uzayr (Ezra). Therefore, uttering the word 'God' is in reality like its absence. Bahā' al-Dīn also addresses the several sound Imāmī Hadiths that consider it permissible to consume meat slaughtered by Christians and Jews. He argues that, since the Imams were living during a time of Sunnī dominance, and were persecuted by the caliphs, they hid their true opinions lest they should contradict those of the Sunnī jurists. Their words, which are included in the Hadiths, therefore express legal opinions that reflect their state of dissimulation (*taqiyya*), so precedence must be given to the Hadiths that contradict the position of the Sunnī jurists. These Hadiths prohibit the consumption of meat slaughtered by the People of the Book.

It is important to note that two leading Shī'ī jurists, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Makkī l-Āmilī (d. 1384), known as *al-shahīd al-awwal*, and Zayn al-Dīn al-Āmilī (d. 1558), known as *al-shahīd al-thānī*, had advanced a view contradictory to that of Bahā' al-Dīn. They argued that the Hadiths prohibiting the consumption of meat slaughtered by Christians and Jews were connected to unique cases and circumstances, and that the purity of this meat and the permissibility of consuming it was in fact the prevalent (*mashhūr*) position. They were not convinced that the sound Hadiths in favour of such meat being permissible could be associated with dissimulation, especially at the time of the first Imam, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib. They were therefore in favour of following the prevalent position, which agreed with the four

Sunnī schools of law. In their legal reasoning, dissimulation did not seem to play an important role in discerning the position of the Imams.

The Ottomans' attempt to challenge the soundness of the Twelver Shī'a prohibition on the consumption of this meat may have been aimed at boosting their position in the eyes of the Armenian Christians of Isfahan. Prior to 1603, this Armenian community had lived in Julfa on the banks of the Aras river in the Nakhjivan region, a territory controlled by the Ottomans. Shah 'Abbās realised the importance of the Julfan merchants for his commercial enterprises as he wrested the region from Ottoman hands. He could not, however, protect it from Ottoman incursions, and thus he forcibly moved thousands of Armenians from Julfa to what became New Julfa in Isfahan. The Ottoman sultan could only stand to gain politically and economically from stressing the view that the Safavid monarch and the Twelver Shī'a in general, unlike the Sunnīs, viewed Armenian Christians as impure.

Shaykh Bahā'ī wrote another treatise titled *Risāla fī ḥurmat dhabā'iḥ muṭlaq al-kuffār wa-najāsatihā wa-ḥukm ṣanā'i'ihim* ('A treatise on the prohibition of the meat slaughtered by all infidels and its impurity and the ruling on the legal status of the works of their hands'), mentioned in Āghā Buzurg Tehrānī, *Al-dharī'at ilā taṣānīf al-Shī'a*, vol. 10, Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā', 1983, p. 4. Examination of this treatise could yield further insights into his position.

SIGNIFICANCE

This treatise was part of the ongoing Muslim debate about the issue of consuming meat from animals slaughtered by Jews and Christians. By the time of Shaykh Bahā'ī, the issue had been instrumentalised as a debating point between Ottoman and Safavid scholars to establish the veracity of the Shī'ī Imams as sources of authoritative teachings, and hence the authority of Shī'a Islam as a form of faith derived from the Qur'an.

Bahā'ī's contribution had a lasting influence, as it shown by the 19th-century jurist Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Najafī, who in *Jawāhir al-kalām* expands Bahā'ī's arguments and uses them to criticise earlier legal positions and categorically uphold prohibition on the consumption of meat slaughtered by People of the Book.

PUBLICATIONS

There are several MS copies of this treatise in the libraries of Iran and Turkey. It has also been published in Iran and Lebanon separately or as part of larger compendiums and collections of treatises. Below is a list of the main MSS and editions.

MS Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Millī – 9/4633 (copied by Ibn Mullā Murād al-Tafrishī in Dhū l-Qa'da 1079/1669; seems to be the closest to the time of Bahā' al-Dīn, and carries the signature of an owner, Muḥammad al-Raḍawī)

Unidentified MS. No information was given by the authors who referred to it or about its location and catalogue details. It was simply mentioned that the treatise was copied in Dhū l-Qa'da (1726; around 100 years after the death of Bahā' al-Dīn; the name of the copyist is missing)

MS Najaf, Mu'assasat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' – 1520 (Mu'assasat al-Dhakhā'ir li-l-Makhṭūṭāt, copied by Aḥmad ibn Ḥabīb Zuwayn al-Ḥusaynī l-A'rajī l-Najafī, in Najaf in Dhū l-Ḥijja 1234 [1819])

MS Najaf, Mu'assasat Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' – 5796 (date not given)

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Bahā' al-Dīn al-Āmilī, 'Dhabīḥat Ahl al-Kitāb', in *Kalimāt al-muḥaqqiqīn*, Qum, 1981/2, 526-30 (reprint of an old lithograph copy of a collection [*majmū'a*] of 30 treatises on legal, juristic, philosophical and *kalām* questions)

Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn 'Āmilī, *Ḥurmat dhabā'ih Ahl al-Kitāb* [Prohibition of the meat slaughtered by the People of the Book], ed. Zuhayr al-A'rajī, Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Ālamī li-l-Maṭbū'āt, 1990 (al-A'rajī consulted *Kalimāt al-Muḥaqqiqīn*, and also a MS of the treatise copied in Dhū l-Qa'da, 1726)

STUDIES

Ḥātim Ismā'īl, 'Dhabā'ih ḡhayr al-Muslimīn: bayna al-ḥurma wa-l-ḥilliyya' [Meat slaughtered by non-Muslims. Between prohibition and licitness], *Risālat al-Najaf* 16 (2009) 1-14

‘Alī Ṭabāṭabā’ī, *Riyāḍ al-Masā’il*, Qum: Mu’assasat al-nashr al-Islāmī, 2001/2, vol. 12, pp. 83-92 (employs arguments from the treatise)
Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Najafī, *Jawāhir al-kalām*, Tehran: Dār al-kutub al-Islāmiyya, 1949/50, vol. 36, pp. 80-90 (employs arguments from the treatise)

Rula Abisaab

Pietro della Valle

Piṭrūs dillā Vālli

DATE OF BIRTH 11 April 1586
PLACE OF BIRTH Rome
DATE OF DEATH 21 April 1652
PLACE OF DEATH Rome

BIOGRAPHY

Pietro della Valle was born into the Roman Patrician family of Giovanna and Pompeo Alberini. He received a broad classical education, including music, poetry, elementary scientific skills and physical education. His first love was the daughter of another Roman Patrician family, but she was already promised in marriage to another man. As Pietro did not abandon his pursuit of her, he was sent away from Rome, and spent five years in Naples (1609-14). There, he came into contact with the members of the Accademia dei Lincei, founded by Federigo Antonio de Cesi (1585-1630). Cesi and his collaborators were deeply interested in all branches of knowledge, including Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish works about nature, medicine, mathematics, cosmology, languages, magic and alchemy.

Between 1614 and 1617, della Valle travelled through the Ottoman Empire. Although he justified this primarily as a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Monastery of St Catherine at Mt Sinai (1615-16), an important task was the acquisition of Arabic and Turkish manuscripts for Mario Schipano, a doctor and member of the Accademia dei Lincei. Accordingly, he began learning Turkish as soon as he arrived in Istanbul and Arabic once he was on his way to the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire. In addition to the task he undertook for Schipano and the Lincei, della Valle pursued his own scholarly interests in Middle Eastern geography and history, Greek and Roman coins, medals and inscriptions, Egyptian mummies and Samaritan manuscripts of the Bible, and similar documents of the Jewish and Christian communities in Arabic and Coptic. These interests and activities brought him into contact with other scholarly travellers to the Middle East, notably the French ambassador to Istanbul Achille de Harlay de Sancy (1581-1646; ambassador to Istanbul

1609-20), and provided the basis for his later reputation among the networks of Catholic and Protestant scholars in Europe.

After he had been to Jerusalem, Nablus, Mt Sinai and Cairo, della Valle continued to Iran with the declared aim of winning the Safavid Shah 'Abbās I (r. 1586-1629) as a supporter in a war against the Ottomans and as a convert to Catholicism, two goals he had little opportunity to pursue seriously. While he was travelling with a caravan from Aleppo to Baghdad in 1617, he was told about the beauty, reputation and social standing of a young Christian woman of the Church of the East, and that her family in Baghdad would welcome her marriage to him. Della Valle married her, only to be heartbroken when she miscarried and died at the end of their journey through Iran in 1621. He had her body embalmed, and in 1626 took her with him on his long journey home, where in 1627 he buried her in the family tomb. His second wife, Zinatin, was one of the Georgian Christian hostages in Iran whom della Valle had taken into his household as a child. He married her in 1628 against the explicit wish of Pope Urban VIII (1623-44), whom he served as a gentleman of the bedchamber until he was banned from the city in 1636 for defending his Indian servants from an attack by members of the papal Swiss Guard. This exile continued until 1638.

While in Iran, della Valle learned Persian and bought a number of Persian and other manuscripts, which are preserved today primarily in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. In 1620 in Isfahan, he composed a Turkish grammar in seven books, which he intended to publish in Rome (MS Vatican – Vat.turco.40). He engaged in public discussions with Muslim scholars on religious as well as scientific matters. On religion, he wrote a treatise in Persian, which he later translated into Latin, offering it to the recently founded Propaganda Fide as a tool. In Goa in 1624, he wrote a short epistle on new astronomical, cosmological and religious debates in Italy, mainly based on a conversation with the Jesuit Cristoforo Borri (1583-1632) from Milan. This text was sent to Zayn al-Dīn Lārī, a Muslim astronomer/astrologer whom della Valle had befriended. In Goa, he also wrote a work in Latin about the geography of Safavid Iran for a Jesuit scholar, Pantaleone Kirwitzer (d. 1624).

After his return to Rome, della Valle wrote several other books based on his travels, among them an account of Shah 'Abbās I, as well as works on music, poems and religious texts. He also edited the letters he had written to Schipano while travelling, using classical works, mainly in Latin, books in Portuguese, Spanish and Italian, Arabic and

Persian manuscripts, and his travel diary, making perceptible changes to the contents and spirit of the originals. They were very well received on publication, and were repeatedly reprinted and quickly translated into French, German, Dutch and partly into English. Eighteenth- and 19th-century readers, among them Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), also appreciated della Valle's revised representation of his travel experiences. In 2001, the section recounting his travels in Iraq was translated into Arabic, and a full Persian translation was published in Tehran in 2001 and 2005.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle il Pellegrino, con un minuto ragguaglio di tutte le cose notabili osservate in essi, descritti da lui medesimo in 54 lettere familiari, da diversi luoghi della intrapresa peregrinazione mandate in Napoli all'erudito e fra' più cari, di molti anni suo amico Mario Schipano, divisi in tre parti, cioè la Turchia, la Persia e l'India, le quali hauran per aggiunta, se Dio gli darà vita, la quarta parte, che conterrà le figure di molte cose memorabili sparse per tutta l'opera e la loro esplicatione, Rome: Vitale Mascardi, 1650 (first part, on della Valle's travels in the Ottoman Empire)

Viaggi di Pietro Della Valle il Pellegrino, con un minuto ragguaglio di tutte le cose notabili osservate in essi, descritti da lui medesimo in 54 lettere familiari, da diversi luoghi della intrapresa peregrinazione mandate in Napoli all'erudito e fra' più cari, di molti anni suo amico Mario Schipano, divisi in tre parti, cioè la Turchia, la Persia e l'India, le quali hauran per aggiunta, se Dio gli darà vita, la quarta parte, che conterrà le figure di molte cose memorabili sparse per tutta l'opera e la loro esplicatione. Seconda impressione con la vita dell'autore (di Gio. Pietro Bellori), Roma: Biaggio Diversin per Giacomo Dragondelli, 1662 (contains the 18 letters from the Ottoman Empire)

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Sonja Brentjes

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Risāla-yi Piṭrūs dillā Vāllī begzāda az Rīm-i
Pāpā bi-jānib khuddām-i siyādat-panāh-i Mīr
Muḥammad dar ba‘zī umūr-i dīn-i masīḥiyyān,*
‘A treatise by the Roman nobleman Pietro della
Valle to the nobleman Mīr Muḥammad on some
questions of Christianity’

DATE Early April 1621

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

During his stay in Isfahan, della Valle composed a short vindication of Christian belief in Persian under the title *Risāla-yi Piṭrūs dillā Vāllī begzāda az Rīm-i Pāpā bi-jānib-i khuddām-i siyādat-panāh-i Mīr Muḥammad dar ba‘zī umūr-i dīn-i masīḥiyyān* (‘A treatise by the Roman nobleman Pietro della Valle to the nobleman Mīr Muḥammad on some questions of Christianity’). The work was completed in ‘five or six days’ in early April 1621, certainly before Easter (11 April), and covers 18 folios in the 1621 MS Vat – pers.7 (the references that follow are to this MS). It was composed following the ‘Isfahan disputation’, a Catholic-Twelve Shī‘ī debate in Persian at the beginning of the month in the house of the Isfahani nobleman Mīr Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Vahhābī, to whom the tract is addressed (Halft, ‘Arabic Vulgate’, pp. 87-9). Besides della Valle and his host, the prior of the Augustinian convent in Isfahan, Manuel da Madre de Deus (d. 1628), as well as a *mūrzā*, a *mullā* and some Shī‘ī students were present, none of whom are identified by the author. Della Valle recounts that the discussion focused on three topics: the Christian rejection of the prophethood of Muḥammad and of the Qur’an, the Muslim accusation that Christians had tampered with their scriptures, and the alleged idolatry practised by Christians.

Corresponding to the topics of the oral debate, della Valle’s work is structured in three chapters (*bāb*). Following the introduction (fols 1v-2v), the chapter headings read as follows: (1) *Chirā mā chūn Taurāt va dīgar-i kitābhā-yi payghambarān-i qadīm qabūl dārīm, Muḥammad rā va Qur’ān-i ū mithl-i īshān qabūl nadārīm?* (‘Why do we not accept Muḥammad and his Qur’an as they do, although we accept the Pentateuch and the other books of the ancient prophets?’), fols 2v-10r; della Valle explicitly refers

to the Pentateuch only and not the other books of the Old Testament); (2) *Dar ān ki Muḥammadīyya mī-gūyad ki pīsh-i mā Injīl va dīgar-i kitābhā-yi muqaddas durust nīstand zīrā ki mutaghayyir shudand* ('On the Muslim assertion that the Gospels and the other holy books are not correct, since they were distorted', fols 10r-14v); and (3) *Dar nigāh dāsh-tan-i šūrathā* ('On the worship of images', fols 14v-18v).

Della Valle paraphrases verses from the Pentateuch (Exodus, Numbers) and the four Gospels in Persian in order to prove the inconsistency of Muslim doctrine with the Bible. He maintains that he had access in Isfahan to an Arabic version of the Pentateuch and the Gospels. The Arabic translation of the Gospels was available in the edition by the Medici Oriental Press (Rome, 1590/1), the 'Roman Arabic Vulgate', which he could have found in the library of the Discalced Carmelites in Isfahan (Halft, 'Arabic Vulgate', pp. 84-6). The Arabic translation of the Pentateuch he used still remains to be identified.

SIGNIFICANCE

On the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September) 1621, della Valle presented a fair copy of his vindication of Christian belief to Mīr Muḥammad 'Abd al-Vahhābī, and asked for a written reply by the 'most learned' Shī'ī scholars. Even though he left for Shiraz on 1 October, his work provoked a reaction in Isfahan. The Shī'ī scholar Sayyid Aḥmad 'Alavī (d. between 1644 and 1650) was entrusted with the composition of a detailed refutation, which, according to della Valle, 'Alavī composed 'with the approval' of the renowned Shī'ī savant Muḥammad Bāqir Astarābādī ('Mīr Dāmād', d. 1631), who was 'Alavī's teacher, cousin and father-in-law (Halft, 'Schiitische Polemik', pp. 285-6). In this Persian refutation, under the title *Lavāmi'-i rabbānī dar radd-i shubha-yi Naṣrānī* ('The divine rays in refutation of the Christian error'), dated in the introduction to Muḥarrām 1031/November-December 1621, 'Alavī quotes half of della Valle's *Risāla* in 20 paragraphs (Halft, 'Schiitische Polemik', pp. 300, 303-6, 308-9, 311-13). In Combrù on 24 October 1622, della Valle received a copy of 'Alavī's *Lavāmi'-i rabbānī* from the Scotsman George Strachan. A counter-refutation, which della Valle intended to compose in response to 'Alavī, was apparently not realised.

After his return to Rome in 1626, della Valle translated his vindication of Christianity from Persian into Latin. Although the imprimatur for this translation, entitled *Epistola Petri a Valle peregrini patricii romani ad nobilem persam Mir Muhammed Abd el Vehabi Sphahanensem de quibusdam controversiis fidei inter Christianos et Muhammedanos* and dated 11 April

1633, was granted (MS Rome, Vatican Secret Archives – Della Valle-Del Bufalo 52/8, fol. 320v), it has not been published (Orsatti, 'Uno scritto ritrovato', pp. 269-70).

Portions of the *Risāla* appear in later Shīʿī polemical works. In section seven of the third chapter of Āqā Muḥammad 'Alī Bihbihānī Kirmānshāhī's (d. 1801) *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār* ('The refutation of the errors of the infidels'; ed. Mu'assasat al-'Allāma al-Mujaddid al-Waḥīd al-Bihbihānī, Qom, 1390/[2011], pp. 107, 117, 119-20, 122-34, 138-41), the following citations from della Valle's tract are adduced (reference is given to MS Vat – Pers. 7): fols 2v:10-3r:7; 3v:8-4r:1; 4r:1-6; 4r:9-4v:1; 4v:2-5r:3; 5r:3-8; 5r:10-6r:2; 6r:2-6v:2; 6v:3-8; 6v:10-7r:8; 8v:1-9r:4; 9r:5-9v:2; 9v:2-10r:6; 10r:7-10v:3; 10v:3-11r:4; 11r:10-11v:2; 11v:3-7; 12r:4-12v:1; 12v:2-7; 12v:8-13r:5; 13r:5-13v:2; 13v:3-9; 14r:1-8. Bihbihānī does not identify the Christian work, or the title or the name of the author, but introduces the citations with a reference to an unnamed European 'missionary'. There are no indications that the Shīʿī author had access to della Valle's original *Risāla*. Rather, Bihbihānī quotes from it through 'Alavī's *Lavāmi'-i rabbānī*, on which he draws heavily in the third chapter of his refutation (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, 'Muslim polemics', p. 85).

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MS Vat – pers.7, 18 fols (undated, presumably copied in 1621; see E. Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican City, 1948, pp. 32-3)

MS Vat – pers.8/1, fols 1v-41v, one page of each folio is blank (undated, presumably directly copied from MS Vat – pers.7; around 1622; see Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca Vaticana*, p. 33)

MS Vat – Borg.lat.545, fols 44r-59v (1633; the codex contains a title-page and a dedication in Latin to the Discalced Carmelites of Isfahan, as well as an incomplete Latin translation of the introduction, the first two chapters and the beginning of the third of the Persian work; see L. Pérez Martínez, 'Los fondos lulianos existentes en las bibliotecas de Roma', *Anthologica Annua* 8 (1960) 333-480, p. 401, no. 67/2)

MS Rome, Vatican Secret Archives – Della Valle-Del Bufalo 52/8, fols 320r-323v (1633; the miscellany contains the print of a title-page by the Sacred Congregation Propaganda Fide, an imprimatur, and the dedication to the Discalced Carmelites of Isfahan, all in Latin; see G. Venditti, *Archivio Della Valle-Del Bufalo*, Vatican City, 2009, p. 144)

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Dennis Halft

King T'eimuraz I

DATE OF BIRTH 1589
PLACE OF BIRTH Kakheti
DATE OF DEATH 1663
PLACE OF DEATH Astarabad

BIOGRAPHY

T'eimuraz I was king of the eastern Georgian kingdoms of Kartli (1625-32) and Kakheti (1606-48) at the time of the hegemony of the Shī'ī Safavid dynasty in the region (1501-1722). Little is known about his childhood. As the result of a feud among the potential heirs to the throne, he was sent to the Safavid court by his mother, Queen K'et'evan, to guarantee his safety. There, he grew up under the personal protection of Shah 'Abbās I. At the shah's court, he gained great knowledge of Persian poetry and literature. It is safe to assume that he had a native speaker's grasp of the Persian language. In 1605, Shah 'Abbās confirmed him as king of Kakheti.

After the disastrous incursions of Shah 'Abbās into eastern Georgia (1603-16), which had as one consequence the capture of Queen K'et'evan together with T'eimuraz's two sons, he turned into an implacable enemy of Persian rule in Georgia.

T'eimuraz made several attempts to involve European countries and the Catholic Church in his campaign against Muslim dominance in Georgia. He also maintained active diplomatic relations with the Russian Empire and hoped to gain its military support. One of the most important objectives of his diplomatic missions was to liberate Queen K'et'evan from her captivity as a hostage at the Safavid court. But in response to his policies, his two sons were castrated in 1620, and four years later his mother K'et'evan was executed in Shiraz; she was canonised by the Georgian church. Her execution seems to have led to a consolidation of Georgian authorities and powers. With the aid of Giorgi Saakaze, a Safavid military commander of Georgian descent, T'eimuraz staged a revolt against the Persians.

The revolt was successful and he was recognised by Shah 'Abbās as viceroy of the Kingdom of Kartli but, because of his anti-Safavid policies, he first lost the throne of Kakheti and then that of Kartli (1648). To his dying day, he constantly tried to return to power and gain allies against

Persia. With this intention, he personally travelled to the court of the tsar (1658), but his mission was unsuccessful. He returned to Georgia, where he resided in the kingdom of Imereti. In the hope of regaining his throne, he revised his position and attended the Safavid court. He was received with great honour, but after his refusal to convert to Islam he was incarcerated in Astarabad, where he died.

T'eimuraz's literary legacy clearly demonstrates great influence from Persian poetry. His writing is replete with Persian loan words, phraseology, metaphors, allegories and symbols. Though hostile to Safavid political and religious influence in eastern Georgia, he was a great admirer of the Persian language: 'The sweetness of the Persian language left me with the wish to make music.' He composed poems following the structure of the *khamasa*: *Iosebzilixaniani* (a version of the Joseph story), *Šamip'arvaniani* ('The candle and the moth'), *Vardbulbuliani* ('The rose and the nightingale'), *Leilmajnuniani* (a version of Laylā wa-Majnūn); in all of these he freed the Persian contents from their Islamic connotations and translated them to Georgian cultural and religious norms. In *Šamip'arvaniani*, he emphasises his negative attitude to Islam, setting up a contrast between Islam and Christianity: 'I am a servant of Christ, therefore I hate mosque and minaret'. In *Iosebzilixaniani*, he condemns the holy sites of Islam and the Islamic legal and religious scholars: 'Be damned, Najaf, Karbala, Mecca, Medina and the mullahs.' He also created several lyrical poems with Christian religious content.

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- Beri Egnatašvili, *Axali kartlis cxovreba* [New Georgian chronicle], ed. S. Qauxčišvili, Tbilisi, 1959
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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ts'igni da ts'ameba K'et'evan dedoplisha, 'The book and passion of Queen K'et'evan'

DATE 1625

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

This poem describes the story of the death of Queen K'et'evan, the mother of its author T'eimuraz I. After many years of imprisonment for political reasons, she was condemned to death by Shah 'Abbās because she refused to convert to Islam. She was publicly executed in Shiraz in 1624.

The poem was written in 1625. The established copy of the extant version consists of 86 stanzas, a deviation from the original version, which according to a note by the author at the end contained 80 stanzas. Other authors may be assumed to have added material, especially in the introduction and the conclusion, while two lines from a poem by Queen K'et'evan, 'Entreaty' (*vedreba*), are included in the text in its composite form.

The poem follows the fixed structure of a work of hagiography. In order to avoid an incursion by Shah 'Abbās into the kingdom of Kaxet'i (Kakheti), the Queen rushes to negotiate with him before he reaches the boundaries of Georgian territory, taking with her T'eimuraz's sons, Alexander and Levan. Shah 'Abbās has the royal family arrested, and then he invades Kaxet'i and ravages the country. The Queen is sent to Shiraz, where she finds comfort in raising her grandsons. Five years later, the grandsons are called to the shah. The Queen foresees their terrible fate and weeps for them. She prays, fasts, and finds spiritual refuge in her asceticism and implores god to fortify her faith. Shah 'Abbās has an order sent to Emāmqolī Khan (Imām-qulī Khān), governor of Shiraz, not to allow the Queen to live if she does not recant her Christian faith and convert to Islam. Emāmqolī Khan is appalled and attempts to persuade the Queen to accept Islam. At first, she is stunned, but then she gathers all her strength and prays. After prayer she takes communion and prepares for her end. The executioners come and bring the instruments of torture. They light a fire and heat nails. Her attendants are circumcised (literally: made into Tatars). The Queen's priest is called. He shivers with fear, but she instils strength in him. She is tortured with red-hot pincers and her breasts are torn from her body. She endures the pain with great courage and dies. After her death, heavenly light appears.

When her grave is opened and found to be empty, it is suspected that the Franks have stolen her body. The Franks offer Shah 'Abbās 1,200 *tomans* for her relics, but he does not give them up. The *nimroz* scholars (Franks) secretly find her relics and keep them. Soon after her death, miracles are ascribed to her, while T'eimuraz stages a revolt and defeats the shah's army. At the end, the king remarks that anyone may add to the poem but no one should alter what he has written.

T'eimuraz did not witness his mother's martyrdom, but he seems to have been very accurately informed about the events. He vividly describes her violent end, using metaphors with Christian connotations. In doing so, he not only exalts her so that she becomes a symbol of Christian martyrdom, but also compares her to Christ himself: 'I, a sinner, was not near her on that day, I regret it! I was not crucified at her right side, and thus my tears run. [...] I say: she has been assumed into heaven.'

In the character of K'et'evan, T'eimuraz melds together Christian religious martyrdom and Georgian royal heroism, and presents her as an excellent model for Christian Georgian internal integration in the face of the Islamic threat.

SIGNIFICANCE

Ts'igni da ts'ameba K'et'evan dedoplisha is an integral part of popular culture and historical knowledge in Georgia. The character of Queen K'et'evan, portrayed by T'eimuraz with extreme emotional sensitivity, thus still serves as a figure of religious and national identity for Georgians.

As a familial self-portrait, the poem offers information that sheds light on historical events as well as on the relationships between historical characters. It also provides interesting insights into the religious identity of Safavid subjects of Georgian descent. In the poem, two different stand-points on religious constancy in the world of the other are presented: on the one hand, K'et'evan's unflinching devotion to the Christian God, on the other, the perspective of the Persian administrative elite of Georgian descent, whose members often only nominally converted to Islam. The *beglarbeg* of Shiraz, Emāmqolī Khan, celebrated for his wealth and learning, who had to enforce the order to execute K'et'evan, is a typical representative of the converted Georgian elite who has risen through the ranks of the Safavid court. He attempts to convince the Queen that Islam is not evil and is a means to an end through which 'someone swallowed by a maelstrom can get to the safety of the riverbank'. In his view, the Queen should not endanger herself for her Christian faith, she should accept conversion to Islam as though it were not an evil thing: 'Convert you too, become a Tatar, as if it's no worse.'

Although Emāmqolī Khan is a Muslim and seems to be instrumental in the queen's martyrdom, T'eimuraz praises him effusively and in religious terms: 'All praise his forgiving, gentle, gracious ways. Blessed by God, he is protected by heavenly powers.' The praise heaped on him allows us to conclude that there was a very close relationship between him and T'eimuraz, which is not apparent in other historical documents.

In this conflict, which is generalised by the author into a contest between good and evil, the main dramatic axis runs from K'et'evan to Shah 'Abbās, from Christianity to Islam. Shah 'Abbās is equated with Herod: 'Torturer of Christians, blood shedder of the innocent, enthroned in Herod's place.'

Some other near-contemporaneous authors dealt with K'et'evan's life and her martyrdom. The German poet and playwright Andreas Gryphius dedicated his classical drama *Catharina von Georgien* (1657) to her martyr's death. The Georgian author Grigol Dodorkeli Vakhvakhishvili wrote the prose work *Camebai qovlad didebulisa mocamisa dedopalisa k'etevanisa* ('Passion of the most magnified martyr Queen K'et'evan') in

1705, relying on T'eimuraz's work and adding details derived either from an unknown Georgian report or from a report by Portuguese missionaries to the Persian court. Further treatments of the subject in Georgian literature are Dimitri Bagrationi's *The martyrdom of Queen K'et'evan* (1819) and Alexander Qazbegi's drama, *The martyrdom of Queen K'et'evan* (1883). The Scottish poet William Forsyth wrote his poem *The martyrdom of Kelavane* (1861) inspired by Jean Cardin's report of K'et'evan's death. Her story has also found its way into many travelogues and letters.

PUBLICATIONS

Ts'igni da ts'ameba K'et'evan dedoplisa is contained in the collected works of T'eimuraz, of which there are five MSS in the Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts.

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – NS 403 (18th century; copied by Onana K'obulašvili; stanzas 1-10, 51-60, 69-70 are missing, when compared to the edition of Baramize and Jakobia)

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – NH 1214 (27r) (1826; copied by Evstat'i; Baramize and Jakobia's edition is based on this MS)

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – NS 2694 (28 March 1835; copied by Elisabed T'arxan Mouravi)

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – NH 1214 (1839 (1r) and 1841 (30r); copied by Isaak Vardievi (30r))

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Nana Kharebava

Sayyid Aḥmad ‘Alavī

Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ibn ‘Abd Allāh
‘Alavī ‘Āmilī

DATE OF BIRTH Unknown
PLACE OF BIRTH Isfahan
DATE OF DEATH Between 1644 and 1650
PLACE OF DEATH Isfahan

BIOGRAPHY

Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-‘Ābidīn ‘Alavī ‘Āmilī Iṣfahānī was one of the most prominent Twelver Shī‘ī scholars in Safavid Persia in the first half of the 17th century. His family had migrated to Iran from Jabal ‘Āmil in Ottoman Syria. Among his teachers was the influential ‘chief jurisconsult’ (*shaykh al-Islām*) of Isfahan, Bahā’ al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī (‘Shaykh Bahā’ī’, d. 1621), as well as the renowned Shī‘ī savant Muḥammad Bāqir Astarābādī (‘Mīr Dāmād’, d. 1631), who was ‘Alavī’s cousin and father-in-law. His teachers issued ‘Alavī with three ‘licences to transmit’ (*ijāzāt al-riwāya*), which are dated respectively to the end of August 1608, July-August 1609, and 1610-11.

‘Alavī composed about 50 scholarly works in Arabic and Persian in all fields of the rational sciences (*al-‘ulūm al-‘aqliyya*) as well as the traditional sciences (*al-‘ulūm al-naqliyya*) (see Halft, ‘The Arabic Vulgate’, pp. 103-12). Like other Shī‘ī thinkers of his time, he wrote several commentaries on the metaphysics of Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), the most celebrated philosopher in the Muslim world. His Arabic glosses on *Al-mabda’ wa-l-ma’ād* (‘Provenance and destination’), dated 1597 or before, appears to be ‘Alavī’s earliest known work. He glossed Ibn Sīnā’s *Al-ishārāt wa-l-tanbihāt* (‘Pointers and reminders’) as well as his magnum opus *Al-shifā’* (‘The cure’). Besides his glosses on Ibn Sīnā’s philosophy, ‘Alavī is best known for his Arabic commentaries on the writings of his teacher Mīr Dāmād. He glossed Mīr Dāmād’s *Taqwīm al-īmān* (‘The rectification of the faith’) and his chief work *Qabasāt ḥaqq al-yaqīn fī ḥudūth al-‘ālam* (‘The blazing brands of the truth of certitude on the creation of the world’). ‘Alavī also commented on the metaphysical thought of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274).

In his Arabic and Persian works, ‘Alavī occasionally quotes verses from the Jewish scriptures in a Perso-Arabic transcription of the original Hebrew, most prominently Genesis 17:20 and Deuteronomy 33:2, in order to authenticate the claim of Muḥammad’s prophethood and the imamate. The French Iranologist Henry Corbin (1903-78) therefore speculated that ‘Alavī was familiar with Hebrew, though we know today that our Shī‘ī author relied on Muslim intermediary sources from which he incorporated the Hebrew biblical verses transcribed in Perso-Arabic script (Halft, ‘Hebrew Bible quotations’; Halft, ‘The Arabic Vulgate’, pp. 106-7). In contrast to Corbin’s assumption, there is no evidence that ‘Alavī was a Hebraist with any direct knowledge of the Jewish scriptures.

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- D. Halft, ‘The Arabic Vulgate in Safavid Persia. Arabic printing of the Gospels, Catholic missionaries, and the rise of Shī‘ī anti-Christian polemics’, Berlin, 2016 (PhD Diss. Freie Universität Berlin) pp. 98-133, 209-31
- S.H. Nasr, ‘Sayyid Aḥmad ‘Alawī’, in S.H. Nasr and M. Aminrazavi (eds), *An anthology of philosophy in Persia*, vol. 5: *From the School of Shiraz to the twentieth century*, London, 2015, 261-3 (with an English trans. of excerpts from ‘Alavī’s *Sharḥ al-shifā’* by M. Fakhry, pp. 264-82)
- D. Halft, ‘Hebrew Bible quotations in Arabic transcription in Safavid Iran of the 11th/17th century. Sayyed Aḥmad ‘Alavī’s Persian refutations of Christianity’, *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 1 (2013) 235-52
- R.J. Abisaab, *Converting Persia. Religion and power in the Safavid Empire*, London, 2004, pp. 79-81
- Ḥamid Nājī Iṣfahānī, ‘Bargī az munāzarahā-yi Islām va Masīḥiyat dar rūzgār-i Ṣafaviyān dar Iṣfahān’, in M. Dihqān-Nizhād (ed.), *Majmū‘a-yi maqālāt-i Hamāyish-i Iṣfahān va Ṣafaviyya, 6-7 Isfand māh 1380*, Isfahan: Dānishgāh-i Iṣfahān, 2003-4, 475-94
- Rasūl Ja‘fariyān, *Ṣafaviyya dar ‘arsa-yi dīn, farhang va siyāsāt*, Qom, 2000-1, vol. 3, pp. 972-80

- H. Corbin, art. ‘Aḥmad ‘Alavī’, in *Elr* (the author’s assumptions need to be critically assessed on the basis of the MSS that are accessible today)
- Muḥsin Amīn, *A’yan al-Shī‘a*, ed. Ḥ. Amīn, Beirut, 1983, vol. 2, pp. 593-4
- Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-Shī‘a. Al-qarn al-ḥādī ‘ashar*, ed. ‘A.N. Munzawī, Beirut, 1975, pp. 27-30
- Muḥammad ‘Alī Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī-i kitābkhānahā-yi Isfahān*, Isfahan, 1962, vol. 1, pp. 169-81, no. 43 (slightly modified repr. in Muḥammad ‘Alī Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī-i Isfahān. Dū hizār nuskhā-yi ‘arabī va fārsī*, Qom, 2007-10, vol. 2, pp. 427-41)

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Lavāmi‘-i rabbānī dar radd-i shubha-yi Naṣrānī;
Al-lawāmi‘ al-rabbāniyya fī radd al-shubha
al-Naṣrāniyya;
Lawāmi‘ al-ilāhiyya,
 ‘The divine rays in refutation of Christian error’

DATE Between November 1621 and mid-June 1622

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

In the 1620s, ‘Alavī wrote four refutations of Christianity (in addition to one of Judaism entitled *Ṣavā‘iq-i raḥmān dar radd-i madhhab-i Yahūdān*, of which no manuscript has so far been identified), in which he closely scrutinises the Gospels and other biblical material. *Lavāmi‘-i rabbānī dar radd-i shubha-yi Naṣrānī* (‘The divine rays in refutation of Christian error’) is the first in this series of polemical works. It covers 190 folios in the Cambridge manuscript, the oldest known dated manuscript of the earliest recension.

The refutation is directed against Pietro della Valle’s Persian vindication of Christianity, the *Risāla-yi Piṭrūs dillā Vāllī begzāda az Rīm-i Pāpā bi-jānib khuddām-i siyādat-panāh-i Mīr Muḥammad dar ba‘ẓi umūr-i dīn-i masīḥiyyān* (‘A treatise by the Roman nobleman Pietro della Valle to the nobleman Mīr Muḥammad on some questions of Christianity’). The Italian traveller della Valle had composed his vindication of Christian belief following the ‘Isfahan disputation’, a debate between Catholics and Twelver Shī‘is held in Isfahan in April 1621. In *Lavāmi‘-i rabbānī*, ‘Alavī quotes half of della Valle’s apologetic work in 20 paragraphs (Halft, ‘Schi-itisches Polemik’, pp. 300, 303-6, 308-9, 311-13). The author does not explicitly mention the Italian traveller, but refers to him as ‘one of the priests

and monks of the Franks’. According to della Valle, ‘Alavī wrote *Lavāmi‘-i rabbānī* ‘with the approval’ of his teacher Mīr Dāmād (Halft, ‘Schiitische Polemik’, pp. 285-6). Before della Valle left Iran for India in early 1623, he had received a copy of ‘Alavī’s reply via the Scotsman George Strachan.

Lavāmi‘-i rabbānī is directly addressed to a Christian readership, frequently using the address *yā ma‘shar al-Naṣārā* (‘Oh ye Christians’). The work was completed between November/December 1621 (Muḥarram 1031 AH, the date given in the prologue to the work) and 15 June 1622 (5 Sha‘bān 1031, the date of the oldest known manuscript). It is extant in three different recensions, at least two of which – the earliest recension, and a later revision of it – were produced or authorised by ‘Alavī. Sometime after the completion of his second refutation of Christianity, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā’ dar tajliya u taṣfiya-yi Ā‘ina-yi ḥaqq-numā* (‘The polisher of purity to burnish and make clear “The mirror showing the truth”’) at the end of 1622, the author revised and extended *Lavāmi‘-i rabbānī* through the incorporation of more biblical passages and occasional references to *Miṣqal-i ṣafā’*. While the earliest recension of *Lavāmi‘-i rabbānī* circulated among Europeans, the revised version was disseminated mainly in Iran.

Lavāmi‘-i rabbānī is structured in two untitled chapters (*bāb*), in which the author aims to prove on the basis of the Jewish and Christian scriptures the veracity of the mission of the Prophet Muḥammad. In Chapter 1 (*‘Lavāmi‘-i rabbānī*, ed. Sa‘īd, pp. 22-97), ‘Alavī identifies Muḥammad with the Paraclete of the Gospel of John (see John 14:26; 15:26; 16:7-8), one of the most common arguments in Muslim refutations of Christianity. He even refers to the Qur‘an as ‘the scripture of the Paraclete’ (*kitāb-i fāriqlīt*). Like other Muslim authors, ‘Alavī has an ambiguous attitude towards the Bible. On the one hand, he argues that Muḥammad’s prophethood was predicted in the Jewish and Christian scriptures, while on the other, he accuses Jews and Christians of having tampered with their divine scriptures.

In Chapter 2 (pp. 101-67), ‘Alavī focuses on demonstrating inconsistencies and contradictions within the same Gospel, between the four Gospels, between the Gospels and the nature of God, and also in relation to the Hebrew Bible. He argues that the Christian Gospels do not contain the ‘word of God’, since the statements of Jesus contradict the ‘Law of Moses’ (*nāmūs-i Mūsā*). ‘Alavī is convinced that what he believes to be the Gospel (*Injīl*) originally given to Jesus has been altered (*mutaghayyir*) by Christians. His argument is based on the Muslim conception of divine revelation in the scriptures and reflects a strongly literal approach to the Bible. Our Shī‘ī scholar also attacks the Christian doctrines of the Trinity

and the Incarnation. He argues that the doctrine of the divinity of Jesus is inconsistent with God's oneness (*aḥadiyyat*) and his everlastingness (*ṣamadiyyat*).

‘Alavī's literary sources for the composition of his anti-Christian works still remain to be investigated. He quotes extensively from the four Gospels in *Lavāmi‘-i rabbānī* and *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, from both of which he reproduced biblical passages in his Qur'an commentary *Laṭā‘if-i ghaybī* ('Concealed subtleties') (Halft, 'Arabic Vulgate', pp. 116-17). ‘Alavī directly accessed the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John through a hitherto unidentified Persian translation from the Medici edition of the 'Roman Arabic Vulgate' made by a Shī‘ī co-religionist (Halft, 'Arabic Vulgate', pp. 113-33, 209-31). This first edition of the Gospels in Arabic was printed by the Medici Oriental Press (Typographia Medicea Orientale) in Rome in 1590/1 with the authorisation of the Vatican's Sacred Congregation of the Index of Prohibited Books. Copies of the printed edition were brought by the Discalced Carmelites to Isfahan in the early 17th century and used as a missionary conversion tool among Shī‘ī Muslims.

Besides the Gospels, there are indications that ‘Alavī relied on various Shī‘ī collections of biblical (and pseudo-biblical) 'testimonies' to Muḥammad in Arabic translation as well as in an Arabic transcription of the original Hebrew (Halft, 'Arabic Vulgate', pp. 137-42).

SIGNIFICANCE

Lavāmi‘-i rabbānī is possibly the earliest known Twelver Shī‘ī polemical work in Persian entirely devoted to the refutation of Christian beliefs. Its composition is related to the Safavid-Portuguese military conflict and the deterioration of Shī‘ī-Catholic relations in the early 1620s. As Pietro della Valle relates, numerous copies were offered for sale at the book market in Isfahan, especially to Europeans (Halft, 'Schiitische Polemik', p. 286). The number of extant manuscripts also suggests a certain popularity of the work among Shī‘ī Muslims in Iran up to the 19th century. Therefore, it is not surprising that later authors, such as Āqā Muḥammad ‘Alī Bihbihānī Kirmānshāhī (d. 1801), drew on *Lavāmi‘-i rabbānī* in their anti-Christian polemical works (Pourjavady and Schmidtke, 'Muslim polemics', p. 85).

PUBLICATIONS

MS Cambridge, University Library – Dd.6.83, 190 fols (15 June 1622; the oldest known dated MS of the earliest recension; see E.G. Browne, *A catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the library of the University of Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1896, pp. 7-9, no. 7)

- MS Vat – Pers. 11, 195 fols (14 July 1622; the second oldest known dated MS of the earliest recension; see E. Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca vaticana*, Vatican City, 1948, pp. 36-8)
- MS Isfahan, private collection of the late Muḥammad 'Alī Rawzātī – no shelf mark, 109 fols (date unknown; fols 86r-93v are penned entirely in 'Alavī's hand; the revised recension by the author; see Rawzātī, *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī-i [...] Isfahān*, vol. 1, pp. 169-81, no. 43)
- MS Qom, Mar'ashī – 7591/1, fols 1-153 (date unknown; with corrections in 'Alavī's hand in the margins; the revised recension; see Aḥmad Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi 'Umūmī-i Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-'uẓmā Najafī Mar'ashī*, Qom, 1975-, vol. 19, p. 404)
- MS Tehran, Dā'irat al-ma'ārif – 1639/1 ('aksī), 274 pages (paginated, partly defective; the folios need to be rearranged as follows: 1-30, 127-90, 95-126, 31-94, 191-274; 17 August 1629; the revised recension; see Aḥmad Munzavī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi 'aksī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Markaz-i Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī*, Tehran, 2003, vol. 1, p. 336)
- MS Paris, BNF – Suppl. persan 10, 92 fols (1648-9; abridged version of the earliest recension; a microfilm of the MS is available in the Central Library of the University of Tehran, 4200 F; see BNF, Département des manuscrits, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, vol. 2/1, Le supplément persan, 1 à 524, ed. F. Richard, Rome, 2013, p. 48; Muḥammad T. Dānīshpazhūh, *Fihrist-i mīkrūfilmhā-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Dānīshgāh-i Tīhrān*, Tehran, 1969-84, vol. 3, p. 30)
- MS San Lorenzo, Escorial – Árabe 1622, 279 fols (most of the recto folios are blank; directly copied from MS Paris, BNF – Suppl. persan 10 in the second half of the 17th century, presumably by the Franciscan linguist Dominicus Germanus de Silesia [1588-1670]; abridged version of the earliest recension; see H. Dérenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de l'Escorial*, Paris, 1928, vol. 3, p. 168)
- MS Edinburgh, University Library – Or 372, 144 fols (1702-3; the revised recension; see Mohammed Ashraful Huk et al., *A descriptive catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library*, Edinburgh, 1925, p. 328)
- MS Qom, Mar'ashī – 8998, 118 fols (partly defective; 2 February 1706; the earliest recension; see Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi [...] Mar'ashī*, vol. 23, pp. 158-9)

- MS Qom, Mar'ashī – 2400, 155 fols (partly defective; 22 May 1790; the revised recension; see Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi [...] Mar'ashī*, vol. 6, pp. 379-80)
- MS Najaf, Maktabat al-Ḥusayniyya al-Shūshtariyya – 319/2 (1814-15; since the library was destroyed in the 1980s, the whereabouts of the manuscript collection remain unclear; see Asadullāh Ismā'īliyyān and Rizā Ustādī, 'Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Ḥusayniyya-yi Shūshtarihā dar Najaf az āghāyān Asadullāh Ismā'īliyyān va dānishmand-girāmī Rizā Ustādī. Az īn fihrist-i mā ba āsār-i dānishmandān-i Najaf bishtar āgāh mī-shavīm', *Nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī [Nashriyya-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī va Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānishgāh-i Tihirān]* 11-12 [1983] 787-879, p. 853)
- MS Rasht, Jam'īyyat-i Nashr-i Farhang/Millī – 293 L, 283 pages (paginated, partly defective; 8 September 1818; the revised recension; see Muḥammad Rawshan et al., *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i kitābkhānahā-yi Rasht va Hamadān*, Tehran, 1974, p. 1161; repr. in Muḥammad Rawshan et al., *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi 'Umūmī-i Jam'īyyat-i Nashr-i Farhang-i Rasht*, Tehran, 2008, p. 85, no. 322)
- MS Cambridge, University Library – Ll.6.29, 186 fols (partly defective; directly copied from the oldest known dated MS of the earliest recension, MS Cambridge, University Library – Dd.6.83, certainly before 1824; see Browne, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts*, pp. 9-10, no. 8)
- S. Lee, *Controversial tracts on Christianity and Mohammedanism. By the late Rev. Henry Martyn, B.D. of St. John's College, Cambridge, and some of the most eminent writers of Persia translated and explained*, Cambridge, 1824, pp. xli-ci; Bodleian Library 24.654 (digitalised copy available through University of Oxford, Persian with English trans., contains excerpts from *Lavāmi'-i rabbānī*, probably based on MS Cambridge, University Library – Ll.6.29; see Halft, 'Schiitische Polemik', p. 325)
- Aḥmad 'Alavī, '*Lavāmi'-i rabbānī*', in Ḥ. Sa'īd (ed.), *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif-i Qur'ān-i karīm*, [Tehran], 1985-86, vol. 2, pp. 20-183 (the editor probably used the microfilm of MS Paris, BNF – Suppl. persan 10 as textual *Vorlage* for his publication; see Halft, 'Schiitische Polemik', p. 326; the printed edition thus contains the abridged version of *Lavāmi'-i rabbānī*)
- Ḥ.N. Iṣfahānī is currently preparing an edition of *Lavāmi'-i rabbānī*

STUDIES

Halft, 'Arabic Vulgate', pp. 113-42, 181-7

D. Halft, 'Schiitische Polemik gegen das Christentum im safawidischen Iran des 11./17. Jhdts. Sayyid Aḥmad 'Alawīs *Lawāmi'-'i rabbānī dar radd-i šubha-yi naṣrānī'*, in C. Adang and S. Schmidtke (eds), *Contacts and controversies between Muslims, Jews and Christians in the Ottoman Empire and pre-modern Iran*, Würzburg, 2010, 273-334

R. Pourjavady and S. Schmidtke, 'Muslim polemics against Judaism and Christianity in 18th century Iran. The literary sources of Āqā Muḥammad 'Alī Bihbahānī's (1144/1732-1216/1801) *Rādd-i shubuhāt al-kuffār*', *Studia Iranica* 35 (2006) 69-94

F. Richard, 'Le Franciscain Dominicus Germanus de Silésie. Grammaire et auteur d'apologie en persan', *Islamochristiana* 10 (1984) 91-107

*Miṣqal-i ṣafā' dar tajliya u taṣfiya-yi Ā'īna-yi
ḥaqq-numā dar radd-i madhhab-i Naṣārā;
Miṣqal-i ṣafā' dar tajliya va-taṣfiya-yi Ā'īna-yi
ḥaqq-numā;*

*Lustratore, overo Politore della politia, et
purificatione dello Specchio che mostra il vero in
confutatione della Religione delli Christiani,*

'The polisher of purity to burnish and make clear
"The mirror showing the truth"'

DATE November/December 1622

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

In *Miṣqal-i ṣafā' dar tajliya u taṣfiya-yi Ā'īna-yi ḥaqq-numā*, 'Alavī refuted an abridged version of the Persian vindication of Christianity *Fuente de vida / Ā'īna-yi ḥaqq-numā* ('The mirror showing the truth') by the Navarrese Jesuit Jerónimo de Ezpeleta y Goñi, known as Jerónimo (Jerome) Xavier (1549-1617). The abridged version of the Christian vindication circulated in the Indo-Persian world under the slightly different titles of *Muntakhab-i Ā'īna-yi ḥaqq-numā*, *Intikhāb-i Ā'īna-yi ḥaqq-numā* or *Khulāṣa-yi kitāb-i*

girāmī-i Āṭina-yi ḥaqq-numā az dīn-i Īsaviyyān. Jerónimo Xavier, a great-nephew of the Jesuit missionary Francisco Xavier, was the head of the third Jesuit mission to Mughal India (1595-1615). In his apologetic work, he discusses, in four chapters (*faṣl*), the essence of God (*dhāt-i Īzīd*), the truth of ‘our God’ Jesus (*ḥaqq-i Īsā khudāvand-i mā*), the ordinances of the Gospel (*aḥkām-i Injīl*), and the divine succour (*i‘ānat-i īzīdī*). A copy of the abridged version of *Āṭina-yi ḥaqq-numā* was brought from India to Isfahan, where it entered the private library of the Discalced Carmelites. The prior of the convent of the Carmelites, Próspero del Espíritu Santo (1583-1653; in office 1621-4), relates that an unidentified ‘Muslim scholar’ studied the book *in situ*, produced a manuscript copy of it, and made the text accessible to other Shī‘ī scholars in Isfahan. As a result, Próspero states, ‘another book was composed among [the Muslims] in refutation of ours’ (Halft, ‘Arabic Vulgate’, pp. 123-4). This book was ‘Alavī’s *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*’.

Miṣqal-i ṣafā is extant in three different recensions by the author. Following the completion of the earliest recension in November/December 1622 (Muḥarram 1032 AH), ‘Alavī repeatedly revised his work and incorporated more passages from the Bible to refute Christian doctrines and to prove the veracity of Muslim beliefs (Halft, ‘Hebrew Bible quotations’; Halft, ‘Arabic Vulgate’, pp. 188-90). In MS Mashhad, its earliest recension, the work covers 60 folios, while in MS Tehran, its third recension, it covers 162 folios. A fair copy of the second recension (MS Vat – Borg. pers. 5) was signed by ‘Alavī and presented to the Carmelites in Isfahan to be forwarded to the Vatican. According to a note probably written by Próspero before his departure for Rome in September 1624, ‘Alavī gave the friars the manuscript copy, asking them ‘to inform His Holiness [= the pope] about the book and to ask him for a reply’ (Halft, ‘Arabic Vulgate’, pp. 134-5). Nonetheless, ‘Alavī continued to revise his treatise by incorporating additional material, as is evidenced by autographical notes in several manuscripts dating from the reign of Shah Ṣafī (r. 1629-42). ‘Alavī’s later revision, which can be referred to as the third recension of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*’, was widely circulated in Iran. Ḥāmid Nāṣi Iṣfahānī’s edition of the work, published in 1994, is in fact based on manuscripts containing the third recension.

Miṣqal-i ṣafā is structured in three chapters (*faṣl*), in which ‘Alavī discusses the essence of God (*dhāt-i Ḥaqq-i ta‘ālā*; *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ed. Iṣfahānī, pp. 119-21), the truth of ‘our God’ Jesus (*ḥaqq-i ḥaḍrat-i Īsā khudāvand-i mā*; pp. 125-239), and the ordinances of the Gospel (*aḥkām-i Kitāb-i Injīl*;

pp. 243-64). His argument against Christian beliefs is along the lines developed in his earlier refutation, *Lavāmi‘-i rabbānī*, and focuses on demonstrating inconsistencies and contradictions between the biblical books. As in *Lavāmi‘-i rabbānī*, ‘Alavī frequently uses the address *yā ma‘shar al-Naṣārā* (‘O you Christians’) to address Christian readers. He quotes more than 50 passages from the abridged version of *Ā‘īna-yi ḥaqq-numā*, whose author he refers to, depending on the manuscript concerned, either as ‘a Christian scholar [...] in India’ or as ‘Pādirī Mī-Milād’ – possibly a malapropism of the Persian transcription of Jerónimo Xavier’s name, ‘Pādirī Shīrānī-mū Shavā’ir’. In some manuscripts of the third recension of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*, ‘Alavī explicitly mentions the two Carmelites Próspero del Espíritu Santo (‘Pādirī Priyū’ [= Padre Prior]) and Juan Tadeo de San Elisio (1574-1633/4, ‘Pādirī Juvān’), who was later consecrated the first Latin bishop of Isfahan.

SIGNIFICANCE

‘Alavī’s *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*’ met with a response from the highest ecclesiastical authorities. Shortly after a copy of the text (MS Vat – Borg. pers. 5) reached the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*) in 1625, a pontifical commission of theologians was set up ‘specifically to respond to this book’, as Próspero relates (Halft, ‘Arabic Vulgate’, p. 135). During their first meeting, the members of the commission – the so-called Congregation for the Protection of the Faith (*Congregatio de Tuenda Fide*) – studied ‘Alavī’s *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*’ through an Italian translation entitled *Lustratore, overo Politore della politia, et purificatione dello Specchio che mostra il vero in confutatione della Religione delli Christiani*, which had been made from MS Vat – Borg. pers. 5. Two members of the pontifical commission, the Conventual Franciscan Bonaventura Malvasia (1598-1666) and Filippo Guadagnoli (1596-1656), a member of the Order of the Clerics Regular Minor (*Caracciolini*), composed refutations of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*’ in Latin. However, only Guadagnoli’s *Apologia pro Christiana religione*, printed in 1631, met with the approval of the commission. A few years later, in 1637, a revised version in Arabic translation went to press, printed copies of which were imported by missionaries into the Middle East (Halft, ‘Arabic Vulgate’, pp. 134-7).

Besides Malvasia’s and Guadagnoli’s counter-refutations, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*’ provoked several rebuttals by missionaries, such as the Jesuit Aimé Chézaud (1604-64), and led to decades-long controversies between Shī‘ī and Catholic representatives (see the studies by F. Richard). The treatise

had significant influence on interreligious exchanges, both during and after ‘Alavī’s lifetime. The large number of extant manuscripts of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā’*, in particular of its third recension, indicates the popularity of the work among Shī‘ī Muslims up to the 19th century.

PUBLICATIONS

Miṣqal-i ṣafā’ is extant in 25 manuscripts in the original Persian known to date, as well as in three manuscripts containing an Italian translation of the work:

- MS Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds – 34614, 60 fols (date unknown; ‘the first copy that the author inspected [and] corrected by his hand’, as indicated in a note on the front page; with the undated *ex-libris* of the Discalced Carmelites in Isfahan; the earliest recension with the author’s marginal emendations, additions, and corrections)
- MS Vat – Borg. pers. 5, fols 5r-175v (date unknown; with a note signed by ‘Alavī on fol. 175; the presentation copy to the Discalced Carmelites in Isfahan; the second recension; see Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani*, p. 163)
- MS Tehran, Malik – 2143/1, pp. 1-151 (paginated, partly defective; the folios need to be rearranged as follows: 1-65, 74-93, 66-73, 94-151; date unknown; dedicated to Shah ‘Abbās I [r. 1588-1629]; the second recension; see Īraj Afshār and Muḥammad T. Dānīshpazhūh, *Fihrist-i kitābhā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Malik*, Tehran, 1973-96, vol. 5, p. 431 [the MS is erroneously listed under the shelf mark 2134/1])
- MS Vat – Pers. 39/5, fols 55r-71r (unfinished; directly copied from MS Vat – Borg. pers. 5 in Rome in 1625; the second recension; see Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani*, pp. 67-8)
- MS Tehran, Majlis – 4940, 256 fols (October-November 1632; the third recension; see Yūsuf I’tiṣāmī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī*, Tehran, 1926-, vol. 14, pp. 169-70)
- MS Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds – 256 [Hekmat 256], 167 fols (partly defective; date unknown; dedicated to Shah Ṣafī, with glosses in ‘Alavī’s hand; the third recension; see ‘Alī A. Javān et al., *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī-i Āstān-i Quds-i Rażavī*, Mashhad, 1987-, vol. 1, pp. 217-18)
- MS Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds – 15610, 124 fols (partly defective; date unknown; with glosses in ‘Alavī’s hand; the third recension)

- MS Tehran, Dānishgāh – 3531 F (‘aksī), 152 fols (partly defective; date unknown; dedicated to Shah Ṣafī, with glosses in ‘Alavī’s hand; the photographs were presumably taken from MS Tehran, a private collection of the late Ja‘far Mir Dāmādī – without shelf mark. The present location of the MS remains unclear; the third recension; see Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i mikrūfīlmhā*, vol. 3, p. 173)
- MS Tehran, a private collection of the late Fakhr al-Dīn Naṣīrī – without shelf mark, unspecified number of folios (date unknown; with glosses in ‘Alavī’s hand; present location of the MS remains unclear; the third recension)
- MS London, BL – Add. 25857, fols 2v-181v (date unknown; dedicated to Shah Ṣafī; the third recension; see A. Clarke, *A historical and descriptive catalogue of the European and Asiatic manuscripts in the library of the late Dr. Adam Clarke*, London, 1835, p. 211, no. 283; C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1879, vol. 1, pp. 28-9)
- MS Tehran, Dānishgāh – 3824, 200 fols (date unknown; dedicated to Shah Ṣafī, with glosses in ‘Alavī’s hand; the third recension; see ‘Alī N. Munzavī and Muḥammad T. Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Markazī va Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānishgāh-i Tih-rān*, Tehran, 1951, vol. 12, pp. 2802-4)
- MS Tehran, Dānishgāh – 10081, 190 fols (partly defective; date unknown; dedicated to Shah Ṣafī; the third recension; see Munzavī and Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī-i [...] Dānishgāh-i Tih-rān*, vol. 19, pp. 48-9)
- MS Tehran, Majlis – 3722, 120 fols (paginated; date unknown; dedicated to Shah Ṣafī; the third recension; see I’tiṣāmī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī*, vol. 10/4, pp. 1701-2)
- MS Tehran, Malik – 1691, 182 fols (partly defective; the folios need to be rearranged as follows: 1-159, 175-80, 160-74, 182, 181; date unknown; dedicated to Shah Ṣafī; the third recension; see Afshār and Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i [...] Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Malik*, vol. 4, p. 755)
- MS Tehran, Majlis – 715, 162 fols (date unknown; dedicated to Shah Ṣafī; the third recension; a microfilm of the MS is available in the Central Library of the University of Tehran, 4654 F; see I’tiṣāmī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī*, vol. 1, p. 58, no. 194, and vol. 2, pp. 453-4; Dānishpazhūh, *Fihrist-i mikrūfīlmhā*, vol. 3, p. 84)

- MS Paris, BNF – Suppl. persan 1592/1, fols 1-35 (date unknown, 17th century; the earliest recension; see E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, 1934, vol. 4, p. 167, no. 2209)
- MS Paris, BNF – Suppl. persan 11, 23 fols (unfinished; directly copied from MS Paris, BNF – Suppl. persan 1592/1 by Dā‘ūd ibn Sa‘īd Iṣfahānī (1612-84), probably in Paris in the early 1640s; the earliest recension; see Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, vol. 1, p. 34, no. 53; BNF, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, vol. 2/1, pp. 48-9)
- MS San Lorenzo, Escorial – Árabe 1555, 211 fols (directly copied from MS Vat – Borg. pers. 5 by Dominicus Germanus de Silesia; with the beginning of a Latin interlinear translation and the *ex-libris* of the Franciscan language school of San Pietro in Montorio, Rome, dated 1645; the second recension; photographs of the MS are available in the Āyat Allāh Mar‘ashī Najafī Library in Qom; see Dérenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes*, vol. 3, p. 135; Muḥammad ‘A. Ḥā‘irī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi ‘aksī-i Kitābkhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-i Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘uẓmā Mar‘ashī Najafī*, Qom, 1990-, vol. 2, pp. 264-5, no. 787)
- MS Paris, BNF – Suppl. persan 12, 237 fols (the folios need to be rearranged as follows: 1-50, 88-96, 63-8, 97, 55-62, 85, 98-103, 86-7, 104, 69-72, 105, 51-2, 73-8, 84, 54, 189-228, 79-83, 53, 106-88, 229-37; date unknown; with annotations by the Jesuit Aimé Chézaud (1604-64); the second recension; see Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, vol. 1, pp. 33-4, no. 52 [the indicated shelf mark Suppl. 11 at the very end needs to be corrected to Suppl. 12]; BNF, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, vol. 2/1, pp. 50-1)
- MS Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds – 257 [Hekmat 257], 89 fols (the folios need to be rearranged as follows: 1-85, 87, 89, 86r; the following folios are in fact part of the Persian recension of Ṣāḥib al-Dīn Tafrishī’s *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*, dating from the reign of Shah Sulaymān (r. 1666-94), which is included in MS Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds – 258: 86v, 88; date unknown. Since MS Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds – 257 was copied by the same hand as MS Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds – 258, it can be established that both manuscripts were written after 1666; the second recension. See Javān et al., *Fihrist-i kutub-i khattī-i [...] Āstān-i Quds-i Raḡavī*, vol. 1, p. 205.)
- MS Paris, BNF – Suppl. persan 13/2, fols 263v-264v (unfinished; date unknown; presumably directly copied from MS Paris, BNF – Suppl. persan 12; the second recension; see BNF, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans*, vol. 2/1, pp. 51-2)

MS Tehran, Majlis – 17381/3, fols 142v-177v (partly defective; December 1815; the second recension; see I'tiṣāmī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī*, vol. 48, p. 95)

MS Qom, Madrasa-yi Fayḍiyya – 1393/1, pp. 2-247 (paginated; date unknown; with a note dated to February-March 1841 on the front page; the third recension; see Rīzā Ustādī, *Fihrist-i nuskahā-yi khaṭṭī-i Kitābkhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Fayḍiyya*, Qum, Qom, 1976-, vol. 3, p. 88)

MS Qom, Mar'ashī – 8924/5, fols 90r-118r (partly defective; directly copied from MS Tehran, Majlis – 17381/3 in April-May 1851; the second recension; see Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi [...] Mar'ashī*, vol. 23, p. 101)

MS Tehran, Muṭahharī – 1310, 121 fols (partly defective; the folios need to be rearranged as follows: 3-8, 10, 9, 11-112, 114, 113, 115-21; 21 November 1869; the third recension; see Muḥammad T. Dānishpazhūh and 'Alī N. Munzavī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi Sipahsālār*, Tehran, 1962-, vol. 5, pp. 586-7)

The MSS of the Italian translation made from MS Vat. – Borg. Pers. 5:

MS Rome, Biblioteca Angelica – 310, 116 fols (date unknown, 17th century; see E. Narducci, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum, praeter graecos et orientales*, in *Bibliotheca Angelica olim coenobii Sancti Augustini de Urbe*, Rome, 1893, vol. 1, p. 167)

MS Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale – Ebor. 20, 163 fols (date unknown; see O. Schäfer, 'Descriptio codicum franciscalium in bibliotheca nationali centrali Romae asservatorum. Fondi minori. Codices olim in conventu Aracoeli O.F.M. asservati', *Collectanea Franciscana* 24 (1954) 166-85, p. 176, no. 1867)

MS Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense – 541, 110 fols (date unknown; see E. Moneti et al., *Catalogo dei manoscritti della Biblioteca casanatense*, Rome, 1949-, vol. 6, p. 39)

A. 'Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā dar naqd-i kalām-i masīhiyyat*, ed. Ḥ.N. Iṣfahānī, Qom, 1994 (edition based on MS Tehran, a private collection of the late Fakhr al-Dīn Naṣīrī – without shelf mark. The editor also consulted MS Tehran, Majlis – 4940, MS Tehran, a private collection of the late Ja'far Mīr Dāmādī, and MS Mashhad, Āstān-i Quds – 256 [Hekmat 256]. The printed edition thus contains the third recension of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā*.)

STUDIES

Halft, ‘Arabic Vulgate’, pp. 113-42, 188-201

Halft, ‘Hebrew Bible quotations’

F. Richard, ‘Le Père Aimé Chézaud controversiste et ses manuscrits persans’, *Nāma-yi Bahāristān* 6-7 (2005-6) 7-18

Iṣfahānī, ‘Bargī az munāẓarahā-yi Islām va Masīḥīyat’

F. Díaz Esteban, ‘Informe de una misión carmelita en Persia de 1621 a 1624’, in J.M. Blázquez (ed.), *Persia y España en el diálogo de las civilizaciones. Historia, religión, cultura*, Madrid, 2002, 185-98

Richard, ‘Le Franciscain Dominicus Germanus de Silésie’

F. Richard, ‘L’apport des missionnaires européens à la connaissance de l’Iran en Europe et de l’Europe en Iran’, in J. Calmard (ed.), *Études safavides*, Paris, 1993, 251-66

F. Richard, ‘Catholicisme et Islam chiite au “grand siècle”. Autour de quelques documents concernant les missions catholiques au XVII^{ème} siècle’, *Euntes Docete* 33 (1980) 339-403

J. Metzler, ‘Die verschollene S. Congregatio “de Tuenda Fide” und ein mißglückter Bischofsrat im 17. Jahrhundert’, *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 23 (1967) 40-5

Lama‘āt-i malakūtiyya

Lama‘āt-i malakūtī, ‘Heavenly splendours’

DATE Before mid-July 1625

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

In his *Lama‘āt-i malakūtiyya* (‘Heavenly splendours’), ‘Alavī focuses mainly on philosophical arguments to refute Christian beliefs. Assuming conformity between the esoteric aspects (*bāṭin*) of the Gospel and the Qur’an, he identifies the Prophet Muḥammad with the Paraclete (*fāriqlūt*) of the Gospel of John. In support of his argument, ‘Alavī adduces passages from the Qur’an, the Hadiths, the Bible and the teachings of philosophers, namely the illuminationists (*ishrāqiyyān*) as well as the peripatetics (*mashshā’iyyān*). He also draws on Ibn al-‘Arabī’s (d. 1240) Qur’an commentary on the interpretation of Q 27:8 and Q 20:10-12. At the end of *Lama‘āt-i malakūtiyya*, ‘Alavī reproduces a collection of biblical and pseudo-biblical attributes (*asāmī*) in Arabic, Syriac, Greek and

Hebrew transcribed in Perso-Arabic script, which are interpreted as foretellings of Muḥammad by the prophets (‘Alavī, ‘Lama‘āt-i malakūtiyya’, ed. Ja‘fariyān, pp. 746-9). This collection also appears in ‘Alavī’s Qur’an commentary *Laṭā’if-i ghaybī*, written in 1623-4 (*Laṭā’if-i ghaybiyya*, ed. Mīr Dāmādī [Tehran], 1976, pp. 226-30). The work covers folios 163v-184v in MS Qom.

SIGNIFICANCE

‘Alavī’s *Lama‘āt-i malakūtiyya* offers a combination of philosophical and theological thought that exceeds the polemical argument of his earlier refutations of Christianity. Its full significance for the history of Muslim-Christian exchanges has yet to be investigated.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Qom, Mar‘ashī – 7591/3, fols 163v-184v (second half of July 1625; see Ḥusaynī, *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāna-yi [...] Mar‘ashī*, vol. 19, p. 405)

A. ‘Alavī, ‘Lama‘āt-i malakūtiyya’, ed. R. Ja‘fariyān, in R. Ja‘fariyān (ed.), *Mirāth-i Islāmī-i Irān*, Qom, 1996, vol. 3, pp. 727-50

STUDIES

Halft, ‘Arabic Vulgate’, pp. 113-17

Risāla dar radd-i dībāja ki ‘ālim-i Naṣārā ki muṣannif-i Kitāb-i Ā’īna-yi ḥaqq-numā ast ba’d az dīdan-i Kitāb-i Miṣqal dar radd-i Ā’īna-ash
Risāla dar radd-i dībāja ka ‘ālim-i Naṣārā,
 ‘A treatise in refutation of the preface by the Christian scholar and author of “The mirror showing the truth”, after having seen the “Polisher” in refutation of his “Mirror”

DATE Unknown; later than *Lama‘āt-i malakūtiyya*

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

‘Alavī wrote his short treatise *Risāla dar radd-i dībāja* (‘A treatise in refutation of the preface’, pp. 248-76 in MS Qom) in reply to a missionary’s

counter-refutation of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā’ dar tajliya u taṣfiya-yi Ā’ina-yi ḥaqq-numā*, of which he received a copy at an unknown date. ‘Alavī’s reply provides a summary of the arguments advanced in his earlier refutations of Christianity. The missionary’s counter-refutation, which was mainly directed against ‘Alavī’s prologue to *Miṣqal-i ṣafā’*, has to the present date not been identified. ‘Alavī erroneously assumes the missionary to be ‘Pādirī Mī-Milād’, i.e. the Jesuit Jerónimo Xavier (1549-1617), author of *Fuente de vida / Ā’ina-yi ḥaqq-numā*. Since ‘Alavī refers in his *Risāla* to his treatise *Lama’āt-i malakūtiyya*, it is clear that this latter predates the composition of the former.

Besides ‘Pādirī Mī-Milād’, our Shī’ī author mentions a certain ‘Pādirī ‘Abd al-Sattār’, apparently the Mughal courtier and scholar ‘Abd al-Sattār ibn Qāsim Lāhōrī (d. after 1619), who is best known for his decade-long collaboration with Jerónimo Xavier on the production of catechetical texts in Persian. He claims that Lāhōrī wrote a Christian rebuttal of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā’*, about which no information exists elsewhere. In addition, ‘Alavī refers in his *Risāla* – as he did in *Miṣqal-i ṣafā’* – to the two Discalced Carmelites Juan Tadeo de San Elisio (1574-1633/4) and Próspero del Espíritu Santo (1583-1653), to whom he gave a manuscript copy of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā’* in Isfahan in 1622. ‘Alavī also expresses awareness of a translation of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā’* into the missionaries’ ‘own language’ (*bi-zabān-i khud*), which is probably the aforementioned translation into Italian (Halft, ‘Arabic Vulgate’, pp. 136-7).

SIGNIFICANCE

‘Alavī’s reply to a Christian rebuttal of *Miṣqal-i ṣafā’* shows that the arrival of Jerónimo Xavier’s abridged version of *Ā’ina-yi ḥaqq-numā* in early 17th-century Isfahan led to a cycle of refutations and counter-refutations by Shī’ī and Catholic authors that was already in existence during ‘Alavī’s lifetime.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Qom, Madrasa-yi Fayḍiyya – 1393/2, pp. 248-76 (paginated; date unknown; with a note dated February/March 1841 on the front page; see Ustādī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khattī-i [...] Fayḍiyya*, vol. 3, p. 88)

- A. ‘Alavī, ‘Risāla dar radd-i dībāja ki ‘ālim-i Naṣārā ki muṣannif-i Kitāb-i Ā’ina-yi ḥaqq-numā ast ba’d az didan-i Kitāb-i Miṣqal dar radd-i Ā’ina-ash’, in ‘Alavī, *Miṣqal-i ṣafā’ dar naqd-i kalām-i masīhiyyat*, ed. Iṣfahānī, appendix 2-16

STUDIES

Halft, ‘Arabic Vulgate’, pp. 113-14, 122-3, 136-7

Iṣfahānī, ‘Bargī az munāẓarahā-yi Islām va Masīḥīyat’

Dennis Halft

Iase T'uši

DATE OF BIRTH	Second half of the 16 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	T'ušet'i, Georgia
DATE OF DEATH	Probably in the second half of the 17 th century
PLACE OF DEATH	Isfahan

BIOGRAPHY

There is almost no biographical information available about Iase T'uši. As is indicated by his sobriquet T'uši, he was very probably born in T'ušet'i, Georgia, in the second half of the 16th century.

Iase T'uši was evidently a well-educated man by the standards of his time, familiar with both secular and religious literature. At the start of the 17th century, he went to Iran, and there he converted to Islam. He is known to have lived and worked in the Safavid capital Isfahan until his death in the second half of the 17th century.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

M. T'odua, *K'art'ul-sparsuli etiudebi* [Georgian-Persian studies], Tbilisi, 1971, vol. 1, pp. 5-46

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Samec'niero, 'An enquiry'

DATE 1620s

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

The polemical poem *Samec'niero* ('An enquiry'; literally 'scientific') appears to have been written some time before 1629 as it refers to Shah 'Abbās I (r. 1588-1629) as still living. It consists of 15 chapters and 280 verses, with an appendix containing one of the first Georgian-Persian dictionaries. It is the earliest Georgian manuscript so far discovered in Iran. The unique manuscript comprises 40 pages of beautifully illuminated text. The end is missing because of damage.

In *Samec'niero*, Iase T'uši presents biblical stories from a qur'anic perspective, using the standpoint of Shī'a Islam to criticise Christianity. He finds the doctrine of God in three hypostases to be theologically untenable and unacceptable, and he rejects Jesus as Son of God, identifying him instead, in line with Islamic teaching, as one of the great prophets who came before Muḥammad, and thus referring to him as the Holy Prophet Jesus. In so doing, he asserts the impossibility of God taking an incarnate form.

In his poem, Iase T'uši pours praise on the preachers of Islam: Muḥammad and 'Alī, his cousin and son-in-law. He considers the twelve Imams descended from the Prophet to be his disciples, comparing them to Christ's twelve disciples. He also praises Shah 'Abbās I.

In Chapter 7, Iase T'uši refers to Islamic doctrine, and Shī'a Islam in particular, as a complete and perfect faith.

SIGNIFICANCE

Samec'niero is one of the most intriguing texts from the Georgian Renaissance period. The use of Georgian poetry to criticise Christianity from the standpoint of Shī'a Islam reveals something of the complex nature of relations between the Georgian people and the Safavids.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Tehran, National Library of Iran – 77 (1620s)

T'odua, *K'art'ul-sparsuli etiudebi*, vol. 1, pp. 5-46

STUDIES

Kh. Baindurashvili, 'Šiizmi t'bilisši (VIII-XVIII ss.)' [Shī'ism in Tbilisi (8th-18th centuries)], *Istoriul-Et'nologiuri Študiebi* 9 (2005) 142-64

T'odua, *K'art'ul-sparsuli etiudebi*

Khatuna Baindurashvili

‘Abbās I, Shah of Persia

DATE OF BIRTH 27 January 1571
PLACE OF BIRTH Unknown
DATE OF DEATH 19 January 1629
PLACE OF DEATH Ashraf, Mazandaran

BIOGRAPHY

Shah ‘Abbās I (r. 1587-1629), the fifth ruler of the Safavid dynasty (1501-1722), came to power at a time when tribal factionalism was tearing at the fabric of the state and foreign invaders had greatly reduced Iran’s territory. In his 40-odd-year reign, he managed to retake the borderlands lost by his predecessors, and also to add the Persian Gulf littoral to Safavid control and to incorporate parts of Armenia and Georgia with a series of brutal campaigns. He also seized Qandahar from the Mughals in 1622, and halted the eastward expansion of the Ottomans by taking Baghdad a year later. He turned the centrally located city of Isfahan into his new capital, embellishing it and endowing it with a new administrative and commercial centre. He also undertook a series of military and administrative reforms that were meant to reduce tribal power and enhance revenue, and stimulated trade by increasing road security, building many caravanserais throughout the country, and establishing a port on the Persian Gulf coast named, after himself, Bandar ‘Abbās. Shah ‘Abbās died in early 1629, and was succeeded by his grandson, Šafī Mīrzā, who was enthroned as Shah Šafī.

Conducting an expansive diplomatic and commercial policy that involved the exchange of multiple diplomatic missions with many of Europe’s major rulers, Shah ‘Abbās connected his country to the world in unprecedented ways. Keen to expand Iran’s trade links, he allowed the English and Dutch East India Companies to set up trading posts in Bandar ‘Abbās and various urban centres in the interior. He received various Western embassies, most of which came to explore the idea of forging a common anti-Ottoman front and, in turn, dispatched a number of missions to European courts. The most widely publicised diplomatic mission the shah hosted is that headed by the English adventurer Anthony Sherley, who, accompanied by his brother Robert, first came to Iran in 1599, and a year later was sent back as a member of a Safavid delegation

to various European capitals. Arriving in Madrid, the Iranian members of the delegation, led by Uruch Beg, decided to convert to Christianity and stay in Spain. Uruch Beg thereupon became Don Juan of Persia, and he and his fellow Iranians, while integrating into Spanish society, became known as the 'Persian gentlemen'.

Other high-profile missions sent to Iran are those of the Portuguese missionary-cum diplomat António de Gouveia, who travelled there several times, and that of the Spanish envoy Don García de Silva y Figueroa, who visited Isfahan in 1618-19. These two left important accounts of their journeys. Poland and Russia (Muscovy), too, in this period maintained relations with the Safavids that were in part commercially oriented and in part attempts to probe mutual interests in the creation of an anti-Ottoman alliance.

Following a mission organised by Pope Clement VIII (r. 1592-1605) in 1601 and one dispatched from Goa, India, headed by Portuguese Augustinians three years later, 'Abbās also permitted various Catholic missionary orders to settle and operate in his realm – to proselytise among Iran's Armenians, though not among the Muslim population. The first to establish a presence in Isfahan in 1604 were the Augustinians. They were followed by the Carmelites who, arriving in 1607, were given a house a year later. In late 1628, just before Shah 'Abbās's death, a delegation of French Capuchins led by Father Pacifique de Provins arrived in Isfahan, the first missionary order other than the Italian Theatine to be sponsored by the newly established Propaganda Fide, and was allowed to establish a convent in Isfahan.

Some of those who came to Iran and stayed in this period were representatives of Christendom without being men of the cloth. One, Giovan Battista Vecchiotti, spent time in the Safavid realm with his brother Geralomo searching for Oriental manuscripts at the behest of the Medici. He was the first to undertake a translation of the Judaeo-Persian Book of Psalms, by initially transliterating the text into Persian script and then translating it, with the assistance of Muslim and Jewish literati, between 1601 and 1606.

Shah 'Abbās's engagement with Christianity and Christians reflects various interests and concerns. His fascination with the Christian creed, rituals, paraphernalia and iconography, the rosary, the Bible, the imagery of sainthood and martyrdom, was probably a combined function of a harem environment in which Georgian women played a prominent role, and similarities between Catholic and Shī'ī ritual and imagery. Indeed, one of Shah 'Abbās's own consorts was a Georgian princess, the daughter

of Simon Khān (r. 1619-30). This affinity helped the shah in his ability to lure the Christian powers of Europe, who long hoped he might go over to the ‘true faith’ as a prelude to the conversion of his people, and who were frequently represented by missionaries. Shah ‘Abbās was also friendly with individual friars, most notably with Father Juan Tadeo, who served as his translator and personal counsellor. In 1616, the shah commissioned this Spanish Carmelite to translate the Psalms and the Gospels into Persian, a task he undertook with the assistance of various Shī‘ī clerics and an Iranian Jew.

Yet there is nothing to suggest that the shah was inherently inclined towards Christianity, let alone ever contemplated converting. His toleration was both instrumental and conditional. Curious by nature, Shah ‘Abbās had a manifest interest in Christianity, its tenets and its rituals, but his stance vis-à-vis his Christian subjects and the Catholic missionaries he allowed to operate in his realm was ultimately politically motivated, and above all informed by a desire to maintain good relations with the Christian powers of Europe as potential allies against the Ottoman Turks. His affection for the missionaries was real but he also saw them as a useful liaison with the Catholic powers and especially the papacy. Missionaries, then as later, also served as court translators and interpreters.

The shah’s real motivation for the instances of forced conversion in the latter part of his reign appear to have been a growing frustration with Europe’s lack of seriousness in fighting the Ottomans, anger at missionary attempts to convert Iran’s Armenians (almost all of whom adhered to the Gregorian branch) to the Catholic faith and thus bring them under papal jurisdiction, and suspicion about the loyalty of the Armenians to the Safavid house. In reality, ‘Abbās used missionaries and their belief in his Christian leanings for his own purposes, as instruments in a strategy designed to isolate and neutralise the Ottomans, his main enemies. He long reassured his Christian interlocutors that he was keen to join them in an anti-Ottoman alliance, yet he appears to have harboured few illusions about the chances of actually forming such an alliance with the Christian nations. After 1606, the year of the Ottoman-Habsburg Peace of Zsitvatorok, he grew increasingly frustrated with the empty promises of European diplomatic visitors as well as suspicious of the missionaries’ attempts to bring his Armenians under papal control. This, in addition to mounting irritation with the insolent behaviour of the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf, caused him to harden his attitude vis-à-vis Iran’s Armenians other than the New Julfans, whom he clearly saw as a potential fifth column at that point. He exerted growing pressure on

them to convert, issuing by way of incentive a decree that stipulated that a convert should inherit the property of any Christian relative upon the latter's death (Chick, *Chronicle*, p. 288). Suspecting collusion between the Portuguese and the missionaries, he also had the Augustinians and Carmelites put under house arrest and their convents searched for hidden Muslim converts in 1622. In the same year, he managed to oust the Portuguese from the island of Hormuz with English naval assistance. Pope Urban VIII (r. 1623-44) in early 1629 wrote a letter informing the shah that the missionaries had no political interests and asking him to restore the former cordial relationship, but by then the shah had already died.

Shah ‘Abbās I strengthened Iran's links with the Caucasus, intensifying a process begun by his predecessors Shah Ismā‘īl I and Shah Ṭahmāsp. The former had reduced the regions of Kartli and Kakheti in Georgia to vassalage and first introduced people from the Caucasus, Armenians, Georgians and Circassians, into his army. ‘Abbās's grandfather Ṭahmāsp raided the Caucasus four times, laying waste to the region and bringing back large numbers of captives.

Shah ‘Abbās himself invaded Armenia in 1604-5, and wreaked havoc on Georgia during several campaigns and punitive expeditions between 1613 and 1617. His first expedition resulted in the deportation of thousands of Armenians from the town of Julfa, situated on the Aras River, in Nakhichevan, to Isfahan. Resettled in a newly built suburb called New Julfa, these were allowed to conduct their own affairs under the control of the state while retaining their religion. Under the patronage of the shah, New Julfa grew into a town of some 30,000, endowed with a number of churches, the most important of which, All Saviour's Cathedral and the Church of Bethlehem, were constructed in ‘Abbās's reign and on the shah's own orders. Granted a monopoly on the export of silk from Iran, the New Julfan merchants developed a successful commercial network across Eurasia. The New Julfans enjoyed low taxes and some protection since the suburb fell under the patronage of the queen-mother.

Under Shah ‘Abbās, Georgians and Armenians, taken as war captives, entered the ranks of the Safavid army and the bureaucracy in unprecedented numbers. Known as *ghulāmān-i sarkār-i khāṣṣa*, royal slaves, they were used to sideline the rebellious Qizilbāsh tribal forces that traditionally formed the mainstay of the Safavid army. *Ghulāms* were forced to convert to Islam, but the Georgians in particular are said to have worn their new faith lightly. These *ghulāms* attained high military and administrative rank. Allāhvirdī Khan, an Armenian from Georgia, for instance,

served as the army's commander-in-chief for more than 15 years and ruled much of southern Iran virtually autonomously, to be succeeded by his equally powerful son, Imām-qulī Khān. From the reign of Shah ‘Abbās onward, the *dārūgha*, mayor of Isfahan, was always a Georgian. The shah also mostly used Armenians as envoys to Europe, especially in relations involving trade. The prominence of the *ghulāms* appears to have aroused irritation among the Muslim population and especially the Shī‘ī clergy.

The Armenian and Georgian women captives were placed in the harems of the monarch and his grandees. In keeping with a long-standing custom, various prominent Georgian concubines became favourites of Shah ‘Abbās, and his successors all had Georgian mothers, so that the queen-mother in later Safavid times was usually either a Georgian or a Circassian. The women of the harem are known to have kept the Christian faith alive and played a role in the shah's interest in the religion, its tenets and its paraphernalia. Until the end of the Safavid dynasty, Georgian women played an important role in the court's marriage politics. The influence of the Georgian harem women probably accounted in part for the Safavid tolerance for the country's Christian population as well, although this tolerance had its limits. When the shah had a falling-out with the Portuguese, Iran's Armenians other than the New Julfans were swept up in a round of persecution and forced conversion, culminating in the death under torture in 1624 of Princess Ketevan of Georgia, held captive in Shiraz by Shah ‘Abbās.

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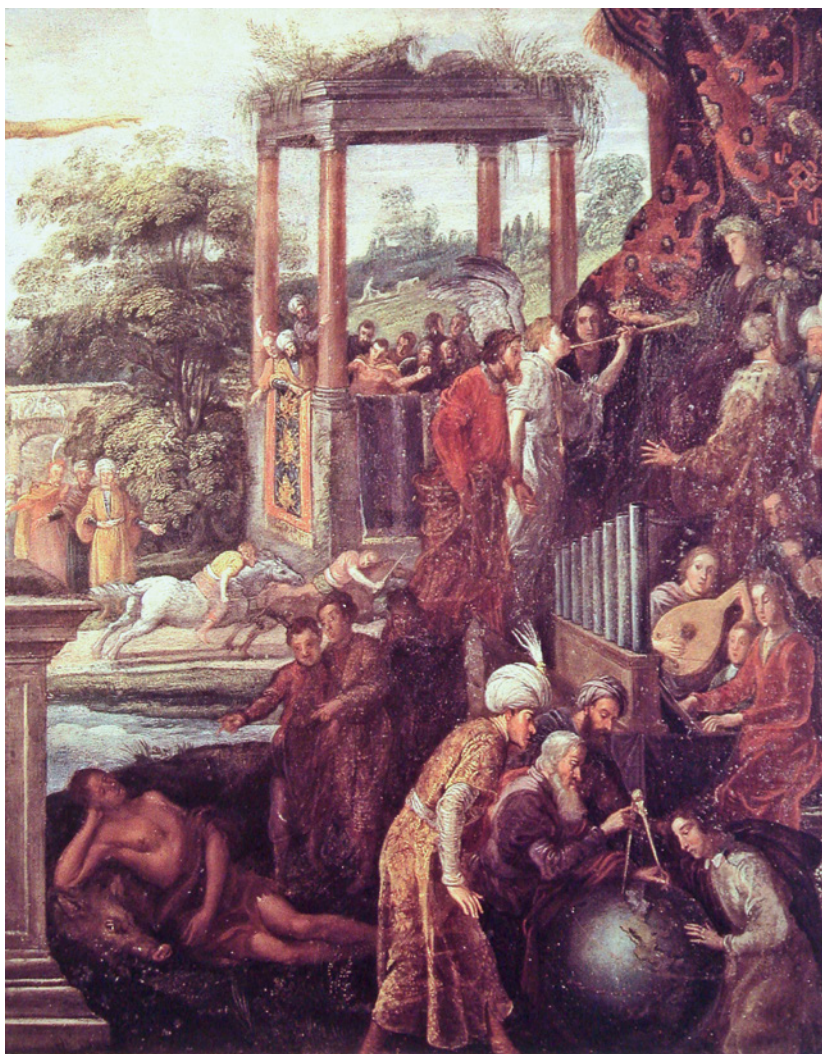


Illustration 9. Detail from a painting by Frans Francken the Younger honouring Shah 'Abbās I as the patron of the arts, sciences, and music

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Correspondence and *farmāns*

DATE 1605-29

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

The first *farmān* involving the Armenians issued by Shah ‘Abbās I dates from Rabi‘ II 1014 (16 August-13 September 1605). It lays out the conditions for the settlement of the Armenians who were transplanted from Julfa to the newly built suburb of Isfahan, New Julfa. That the settlement of Armenians in Isfahan met with local resistance is reflected in the same *farmān*, since it admonishes the original residents to treat the newcomers fairly (Nawā‘ī, *Shah ‘Abbās*, vol. 3, pp. 290-1; Ghougassian, *Emergence*, pp. 201-3). Almost a decade later, in 1614, the shah issued a decree ordering the construction of a cathedral in New Julfa using the ‘sacred’ stones of the ruined Echmiadzin (Üçkilisa) cathedral near Yerevan (Chick, *Chronicle*, p. 196; Nawā‘ī, *Shah ‘Abbās*, vol. 3, pp. 288-9; Ghougassian, *Emergence*, pp. 204-7). Over time, ‘Abbās sought to help improve the lives of the New Julfans by granting them more land (*farmān* of Shawwāl 1028 / 11 September to 9 October 1619, in Ghougassian, *Emergence*, pp. 208-9). Yet two years later, Bahā‘ al-Dīn al-‘Āmili, the Shaykh al-Islām of Isfahan, issued a fatwa stipulating that a convert to Islam should inherit the property from all his relatives up to the seventh degree (Ghougassian, *Emergence*, pp. 211-13). Shah ‘Abbās confirmed this ordinance in 1628, shortly before his death (Chick, *Chronicle*, p. 288).

In response to a papal message he had received from the Portuguese-Augustinian mission led by Francesco de Costa and Diego de Miranda, in 1603-4 Shah ‘Abbās wrote a letter to the pope expressing goodwill, support for Iran’s Christian subjects, and permission for them to operate churches in the Safavid realm (Rossi, *Elenco*, p. 155; Fekete, *Einführung*, pp. 469-75). In the autumn of 1608, ‘Abbās followed up on this with a decree granting the newly arrived Carmelites a house in Isfahan and the right to operate in his realm (Nawā‘ī, *Shah ‘Abbās*, vol. 3, pp. 284; Richard, ‘Les privilèges accordés’, p. 173.) In an additional *farmān*, issued in 1610, the shah ordered repairs to the house of the Carmelites (Nawā‘ī, *Shah ‘Abbās*, vol. 3, p. 285). There is also a letter from the head of the Carmelites to the shah from July 1619 (Kāwūsī ‘Irāqī, *Asnād u rawābiṭ*, pp. 50-1).

Shah ‘Abbās maintained a lively correspondence with various European rulers. The letters he wrote to and received from the Senate of the

Republic of Venice and the States General of Holland almost exclusively concern commercial relations (Fekete, *Einführung*, pp. 453-67, 489-97; Nawā’ī, *Shah ‘Abbās*, vol. 3, pp. 254-6; Kāwūsī ‘Iraqī, *Asnād u rawābiṭ*, pp. 33-7, 42-5, 47-9, 52; for the ‘capitulations’ between the Safavid crown and the English and Dutch East India Company, respectively, see Dunlop, *Bronnen*, pp. 675-6; Heeres, *Corpus diplomaticum*, pp. 186-91). Over the years, he wrote three letters to King Charles I (r. 1625-49) of England. The first acknowledges English assistance in the capture of Hormuz from the Portuguese; the second replies to a message from King Charles commending commerce and friendship; and the third, from 1628, expresses a desire for healthy (trade) relations (Ferrier, ‘Terms and conditions’, p. 67). ‘Abbās’s correspondence with the Spanish King Philip III, the Polish King Sigismund III, the King of Hungary, the Russian Tsar Boris Gudonov, and Elizabeth I of England, some of it by way of letter to and from Anthony Sherley, mostly involved political issues, with a focus on the common project of forging an anti-Ottoman alliance (Fekete, *Einführung*, pp. 477-87; Nawā’ī, *Shah ‘Abbās*, vol. 3, pp. 237-46, 263-6; Józefowicz, ‘Z dziejów’). Shah ‘Abbās exchanged a number of letters with Pope Clement VIII as well as with Pope Paul V from 1607 onwards, expressing friendship, reminding the pontiff of the need to stand tall against the Turks, and discussing the issue of the Carmelite missionaries and their status in Iran. Interspersed with the many Persian-language copies that have been preserved in Naples are letters from the shah to the Sherley brothers, to and from various cardinals, to the Spanish ambassador to the papacy, and to and from the head of the Carmelite mission in Isfahan, as well as by rulers such as Philip III of Spain and Cosimo, Grand Duke of Tuscany (Nawā’ī, *Shah ‘Abbās*, vol. 3, pp. 267-80; Kāwūsī ‘Iraqī, *Asnād u rawābiṭ*, pp. 40-1, 181-281; Sutūda, *Asnād-i Padirīyān*, pp. 29-262; Piemontese, *Catalogo*, pp. 204-10; Piemontese, ‘I due ambasciatori’, pp. 387-400, 414-19). Further information on correspondence, most notably the letters Shah ‘Abbās received in 1619 from Philip III, Louis XIII of France and Pope Paul V, may be found in Chick, *Chronicle*, p. 244.

Finally, we have one of only two Safavid conversion narratives belonging to the (later) reign of Shah ‘Abbās. This concerns an incompletely preserved Georgian text with Persian translation known as *Risalah-shinakht*, from the hand of an unknown author (in Abkar Armanī, *I’tirāfnāma*, pp. 161-212).

SIGNIFICANCE

The reign of Shah ‘Abbās I represents the high-water mark of relations between Iran and Europe’s Christian powers at any time before the 19th century. The contacts he initiated and nurtured with the various European courts never led to the actual anti-Ottoman alliance that all parties envisioned, though they did bring Iran, a country that had mostly lived on in the Western imagination as a barely updated version of Antiquity, into the closer view of Europeans. Curious about ‘Abbās’s reputation as an expansive and welcoming ruler, and excited about Iran as a land of antiquarian fame and religious promise, Westerners henceforth came to visit the Safavid state in unprecedented numbers. Surrounded by former Christians, Georgian and Armenian ‘slave soldiers’ and Georgian harem women, the shah was genuinely interested in the Christian faith, showing a keen interest in its tenets and iconography. He also welcomed Christian representatives, missionaries and envoys in a manner that would have been unthinkable for any contemporary European ruler with regard to Muslim visitors, freely conversing with them and inviting them to his drinking parties. This type of openness and toleration stands in stark contrast to the attitude of the more religiously strict members of the elite, and especially the Shī‘ī clergy, many of whom considered non-Muslims, including Christian, *najis*, ritually unclean. The missionary presence that resulted from these contacts and initiatives would last for a century or more.

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Rudolph Mathee

Martyrology of Saruxan Hizanc'i

*I smin awur vkayabanut'iwn ew yišatak ē nor vkayin
K'ristosi srboyn Saruxani, 'On the same day the
martyrology of the neomartyr of Christ St Saruxan'*

DATE 1631

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

I smin awur vkayabanut'iwn ew yišatak ē nor vkayin K'ristosi srboyn Saruxani is by an unknown author. It is five pages long in the critical edition by Manandean and Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerā (1155-1843)*, 1903, pp. 437-41. All that is known about the author is found within the work. He informs readers that his subject was brought up as a pious member of the Armenian Apostolic Church in a God-fearing family of Hizan on the south-west shore of Lake Van. A cobbler by profession, he also gained expertise on the harp and lyre. He moved with his wife and children to the town of Bitlis, the centre of the Kurdish principality of Bitlis in which Hizan is located, and his wife died there, leaving his young children without a mother.

He met a Kurdish woman who claimed to be a widow and Christian by religion. Since none of the Armenian community raised any issues of impropriety, the couple were married with the usual rites after the woman had made a Christian confession. Three years later, he happened to ask her about this privately and learned that in fact she was a Muslim. When he asked her what motivated her acceptance of Christianity, she mentioned that when her people had wrongfully killed an Armenian, she had observed a light radiating above him, which had convinced her that she should come to Bitlis to worship openly as a Christian.

One winter's day that year, Saruxan was entertaining some of his community with the harp when he had the premonition that he would be burned to death the next day. This coincided with the arrival of the woman's husband who charged Saruxan before Abdal Khan with deceiving his wife and forcing her to join his religion.

The Kurds took Saruxan before the *qādī* who presented to him the stark alternatives of keeping his wife and gaining acquittal if he accepted

Islam or otherwise dying an excruciating death. When Saruxan peremptorily contrasted Christ, the illuminator of his soul, with Islam as a false, perverted religion, the *qāḍī* with the same speed pronounced the sentence of death by burning.

Saruxan was taken to the khan's brother, Mahmad Bey, who resolved that spending the night in a foul-smelling jail might significantly dent his resolve. Next day he offered wealth, property, civil authority and beautiful women as incentives, to no avail. In fact, Saruxan in exasperation cursed Muḥammad and his religion and requested the sentence to be carried out immediately. His tactic had the desired effect, so that the order followed instantly to make ready the fire and have the condemned tossed into it. A local Muslim struck Saruxan with a piece of wood and threw him to the ground, hastening the process of killing him.

The closing colophon of the poem notes that the martyrdom took place on Friday, 4 February 1631, during the pre-Lenten fast in the presence of the *vardapet* P'ilippos, deputising for the catholicos, whom he was to succeed two years later as P'ilippos Aḡbakec'i (1633-55).

SIGNIFICANCE

The work is noteworthy for introducing a Kurdish woman who decides to leave her husband, move and live as a Christian, and is then accepted into an Armenian community and enjoys a few years of peaceful existence until her husband discovers her whereabouts. It is also significant that the charge her husband brings is not directed at his wife but at her new husband, who is perceived as having forcibly converted her to his faith. The cause of her conversion, which she reports to her Armenian husband, is also striking in reinforcing the salience of a recurring feature of martyrologies, the appearance of a light radiating over the body of the martyr, which is seen as a divine vindication of the person's innocence. Also instructive is the woman's decision to settle in Bitlis to worship 'openly' as a Christian, since the city maintained a large presence of Armenian Christian artisans and merchants, whose activities were crucial for the principality's economy.

As some Armenian merchants such as Šahbulat Bit'lisc'i were frequent visitors to Europe and were invited to Louis XIV's court at Versailles, so the merchant traveller Jean-Baptiste Tavernier made a number of journeys to both western and east Asia in the period 1630-68, in the course of which he visited Bitlis. In his published account, he comments on the power and authority of the emir Abdal Khan, who was able to maintain independence

from both Ottoman and Safavid suzerainty (see J.-B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier*, Paris, 1676).

PUBLICATIONS

The manuscript from which the text was published is a menologium from the collection of the former Sanasarian Academy of Erzerum. See Y. Manandean and H. Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə (1155-1843)*, Vałaršapat, 1903, p. 441; and B. Coulie, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits arméniens*, Brepols, 1992, pp. 66-7.

Manandean and Ač'arean, *Hayoc' nor vkanerə*, pp. 437-41 (critical edition)

STUDIES

K'. Ter-Davt'yan, *Haykakan srbaxosut'yun vark'er ev vkayabanut'yunner (V-XVIII dd.)*, Yerevan, 2011, pp. 293, 347, 368-9

H. Ač'aryan, *Hayoc' anjnanunneri bařaran*, Yerevan, 1944, vol. 4, p. 465

M. Őrmanean, *Azgapatum*, Constantinople: V. and H. Tēr-Nersesean Press, 1927, vol. 3, col. 2495

Peter Cowe

George Strachan

DATE OF BIRTH	About 1572
PLACE OF BIRTH	Mearns, Scotland
DATE OF DEATH	After 1634
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown; possibly on his way back to Europe

BIOGRAPHY

A Scottish traveller and Orientalist, George Strachan was a Roman Catholic from Mearns, to the south of Aberdeen. He was born around 1572. In his early youth, his family sent him to study in France. There, he appears to have been based mainly in Paris, although he travelled around to attend lectures by the best teachers. He also spent some time in various cities in Italy, including Rome and Venice. He then taught humanities for a while at the Collège Le Mans in Paris.

Around 1613, Strachan embarked on a long journey to the east. He travelled from Constantinople via Aleppo and Baghdad to Isfahan and continued on to India. While he was in Ottoman territory, he pretended to be a convert, calling himself 'Muḥammad Chelebī'. In late 1618 or early 1619, he reached Isfahan, where he stayed for a few years. He met Pietro della Valle (d. 1652) and the two became close friends; there are several references to Strachan in della Valle's travelogue and letters, where he describes Strachan as an exceptionally gifted person with advanced knowledge of Latin, Greek and Hebrew literature, as well as philosophy, theology and mathematics.

Shortly after his arrival in Isfahan, Strachan started working at the newly opened agency of the British East India Company.

Strachan learned Arabic and Persian, and he may have been the most fluent European of his time in those languages. He collected valuable manuscripts, including some old codices, and he appears to have employed at least three copyists to copy works that he wanted. Over 50 of his codices are known to be extant, mainly in the Vatican and Naples libraries. While in Isfahan, Strachan seems to have been acquainted with the leading philosopher of the city, Mīr Dāmād (d. 1631-2) and his circle, which may have led to his interest in Islamic philosophy and theology.

The last evidence we have about Strachan's life is a note he wrote at the beginning of his interlinear translation of Mīr Ḥusayn Maybudī's

Jām-i gītī-numā, dated 1634, but his location at the time is unknown, as are the date and place of his death.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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 H. Chick (ed. and trans.), *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the papal mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries*, London, 1939

Secondary

- C.E. Bosworth, 'George Strachan of the Mearns. Middle East traveller and pioneer collector of Arabic and Persian manuscripts', in C.E. Bosworth, *Eastward ho! Diplomats, travellers and interpreters of the Middle East and beyond, 1600-1940*, London, 2012, ch. 2
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 G.L. della Vida, *George Strachan. Memorials of a wandering Scottish scholar of the seventeenth century*, Aberdeen: Third Spalding Club, 1956
 D. McRoberts, 'George Strachan of the Mearns. An early Scottish orientalist', *Innes Review* 3 (1952) 110-28
 J.F.K. Johnstone, *The alba amicorum of George Strachan, George Craig, Thomas Cumming*, Aberdeen, 1924
 W. Yule, 'Concerning some little-known travellers in the East', *Asiatic Quarterly* 5 (1888) 312-35

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Universum, Inter-linear translation and gloss on Mīr Ḥusayn Maybudī's *Jām-i gītī-numa*

DATE 1634

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Latin

DESCRIPTION

MS British Library add. 7720 contains a copy of Mīr Ḥusayn Maybudī's (d. 1504) *Jām-i gītī-numā* (fols 63r-106v), apparently copied for Strachan's personal use. Strachan entitled it *Universum*, adding as clarification that a more literal translation would be *poculum mundi*. The text is written

in large script, leaving generous spaces between the lines, and difficult words have been vocalised throughout. With a few exceptions (such as the eulogy for the Prophet), Strachan gives a word-for-word interlinear Latin translation of the text. In places, above the literal translations of some words he provides further explanations of their meanings and adds more notes in the margins, some explanatory and others critical comments. In some instances, he also transliterates into Roman characters Persian words that may have been obscure to him.

It is evident from this copy that Strachan was familiar with Ibn Sīnā. He renders *Shaykh al-raʿīs* as 'first doctor' and offers the further explanation 'i.e. Avicenna' (fol. 69r), although he appears unaware of the identity of 'Abū 'Alī', an alternative way of referring to Avicenna in the text (fol. 74v). He translates *ishrāqīyyān* as 'illuminati' (fol. 72r) and *mutakallimān* (the Persian plural of the Arabic *mutakallim*) as 'discussenti', further identifying them as *philosophi mahomatani* ('Muḥammadan philosophers') (fol. 105r). He first transliterates the word Sufis as *sophi*, and later on introduces them as *lanam vestientes philosophi* ('philosophers wearing wool') (fol. 72r), suggesting some speculation based on the root of the word *ṣūf* (wool).

In some of his marginal notes, Strachan reveals his disagreement with the argument, and betrays his religious disquiet with the contents of the work. For instance, Maybudī concedes the existence of some evil in the world, explaining that the purpose of its existence is to provide ultimate good. Strachan notes that this understanding is not in accordance with Christian thought, and quotes from Genesis 1:31, 'And God saw everything that he had made, and behold, it was very good' (fol. 71r). Elsewhere, in response to Maybudī's discussion of the concept of the throne of God, he comments: 'Mohammadan scholars tend to believe that God is inside the space of the world. They locate his throne in a celestial sphere that is included by the prime mover. They assume that the Creator is contained in the creation. O ignorance, o obscurity, o pitiful blindness! They include in heaven one whom heaven cannot contain (1 Kings 8:27: The heavens, even the highest heaven cannot contain you)' (fol. 72r).

SIGNIFICANCE

Strachan's critical study of this treatise on Islamic philosophy in its original Persian language represents the first example of such an endeavour in the early modern period. His comments sometimes reveal his religious differences with his Persian author.

PUBLICATIONS

MS London, BL – add. 7720, fols 63r-106v (1634)

STUDIES

R. Pourjavady, “‘The world-revealing cup’ by Mīr Ḥusayn al-Maybudī and its Latin translations’, *Oriens* 46 (2017) forthcoming

C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1879

Reza Pourjavady

Grigor Daranałc'i

Grigor Kamaxec'i

DATE OF BIRTH 1576
PLACE OF BIRTH Kamax (now Kemah, Turkey)
DATE OF DEATH September 1643
PLACE OF DEATH Rodosto (now Tekirdağ, Turkey)

BIOGRAPHY

A *vardapet* (a celibate priest, 'doctor of theology') of the Armenian Church, Grigor Daranałc'i, or Kamaxec'i, was born in Kamax. At the age of 14 he joined the monks at the monasteries of Sepuh mountain, took vows and later studied under Srapion *vardapet* in Baberd (Bayburt, Turkey). His flight to Constantinople from the Celali rebellions marked the beginning of his extensive travels with extended sojourns throughout the length and breadth of the Ottoman Empire and historic eastern Armenia: Sałmosavank', Julfa, Ėjmiacin and back to Baberd. He fled the Celali rebellions to Trebizond, then on to the Crimea and Constantinople. He made his first trip to Jerusalem via Egypt in 1605-7, and from there travelled to Constantinople. Here, after a visit to Rodosto to help with the building of a new church, he met Patriarch Grigor Kesarac'i of Constantinople, and the two became lifelong enemies for various reasons, chief among them Kesarac'i's alleged maltreatment of Armenians fleeing the Celalis in Erzurum. The leaders of these refugees obtained an edict for Grigor to shepherd them independently of the patriarch (1607-9). By this time the Rodosto church had been built and, when its prelate died (1608), Grigor succeeded him. Soon, when an edict ordered the Armenian refugees to return to where they had come from, Grigor led 7,000 of them home. Persecution by the new pasha, unrest and uncertainty forced Grigor to withdraw to a monastery; he then travelled to Constantinople. Here, Patriarch Kesarac'i was toppled by his two rivals, who together with Grigor partitioned the jurisdiction of the Armenian patriarchate among themselves.

Following his second pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1616-17), Grigor spent a year at the St Makar Armenian monastery in Cyprus, followed by seven years in Rodosto, before embarking on his last pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1626. He returned via Constantinople, where the St Nikołayos Armenian

Church had been converted into a mosque and the Rodosto Armenian church had been destroyed (1629). In place of it, he managed to acquire a Greek church for the community. Very little is known of him after 1629, save that he served as the prelate of Rodosto, where he died in September 1643 and was buried in the local Surb P'rkič' (Holy Saviour) church.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Secondary

- K.B. Bardakjian, *A reference guide to modern Armenian literature, 1500-1920*, Detroit MI, 2000, pp. 47, 52, 53, 61, 67-8, 70, 354
- A. Ut'ujyan, 'Grigor Daranałtsin M. Chamchyani Patmut'yan ałbyur', *Lraber* (formerly *Teltekagir*) 2 (1975) 81-9
- H. Perperean, 'Grigor Daranałtsii džuarimats mēk hatuatzin masin', *Sion* (1951) 273-4
- H. Perperean, 'Alii dašnagirē Grigor Daranałtsii "Žamanakagrut'ean" mēj', *Sion* (1951) 302-4, 330-1

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Žamanakagrut'iwn Grigor vardapeti Kamaheç'woy kam Daranałcwoy, 'Chronology of Grigor Daranałc'i'
Žamanakagrut'iwn, 'Chronology'

DATE 1634-40

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Grigor Daranałc'i's *Žamanakagrut'iwn* ('Chronology'), which essentially covers the years 1595-1634, was completed in Rodosto between 1634 and 1640. The only known manuscript copy is preserved in the collection of the St James Armenian Monastery in Jerusalem, J1069. It is written in a difficult mixture of late-middle and early-modern Armenian, with many Persian, Arabic and Turkish loan words and dialectal forms. The first and only edition was published in 1915 by Mesrop Nšanēan, and is lxxii + 667 pages long (including a supplement and indices). The logical flow and chronological sequence of the narrative are often interrupted by flashbacks, out of place recollections, events and various details.

Žamanakagrut'iwn is in two parts. The first, dealing with the 11th-16th centuries, can be thematically divided into two subsections, with the references concerning the first period of little or no value. The

second subsection contains Grigor's original contribution, bearing witness in the combined form of autobiography and travelogue to events that took place in the years 1595 to 1634. Here emerges 'a panorama of national-ecclesiastical history embracing the Ottoman Empire from Rodosto, to its easternmost provinces' (Bardakjian, *Reference guide*, p. 68). In the second part, generally speaking Grigor's attention focuses on Armenian religious institutions and hierarchies.

Grigor offers an abundance of detailed information about the fierce, unforgiving relations within the Armenian religious leadership, including in Ējmiacin, Constantinople and Jerusalem; the tense, and at times inimical, Armenian-Greek relations and rivalry over the rights and custodianship of the Holy Places; biographies and contributions of learned *vardapets*; the establishment of the Siwneac' Mec hermitage; the churches he renovated and helped build; the inequalities experienced daily between the lives of the lowly Christian subjects (mainly Armenians) and the higher-ranking Muslims (mainly Turks); the destruction of churches or their conversion to mosques; the tribulations and flight of Armenians from deadly Celali rebels and rebellions; the modes and scope of the relationship of the Armenian religious leadership with regional and central Ottoman authorities; Armenian martyrs; vignettes of certain sultans and so forth. Grigor generally writes descriptively, and makes no harsh pronouncements or polemical attacks on Islam.

SIGNIFICANCE

Grigor is the only extensive source of information on the situation of Armenians in the first half of the 16th century within the wider Ottoman context. His work is a record of the realities of life of the western Armenians, though he always mentions extensively the eastern Armenians. His frequent accounts of daily relations between the lower classes, the common folk, of 'Ottoman' society are unmatched, and his untutored, unstudied and at times naïve observations are a mirror of hard and harsh realities. The description above also indicates the significance of his work. Grigor and two of his younger contemporaries, Eremia Kōmurjian of Constantinople (K'ēōmiwrčean, 1637-95), who complements Grigor's work for the second half of the 17th century, and Arak'el Dawrizhets'i (d. 1670; English trans., G. Bournoutian, *Arak'el of Tabriz, Book of history*, Costa Mesa CA, 2010), who covers the years 1602-62, are the main chroniclers of Armenian life in the 17th century. They are three very different personalities but their works share a vast common ground and reflect certain changes in Armenian realities, such as the spiritual revival,

renewed interest in learning and a growing sense of national awareness. Similar themes were also echoed by a host of somewhat lesser historian-chroniclers, such as Martiros Łrimec'i (d. 1683), Simēon Lehac'i (c. 1584-1636?), Xač'atur Kafayec'i (c. 1592-1659?), Yakob Karnec'i (1618-?), Zak'aria Agulec'i (1630-91?) and Zak'aria K'anak'eřc'i (1627-99) (see Bardakjian, *Reference guide*).

PUBLICATIONS

MS Jerusalem, St James Armenian Monastery – J1069 (1634-40; includes later minor additions by the author)

M. Nšaneann (ed.), *Žamanakagrut'iwn Grigor vardapeti Kamařetswoy kam Daranałtswoy*, Jerusalem, 1915

STUDIES

Bardakjian, *Reference guide*, pp. 67-8, 354

Ut'ujyan, 'Grigor Daranałtsin M. Chamchyani Patmut'yan albyur', 81-9

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Perperean, 'Alii dašnagirē Grigor Daranałtsii "Žamanakagrut'ean" mēj'

Kevork B. Bardakjian

Şafi, Shah of Persia

DATE OF BIRTH	1610 or 1611
PLACE OF BIRTH	Unknown
DATE OF DEATH	12 May 1642
PLACE OF DEATH	Qazvin

BIOGRAPHY

Shah Şafi, whose given name was Sām Mīrzā, was born in 1610 or 1611, the son of Muḥammad Bāqir Mīrzā, Shah ‘Abbās I’s eldest son, and Dīlārām Khānum, his Georgian wife. Since his father had been killed in 1615 on the orders of Shah ‘Abbās, Sām Mīrzā grew up in the secluded environment of the royal harem. He learned to read and write in this period, yet does not seem to have been a quick student, and throughout his reign he showed little interest in learning.

Şafi was enthroned on 28 January 1629, nine days after his grandfather’s death, in a hastily arranged ceremony meant to forestall the claims of rival pretenders. Iran’s grandees, long held back in their ambitions by ‘Abbās I, took advantage of the accession of a young, inexperienced ruler to assert their independence, and it took Şafi five years to establish full control. The brutal purges this entailed left all his real and potential rivals and their offspring incapacitated – dead, blind or imprisoned.

Even after coming to real power, Şafi did not project the inspiring attitude of his grandfather, despite the able assistance he received from Mīrzā Taqī Khān, his main grand vizier. He only took part in two campaigns, an initial one into Mesopotamia, and a march against Ottoman-held Yerevan in 1635. He retained a reputation for gratuitous violence beyond the cruel beginnings of his reign, but Christian visitors, especially missionaries, on balance judged him positively for appearing more tolerant than ‘Abbās, mindful of what they called the latter’s ‘enslavement of the Armenians’. Europe’s rulers also continued to harbour hopes of the Safavid ruler’s eventual conversion, with the argument that Şafi’s forefathers had been Christian, that he wished to marry the daughter of the king of Georgia, and that most of his soldiers, being Georgians, were inclined to the Christian faith. The rumour even circulated that the shah was not circumcised and that he considered himself to be too old now to undergo the operation.

It is true that Iran's Armenians fared quite well under Şafī, and that New Julfa, the suburb where they were concentrated, continued to enjoy royal protection and grew in population and prosperity as a result. This allowed the rich merchants of the suburb to intercede with the court for the protection of their brethren elsewhere in Iran, leading to a lowering of imposts on various Armenian monasteries. The shah, moreover, is said to have allowed 7,000 people from the Caucasus who had been deported by 'Abbās I to return home. Beginning in this period, New Julfa-based Armenian artists are also likely to have been instrumental in the transmission and assimilation of European-Christian motifs in Safavid painting.

The shah also allowed European missionaries – the Augustinians, Carmelites and the newly arrived Capuchins – to continue their activities in his realm. The influence of the Carmelites was felt less through conversion, which always remained minimal, than through their various Iranian disciples. One of these, Muḥammad Paolo Zamān Farangī, was commissioned by the shah to learn Italian at the Carmelite convent, and became fluent enough to translate and read Christian texts to the shah. The Capuchins were initially shunned by the shah, but in 1634 they acquired a house in the capital. The papacy, which with the creation of the Propaganda Fide in 1622 became more active in overseas evangelism, remained interested in Iranian affairs. Members of the Italian Theatine Order arrived in Georgia in 1628 and established a fledgling mission in Gori. In 1632, Pope Urban VIII appointed the Spanish Father Juan Tadeo as Bishop of Isfahan. Juan Tadeo died a year later, on his way to Isfahan, and for unknown reasons no successor was appointed until 60 years later. In 1640, Bishop Barnard of Baghdad arrived in Isfahan with a request to have a church built in the Safavid capital, though he was only allowed to purchase a house. The mostly Gregorian Armenians, meanwhile, continued to agitate against the attempts of the missionaries to bring them under papal authority.

Under Şafī, who was far less inclined to entertain relations with far-off powers for uncertain gain than his grandfather had been, Iran's diplomatic contacts with the Christian West markedly declined. Shortly after his accession, he sent messages to Emperor Ferdinand II of Austria and the Estates General of the Dutch Republic, expressing a desire to intensify relations. In late 1632, he renewed the contract with the Dutch East India Company that 'Abbās I had granted in 1623 (Heeres, *Corpus Diplomaticum*, pp. 254-6). At various unidentified times he sent similar

messages to Charles I of England, promising cordial treatment of English subjects in his realm. The only serious embassy arriving from Europe in his reign was the one sent by the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, Frederick III, in 1633 and recorded by Adam Olearius, which was purely commercial in nature.

This relative lack of contact with Christian Europe under Şafī was mostly a function of the disappointment with Christian action against the Ottomans that was already visible in the last decade of ‘Abbās I’s reign, and is reflected in a changed strategy vis-à-vis Iran’s main enemies. The definitive change in Safavid foreign policy came in 1639, when Şafī, having lost Mesopotamia, concluded the so-called Peace of Zuhāb (or Qasr-e Shirin) with the Ottomans, ending almost a century and a half of intermittent warfare with Istanbul. Zuhāb lessened the need for the Safavids to find allies against the Turks and thus reduced the importance of maintaining diplomatic relations with Christian powers and, with that, the role of European diplomats including missionaries in Iran.

After concluding peace with the Ottomans, Şafī became increasingly engaged in pleasurable activities. He died on 12 May 1642, in Qazvin, on his way to recapture Qandahar, exhausted from drinking. He was succeeded by his son, Shah ‘Abbās II.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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J.E. Heeres, *Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlandico-Indicum*, vol. 1, 1596-1650 (*Bijdragen tot de taal-, land en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 57), The Hague, 1907

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 R. Matthee, *The politics of trade in Safavid Iran. Silk for silver, 1600-1730*, Cambridge, 1999
 H.R. Roemer, *Persien auf dem Weg in die Neuzeit. Iranische Geschichte von 1350-1750*, Beirut, 1989; repr. 2003; condensed version in Roemer, ‘The Safavid period’, in *The Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 6, 1986, 189-350
 R. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge, 1980

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Correspondence with European states; documents
about Armenians and Catholics

DATE 1629-42

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Add Language

DESCRIPTION

The correspondence conducted by Shah Şafī with Christian European rulers is far less voluminous than that of his grandfather and predecessor, Shah ‘Abbās I. This reflects Iran’s political retrenchment during his reign, which culminated in the Peace of Zuhāb with the Ottomans in 1639. Shortly after coming to power in early 1629, Şafī sent a letter to the Doge of Venice, in which he expressed a desire for the missionary presence in his realm to continue and also discussed the issue of silk. Silk remained the main topic of subsequent letters to the Serenissima, written in 1635-6 (Kāvūsī ‘Irāqī, *Asnād*, pp. 53-5; Fekete, *Einführung*, pp. 499-511), and it was the main concern in the renewal of the rights and privileges of the English East India Company and its rival, the Dutch East India Company, in 1629 and 1631, respectively (Heeres, *Corpus diplomaticum*, pp. 254-6). Commerce and a reaffirmation of friendship were at the heart of the letters the shah sent to the States General of Holland and to Emperor Ferdinand II of Austria in 1629 (Fekete, *Einführung*, pp. 493-7; Navā’ī, *Asnād u mukātabāt*, pp. 73-4). Trade, most notably the trade in silk, was also the rationale for the embassy that visited Iran on behalf of Duke Frederick III of Holstein-Gottorp in 1637-8 (Olearius, *Vermehrte neue Beschreibung*; see letters from Şafī to Frederick in Vahman, ‘Three Safavid documents’, pp. 181-3, 187-8). Beginning with the message King Charles I sent to Iran expressing his condolences on the death of ‘Abbās I and his congratulations to his successor, a regular correspondence developed with the English Crown between 1629 and 1635. These letters mostly contain matters pertaining to the silk trade, promises by Şafī of cordial treatment for English subjects in his realm, expressions of mutual respect, and requests for the dispatch of various specialists, clockmakers, diamond cutters and gunners to Iran (Fragner, *Repertorium*, p. 120; Navā’ī, *Asnād u mukātabāt*, pp. 71-2; Ferrier, ‘Terms and conditions’, pp. 63-4). In 1635, Şafī sent an envoy to Poland; the response came in 1637, with a Polish envoy returning to Iran (Chick, *Chronicle*, p. 315).

The first *farmāns* concerning Christian missionaries during Şafī’s reign date from 19 March 1629, a mere month after his accession. They

confirm freedom of movement for the Carmelites and assure them of the tenure of the property granted to them by 'Abbās I (Chick, *Chronicle*, pp. 310, 1032). Not long afterwards, Şafī wrote a letter in response to a long-delayed missive that Pope Urban VIII had sent to 'Abbās I in 1624 (Chick, *Chronicle*, p. 309). A year later, in early 1630, Şafī wrote a letter to Louis XIII confirming the permission his grandfather had granted the Capuchins to operate on Iranian soil. It took a decade for Louis to respond, on 29 April 1640 (Richard, 'Le catholicisme', p. 351). The only known royal decree (*hukm*) concerning this same issue preserved in Persian dates from 22 June 1637 (28 Muḥarram 1047), eight years after the shah had come to power. It confirms the privileges of the Carmelites in Isfahan (Richard, 'Les privilèges', pp. 171, 173).

French missionaries, most notably the Capuchin Gabriel de Provins, wrote or translated religious and moral tracts into Persian as part of their proselytising efforts. Some of Gabriel de Provins's works, including a dictionary of spoken Persian and a catechism, seem to have been lost (Richard, 'Le catholicisme', pp. 334-6, 353).

SIGNIFICANCE

Upon his accession, Shah Şafī renewed the existing rights and privileges enjoyed by the Dutch and English East India Companies just as he confirmed permission for Christian missionaries to operate in his realm. His legendary cruelty did not extend to his treatment of Iran's indigenous Armenians, who seem to have fared better under him than in the last years of 'Abbās I's reign. His personal disposition was distinctly less expansive and convivial than that of his grandfather, however, resulting in a hands-off approach to daily politics and a lack of curiosity about European visitors and their beliefs. This was expressed in a foreign policy more insular than his grandfather's. The most consequential decision of his reign, induced, it seems, by a growing pacifism at the royal court advocated by the women and eunuchs of the harem, was the conclusion of the Peace of Zuhāb. With the neutralisation of the Ottoman threat that this agreement brought about, the need to forge alliances with Christian powers and to solicit their military assistance lost its urgency. Under later shahs, various European missions would still come to Iran with the intent of gauging Safavid interest in joining an anti-Ottoman alliance, but Iran's rulers no longer showed any serious interest in such cooperation.

PUBLICATIONS

Digitalised copies of Şafī's letters and *farmāns* can be found in the Iranian Studies Division at the Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, Philipps-Universität Marburg, <http://www.asnad.org/en/>.

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Rudolph Mathee

Paolo Piromalli

Paulus Piromallus, Pülūs Pīrmāl

DATE OF BIRTH 1591
PLACE OF BIRTH Siderno, Italy
DATE OF DEATH 1667
PLACE OF DEATH Bisignano, Italy

BIOGRAPHY

Paolo Piromalli (1591-1667) came from Siderno in Calabria. He joined the Order of Preachers (Dominicans) in around 1610, and spent the following two decades in Soriano Calabro, Naples, and Rome. In 1631, he was sent by the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide to the mission in Persia and Greater Armenia, for the purpose of bringing the Armenian Orthodox population into union with Rome. As a missionary he was heavily engaged in religious debates with clergymen of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

Between 1644 and 1647, Piromalli is said to have been ‘apostolic envoy’ to the shah. After being expelled from Armenia in 1647 as a consequence of his anti-Orthodox activities, he lived in Isfahan (New Julfa) until 1652. There he participated in disputations with Twelver Shī‘ī representatives. Back in Rome in 1655, he was elected archbishop of the Armenian Catholic diocese of Nakhichevan and returned to Armenia. In 1664, the Pope transferred him to the diocese of Bisignano in Calabria, where he died three years later.

Piromalli composed several vindications of Catholic belief in Armenian and Latin (Chick, *Chronicle of the Carmelites*, vol. 1, p. 381, n. 1; van den Oudenrijn, ‘De operibus’; van den Oudenrijn, ‘Bishops and archbishops’). In addition, a letter by the Discalced Carmelite Barnabas, dated October 1652, mentions two separate Persian treatises ‘on the Trinity’ and ‘on the Incarnation’ (Chick, *Chronicle of the Carmelites*, vol. 1, p. 377, n. 7). One or both might be identical with what appears to be the only extant tract in Persian composed by Piromalli, entitled *Risāla dar bayān-i i’tiqādāt va maḏhab-i kalimat Allāh-i ‘īsavī* (‘A treatise in explanation of the beliefs and the doctrine of Jesus, the Word of God’), which is described below.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Risāla dar bayān-i i'tiqādāt va mazhab-i kalimat
Allāh-i ʿīṣavī*, 'A treatise in explanation of the
beliefs and the doctrine of Jesus, the Word of God'

DATE Between January and July 1651

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

In 1647, Piromalli participated in a religious debate with Khalifa Sulṭān (1592/3-1654) in Isfahan. Khalifa Sulṭān was the influential grand vizier

under Shah ‘Abbās I (r. 1588-1629), then for a short time under Shah Şafi (r. 1629-42), and again under Shah ‘Abbās II (r. 1642-66). In what appears to be the only extant Persian copy of the *Risāla*, MS Vatican – Vat.pers.49 (references that follow are to this MS unless otherwise stated), Piromalli relates that Khalifa Sulţān received him at court and ‘interrogated this servant by command of his most exalted Royal Highness about the Christian doctrine and our belief regarding Jesus’ (fol. 3r, ll. 8-10). Not having a good knowledge of Persian and Turkish at the time, Piromalli depended on an interpreter. Piromalli writes to the Propaganda Fide that he spent the following three years in a caravanserai in Isfahan – a local Dominican convent was not founded until 1684 (Eszer, ‘Sebastianus Knab’, p. 273) – to study Persian and to compose in that language ‘a treatise on the Triune God and the Messiah in response to the request of the shah’ (MS Rome, Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples – Scrittura originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali [SOCG] 292, fol. 238r, ll. 11-16). This vindication of Christian belief can be identified with Piromalli’s *Risāla dar bayān-i i’tiqādāt va mazhab-i kalimat Allāh-i ‘īsavī*, dedicated to Shah ‘Abbās II (fol. 1b). It was completed by the missionary ‘at the age of sixty’ (fol. 3v, ll. 1-2), certainly before 19 July 1651.

The date for the completed tract is suggested by two letters to the Propaganda Fide, dated 19 and 20 July 1651, in which Piromalli states that he had presented a copy of his *Risāla* to Khalifa Sulţān (MS Rome, Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples – SOCG 292, fols 238r, ll. 21-2; 239r, ll. 3-5). In the letter dated 20 July, Piromalli specifies that it was composed in Persian (‘l’opusco[lo] che hò fatto in persiano’). In addition, he offers his apologies for not yet having made a Latin translation (‘per non ha[ver] registrato il latino’) for the use of the Propaganda Fide (MS Rome, Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples – SOCG 292, fol. 239r, ll. 18-19). This suggests that the extant Latin versions of the tract, as they are preserved in MS Vatican – Borg. arm. 40/II/1 and printed under the title *Theantropologeia seu oeconomia Salvatoris nostri* in Vienna in 1656, were composed after July 1651. (Other Latin titles are *De fide catholica ad regem Persarum*; *Opusculum ad regem Persarum de fide evangelii in lingua persica*.) The assumption that the *Risāla* was originally authored in Latin and later translated into Persian is not justified. (Richard, *Raphaël du Mans*, vol. 2, pp. 245-6, n. 109; Richard seems to have been unaware of the above-mentioned passages in the letter dated 20 July.)

MS Vatican – Vat. pers. 49 covers 114 folios and is divided into two parts (*qism*), the first on the doctrine of the Trinity and the second

on Christology. Their headings read as follows (fols 2v, l. 14 – 3r, l. 2): (1) *Darbāra-yi haḍrat-i ʿĪsā az ḥaythīyat-i ān ki kalimat Allāh ast* ('On the Lord Jesus with regard to him being the Word of God'; fols 4r-50r); and (2) *Darbāra-yi hamān haḍrat az ḥaythīyat-i ān ki Masīḥ ast* ('On the same Lord with regard to him being the Messiah'; fols 50r-114r). In the printed Latin edition (Piromalli, *Theantropologeia*, pp. 4, 114-15), the headings of the two parts (*tractatus*) appear as follows: (1) *De Jesu in quantum est verbum Dei* or *De Deo trino et uno, et de eo quod Jesus est verbum Dei* (pp. 5-114); and, (2) *De Jesu in quantum est Messias* (pp. 115-246). While the arrangement of chapters and sections in part one of the Latin text is similar to MS Vatican – pers. 49, part two is structured differently from the Persian codex by introducing a large number of additional subsections (see the table of contents in the edition, following the *imprimatur* [unpaginated]). The translation techniques and possible variations/insertions in the Latin version remain to be examined in detail.

In what follows is offered a description of the structure of the two parts of the *Risāla*, as extant in MS Vatican – Pers. 49, with references given to the parallel passages in Piromalli's *Theantropologeia* in square brackets. Following the introduction (fols 1v-4r), Part 1 is divided into the following two chapters (*maṭlab*): (1) *Dar bayān-i maʿrifat-i Khudā-yi taʿālā* ('In explanation of the apprehension of the Most High God'; fols 4r-9r [= pp. 5-15]); and (2) *Dar ithbāt-i dhāt-i ulūhiyyat va dhāt-i insāniyyat-i haḍrat-i ʿĪsā Masīḥ* ('In proof of the essence of the divine nature and the essence of the human nature of the Lord Jesus the Messiah'; fols 9r-49v [= pp. 16-114; extends from chapter 1.2 to the end of the first *tractatus*]). Chapter 2 is further structured in the following sections (*faṣl*): (2.1) *Az haḍrat-i ʿĪsā Masīḥ sukhānī-yi chand* ('Some words of the Lord Jesus the Messiah'; fols 9r-12r [= pp. 16-22; appears as chapter 1.2]); (2.2; appears as section 3) *Dar ithbāt-i dhāt-i ulūhiyyat-i khudāvand-i ʿĪsā Masīḥ* ('In proof of the essence of the divine nature of the Lord Jesus the Messiah'; fols 12r-17r [= pp. 22-32; appears as chapter 2]); (2.3; appears as section 4) *Dar ithbāt-i dhāt-i vājib al-vujūd* ('In proof of the essence of the Necessary Existent'; fols 17r-21r [= pp. 32-41; appears as chapter 3]); and, (2.4; appears as section 5) *Dar iʿtiqādāt-i mā darbāra-yi ruh al-quḍus* ('On our beliefs regarding the Holy Spirit'; fols 21r-49v [= pp. 41-114; appears as chapter 4]).

Part two is divided into the following three sections (*faṣl*), all of which are unnumbered in the manuscript: *Masīḥ chi maʿnā dārad* ('On the meaning of the word Messiah'; fols 49v-78r [= pp. 115-73]); *Dar bayān-i ān ki Masīḥ firūd āmad dar pastī va pidarān-i muqaddas rā khalāṣ kard* ('In

explanation of the Messiah who descended to the nether world and freed the holy Fathers'; fols 78r-82r [= pp. 173-82]); *Dar bayān-i ān ki chūn haqrat-i 'Īsā dar zamānī tavallud yāfta ki az qabīla-yi Yahūdā, na pādishāh būd va na sarvar, pas Masīḥ ast* ('In explanation of the Lord Jesus who was born in a time when there was neither a king nor a ruler in the Jewish tribe, therefore he is the Messiah'; fols 82r-110r [= pp. 182-241]). These sections are followed by the last chapter (*ākhir-i maṭlab*), whose heading reads: *Sukhanī-yi chand bi-khilāf-i [imān-i 'Īsāviyān]* ('Some words opposing [Christian belief]'; Piromalli frequently uses the term *'Īsāviyān* to refer to the Christians, not to the Jesuits; fols 110r-113v [= pp. 241-6]). The tract concludes with a Persian translation of the Apostles' Creed (fols 113v-114r [= p. 246]).

Following the Thomistic tradition of natural theology, Piromalli's argument in his vindication of Christianity is based on 'natural reason' (*ḥikmat-i ṭabī'yya*) and 'divine revelation' (*ilhāmāt-i rabbānī*) to prove the veracity of the doctrines of the divine and human natures of Jesus, as well as of the Trinity. Since he maintains that the biblical prophets announce God's word 'in every way exempted from error' (fol. 7r:5-6), Piromalli quotes (and paraphrases) extensively from the scriptures in a Persian translation of the Vulgate, which still remains to be identified. As a rule, he does not explicitly attack Muslim positions but focuses on explaining the Christian doctrines to the Shī'ī reader. By drawing on the titles of Jesus as the 'Word of God' and the 'Messiah', for instance, he reflects not only Christian theological concepts, but also addresses the Qur'anic tradition (Q 3:45, 4:171). The literary sources he uses and the possible dependencies between his various works composed in Armenian, Latin, and Persian still remain to be researched.

SIGNIFICANCE

In October 1652, the Discalced Carmelite Barnabas relates that Piromalli's tract 'caused much commotion among their learned men, the 'Ulama' [sic] (...) (Chick, *Chronicle of the Carmelites*, vol. 1, p. 377, n. 7). No Shī'ī polemical work directed against Piromalli has so far been identified, although a refutation of Christianity composed in Persian by the Grand Vizier Khalifa Sulṭān still remains to be examined. This *Radd 'alā l-Naṣārā* ('A refutation of the Christians') is extant in what appears to be a unique copy in an 18th-century collective codex, which was formerly preserved under the shelf mark 597 in the 'Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'ī Library in the Faculty of Medicine of Shīrāz University (R. Ja'fariyān (ed.), *Mirāth-i Islāmī-yi Īrān*, Qom, 1373-/1994-, vol. 1, p. 413; *Mu'jam al-turāth*

al-kalāmī, ed. Mu'assasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, Qom, 1423/[2002-3], vol. 3, pp. 406-7, no. 6725). Since this library is now closed, the present location of the codex is unknown.

PUBLICATIONS

MS Vatican – Pers. 49, 114 fols (undated, presumably copied in the mid-17th century; see E. Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican City, 1948, pp. 76-7; Rossi misdates the work to the reign of Shah 'Abbās I instead of Shah 'Abbās II)

MS Vatican – Borg. arm. 40/II/1, fols 1r-158v (undated, copied before 1667; contains a Latin version of the work in the author's hand; see E. Tisserant and F. Cornwallis Conybeare, *Codices armeni Bybliothecae vaticanae Borgiani, Vaticani, Barberiniani, Chisiani*, Rome, 1927, p. 66)

For manuscripts that contain Armenian translations/or adaptations of the work made after Piromalli's death, see van den Oudenrijn, 'De operibus', pp. 294-5, no. 2; van den Oudenrijn, 'Bishops and archbishops', p. 178.

P. Piromalli, *Theantropologeia seu oeconomia Salvatoris nostri, explicans ex solis prophetis ad instantiam regis Persarum petitis ineffabile, adorandumque[ue] incarnationis sacramentum*, Vienna, 1656 (with a dedication to Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655-67), dated 21 September 1656); Polem. 2132 (digitalised version available through *Münchener Digitalisierungszentrum*)

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F. Richard, 'Catholicisme et Islam chiite au "grand siècle". Autour de quelques documents concernant les missions catholiques au XVII^{ème} siècle', *Euntes docete. Commentaria urbaniana* 33 (1980) 339-403, pp. 378-9

Eszer, 'Sebastianus Knab', pp. 221-34

van den Oudenrijn, 'De operibus'

Chick, *Chronicle of the Carmelites*

van den Oudenrijn, 'Bishops and archbishops'

Rusdaniani

'The story of Queen Rusudan'

DATE Uncertain; possibly mid 17th century

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

Rusdaniani ('The story of Queen Rusudan') is a lengthy prose work, extant in five known manuscripts. It covers over 800 pages in the first edition by I. Abuladze and I. Gigineishvili, published in 1957. *Rusdaniani* describes the life of Rusudan, the queen of an imaginary country, Iamaneti, and daughter of Aptvimiane, a nobleman 'on a par with the kings', living 'on the border of the East and West'. The name of the main character, Rusudan, appears to be a reference to the historical 13th-century Queen Rusudan, who waited in vain for her son Davit to return from Mongol captivity (Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, p. 111).

The identity of the author is unknown, but he appears to be an educated person, employing rich, varied sources such as the Bible, Greek mythology and Ferdowsi's epic poem *Shāhnāma*, along with Old Georgian literary works and historical chronicles. He acknowledges that he has 'drawn freely from Arabic and Persian sources for the twelve stories that form its central core' (Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, p. 111), many of these are familiar from the *Arabian nights*.

The exact date of writing of *Rusdaniani*, which enjoyed popularity in medieval Georgia, is not known. It has been variously dated by different scholars: D. Chubinashvili and A. Khakhanashvili date it to the 13th century, while M.-F. Brosset argues that it originates from the 14th century. E. Takaishvili dates it to the 16th century and N. Marr, K. Kekelidze and A. Baramidze believe that it was written in the second part of the 16th century. Having studied all these opinions, I. Gigineishvili shows that *Rusdaniani* may have been written before the 17th century. At present, it can be assumed that it was written in the 16th or 17th century.

The stories revolve around the lives of Rusudan and her family. Her father Aptvimiane was blessed with 12 sons. Rusudan is married to Manuchar, Prince of the Iamaneti kingdom, whose ancestors had lost the throne and died out. Manuchar's mother died giving birth to her son, who was brought up in the family of a nobleman, and when he was

young he had to serve the new rulers of Iamaneti. Manuchar and Rusudan have a son and a daughter, but then he is summoned to the royal court, where he performs a number of heroic deeds. Following suggestions made by Manuchar's enemies, the king desires to marry his beautiful daughter, Roden (in some manuscripts this name appears as Rodam), and Manuchar is obliged to consent. Soon, Manuchar's son, Phridon, is also summoned to the court.

Rusudan, who has had to live without her husband for many years, and then loses both her children, gives in to despair but is consoled by her parents and brothers. Each of her brothers tells her a story, which make up the 12 chapters of *Rusudaniani*. The frame-narrative, recounting Rusudan's situation and her brothers' act of story-telling, develops and, as 'each brother tells his story, he also commiserates with their sister, and the reader sees the gap widening between the tragic frame and happy fairy story core' (Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, p. 112).

The brothers tell their stories in order of their age, starting with the oldest brother, who chooses 'The story of King Zoster son of Zosime, and Zavi his son'. Then follow: 'The story of Tomeran king of Khataeti, and Jimshed his son'; 'The story of a yellow town and Noshrevan the king, and Khosro his son'; 'The story of Karaman king of Urum, and Kaisar his son, pleasant to hear, called Kaisariani'; 'The story of Nodar king of beggars, and Gvarjasp his son'; 'The story of King Ibream'; 'The story of Kosta, king of Greece'; 'The story of Amirkasum'; 'The story of Gostam, king of Dushmankamanak'; 'The story of Barnaos, king of Sham'; 'The story of the king of the Khazars and three brothers, sons of king of the Delam'; and finally, the youngest brother retells 'The story of the chatterer and the speaker'. All these stories are united by an underlying theme: that of a hero who finally manages to overcome all the hurdles and challenges posed by life.

After two years, Phridon returns to his homeland, to the joy of his mother, and they are able to live several years together. However, Rusudan, consumed by her overwhelming sorrow, dies an untimely death. When Manuchar hears of the death of his beloved wife, he storms into the royal court prepared to murder the king, who is responsible for Manuchar's lengthy separation from Rusudan. Manuchar is arrested, but then pardoned, judged to be insane with grief and given permission to return to his homeland.

The plot of *Rusudaniani* is unique and original although nearly all the 12 stories embedded into the framework of the work have been borrowed

and modified by the author. They belong mainly to the heroic epic tradition and reveal an independent nature. In addition, although *Rusudaniani* features a rich vocabulary it is nevertheless written in a simple language, with an occasional tendency to pomposity.

The Georgian heroic epic does not commonly refer to religious confession, but *Rusudaniani* is an exception in this respect. The author expresses direct sympathy for Christianity, emphasising the Christian identity of certain heroes. In one episode, Rusudan is encouraged by the example of St Eustathios, who suffered and endured pain and hardships for the love of Christ (ed. Abuladze and Gigineishvili, p. 18). In another episode the hero fully relies on the icon of the Holy Virgin: 'I trusted her with my body and soul, I did not want any other healer or rescuer' (p. 439). Losing the throne of the kingdom of Iamaneti is explained as the consequence of Manuchar's ancestors renouncing the true faith: '[They] renounced the genuine God and became the servants of idols. Thus they were forgotten by God' and 'due to their loss of faith in God' their kingdom was claimed by others. Unlike their ancestors, Manuchar's mother was 'raised in the faith in Christ' (p. 3). The work reveals the contradiction between Christians and pagans, with lower moral standards expected of the latter: Rusudan was begged by her parents not to disregard the Christian code or behave in a way that even a pagan would not (p. 16).

Although neither Islam nor any Muslim is mentioned in the text, it is still clear that the author is referring to Muslims when he mentions pagans and heathens. Manuchar is reluctant to leave for the royal court as, 'being a Christian, he would be pressed to become a pagan' (p. 9). Manuchar's lord is especially criticised severely as a pagan, heathen, lacking in faith and 'tormentor of the Christians' (pp. 12, 14, 15).

SIGNIFICANCE

It is worth mentioning that *Rusudaniani* was written during a troubled period in Georgian history, which becomes apparent through the work. The harsh fate experienced by the kingdom of Iamaneti displays direct parallels with Georgia when its kings were obliged to obey the orders of the rulers of Iran and Ottoman Turkey. Moreover, sending children to the court of foreign countries was also an established practice for Georgian monarchs of the time.

Rusudaniani was written in the context of the relationship between Georgia and Persia, and the royal court in the story is clearly a reference to the court of the Persian shah, with some of the terminology drawn from Safavid Persia (Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, p. 111). During the

Safavid period, many rulers took Georgian wives, adding weight to the allusions that would be understood by the reader. It provides valuable material regarding the ceremonies and rituals practised at the royal court, feasts, fights and hunting scenes, towns, trade and crafts. It also describes in rich terminology the political and social life of the period, as well as various weapons, horse harness, and numismatic units.

Depicting engaging and heroic events, *Rusudaniani* reminded contemporary Georgian society of their devotion to Christianity and their homeland, accustomed as they were to being forcibly converted to Islam.

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Aimé Chézaud

DATE OF BIRTH 1604
PLACE OF BIRTH Lyon
DATE OF DEATH 1664
PLACE OF DEATH Isfahan

BIOGRAPHY

Credited as one of the founders of the Jesuit convent in Isfahan, Aimé Chézaud played an important role in the development of theological controversies between Christians and Muslims in mid-17th century Iran. He began his religious training as a novice in Avignon in 1627 and was ordained as a Jesuit in Marseilles in 1637 (Richard, 'Le Père Aimé Chézaud', p. 10). He was entrusted to the Jesuit mission in Aleppo in 1639, where he acquired advanced linguistic skills in Arabic and Armenian. He was then sent to Iran with the cohort of François Rigordi (d. 1679), who was successful in obtaining a royal edict from Shah 'Abbās II (r. 1642-66) allowing the Jesuits to establish themselves in the district of New Julfa, home of the Armenian Orthodox community. Missionary efforts to draw Armenians closer to the Church of Rome resulted in hostilities. As a result, the Armenian Patriarch David of Julfa (Dawit Julayeci) plotted against the Jesuits, whom he accused of trying to convert Muslims. The missionaries were then barred from building new houses of worship and from residing in New Julfa, a measure that the long-established Capuchins blamed on Jesuit imprudence. After this incident, Chézaud was instrumental in making representations on behalf of the Jesuit mission and securing new funds from Europe, mostly through the intermediary diplomatic efforts of his envoy, Bernhard Diestel (d. 1660) (Matthee, 'Poverty and perseverance', pp. 468-71).

Chézaud is said to have had privileged access to the Safavid court and to have thoroughly defended the articles of the Catholic faith in the presence of the grand vizir (*I'timād al-dawla*) Muḥammad Beg in Isfahan (Wilson, 'History of the mission', p. 689). His theological book defending Christianity was allegedly well received at the court, where he was allowed to lecture in the presence of distinguished '*ulamā*'. At some point he was invited to debate with a rabbi who had converted to Islam, with whom he discussed the hidden references (or lack thereof)

to Muḥammad in the Old Testament (Wilson, 'History of the mission', p. 690). Chézaud's debates had little success in converting Muslims, but according to one source they helped mobilise a sizeable group of Orthodox Armenians, who began to question their own bishops and to call for them to join the Church of Rome. The same source states, however, that in these debates Chézaud never emphasised the disagreements between Catholics and Orthodox, which earned him the gratitude of the Armenian patriarch. The grand vizir allegedly confessed to him his disdain for Armenians and his intention to persecute them and to forcibly convert them, as had been the case with the Jews. On another occasion, he was summoned to the court at the request of an Armenian who refused to convert to Islam unless Chézaud failed to answer some theological objections from the *'ulamā'*. As Chézaud emerged victorious from the debate, the Armenian was freed and the Jesuits had their permission to build their residence in Isfahan ratified (Wilson, 'History of the mission').

Relatively few works by Chézaud survive. Among his early works is a treatise in defence of Catholic dogma against the Armenian Orthodox entitled *Şihhat 'aqā'id al-kanīsat al-Rūmaniyya* ('The veracity of the beliefs of the Church of Rome') and an Italian-Arabic dictionary (Richard, 'Le Père Aimé Chézaud', p. 10; Graf, 'Aimé Chézaud', pp. 218-19). His correspondence also makes reference to a Persian dictionary he compiled, but if it was ever completed it is no longer extant. (Richard, 'Le Père Aimé Chézaud', p. 12). As for the sources that were available to him, surviving manuscripts from the Jesuit mission to Isfahan suggest that Chézaud became acquainted with some treatises of Islamic jurisprudence and with Persian *belles-lettres*. For instance, there is a manuscript of Sa'dī's *Gulistān* containing Chézaud's glosses, a Latin Index, and his signature in the *ex-libris* as Pādirī Ḥabīb, an Arabised/Persianised rendition of his name. His handwriting also appears in the annotations of copies of Khwāndamīr's (d. 1534 or 1535) famous chronicle, *Ḥabīb al-siyar* and of Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Āmilī's (d. 1621) legal compendium *Jāmi'-i 'Abbāsī* (Richard, 'Le Père Aimé Chézaud', pp. 11-12).

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Mash-i mişqal-i şafā-yi ā'ina-yi haqq-numā,
'Wiping the burnisher of purity of the
truth-reflecting mirror'

DATE 1656

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

Chézaud's most important work is a recently-discovered treatise defending Christianity against Islam, entitled *Mash-i mişqal-i şafā-yi ā'ina-yi haqq-numā* ('Wiping the burnisher of purity of the truth-reflecting mirror'). This work became Chézaud's contribution to a long cycle of refutations and counter-refutations that can be traced back to the beginning of the 17th century in India. On his arrival in Isfahan, Chézaud first stayed at the Carmelite convent, and it is likely that there he became acquainted with the *Miṣqāl-i şafā* of Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-Ābidīn al-ʿAlawī al-Āmilī (d. 1650). This work was conceived as a refutation of the *Ā'ina-yi haqq-numā* ('The truth-reflecting mirror'), a polemic written by the Spanish Jesuit Jerome Xavier (d. 1617) at the Mughal court as an attack on Muslim beliefs. Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī's work was translated in Rome and refuted independently by Bonaventura Malvasia (d. 1666) and Filippo Guadagnoli (d. 1656), though Guadagnoli's *Apologia pro Christiana religione* was more influential. Chézaud's work was both a response to the *Miṣqāl-i şafā* and, to a certain extent, an abridged Persian version of Guadagnoli's *Apologia*.

The first volume of the *Mash-i mişqāl-i şafā* was completed on 21 March 1656, and the second on 25 December that same year, although there are some indications that Chézaud may have added some corrections to it afterwards (Richard, 'Le Père Aimé Chézaud', pp. 14-15). Throughout the work, Chézaud argues that Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī had not read Jerome

Xavier's work directly, and devoted a substantial part of his argument to referring back to the latter as a strategy of refutation. For instance, in the introduction to the *Maṣḥ-i miṣqāl-i ṣafā*, he writes:

It was a surprise for me [to see] that this eloquent and honourable Mullā [ʿAlawī], from what these two books of his [the *Miṣqāl-i ṣafā* and the *Lavāmiʿ-i rabbānī*] [show], clearly did not read the *Āʿina-yi ḥaqq-numā*, but rather chose to read a summary of it.... If he had seen, read, and understood [a series of references from Jerome Xavier's text], he would have included them in his refutation. But since he wrote two books claiming that [other] Divine religions have corrupted the *sharʿa*, and continued to [claim] this after reading the Truth [revealed by] the *Āʿina-yi ḥaqq-numā*, it became a duty for me to write a treatise [*risālat*] or a short piece [*maqālat*] about this Truth [...] (Jaʿfariyān and Ṣādighī, 'Pādīrī Aimé Chézaud', pp. 50-1).

The work's references to Aristotle and to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī (d. 1274) reveal a profound knowledge of Greek philosophy and medieval Islamic science. Chézaud was also sufficiently acquainted with the Qur'an to be able to cite it. He alluded to the miracles of St Francis Xavier (d. 1552) in India, perhaps with the aim of legitimising Jerome Xavier, who was a nephew of the saint. There is evidence that Chézaud used Theodor Bibliander's (d. 1564) Latin Bible translation, as well as some Arabic Bible translations, which he probably obtained from the Augustinians. It is not clear, however, whether he had any knowledge of Hebrew from which he could have drawn for his references to the Old Testament. This point is important given that most of Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī's polemic is based on the Old Testament. In contrast, Francis Richard has observed that the latter could have worked with a rabbi, whose annotations in Judeo-Persian appear on the margins of a Latin Bible gifted to Shah ʿAbbās I (r. 1588-1629) by Cardinal Bernard Maciejowski (d. 1608) (Richard, 'Le Père Aimé Chézaud', p. 16).

SIGNIFICANCE

The *Maṣḥ-i miṣqāl-i ṣafā* sought to make Persian readers acquainted with Guadagnoli's arguments, which were only available in Latin and Arabic, as well as to raise some objections of its own against al-ʿAlawī. One of its manuscripts contains the author's dedication to Mīrzā Ḥasīb, the son of Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī, although very little is known about how he received it. In general, the book is likely to have enjoyed a very limited circulation and readership (Richard, 'Le Père Aimé Chézaud', pp. 13-14).

As far as we know, Chézaud's *Maṣḥ-i miṣqāl-i ṣafā* was never directly refuted. However, it is possible that it was used by later polemicists,

among them the Portuguese Augustinian renegade ‘Alī-qulī Jadīd al-Islām (d. c. 1722) in his *Sayf al-mū’minīn fī qitāl al-mushrikīn* (‘The sword of the faithful to fight the idolaters’), which engages Guadagnoli (Richard, ‘Le Père Aimé Chézaud’, pp. 15-17).

PUBLICATIONS

For details of the three MSS of the work, see Richard, ‘Le Père Aimé Chézaud’, p. 16:

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Richard, ‘Le Père Aimé Chézaud’ (most comprehensive and important study)

Alberto Tiburcio

P'ešangi Xit'arišvili

P'ešangi P'ašvibertqaže, P'ešangi Pashvibertqaže

DATE OF BIRTH	Beginning of the 17 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Gori, Georgia
DATE OF DEATH	After 1681
PLACE OF DEATH	Unknown

BIOGRAPHY

P'ešangi Xit'arišvili was born at the start of the 17th century in the town of Gori. His father, Amira, who was a successful merchant, went by the sobriquet P'ašvibertqa, and P'ašvibertqaže (son of P'ašvibertqa) became P'ešangi's surname. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the ancient trading city of Gori was famous as a centre of record-keepers. P'ešangi Xit'arišvili was educated at the Gori Specialist School for Record-Keeping, where he studied writing systems and foreign languages alongside theology, literature and history.

In the 1640s, during a long period of confrontations between King T'eimuraz I and the Kartlian *vali* Rostom in Kartli (eastern Georgia), P'ešangi Xit'arišvili moved from Kartli to Imereti (western Georgia), where he became record-keeper and court official to King Alek'sandre III (r. 1639-60), settling in the merchants' district of the village of Č'xari. He played an important role in foreign relations: from 1650 to 1652, he facilitated discussions between Alek'sandre and former King T'eimuraz I of Kakhet'i (r. 1606-48) and Russian ambassadors. He provided the ambassadors with an analysis of the geographical and economic context of the Imeretian court as well as statistical information about Imereti's princes, noblemen, riflemen and the population as a whole. In the process, he created a *Book of oaths* for King Alek'sandre, which was used by the Imeretian court when it announced its acceptance of protection from Russia. In 1651, P'ešangi co-signed the document of protection with Alek'sandre.

As a palace official, P'ešangi witnessed contemporary developments at first hand, and was well-informed about social and political conditions, not just in Kartli but also in Kakheti, Imereti and Odishi, with knowledge of even minor political developments in these areas. Found guilty of an unnamed offence, he was harshly punished by having his nose cut off, and he lived in extreme poverty for some years, but in 1664-5, on the

orders of King Vaxtang V (Šahnavazi), he wrote the poem *Šahnavaziani* and was well paid. In about 1680, he composed a second work on the orders of King Arč'il, adapting the prose work *P'irmaliani* into verse; this has not survived.

There is no mention of P'ešangi Xit'arišvili in any historical documents after 1681, and he is thought to have died around this time.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Šahnavaziani, 'A poem on the life of King Šahnavaz'

DATE 1664-5

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

Šahnavaziani is the earliest surviving example of a documentary poem in Georgian literature. There is only one extant manuscript, and this has several pages missing, including the last part of the epilogue. The poem comprises a prologue, a main section and an epilogue, in 60 chapters and 1151 stanzas of 16-syllable lines.

Šahnavaziani describes a seven-year period (1658-65) during the reign of King Vaxtang V of Kartli, who was known after his conversion to Islam as Šahnavazi. It gives a description of the relationship between the Georgian kingdoms of Kartli-Kakheti and Imereti in the 1660s, alongside a panegyric to Šahnavazi, his son Arč'il II (known as Šahnazar-Xan after his conversion to Islam), ruler of Imereti 1661-3, and Kakheti 1664-75, together with Queen Mariam and the princes.

The prologue outlines the religious climate in eastern Georgia in the 1660s and official attitudes towards Christianity and Islam, conditioned by the religious politics of Safavid Iran. The poem gives clear insight into the domination of Shī'a Islam as a politico-religious force in Kartli, with the king of Kartli and the majority of the officials and nobles in his court becoming followers of Islam – often formally – as an act of political expediency. There are comparatively few references to Christian symbols, and the name of Jesus is only mentioned once, while the most noteworthy

quality of King Mirian of Kartli (r. first half of the 4th century) is identified as the size and strength of his army, making no mention at all of the fact that he was the first Christian king of Kartli and that Christianity was declared the state religion during his reign. In contrast, the poem mentions the conversion to Islam of Arč'il II, Šahnavazi's son, and Kacia Amirejibi as if this was an everyday occurrence, and with little sign of any unease on the part of the author. The poem clearly depicts Islam as the official religion of the royal court of Kartli, even though the state was Christian.

P'ešangi gives a realistic portrayal of the air of religious expediency in Georgian society at the time: just as the kings embraced Islam in order to ascend the throne, so their nobles followed suit in order to advance their role in court affairs. He also uses the poem to praise the Shah of Iran.

The influence of the Georgian Šot'a Rust'aveli (early 13th century) and his epic poem *Vep'xistqaosani* ('The knight in the panther skin') can clearly be seen in the frequent use of Rust'aveli-esque poetic forms.

Although P'ešangi Xit'arišvili speaks in sympathetic terms about Islam, its adherents and the Muslim saints, he nevertheless remains a Christian author and reveals his own attitude towards Islam, referring to it as a 'delusion', a spurious falsehood.

SIGNIFICANCE

In *Šahnavaziani* P'ešangi Xit'arišvili paints a relatively sympathetic picture of Islam and its followers. He praises Shī'a Islam from the standpoint of his king (Vaxtang V/Šahnavazi) and his suzerain state (Safavid Iran), and he denounces Sunnī Islam. Thus, he refers to Muḥammad, 'Alī and the Qur'an with a degree of respect and deference, and he is clear about the shortcomings of the caliphs favoured by the Sunnīs, 'Umar (r. 634-44) and 'Uthmān (r. 644-56). He notes that 'Umar cannot be mentioned because the Qizilbash (like the Safavids) believe that Muḥammad had intended 'Alī to succeed him.

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P'ešangi, *Šahnavaziani*, ed. Leonize and Iordanišvili

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Khatuna Baindurashvili

‘Abbās II, Shah of Persia

DATE OF BIRTH 19 November 1633
PLACE OF BIRTH Isfahan
DATE OF DEATH 25 September 1666
PLACE OF DEATH Ashraf (Mazandaran)

BIOGRAPHY

Born in 1633, Shah ‘Abbās II, the son of Shah Ṣafī (r. 1629-42), was barely nine years old when he ascended the Safavid throne in 1642. In the first years of his reign, the court was dominated by a cabal consisting of his mother, Annā Khānūm, grand vizier Mīrzā Muḥammad Sārū Taqī, and the *qurchībāshī*, head of the tribal cavalry, Jānī Khān. ‘Abbās took effective power in 1645 by ridding himself of the latter two, first using Jānī Khān to remove his octogenarian grand vizier, and then turning on Jānī Khān.

‘Abbās II’s reign was marked by internal stability and the external peace that had come about on Iran’s western flank following the Peace Accord of Zuhāb that his father had concluded with the Ottomans in 1639. He recovered Qandahar from the Mughals but did not resume war against the Ottomans. During the last 12 years of his reign and life, he appears to have withdrawn from active engagement in state affairs. He died on 25 September 1666 in Ashraf, the leisure town that his great-grandfather ‘Abbās I had built in Mazandaran. He was buried in Qom and was succeeded by his son, Ṣafī II (who became Shah Sulaymān).

Seen as tolerant and sympathetic to Sufism, ‘Abbās II continued his predecessors’ amiable relationship with representatives of European nations who, seduced by the warm welcome they received at the court and the business opportunities it offered, tended to praise him for his high-mindedness and sense of justice, which reminded them of ‘Abbās I. ‘Abbās II’s reputation as a ‘friend of the Christians’ is further reflected in his resumption of ‘Abbās I’s habit of inviting Christian foreigners to his drinking parties.

The Christian missionaries present in Iran – Augustinians, Carmelites, and Capuchins – continued in ‘Abbās II’s time to operate under royal protection. This did not always extend to the outlying provinces, however, and Antonini Tani, a Dominican, came to Isfahan in 1655 with

letters from Venice, Louis XIV and Emperor Leopold, asking for better treatment of the Dominicans in Nakhchevan and the abolition of the law instituted by ‘Abbās I which gave converts to Islam the right to inherit their relatives’ property. He did persuade the shah to order better treatment for the missionaries and for Catholic Armenians in the Caucasus, whose villages were brought under *khāṣṣa* (crown) supervision, shielding them from excessive taxation, but he failed in his second objective.

As part of the growing role and influence of French missionary activities, the ambit of the Capuchins increased. Their prior, Raphaël du Mans grew close to the shah, acting as his interpreter. In 1656, his colleague, Fr Gabriel de Chinon, went to Tabriz, where he established a hospice, and also spent time in Urmia, where he founded a short-lived mission, as well as in Tiflis and Yerevan. Both in Azerbaijan and in Georgia, he was welcomed by local officials and taught them and their kin, but his efforts in the Caucasus were opposed and undermined by local Gregorian-Armenian forces.

It was during ‘Abbās II’s reign that the Jesuits, who had had a brief presence on the isle of Hormuz in the late 16th century, made their entry into Iran’s interior. Here, too, it was the French and, to a lesser extent, the Poles, who took the lead, reflecting a shift in the centre of gravity of the missionary endeavour in Asia, first from Madrid and Lisbon toward Rome, then to France. After a preliminary visit to Isfahan by Franciscus Rigordi and Alexandre de Rhodes, Rigordi and Aimé Chézaud are said to have arrived in Isfahan in early 1652, carrying letters from Louis XIV that contained a promise of assistance against the Turks and the offer of his daughter to the shah in marriage. The result was that the Jesuits were allowed to open missions in Julfa, Tabriz and Shiraz. However, a lack of follow-up led to a feeling of deception in Iran, which contributed to the decision to prohibit the Jesuits from settling in New Julfa, and the (temporary) expulsion of all missionaries from the town in 1654. Once fences were mended, Chézaud became a regular guest at the grand vizier’s residence, invited to participate in disputations with Iran’s Shī‘ī clerics about vexing questions such as the Trinity and the nature of prophecy. By the early 1660s, the Jesuits were established in the Armenian quarter of the Safavid capital, with a house and a chapel. Fr Claude-Ignace Mercier, who succeeded Chézaud after the latter’s death in 1664, also managed to open a small school catering to Armenian children. Otherwise, Isfahan functioned as a meeting point for travelling missionaries and a relay station for Jesuit postal communication.

His own Armenians, too, had kind words to say about ‘Abbās II, praising the efforts he made to restore churches and monasteries in Armenia. Anecdotes have it that, against conventions, he ordered a Muslim who had killed a Christian to be executed, and that he dismissed clerical complaints about images in the Armenian churches of New Julfa. New Julfa meanwhile continued to grow under ‘Abbās II; at least six new churches were built during his reign, bringing the total to 24, and, even if taxes went up, the suburb may have reached its apogee of wealth and population numbers in this period.

Yet this did not prevent the implementation of a number of anti-minority measures during the shah’s reign. Iran’s Jewish population bore the brunt of this, but Christians were affected as well. In 1657, for instance, the Armenians were forced to leave Isfahan proper and to decamp to New Julfa, across the Zāyanda Rūd. The same period also saw increased pressure on Christians to convert to Islam, leading an estimated 50,000 Christians to abandon their faith, in part on account of the inheritance law issued by ‘Abbās I. In most cases it is clear that, rather than the shah himself, intrigue by Gregorian Armenians, clerical pressure, the zeal of high officials seeking to establish their religious credentials, and a growing need for revenue were responsible for these measures.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Correspondence with European states; documents
about Armenians and Catholics

DATE 1642-66

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

Shah ‘Abbās II confirmed the privileges granted to the Carmelites by Shah ‘Abbās I almost as soon as he came to power in Rabi‘ II/July 1642 (M.H. Kāvūsī ‘Irāqī, *Asnād*, pp. 282-4, 314-16; Richard, ‘Les privilèges’, pp. 171, 174). Capuchins in particular are known to have conducted learned discussions with Safavid grandees: thus, Fr Ambroise de Preuilly regularly conversed with courtiers about astronomy and mathematics, and also tutored the uncles of ‘Abbās II (Richard, ‘Catholicisme’, p. 358).

Shortly after coming to power, ‘Abbās II renewed the commercial contracts that his great-grandfather, ‘Abbās I, had concluded with the English and Dutch East India Companies in 1617 and 1623, respectively, and that had been confirmed by his father, Šafī, in 1632. More correspondence about the conditions of the silk contract with the VOC followed in 1647 and 1652 (Heeres, *Corpus diplomaticum*, pp. 370-80, 490-500; Speelman, *Journal*, pp. 237-9). Like his forebears, he also maintained a correspondence with various European rulers, albeit on a more reduced level. He thus exchanged notes with the Duke of Florence and with Tsar Alexis Romanov of Russia (Kāvūsī ‘Irāqī, *Asnād*, pp. 103-4, 212-13).

Various missionaries residing in Iran in the period composed tracts and treatises to further their cause. Gabriel de Chinon, for instance, wrote a defence of Christianity, now lost, which was met with an Arabic-language rebuttal by Ṣāḥib al-Dīn Tafrishī titled *Nuṣrat al-ḥaqq*. Tafrishī also wrote a refutation of Christianity titled *Risāla-yi Radd-i bar Naṣārā* (Richard, ‘Catholicisme’, pp. 361-7; Ja‘fariyān, *Tarjuma-yi anājīl*, pp. 31-3).

SIGNIFICANCE

In the aftermath of the Safavid-Ottoman Peace of Zuhāb of 1639, diplomatic relations between Iran and the nations of Europe dropped off considerably, and remained minimal in frequency and importance during the reign of ‘Abbās II. In contrast, the number of European missionaries increased; the Jesuits entered the country and started operating in Isfahan; and the Capuchins enlarged their ambit towards Tabriz and the Caucasus. Like his great-grandfather, ‘Abbās I, ‘Abbās II had a reputation for toleration and was known for the friendliness he showed to visiting Westerners, including missionaries, whom he occasionally invited to his nightly drinking sessions. Various forms of anti-minority agitation are recorded in this period, but these are attributable to forces other than the shah himself.



Illustration 10. A Persian miniature showing Shah 'Abbās II receiving the Mughal ambassador

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Rudolph Matthee

Aṙak'el Dawrizhets'i

Aṙak'el Dawrižec'i, Aṙak'el of Tabriz

DATE OF BIRTH About 1590
PLACE OF BIRTH Tabriz
DATE OF DEATH 1670
PLACE OF DEATH Echmiadzin

BIOGRAPHY

Biographical information about Aṙak'el Dawrizhets'i is scant. His exact date of birth is unknown, but scholars assume it was sometime in the last decade of the 16th century. He himself states that he began writing *Girk' patmut'eants'* when he was already old, very ill, with poor eyesight and trembling hands. Since he died in 1670, it is safe to conclude that he was by then about 80 years old. His name, Aṙak'el of Tabriz, suggests that he was born in the Iranian city of Tabriz. He spent most of his life in the Holy See of Echmiadzin, where he says he was reared and educated. He became the pupil of Catholicos (Supreme Patriarch of the Armenian Church) P'ilippos (r. 1634-55) and received the rank of *vardapet* sometime before 1636. Deacon Zak'aria of K'anakeṙ records that Aṙak'el was for one year (1636) the abbot of the famed Hovhannavank' monastery. The catholicos also sent him on various missions as the *nuirak* (nuncio, papal ambassador) of Echmiadzin. It was during his journeys to Amasya, Sebastia, Urfa, Aleppo, Jerusalem, Athens and Isfahan that he must have gathered some of the information for his *Girk' patmut'eants'*. He also examined numerous manuscripts and colophons in the archives of the Holy See, gathered stories, and observed life in the towns and villages of eastern and western Armenia.

He was ordered by Catholicos P'ilippos and Catholicos Hakob of Julfa (r. 1655-80) to record the decline of the Holy See, the collapse of religious and economic life in eastern Armenia, and the current situation of the Armenian communities in Iran, the Ottoman Empire and Europe. He spent a total of nine years working on what many consider the most important primary source on the history of the Armenian people and the Armenian Church in the 17th century.

Aṙak'el was one of the first Armenian historians in the modern sense of the term. Unlike his predecessors, he did not include the entire sweep

of Armenian history. *Girk' patmut'eants'* was used as a primary source by many Armenian historians until the end of the 19th century.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Girk' patmut'eants' sharadreal Vardapetin Aṙak'el Dawrēzhets'woy, 'Book of histories composed by Vardapet Aṙak'el of Tabriz'

DATE 1669

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Aṙak'el's *Girk' patmut'eants' sharadreal Vardapetin Aṙak'el Dawrēzhets'woy* is lengthy, consisting of 58 chapters, covering 540 pages in the 2010 English translation by Bournoutian, including footnotes. It was printed in Amsterdam in 1669 (a year before Aṙak'el's death), making it the first Armenian history book ever printed. It was later issued under the titles *Book of histories*, *Book of history* and *History*. The work covers the history of Iran during the reigns of Shah 'Abbās I, Shah Ṣafī and Shah 'Abbās II,

beginning with Shah 'Abbās' deportation of thousands of Armenians to Iran and the decline of the Holy See of Echmiadzin.

Girk' patmut'eants' contains information on the establishment of important monastic schools, a list of vardapets, a list and chronology of the Armenian catholicoi from 1166 to Aṛak'el's own time, biographies and martyrdoms of various Armenian clerics, a list of Ottoman and Iranian rulers, information on various earthquakes and eclipses, as well as information from other sources such as gemstones, the self-proclaimed Jewish messiah, Sabbatai Sevi, the great fire of Istanbul, the state of the Armenians in Poland, and other details received from abroad via Armenian clerics. In addition, Aṛak'el includes material from numerous chronicles and chronologies written by earlier monks, which he found in the library of the Holy See of Echmiadzin. The work is not in exact chronological order but is divided into separate chapters dealing with various events. It could be considered a compilation of historical events; hence the tendency among some to maintain that the plural 'histories' in the title (*Book of histories*) is more appropriate.

Like other Armenian historians of his time, almost all of whom were clerics, Aṛak'el was extremely religious and proud of the fact that, despite five hundred years of Muslim rule, the Armenians had remained Christian, under the guidance of their Church.

SIGNIFICANCE

Girk' patmut'eants' is considered one of the most important sources on the history of Armenia, Iran, the Ottoman Empire and Georgia in the 17th century. Almost every Armenian historian writing between the late 17th and the late 19th century refers to it.

Concerning Christian-Muslim relations, Aṛak'el's work is the main source on the forced relocation of the Armenians of Yerevan-Nakhichevan region to Iran by Shah 'Abbās I in 1604. This exile of some 200,000 Armenians, with thousands suffering death or enslavement, left Aṛak'el with a deep hatred of Muslims. Consequently, his portrayal of 'Abbās I is in stark contradiction to that in European accounts, which depict him as a benevolent ruler of the Armenians, especially those who settled in New Julfa (Isfahan). Aṛak'el refers to him as the 'destroyer of Armenia', 'the haven of the devil', 'the incarnation of Satan', and 'the wily and shrewd enemy of Christians', who transformed the beneficent and fertile land of Armenia into an empty wilderness.

Aṛak'el is also very critical of the Celali (Jalali) Turks, who revolted against their government and caused havoc in western Armenia. Nor

does he spare the Catholics, accusing them of stealing Armenian relics and blaming them for converting the Armenians in Nakhichevan and Poland.

Aṛak'el blames the Persians and Ottomans for the calamity that had befallen his nation. His work portrays Muslims as aggressors who robbed Christians and, on many occasions, sought to convert Armenians and Georgians to Islam by force. His work contains numerous examples of Armenian 'martyrs', who preferred death to conversion. Only on rare occasions does he compliment a Muslim ruler (Shah 'Abbās II).

However, it should be noted that he also blames the corruption of certain Armenian catholicoi for the chaotic conditions at Echmiadzin, adding that as the Christian nations had become weaker, the Muslim nations had become stronger, taken Constantinople and begun to rule over the Christians. Unlike some Armenian historians, Aṛak'el does not differ in his attitude towards Persians and Ottomans, seeing both as enslaving Christians.



Illustration 11. First page of *Girk' patmut'eants'*

PUBLICATIONS

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George Bournoutian

Martyrologies included in *Girk' patmut'eants'*

DATE 1669

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Aṛak'el Dawrizhets'i includes seven martyrologies in *Girk' patmut'eants' sharadreal Vardapetin Aṛak'el Dawrēzhets'woy*. These record the circumstances of the arrest, trial and death of seven Armenians, in different places and at different times during the 17th century, presented in chronological order. In each case, reference is given to where the texts can be found in the first edition of Aṛak'el Dawrizhets'i's *Girk' patmut'eants'*, and the English translation by G.A. Bournoutian (*History of Vardapet Aṛak'el*).

The first narrative, *Vasn nahatakut'ean Tēr Andrēas k'ahanay* ('On the martyrdom of the priest Lord Andrēas') takes up nine pages in the first edition (*Girk' patmut'eants'*, pp. 346-55; Bournoutian, *History of Vardapet Aṛak'el*, pp. 258-64), and records events that occurred in 1617.

The priest Andrēas was born in Naxčawan, but left with his family when Shah 'Abbās I decided to destroy the city in 1604. They settled in Agulis, where Andrēas trained as a priest, after which he married, was ordained, and became a schoolteacher. In 1617, the shah returned to the area and was given a royal welcome to Agulis with wine, parades, music and an ecclesiastical procession that included the school pupils in festal attire. However, since the pupils were preparing for ordination, their heads had been tonsured. The shah took this as a personal slight, as if the measure was intended to render the youths less attractive and therefore reduce the possibility of their being taken away into royal service, so he hastily ordered that the perpetrator should be put to death. At this, Andrēas recalled the biblical verse referring to one man dying for the sake of the people (John 18:19) and surrendered himself.

The shah appeared to doubt his testimony and had him stretched out on the ground and beaten with rods. He then commanded him to accept Islam, or his corpse would be fed to the dogs. The Christian community approached the king's ministers, promising a large sum for his release, while the wife of a prominent *khoja* begged for clemency, but to no avail. The shah ordered Andrēas' death and soldiers escorted him to the place of execution. There, proceedings were delayed for several hours to allow for an embassy of ministers and then the executioners to press Andrēas to reconsider, while his parents and friends sought to strengthen his resolve as a priest and 'soldier for Christ', recalling the loyal martyrs whose accounts he had frequently read to them. Finally, the executioners approached and ripped open his stomach, pierced his shinbone, and hoisted him up with ropes to hang upside down, until in the evening he died. The shah instructed that the corpse should be taken some distance away and exposed as carrion for the dogs and birds.

However, the Christians intervened, took the body to the cemetery, and gave him burial.

In a codicil, Arak'el Dawrizhets'i notes that around three months later, during a discussion of Andrēas' death, the shah's former instructor Shakhrukh Beg, an inhabitant of Agulis, stated that the priest had acted on the instructions of his ecclesiastical superior, the *vardapet* Movsēs of the monastery of Tat'ew in the neighbouring region of Siwnik'. At the shah's command, Movsēs and his associate *vardapet* Pōlos were brought for examination. Considering an indemnity more effective than a death sentence, he demanded 5,000 *tūmāns* for their release, reduced after the Christian community's protest to 300 *tūmāns*, which was paid within four to five months. The account closes with a note that the king's soldiers put Shakhrukh Beg to the sword a few days later in what the author regards as retribution for his iniquity.

The second narrative, *Miws ews patmut'iwn nehut'eanc', zor krec'in azgn Hayoc' yaraǰnoy Šahabas t'agaworēn* ('A further account of the hardships the Armenian people bore from Shah 'Abbās') takes up eight pages in the first edition (*Girk' patmut'eants'*, pp. 161-9; Bournoutian, *History of Vardapet Arak'el*, pp. 128-30), and records events that occurred in 1622.

The protagonist, Grigor, was born in the village of Arp'a in the region of Vayoc' Jor, but was resettled with his community in the village of Lower Xoyikan in the P'eria district by order of Shah 'Abbās I. A strong figure, possessed of great persistence, eloquence and passion for his faith, he established himself as a leader of the Armenian villages in the area and became their spokesman to the shah. Departing for the capital, he borrowed money to bribe nobles to intercede for him and began petitioning the king to grant official permission for the community to conduct Christian worship openly. His resistance worn down by continual appeals, the shah granted Grigor's request. When he was later resting in his orchard, Grigor again accosted him, imploring him for a written statement of his official permission sealed with the royal seal. So tired was the shah that he arranged this for the Armenian communities of P'eria and Burwari and also acceded to Grigor's request for the return of ecclesiastical books that had been confiscated.

After Grigor's departure, however, the shah decided to impose a penalty on those same communities on the charge of not following the royal command, and set a fine of 1,000 *tūmāns* to be collected by Khosrov Sultan. The Christians thus had to pay the indemnity, together with the

debt Grigor had incurred in Isfahan and his living expenses there, leaving them in dire financial straits.

Meanwhile, some local Muslims were incensed at the Christians receiving permission to worship, and determined to discomfit Grigor. They killed one of their tribesmen and left the body in Grigor's field. With false witnesses ready to speak before the *qāḏī* against him, Grigor was forced to appear at the tribunal and, when he refused to accept Islam, he was summarily put to death. The author adds that many afterwards attested to the appearance of a heavenly light over his body.

The third narrative, *Patmut'iwn nahatakut'ean anmet mankann Nikōlayosin* ('Narrative of the martyrdom of the innocent youth Nikōlayos') takes up six pages in the first edition (*Girk' patmut'eants'*, pp. 501-7; Bournoutian, *History of Vardapet Arak'el*, pp. 395-8), and records events that occurred in 1642.

Nikōlayos was a handsome Armenian Christian youth of 15. He was accosted in the market by a Muslim called Mehmed, who stroked his face and embraced him. Hardly had the boy pushed him away in his embarrassment, when another Muslim, also called Mehmed, asked why he indulged in sexual play with the other and not him. In response to both of them, Nikōlayos uttered insults dishonouring their mothers, but the second man called on bystanders and shopkeepers to testify to what he termed Nikōlayos' blasphemy against Muḥammad and Islam.

A crowd gathered, and led the youth before the *qāḏī*, who told him that the only way to escape the death penalty was to convert to Islam, and promised him various advantages if he took that step. When Nikōlayos refused, he pronounced the death sentence in accordance with the crowd's demand.

Thereafter, the same process played itself out before the pasha, who promised that, if he converted, he would adopt him as a son, secure him an official position, and arrange his marriage to the daughter of one of the city magnates. Finally, however, at the mob's insistence he agreed to pronounce the death sentence.

The executioners then paraded him through the city to the main square. There, a priest managed to pass him a communion wafer wrapped in a date before he was taken to the large stone in the centre where his arms and legs were broken and he was left to lie there mutilated for the rest of that day. Next day, the Christians petitioned the pasha for leave to take him home, reuniting him with his parents for three days until he died of his wounds.

The remaining accounts all relate to martyrdoms during the 1650s, when AṘak'el Dawrizhets'i was writing his account.

The fourth narrative, *Patmut'iwn nahatakut'ean xostovanot vkayin K'ristosi Srboyn Xač'atroy* ('Account of the martyrdom of the confessing martyr of Christ St Xač'atur') takes up ten pages in the first edition (*Girk' patmut'eants'*, pp. 507-17; Bournoutian, *History of Vardapet AṘak'el*, pp. 399-405), and records events that occurred in 1652.

The protagonist, Xač'atur, is a 20-year-old Armenian Christian youth of Amid, who was particularly devout, attending church every day and standing near the lectern where the scriptural readings were intoned. Stories of the martyrs affected him deeply, causing him to weep and confess to friends and family that this was the kind of death he wished for himself. So, one day he told the Christian master locksmith to whom he was apprenticed that he would see him no more. Going to the Friday mosque in the neighbourhood of his workplace, he began to wash his hands at a fountain when a Muslim wearing green headgear ordered him to leave. When Xač'atur insulted the official and the colour green, beloved of the Prophet, a crowd gathered and brought him before the *qāḍī*. The *qāḍī* asked him to consider how young he was, but Xač'atur retorted that both the Muslim religion and its founder were false.

At this, the crowd consulted the mufti on the legal penalty for cursing the Prophet and his religion and received the reply that he should be flayed alive. Taking the decision to the *qāḍī*, they received his approval, which they then presented to the pasha. Since the youth rejected the pasha's promises of wealth, status, authority and marriage into the upper echelons of society, the pasha judged he might be insane and sent him to jail to come to his senses. Finding him of the same mind two hours later, he ordered the judicial sentence to be carried out. Tying his hands behind his back, the executioners paraded him through the city from the upper fortress to the New Gates.

There Xač'atur told the executioners to tear off his skin for his love of Christ. This they did, making incisions from his left and right shoulder down his spine and chest. In this fashion, he walked singing various hymns and songs towards the main square. Again, the executioners appealed to him to reconsider his situation, arguing that one word would save his life. However, his answer was to stretch out his arms and legs on the large stone there for them to break them. Asking the Christians present to bring a priest to give him communion, he received a wafer clandestinely secreted in a piece of bread. There he remained, until under cover of darkness a *vardapet* and monk visited him to encourage him in

his torment. After he passed away around midnight, a bright light was seen to descend from the sky and was witnessed by the guards on duty.

At daybreak the Christians received permission from the *qāḏī* and pasha to retrieve Xač'atur's body for burial and brought it to the Armenian cemetery. So many Christians and Muslims gathered there to venerate it that the process lasted all day, but some Muslims complained to the pasha that the burial was to take place with pomp unbefitting the Christian community's status in society. The pasha therefore stationed a watch to arrest the Christians as they gathered at the graveside the following day for arraignment before his tribunal. However, in what the author calls a miracle, a quarrel arose between one of the pasha's confidants and an army officer with the result that his fellow officers and the Janissaries sealed the pasha and his troops in the upper fortress for a week. This allowed the Christians to conduct the burial without hindrance.

Arak'el notes that the gravesite and the ladle from which Xač'atur drank water at the place of execution became means for healing the sick.

The fifth narrative, *Patmut'iwn nahatakut'ean Sirun anuamb k'ristonēi* ('Account of the martyrdom of the Christian named Sirun') takes up five pages in the first edition (*Girk' patmut'eants'*, pp. 517-22; Bournoutian, *History of Vardapet Arak'el*, pp. 406-8), and records events that occurred in 1655.

The protagonist is an Armenian Christian called Sirun from the village of Aliwr (originally Amiwk'), north-west of Lake Van. His Muslim employer sent him to fetch a load of cherries from the city of Ahlat to the south and bring them to Van. On entering the city, he chased off a group of boys trying to steal his load, and when one of them threw a stone at him he picked it up and threw it back, striking the boy, who died from the wound two months later.

His master told him to return to his village to escape Muslim wrath, but to no avail. The local magistrate imprisoned him and had the boy's family informed. They appealed to the pasha in Van who had Sirun summoned and consulted with the *qāḏī* and mufti on how to judge the case. The officials found that the wound had been inflicted accidentally and acquitted Sirun, but a mob of about 200-300 seized him and began threatening him with stoning if he did not accept Islam. They tied a rope round his torso and dragged him around town, beating him on the head and denying him food for about 20 days, because the officials refused to deliver a death sentence. His family advised him to appear to accept

Islam and then settle under Christian rule where he could practise his religion openly.

Things came to a head when the mob blocked the muezzin's path to the mosque, saying their religion was being disrespected by the condoning of the Armenian's killing of a Muslim. As the parade dragged Sirun through the farriers' quarter of the town, one of them stabbed him and another struck him on the head so that his brains spilled out. Continuing to drag his corpse along towards the place of execution, they stoned it there until it was completely covered with rocks.

Seeing a light shining from the place, some Muslims had their servants throw dead dogs on Sirun's corpse to smother the light, but next morning the pasha and *qāḏī* granted the Christians permission to bury the martyr.

In the conclusion, the author says this occurred on 5 August 1655, mentioning the rule of Sultan Mehmed IV and the Armenian catholicos of the time. Finally, he describes the later practice of washing the stone used to crack Sirun's skull and pouring the water over the sick. He notes that several have been healed from various ailments in this way.

The sixth narrative, *Patmut'iwn nahatakut'ean Mxit'ar anuamb k'ristonēi* ('Account of the martyrdom of the Christian named Mxit'ar') takes up three pages in the first edition (*Girk' patmut'eants'*, pp. 522-31; Bournoutian, *History of Vardapet Arak'el*, pp. 409-11), and records events that occurred in 1656.

This martyrdom occurred in the same city of Van some months after that of Sirun Aliwrc'i, and many of the details about the court case, the role of the mob and the means of death are strikingly similar. The main figure is an Armenian Christian from Van who was well known to the pasha, the *qāḏī*, the Janissary commander and city notables for his horsemanship, military skills, eloquence and manly bearing. While Mxit'ar was relaxing with friends, enjoying music and wine, some Muslim boys of the neighbourhood were watching, and one of them struck Mxit'ar's father, who had gone out to chase them away.

When he came inside and announced that one of the boys had hit him, Mxit'ar ran out with a dagger cursing Islam, to the annoyance of his neighbour Hajji Ēib, whom he also insulted. Hajji Ēib complained to the crowd, who set in motion the process leading to Mxit'ar's imprisonment. When the Janissaries learned of this, they had their friend released and returned home. Not to be thwarted, the crowd again bound the Armenian and brought him before the pasha, who then passed him on to

the *qāḍī* and mufti, and when they did not rule against him the pasha ordered his release. At this, the crowd changed their tactics, dragging Mxit'ar around town and stopping in front of notables' houses to strike and threaten him, at which he uttered further insults.

His family urged him to accept Islam openly and then resettle in another state to practise his faith in peace, while the pasha and the Janissary commander promised him property, a magnificent horse, armour and a government post, if only he would accommodate the mob and save his life. Since the officials sympathised with Mxit'ar and refused to condemn him, the crowd resorted to more extreme measures, stopping the muezzin from uttering the call to prayer for three days on the grounds that Islam was being perverted as long as an unbeliever could openly curse it.

Finally, one of the crowd plunged a dagger into Mxit'ar's back, while others pierced him with swords. Tying a rope to his corpse, they dragged it through the city to the place of execution, where they piled stones on his lifeless body. That night, the Janissary guards from the upper fortress saw a glow surrounding the body. The following day the Christians received permission from the pasha and *qāḍī* to bury the body, transferring his relics in procession to the Armenian cemetery for burial.

The seventh narrative, *Patmut'iwn vasn nahatakut'ean Awetis anu-amb k'ristonēin* ('Account concerning the martyrdom of the Christian named Awetis') takes up six pages in the first edition (*Girk' patmut'eants'*, pp. 531-6; Bournoutian, *History of Vardapet Arak'el*, pp. 414-16), and records events that occurred in 1656.

The protagonist, an Armenian Christian named Awetis from the region of Ostan south-east of Lake Van, moved north with his family to the Barma area (originally named Aḡbak), settling in the village of Bablasan. There, he entered the service of the local Kurdish prince, Bak'dar Agha of the fortress of Lorik'an, for two years before some of his Kurdish co-workers 'out of envy' approached the prince with rumours that Awetis had frequently told them of his desire to renounce his religion. On hearing privately from Awetis that this was not true, the prince instructed them not to raise the matter again, but the rumours continued to circulate until they reached the ears of Khosrow Pasha, brother of the great 'paron' Ezdišēr, Bak'dar Agha's superior.

When Awetis was brought to Khosrow Pasha's fortress at P'izan, he again confessed Christianity, and the pasha imprisoned him in chains for some days to reconsider. At his second interrogation, Awetis did not

change his mind, so the pasha began promising him various rewards to persuade him, also consulting with legal experts, who indicated his only way to escape the death penalty was through conversion. After summoning Awetis several times to no avail, Khosrow Pasha finally decided to free him and allow him to resume his life as a Christian. Despite the mullahs' remonstrations that he was liable for punishment if he did not convert, the pasha argued that he was innocent and he himself would not be responsible for his blood.

The mullahs seized Awetis and clothed him in costly garments, wined and dined him, and promised him double the pasha's offer if he would accept Islam. But when he persisted in his faith, they began to apply torture, and when Khosrow Pasha again intervened to have him released, the mullahs determined to hasten the death sentence. Taking him to the square outside the fortress, they decapitated him with a sword on 20 March 1656. That night, a light shining over his body was observed by Khosrow Pasha and everyone in his fortress. To reduce its effect, the perpetrators hurriedly moved the body under cover. Next day, the Christians took charge of it and buried it in the village of Aṛak.

SIGNIFICANCE

The narratives are set in Armenia at a time when the territory was being passed back and forth between the Ottomans and Safavids.

Vasn nahatakut'ean Tēr Andrēas k'ahanay

This narrative contextualises events within the Ottoman-Safavid War of 1603-18, in the first year of which Shah 'Abbās recaptured Naxčawan and Yerevan from Ottoman control. He ordered the evacuation of the entire population of Naxčawan in response to an Ottoman attack as part of his broader scorched earth policy, so that the lack of accessible supplies in the border area would deter further Ottoman incursions. Similarly, the shah's visit to Agulis in 1617 was occasioned by a new Ottoman offensive initiated in 1615 under the leadership of the Grand Vizier Öküz Mehmed Pasha, half of whose soldiers laid siege to Yerevan the following year, but were forced to withdraw because of stiff resistance and worsening weather. It is significant that the historian Aṛak'el's perspective on operations in Naxčawan is more localised, arguing that the action was in response to slander against the city and its population.

The martyrology also notes the practice of boys and girls being abducted as servants or for the harems of Muslim officials. This is widely

commented on in the literature and is documented in both the Ottoman and Persian states. In the Ottoman sphere, the Janissary corps was first constituted by boys from Christian families taken from their homes through the *devşirme* and forcibly converted to train as soldiers. However, in 1566 Sultan Selim II had relaxed the discipline that governed them and granted them permission to marry, with the result that the sons of such unions were then allowed to serve, leading to the abolition of the original form of recruitment within the next few years. In contrast, the Safavid counterpart of this *ghulām* system was growing in importance at this time, and drew on Circassian, Armenian and Georgian communities to counterbalance the impact of the Qizilbash forces in the army.

*Miws ews patmut'īwn nelut'eanc', zor krec'in azgn Hayoc' yarajnoy
Šahabas t'agaworēn*

Grigor's experiences reflect the difficulties faced by the Christian community under Safavid rule. Having been given permission by the shah to worship as Christians, they wanted to have the permission in writing. The granting of these rights caused ill-feeling amongst the local Muslim community, leading to the act of revenge on Grigor and his death.

Patmut'īwn nahatakut'ean anmet mankann Nikōlayosin

The altercation in the market that instigated the process leading to the youth's execution was provoked by unsolicited advances from two older men towards a youth. It is significant that the author adds the detail that Nikołayos was 15 years old, regarded in love poetry as the age when human beauty was at its peak. Much Sufi theo-erotic poetry also used this motif as a symbol through which to glimpse and become imaginatively united with the divine perfection beyond. At the same time, it was much debated whether in Sufi practice relations with such youths were purely symbolic or physical.

Martyrdom is perceived as a voluntary sacrifice of the youth's life to God, recalling Old Testament sacrificial norms in the Jerusalem temple, here specifically the evening offering of incense (Exodus 35:15, 37:29).

From patristic times it had become an essential practice to sanctify the foundations of a church or shrine by placing relics of saints there.

After the disruption caused by the incessant Ottoman-Safavid conflict of the previous century, the 17th century marked a period of growth and

recovery for Armenians, resulting in the construction of new churches, schools and monasteries. It is against this background that we are to view the rather unusual request of a *vardapet* who approached the dying martyr by night, holding and kissing his right arm in veneration and beseeching him to bequeath the limb to him to sanctify a church he was building. The youth responded that he was free to cut it off and remove it immediately. In fact, it was used in this way after the youth's death.

Patmut'wn nahatakut'ean xostovanot vkayin K'ristosi Srboyn Xač'atroy

This work is of importance for the conception of Islam offered through the mouth of the *qādī*, associating its status with that of the expanding Ottoman Empire and its new ideology of re-establishing the caliphate. In his speech to Xač'atur, he envisions it as ruling over all present and future generations. It is significant that this perspective was interiorised by one party within the Armenian hierarchy in formulating their discourse on Armenian socio-political identity. In its most extreme form, this was depicted as involving subjection to Islam from the beginning of the world only to be liberated from it by Christ at the Second Coming.

The work also alludes to a tradition that apparently existed among the Armenian population in Amid. The poet Nasimi of the Ḥurufi sect, who was skinned alive in Aleppo in 1417 for his heretical beliefs, was actually punished for converting to Christianity. Consequently, his poems were transmitted within the Armenian community in support of him as a martyr for their faith, as is exemplified in the martyrology of the youth Putax in 1524. Similarly, Xač'atur sang some of his *rubā'īs* along with hymns on Christ's passion during his torture and on the way to meet his death.

In keeping with the martyrological genre, the author notes that when the protagonist was executed for refusing to accept Islam, many, including Muslims, attested to the appearance of a heavenly light over his body and interpreted it as a verification of the truth of the Christian religion.

The author has embedded in the text several typical stylistic features such as describing the appearance of the mob during his parade through the city centre as resembling 'the sands of the sea' (e.g. 1 Kings 4:20; Isaiah 10:22) and gnashing their teeth like wild beasts (e.g. Lamentations 2:16; Psalms 37:2, 112:10; Acts 7:54). Arak'el employs a trope that involves references to accusers, witnesses and avengers, which is frequently found in the martyrological accounts in his history. He also makes parallels between his narrative and that of the Crucifixion, describing Xač'atur's

thirst and appeal for water, which is provided for him on a ladle as the crowd proffered vinegar to Christ on a sponge (Matthew 27:48; Mark 15:36; John 19: 29-30).

Also important for an understanding of martyrdom in the Armenian tradition is the exchange between Xač'atur and the two clergy under cover of darkness to deflect attention from their visit. Both the *vardapet* Xač'atur Balisec'i and the monk priest Samuēl Baluec'i are higher monastics, whom the community would revere by kissing their right hand, which was used liturgically to bless the people. The martyr is unable to give this sign of respect as he cannot move his limbs, so he begs them to extend their hand to his lips for him to kiss. They refuse and instead kiss his hand, shedding warm tears, in acknowledgement of his status as a martyr and therefore a saint of the Church, asking his prayers, as he had asked for theirs as clergy, in recognition of the efficacy of his intercession.

The narrative also pauses over the variety of religious groups present in the city, representatives of whom were present to venerate the martyr Xač'atur during his lying in state before burial. In addition to the Armenian community worshipping in Amid's St Kirakos church, there is mention of West Syrians and Greeks, as well as many Muslims.

Patmut'iwn nahatakut'ean Sirun anuamb k'ristonēi

The reference to some of the Muslim population ordering their servants to throw dead dogs on top of Sirun's corpse clearly depends on the view of most schools of Muslim jurisprudence that dogs are ritually unclean, as supported by a Prophetic Hadith that consorting with dogs detracts from the good deeds of the faithful.

Stylistically, the work echoes the Bible at various points, as in the reference to the crowd's gnashing their teeth like wild beasts (e.g. Lamentations 2:16; Psalms 37:2, 112:10; Acts 7:54).

Patmut'iwn nahatakut'ean Mxit'ar anuamb k'ristonēi

The protagonist shows the possibility that some *dhimmīs* may bridge the confessional divide and establish a powerful rapport with the higher echelons of Muslim society. Although it was forbidden for non-Muslims to ride a horse, Mxit'ar is commended for his horsemanship and his skill in handling weapons and other martial exploits, which commended him to

the pasha, the *qādī* and the leaders of the local Janissary corps. Because of these shared interests, the blandishments they offered him for converting included a horse and armour in addition to the usual temptations of wealth and status. Their empathy with him makes them unwilling to charge him with blasphemy for his repeated insults to Islam.

The narrative also foregrounds tensions between the civil authorities and Janissaries at this time. Apprised of Mxit'ar's arrest, 50 troops descended with their colonels from the upper fortress, freed the prisoner, brought him to their headquarters and then released him to his family. This illustrates the growing prestige they enjoyed during this period; since the late 16th century, their numbers had greatly increased to counter the Safavid and European threats, giving them the opportunity to direct their military might against the sultan, whom they were pledged to defend. This growth in authority had manifested itself a few decades earlier in a revolt against Osman II in 1622 to pre-empt his moves to disband the corps after its defeats in Poland.

The author stylistically associates Mxit'ar's martyrdom more closely with Christ's Crucifixion by expanding the description of his being paraded through the streets to include details of his being struck, beaten on the head, spat upon and slapped (Matthew 27:30; Mark 15:19; John 19: 2-3).

Patmut'iwn vasn nahatakut'ean Awetis anuamb k'ristonēin

It is interesting to observe the nuances in the scale of values between office holders in the mainstream provinces of the Ottoman Empire and their counterparts in the semi-autonomous Kurdish regions bordering on the Safavid realm.

Thus, on Awetis' conversion, Khosrow Pasha promises him authority over a village with the title in the Armenian text of *paron*, the hand of a prince's daughter, and the highly prized symbol of a horse equipped with a gold-braided harness.

The narrative also parallels the interrelation between the pasha and the mullahs to that between Pilate and the Jewish chief priests, thereby drawing parallels between Awetis' martyrdom and the Crucifixion, with the priests keen to have the death penalty imposed on Jesus, while Pilate wished to absolve himself of any guilt associated with the proceedings (Matthew 27:24, cf. Luke 23:14, 16, 20; John 18:38, 19:4). Similarly, the author includes an episode of deep religious symbolism in which Awetis turns in his final moments to face the east in keeping with Christian

tradition of identifying Christ with the 'sun of righteousness' referred to by the prophet Malachi (4:2), while the mullahs forcibly turned him to the south to face Mecca. However, as the author indicates, the martyr turned back to the east before meeting his end, 'and died in this way in the faith of Christ'.

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Peter Cowe

Step'anos Lehats'i

DATE OF BIRTH	First decade of the 17 th century
PLACE OF BIRTH	Ilova (Lvov, Poland)
DATE OF DEATH	1689
PLACE OF DEATH	Ējmiatsin, Armenia

BIOGRAPHY

The life of Step'anos Lehats'i, the first translator of the Qur'an from the first Latin version into Armenian, spanned most of the 17th century, one of the most turbulent periods of Armenian history. This time also marked the awakening of national consciousness and the beginning of modern Armenian history. Perpetual wars between the Sunnī Ottoman Turks and the sub-Shī'ī Qizilbashi Safavids devastated the homeland and the wider areas populated by Armenians in eastern Asia Minor. In implementing a scorched earth policy, the Safavid Shah 'Abbās I (r. 1588-1629) deported over half a million people from many locations to the south-east of Iran between 1603 and 1618. Most perished on the way, and the survivors were settled in the newly founded city of New Julfa, a suburb of the capital Isfahan. By the Treaty of Zuhāb in 1639, Armenia was divided between the Ottoman and Safavid empires. The former had what came to be known as western or Turkish Armenia, and the latter eastern or Persian Armenia. Religious persecutions, harsh taxation and conversions of all sorts were common in both the east and west. The Safavids, however, supported the wealthy Armenian merchants in the eastern part and granted them diplomatic positions and exceptional privileges in international trade, particularly in silk. Alongside Istanbul, and later Tbilisi, New Julfa became a centre for trade, crafts and a cultural renaissance.

Aṙak'el Vardapet Dawrizhets'i's (d. 1670) *Girk' patmut'eants'* ('Book of stories'), covering the years 1602-62, is the only source on this period. A prominent figure of the early years of the Armenian Awakening, Dawrizhets'i was a contemporary and colleague of Step'anos Lehats'i in the Holy See of Ējmiatsin in eastern Armenia, under the Persians from 1631. He also provides the only contemporary reference to Lehats'i's life (see below). Ējmiatsin is of special significance at this time because it played a key role in initiating and leading the movements for liberation from Muslim rule and seeking assistance from the Christian west.

The first secret council was held there in 1547, the second and the third in 1662 and 1677/8, during the lifetime of these two men, who probably participated in them. Dawrizhets'i's *Girk' patmut'eants* and the first Armenian translation of the Qur'an by Lehats'i were part of Armenian responses to extraordinary challenges facing them over a vast area from Istanbul to Persia. The appearance and rise of the Armenian element in international trade and diplomacy between the Far East, Russia and Europe via the Near East contributed to the generation of shortcuts to western languages, cultures and institutions. It is not surprising to see the first publication of the Qur'an in Latin (Basel, 1543) finding its way to Ējmiatsin and being translated by a *vardapet* (doctor of divinity), who was originally from a prosperous Armenian family of Lvov in Poland. Step'anos Lehats'i ('the Pole', after *Lehastan*, Armenian for Poland) is also known as Step'anos Ilovats'i (from Ilova, or Lvov).

Almost all the information we have about the life and work of Lehats'i comes from Dawrizhets'i's *Girk' patmut'eants'*. He writes as follows:

Let me tell you about the productivity of a virtuous man. He was an Armenian from the metropolis of Ilova, from a wealthy family and the son of pious parents. He went to the best schools, studied in the Polish language and learned Latin and the arts of grammar and rhetoric. At the time, Bishop Nikol put pressure on the Armenians [to convert to Catholicism], exposing them to dangers. Out of their piety and orthodoxy, the parents of Step'anos sent him away to the Holy See of Ējmiatsin, during the incumbency of Catholicos P'ilippos [I, Aghbaketsi, in office 1633-55]. As soon as he arrived there, he began learning the Armenian language and literature, studied the Psalms, the *sharakans* [hymns] and other ecclesiastical subjects. He could read the Bible [in Armenian] and the 12 *vardapets* and philosophers [?]. Previously he knew only Latin, the language and literature of the Ilovians; he now knew Armenian and could compare the two and train himself to think and talk in both [languages]. He was very keen and studious, and far superior to his colleagues. By nature he was sharp, quick in his apprehension and capable of retaining new knowledge. He was also an avid reader, pure in conduct and a decent person. All the *vardapets* witnessed before Catholicos P'ilippos to his knowledge and [exemplary] conduct. Already aware of the worthiness [of Step'anos], he [P'ilippos] ordained him celibate priest and soon granted him doctoral authority [made him a *vardapet*]. He continued to study and train himself in sciences and ethics, and by the grace and assistance of the Holy Spirit, he translated four books from Latin into Armenian. One of these is the history of Eusebius [of Caesarea] but not all of it, only those parts that concern Jerusalem and the wars of the Jews, in six volumes.

The second is the book of Dionysius the Areopagite [Epistles of Dionysius the Areopagite]. While the previous translation [of this book] by Stepanos Siwnets'i was cryptic and hard to comprehend, that of Step'anos Lehats'i, which though the same [text], was much easier to follow because interpretation [?] is always easier [to read]. The third book is the book of causes, or book of beyond-naturals [*ver zbnakans*, or metaphysics], which is theology, in 36 booklets [*Book of causes* or *Liber de causis*, once attributed to Aristotle, now to Pseudo-Aristotle, mostly taken from Proclus' *Elements of theology*]. The fourth is a book of parables to instruct everyone in good conduct and behaviour; in Latin it is called *Mirror of ethics*. The same title was kept in the Armenian as *Hayeli varuts'*. This is a book of very pleasant and interesting contents. So far, this is all I have concerning his contribution to the church. (*Girk' patmut'eants'*, ed. Erewants'i, pp. 398-400)

The *Ghuran* is not mentioned here because it was translated after the death of Dawrizhets'i in 1670.

Lehats'i joined the Brotherhood of Ējmiatsin probably in his twenties. He was ordained celibate priest before 1652, and became a *vardapet* between 1653 and 1656 (Akinean, 'Step'anos Vardapet Lehats'i', p. 62). He also had some training, interest and talent in painting. A colophon of a missal/lectionary (*chahsots'*, MS Ējmiatsin 894) mentions that the murals and wall decorations in the interior of the mother cathedral (which was in ruins and at the time and was being renovated) were by the hand of painters Alexianos and Nahapet [?], with the 'contribution and under the supervision of Step'anos Vardapet'. It is believed that it was he who introduced the Italian renaissance style in these murals (Akinean, 'Step'anos Vardapet Lehats'i', p. 65). Akinean considers the appearance of a figure such as Lehats'i at the dawn of the renaissance of Armenian intellectual culture a 'stroke of luck' (Akinean, 'Step'anos Vardapet Lehats'i', p. 61). He also seems to have held some administrative positions as well. In 1679, following the death of the abbot of Yovanavank' at Karbi, he was appointed *locum tenens* (Akinean, 'Step'anos Vardapet Lehats'i', p. 63). In his lifetime, an arm-shaped reliquary was donated to Ējmiatsin in his honour (Akinean, 'Step'anos Vardapet Lehats'i', p. 66).

Lehats'i died in 1689, and it is said that he was buried in the Cathedral of Hrip'simeants' near Ējmiatsin, where a tombstone has been identified as his (Akinean, 'Step'anos Vardapet Lehats'i', p. 66), although the inscription is too ambiguous to be decisive.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ays ē gir orinats' hagarats'wots' kam ismaēlats'wots' or koch'i ghuran aysink'n havak'umn patowiranats, 'This is the book of laws of the Hagarians or the Ishmaelites, called Ghuran, meaning collection of precepts'

DATE Between 1670 and 1680

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Classical Armenian mixed with middle Armenian

DESCRIPTION

A rapid comparison of Robert of Ketton's Latin version of the Qur'an, made in Toledo in 1143, with Lehats'i's version immediately shows that the latter is a literal translation of the former. In form, sequence and

relative length of the 124 suras (instead of the 114 in the Arabic Qur'an) they are identical. Evidently, Lehats'i had great respect for the Latin text and followed it very closely. Thus, where on p. 94 of the first Latin edition there is a centred sentence that signals the middle of the text, so on MS Yerevan 934, fol. 153v, of his *Ghuran* (which is used here as the basis of discussion), Lehats'i writes: 'Half of the Qur'an is completed' (*kēsñ ghuranin katarets'aw*). He also translates the note at the end of Ketton's *Alchorani*. In the Latin this reads: 'At the end of the Arabic text there are some verses that are not translated; I do not know the reason', and Lehats'i has: 'At the end of the Qur'an there are some verses (*otanawork'*) which are not translated in the Latin [version]; I do not know the reason.'

Ketton's Latin *Alchoran* was a paraphrase and an intentional one at that, but it soon became the standard translation for Europeans until the 18th century. In many respects, this was also an implicitly polemical text, and its object was to show the Qur'an, Islam and the Prophet Muḥammad to a Christian public in a negative light and as inferior to Christianity. It is hard to tell whether Lehats'i was aware that this Latin Qur'an was not a direct translation. Apart from his translation, he betrays no knowledge of the Qur'an itself, or of Islam and Islamic cultures in general. Furthermore, he does not seem to have any knowledge of the apologetic-polemical works of Syrian Christians, and of John of Damascus in particular, whose books were very popular in Armenian monastic schools. Also, judging by his own notes in the margins (of which there is a selection below), Lehats'i does not seem to have been familiar with any of the three major Armenian polemical texts written just before the end of the 14th century by Grigor Tat'ewats'i and his student Matt'ēos Jughayets'i at the Monastery and School of Tat'ew, south east of Ējmiatsin (see Dadoyan, *Armenians in the medieval Islamic world*, vol. 3) and he is not known to have written any polemical texts himself. His translation was simply the first introduction of Muslim scriptures into Armenian literature, but for reasons that had little to do with scholarship and everything to do with the national awakening and struggles for liberation from Muslim rule.

In MS Yerevan 934 the text is on fols 2r-285v (approximately 570 folios). The first third of the manuscript (fols 10r-128v) seems to have been damaged and copied by a scribe on white paper. In this part, the *azoaras* are translated as *glukh* ('chapter'). Each bears the title in red ink, consisting of its number and the number of verses it contains. Each verse in turn is marked with an initial red letter, and its number also appears

in the margin. This part ends at Q 23:17. After some missing pages that have been coarsely cut out, the text resumes in Lehats'i's handwriting on fol. 129r at Q 24:3, on smooth yellowish paper. Here, the suras are simply numbers at the centre of the line, and the numbers of the verses are in the margins. No red letters are used in this part. Lehats'i has no colophon, though there are two paragraphs on the last folio, 285v, the first concerning the missing verses at the end of the Qur'an, as in the Latin translation, and the second a modest signature of sorts: 'The Qur'an is [now] completed; [it is] translated from Latin into Armenian by the hand of the Lehts'i [colloquially 'Pole'] philologist Step'anos' (*katarets'aw ghuran t'argmanean i latinats'wots' barbaroy i hayots' lezu dzeramb lehts'i step'annos banasiri*).

The list of contents, which has caused controversy among the few scholars who have referred to this manuscript, is on six folios, 2r-4v, under the heading: 'This is the list of the contents of the Qur'an, which are suras, 124 in all' (*Ays ē ts'ank ghuranin kargaw or ē sura or ē JID/124*). The list of contents is in the handwriting of a third person, and is very different from that of the scribe of the first part and that of Lehats'i from fol. 129r. The list ends in the middle of fol. 4r, at Sura 67, though it was clearly meant to be completed because the familiar signs for new paragraphs are drawn to the bottom of the page, and 11 blank pages follow.

The fact that the writer of the list of contents was not Lehats'i himself but a third person is the missing link. It resolves the confusion related to the discrepancies between the list of contents and the text. Unlike the copier of the first part, who seems to have been just an ordinary scribe, and Lehats'i himself, the writer of the list clearly not only knows Arabic but has a copy of the Qur'an in Arabic before him. The names of the 67 suras he lists are accurately transliterated, and include the number of verses in each. He has also provided Armenian translations of the Arabic titles: *al-Nisā'* into *Kanayk'*, *Tawba* into *Zghjal*, and so on. However, he has retained the error in the title concerning the number of suras in all, probably because he was looking at the Qur'an for the first time and had no knowledge of the true number.

The notes in the margins of Lehats'i's translation are the only indications we have of Lehats'i's opinion about Islam, Muḥammad or the Qur'an (in Ketton's translation). There are 215 notes, which can be classified under six headings: 1. Reader's notes; 2. 'False' (*sut*) claims of prophethood; 3. The character and conduct of Muḥammad; 4. The Qur'an; 5. Muḥammad's comments about Christians; 6. Apologetic-polemical comments. Below is a selection of 70 of the more significant

notes. The first number is that of the sūra, the next is the folio number, and then the manuscript folio. As mentioned above, the numbers of the suras and verses in Lehats'i's *Ghuran* follow Ketton's Latin version and not the Arabic Qur'an.

1. *Reader's notes* are the most numerous but are not relevant to our study here.

2. *'False' (sut) claims of prophethood*

27. 141v/282: He says about himself that God snatched him from *Madena* and took him to Jerusalem and then to heaven, and this is false.
28. 148v/296: If he was prophet, why could he not understand a small matter such as this ...
40. 200v/400: Who will verify your words, and if they are true, do not praise yourself.
57. 243r/485: Why did God not give Mahmēt the power to see/understand the human heart?
62. 250v/500: He swears that he was taken to heaven where he learned these ideas/thoughts; look at this falsity.
64. 251v/502: He relates that he broke the moon into two and then restored it, why then does he repeatedly say that he was not sent to work miracles?
62. 250r/499: He speaks of how he ascended to heaven.
78. 268r/535: He swears by the pen and the written word that he is a divine messenger and not a magus.
82. 271v/542: Look at the falsehood; he claims that previously he used to rise to heaven, but then it closed before him.
92. 278r/555: He swears that his teaching is certain/true.

3. *The personality and conduct of Muḥammad*

34. 177v/354: Do not swear violently.
36. 186r/371: He praises himself, and this is not acceptable.
39. 197r/393: While arguing it is necessary to maintain one's modesty.
43. 205r/409: What you do not wish to happen to you, do not do to others; you Mahmēt, why do you covet the women of others?
43. 205v/410: Let this be known about Mariam, the wife of the king of the Assyrians, whom he loved very much, corrupted her and then took her in marriage; look at the deeds of the prophet.
46. 212r/423: He only praises himself and the *Ghuran*; look at which of all the prophets has done this.

- 58. 244r/487: He threatened those Arabs who refused to be soldiers.
- 58. 245r/489: Mahmēt had a shaved head like the monks.
- 60. 247v/494: It is a duty to instruct, not to abuse.
- 72. 262v/524: Mahmēt was from the illiterate people.
- 80. 270r/539: Look at the lasciviousness of Mahmēt.
- 116. 284v/568: ... the men of *Koraks* [Quraysh], of whose tribe Mahmēt was.

4. *The Qur'an*

- 15. 72v/144: Look at the confusion of words: he speaks (about himself) in the plural then in the singular.
- 36. 186r/371: He scolds the poets, while he wrote the *Ghuran* in rhyme.
- 39. 198r/395: He speaks of whatever comes to mind and without order, so how could his prophethood show?
- 39. 195r/389: He praises the *Ghuran*.
- 39. 196v/392: So many times he mentioned the same thing about sodomites.
- 45. 211v/422: He calls the *Ghuran* a legacy of the good man.
- 46. 214v/428: Look, he lies again, for he wrote the *Ghuran* in rhyme.
- 50. 224v/448: He swears by the *Ghuran* that it was given to him by God.
- 50. 226v/452: So many times he tells the same fable.
- 52. 232r/463: Look at his unstable mind and ways; he speaks of nothing in rational order.
- 54. 237r/473: He says that the *Ghuran* was given in a night of redemption.
- 55. 239v/478: He says that the *Ghuran* is written by the hand of God.
- 56. 241v/482: [He says that] the demons were converted by the *Ghuran*. What could be more false?
- 61. 248r/495: If the *Ghuran* is by God, how does it become him to swear/curse like this?
- 64. 252v/504: He told so many stories about the camel until one is bored of hearing them?
- 107. 283r/565: He calls the night in which, he says, the angels came to him and brought the *Ghuran* the night of *aghk'ider* [*laylat al-qadr*].

5. *Muhammad's comments and opinions on the Christians*

- 10. 53v/118: He gave the Christians an oath.
- 40. 199v/398: He says that the followers of the *Ghuran* must not converse with unbelievers.
- 71. 262v/524: He calls the Christians white-clad.

6. *Apologetic and polemical comments*

4. 32v/63: He insults marriage.
15. 70v/140: Look, he speaks of God's Spirit.
29. 154r/307: He speaks of tidings to Mary contrary to the Bible.
31. 166v/332: He wishes to speak of the Virgin Mary but impiously.
32. 168r/335: He says that the Christians corrupted the Bible, but that is false.
33. 174r/347: Mindlessly he says that God has no son, as many have, and there has been conflict among them.
35. 181r/361: It is good deeds that make man blessed and worthy of paradise.
36. 181v/362: God does not impose faith by force.
38. 192v/384: He speaks of one God, but he refers to many and places himself as an associate to Him, look at this mindlessness.
38. 193r/385: We have the Book of Moses, and those of the prophets, and the Bible, but they [the Muslims] do not accept us.
42. 202v/404: Look at this heretic, he places the soul of man in God's spirit.
43. 206v/412: Look at the laws for divorcing women, they do not correspond to those of Moses or to human nature.
47. 215v/430: He speaks of the passions of the body and promises the same in paradise, without ever thinking of the spiritual wonders of the heavenly kingdom.
49. 223r/445: His opinion on the soul is impious.
49. 224r/447: The holy Apostle Paul teaches differently.
49. 224v/448: A thousand times he has said that only God is judge, but he now calls the angels judges.
50. 227r/453: He calls the Book of Moses the legacy of the people of Israel.
53. 236r/471: Those who do not believe in Christ will be punished.
57. 242r/483: There is a law of war against the unbelievers.
57. 242r/483: The reward of soldiery is paradise.
58. 243v/486: Look at the arrogance, he promises salvation even for future sins.
61. 248r/495: Being good is bliss itself (*goln bari ē noyn ink'n eranut'iwn*).
65. 254r/507: They will still pursue the passions in paradise; let such bliss perish.
65. 254r/507: Everything is false and contrary to divine scriptures.
67. 257r/513: He confirms/accepts fate.
71. 262r/523: Christ predicted the coming of Mahmēt, indeed he said that there would come false prophets.

76. 266v/532: He praises the holy Virgin Mary.
 86. 274v/548: Look at the wine that God will provide in paradise. How can the Muslims say that Mahmēt prohibited wine?
 122. 285r/569: He never stops denying the Son of God.

SIGNIFICANCE

From the 7th century onwards, with the exception of dissident sects known for their sympathies towards the Muslims and collaboration with them, the Armenians showed little interest in the doctrinal aspects of Islam. While Muḥammad and the Qur'an were frequently referred to by Armenian historians from the earliest times (see Dadoyan, *Armenians in the medieval Islamic world*, vol. 1, pp. 163-85), direct quotations from the Qur'an have not been found, nor any indication that it was read. The little information medieval authors had and seemed to need for polemical and apologetic purposes came from Syriac authors, works in *karshuni* (Arabic in Syriac script) about the life and teachings of the Prophet, and partial paraphrases of some qur'anic verses.

The first polemical treatises appeared in the 1390s, and their authors Grigor Tat'ewats'i and Matt'ēos Jughayets'i had not read the Qur'an. The first translation of the Qur'an, by Lehats'i, appeared about 290 years later, between 1670 and 1680, and from Latin. The first and more or less accurate translation from Arabic was made in the next century, but the translator, location and date are unknown. Two centuries later three translations appeared within a few years: Apraham Amirkhaneants', *Ghuran* (from Arabic), Varna, 1909; Lewon Larents', *Ghuran* (from a French version) with a biography of Muḥammad, Istanbul, 1911; Yakob K'urbet'ean, *Muhammed, Ghuran* (translated from Arabic under the supervision of the Arabists Cazimovski and Abraham Amirkhaneants'), Varna, 1912. A century later two more translations were made, almost ironically by the governments of Turkey and Iran, the two Muslim states from whose oppressive rule the Armenians were seeking liberation during the lifetime of Lehats'i. In 2015, on the centenary of the Armenian Genocide, a translation from a Turkish version was published in Istanbul titled *Ghuran e kerim*, in Eastern and Western Armenian dialects; in 2016, *Ghuranē Islamum* ('The Qur'an in Islam') was published in Yerevan from a Persian version.

These simple facts about the Qur'an among Armenians, or what can be called 'the Armenian Ghuran' are part of the Armenian experience in the Islamic world and must be analysed in this context. Along with the delay of almost a millennium in translating the scriptures of the

Muslims, we also find an absence of commentaries and studies of the Qur'an, even after its first translation in the 17th century and the four subsequent translations up to the 21st century. The Western model of translating, reading and studying the Qur'an is not a useful comparison, because the *dhimmī* status of Christians of the Near and Middle East has distinguished them from Christians in the West, at least as far as interaction with Islam is concerned. In addition, geographical, social and political factors have affected the different Christian traditions and ethnic groups in their specific locations. Thus, the status of the Qur'an is different among Syrian Christians, Armenian Christians, Copts, Maronites and many others.

In evaluating and defining the significance of Lehats'i's *Ghuran* in the last quarter of the 17th century at Ējmiatsin, political, cultural-intellectual and religious factors must be taken into consideration. After the fall of the Kingdom of Cilicia in 1375, *dhimmī* status was universally applied to all the Armenians scattered in the entire Near East. Depending on circumstances, various degrees of segregation, exclusion, at times harsh taxation, religious persecution and conversions of all types were inevitable aspects of this situation. It predetermined their civil status and their cultural politics, particularly of their political and religious institutions. From the beginning (and to the present) in most Muslim countries, as the head and representative of religious minorities, the church had primacy and unavoidably political status in the state. Most medieval agreements between the Armenians and Muslim states were signed by the heads of the church. In these circumstances, and from the first century of Islam in eastern Asia Minor, translation of the Qur'an was a politically complicated matter and rarely considered, even for polemical purposes.

In the last quarter of the 17th century and at Ējmiatsin, the sudden appearance of the Armenian *Ghuran* reflected circumstances that did not exist in earlier centuries. The new factors were the awakening of national consciousness, liberation struggles and a general renaissance of sorts. It is true that oppression and heavy taxation in both western Turkish Armenia and eastern Persian Armenia and subsequent conversions may have motivated the church to present the scriptures of the oppressors in a negative light. But transitions were not new, and in the past they had not prompted the translation of the Qur'an. The deficiency of Lehats'i's *Ghuran* must have been discovered in the next century, and a translation was made from Arabic by an Armenian who knew that language well. Furthermore, a version of the alleged 'Oath of the Prophet

to the Christians' in the vernacular attached to this translation is a clear reminder of the uneasy situation experienced by non-Muslim subjects, and of a prophetic promise given to the Armenians. The other manuscript of Lehats'i's *Ghuran* that was copied in his lifetime, MS Yerevan, Matenadaran – 3109, went even further. It presented five additional texts about the doctrines, activities and so-called vision of the Prophet, and so on. This work attempts not only to introduce the Qur'an but to provide further information and interpretation in order to highlight the negative elements in Islam.

It is also important to take into consideration the problem of literacy among Armenians. To the end of the 18th century at least, only the clergy were literate. The choice of books to be translated was therefore the prerogative of the church, and was part of its cultural policies and practices. Up to the 17th century, it clearly seems to have found the translation of the Qur'an problematic and not a necessity for the education of clergy. Neither direct knowledge of Islam nor a need to comment on it seemed to be of any interest. The linguistic challenge it presented may have been another reason, but this could have been easily resolved. Greek, Syriac and Latin were taught, even though at elementary levels, but there is no mention of Arabic being on the curriculum of the great monastic schools. With regard to the Qur'an, it seems that Syriac-Christian sources were deemed sufficient. The influence of John of Damascus is obvious in the three apologetic-polemical texts mentioned above. Also, works in *karshuni* were available as reliable accounts of Islam, its tenets and its Prophet. Furthermore, the awakening and the expectations from the Christian West naturally gave priority to the Western outlook in all things. Lehats'i's arrival in Ējmiatsin and his knowledge of classical Latin were indeed 'strokes of luck' at a time when Armenians were trying to free themselves from Muslim rule and recover from centuries of cultural eclipse with the assistance of the West, with which they had been identifying themselves from early Byzantine times.

The first known Armenian translation of the Qur'an after this was made in the 18th century. The text is preserved in MS Yerevan, Matenadaran – MS 2826, comprising 242 sheets, measuring 21.8 x 18 cms. It is written in a single column, 25 lines per page, with a version of the alleged 'Oath of Mahmēt' in the vernacular attached. The title page is missing, and the manuscript has no colophon, or mention of translator, copier, date or location. After five blank pages, on the first page just before the first sura the title appears as *Book that is called Ghuran* (the *gh* in capitals). Then

the titles of the suras are written in perfect form (e.g. 'Introductory chapter, written in Mecca, consisting of seven verses', *Glukh Yarajabanut'ean, Greal i Mak'ay, or parunakē z'yot'n tuns*). The suras follow in accurate order, with correct titles and number of verses (unmarked), containing only minor errors and with only one missing. The text ends abruptly on p. 478 at the sura numbered 104, titled 'Concerning the elephant', *al-Fīl*, Q 105. Suras 106-14 are missing. After a dotted line, the same handwriting continues, but the text that follows immediately is the so-called 'Oath of the Prophet', allegedly granted to the Christians at Medina a few years after the *hijra*. Unlike the text of the Qur'an, this particular version of the oath is written in the vernacular, with spelling and grammatical errors and a surprising number of Arabic words in transliteration. The title of this version and the first few lines are as follows: 'For the Christians, [this] was given to the catholicos, [it was] written by the hand of Mu'āwiya, and in the presence of the followers of the Prophet, as is seen at the end, and whoever was present of the *amūrs* at Medina. [This] decree of the Prophet a divine oath from above, [it is] to become a commandment for the Christians from east to west, for the wise and the simple, for the far and the near...' (for these alleged pacts/oaths/treatises, see Dadoyan, *Armenians in the medieval Islamic world*, vol. 1, pp. 43-64).

PUBLICATIONS

The *Ghuran* is preserved in seven manuscripts in five collections. All bear the same title as the original, though different epithets are added to Lehats'i's name, and the number of suras (*azoaras* – borrowed from the Latin, a distorted transliteration of the Arabic *al-sūra*) varies.

Isfahan seems to be central to this succession of copies: the first two were made in the lifetime of Lehats'i in the 1680s, and subsequent copies followed up to the 19th century. With the exception of MS Jerusalem, St Yakob Monastery – 2782, the five others originate from New Julfa.

The text has not been published in print.

MS Yerevan, Matenadaran – 934 (1670-80; Lehats'i's autograph; 256 sheets measuring 21 × 12.5 cms, with the text on fols 2r-285v)

MS Yerevan Matenadaran – 3019 (1681; not merely a copy of MS 934, as has been believed up to now, but a unique and significant collection, which includes a copy of Lehats'i's *Ghuran* and five additional texts (416 folios in total) that shed light on the original MS. It was made during Lehats'i's lifetime in Isfahan, about 1,000 miles south-east of Ējmiatsin, by a scribe called Amir Sargis Dpir, as is attested by his seal on fol. 5 and personal remarks on fols 231r, 284r and 416v. The epithet *amīr* indicates social status, and *dpir* means church clerk/servant/scribe/secretary. The *Ghuran* covers 230 folios in single columns, 27-29 lines per folio. It is indeed a very close yet more refined and linguistically superior copy of the original MS 934 of Lehats'i's *Ghuran*. At the time it was made, Lehats'i's text must have been intact, because there is no mention by Sargis of the missing folios that appear in the original MS 934 between the first part, which seems to have been damaged and rewritten, and the rest of the work.

About a tenth of the manuscript is damaged, but the rest is in satisfactory condition. It contains five hitherto unknown works on Armenian-Islamic relations from the Safavid Period:

1. *Vardapetut'wn Mahmēti* ['The teaching of Muḥammad', of the extremely honourable and acceptable *mahmetakank'* (or Muslims, a surprisingly modern term), which a certain Arab wrote'] (fols 231v-246v) is a dramatisation of an alleged meeting at 'Yasrab' (Medina) between four Jewish sages of the city and Muḥammad. The leader of the group, who is named Abdiu ibn Saghon, is persuaded by Muḥammad's arguments and becomes a Muslim.
2. *Tesil Mahmēti* ['The vision of Muḥammad'] (fols 246v-248r) is a satirical retelling of 'Surat' *al-asrab'* (Q 17, *Sūrat al-isrā'*, numbered 27 in the text), the opening verse of which is interpreted by Muslims as a reference to Muḥammad's night journey to Jerusalem and ascension to heaven.
3. *Ēnddimut'wn banits ghuranin* ['Refutation of the Qur'an'], (fols 249r-344r) is the longest and most systematic work within the collection, comprising four 'volumes' (*hator*), as Sargis calls them. The first three volumes bear the same title, *Ēnddimut'wn banits ghuranin*, while the fourth is titled 'Story and refutation of Mahmēt'. Volume 1 (17 chapters) is a meticulous critique of certain teachings of the Qur'an, such as its view of Christians and their religion, their beliefs about the nature of Christ, and the Bible.

Volume 2 (15 chapters), on 'speculative theology' (*khohrdakan astowatsabanut'iwn*), refutes qur'anic attitudes towards Christian concepts such as the Trinity, arguments for the existence of God, the crucifixion, and the last judgment. Volume 3 (21 chapters) focuses on the personality, ambivalence, militant ways and claims of Muḥammad, and volume 4 (22 chapters) analyses the Qur'an as a set of laws, as compared to the laws set out in the Old and New Testaments.

4. *Patmut'iwn mahmēti*, and *ēnddimadardzut'iwn mahmēti* ['Story of Muḥammad', and 'Refutation of Muḥammad'] (fols 347r-412v) consist of 12 unnumbered parts. They form an account of the early conflicts between Muḥammad and his followers on one side, and the 'pagan and Jewish' people of Mecca (*mak'ayans*) on the other.
5. *Patmut'iwn vasn calu mahmatin i hays ew cnaln ēnddēm srboyn amen rshtuneats' episkoposin* ['Concerning the coming of Muḥammad to Armenia and going against the holy bishop of the Ršhtunis] (fols 413r-416r).

MS New Julfa-Isfahan, Monastery of the Holy Saviour – 361 (17th century copy in poor condition; no date or copyist's name; 232 folios, measuring 31.5 × 20.5 cms) The leather binding has coloured cardboard on the inner sides, and the title page and a few sheets are missing. The text is in a single column, 52 lines per page, and there are faded drawings in the margins. The MS was acquired from Margar Galsdanean. Again, the table of contents lists 124 suras, though the book ends at the 71st. A most unusual subtitle for the last section on fols 109r-115v distinguishes this manuscript from all others. It consists of high praise for the Muslims and their Prophet: 'This is the teaching/philosophy [*vardapetut'iwn*] of Mahmēt, of the highly honourable and acceptable [*ēnduneli*] Muslims, which an Arab wrote: He was a messenger of God, let our prayers and wishes for salvation be upon him.' The text ends with a section titled 'The vision of Mahmēt, full of legends, which he invented and narrated' (fols 116r-116v). At the end is a copy of the note by Lehats'i from the original version of MS Matenadaran – 934 about some verses at the end of this *Ghuran*, which do not exist in the Latin version. On fol. 106v, the scribe has included a warning (repeated in MS Vienna, Mkhitarist Library – 575): 'O reader, look how the so-called prophet has been revealed through his words. Be a follower of the truth, and God will defend and assist you to be a witness against them' (Minassean, *Ts'uts'ak*, p. 53).

MS Jerusalem, St Yakob Monastery – 2782 (date not given; an incomplete and poorly made copy preserved in good condition; 537 folios, measuring 23 × 15.5 cms) The text is written in black ink on bluish paper in a single column. It contains numerous abbreviations and spelling errors and ends at Sura 67, although 124 suras are listed in the table of contents. As in the Latin version and Lehats'i's *Ghuran*, the first sura consists of three different translations of *al-Fātiḥa*. The sequence of the suras and the number of verses in each are inaccurate and often incomplete. This manuscript belonged to Archbishop Eghishē Durean Patriarch of Jerusalem (1921-30) (see Pogharean, *Mayr ts'uts'ak*, pp. 404-5).

MS Vienna, Mkhitarist Library – 575 (probably 18th century; in poor condition, no colophons or other information, 142 folios, measuring 22 × 16.5 cms). The text is written in a single column, 21 lines per page. There are no section titles or subdivisions, and the text is riddled with grammatical and spelling errors. This is a poor copy of MS New Julfa-Isfahan, Monastery of the Holy Saviour – 361. It was a gift from Sargis Murayajian of Tabriz to the Mkhitarist Library in 1905.

MS Bzemmar, Lebanon, Armenian Catholic Monastery – 649 (1843; 786 folios, measuring 18 x 10.5 cms, leather covered wood binding, in excellent condition) The text is written in black ink on paper, 23 lines per page. On page 18, there is a coloured illustration of a Muslim man at prayer. The colophon reads: 'This was copied from two versions, for comparison, by Father Vrt'anis Urukchiveants' from the Brotherhood of the Lebanese Fathers while on a mission to Persia, New Julfa, which is Isfahan, on 12 February of the year 1843 of the Lord' (see Akinean and Oskean, *Ts'uts'ak*, p. 255).

MS Vienna, Mkhitarist Library – 576 (12 February 1843; in good condition, 284 folios, measuring 19.5 x 14 cms, probably a copy of MS Bzemmar 649) The text is written in a single column in black ink and was copied in New Julfa-Isfahan by Father Markos Manasian of the Antonian Brotherhood. It was a gift from the Antonian Library to the Mkhitarist Library in January 1907 (see Oskean, *Ts'uc'ak hayerēn*, pp. 8-10).

A mystery manuscript from Bhopal was acquired in 1922 by M.Y. Sēt'eants' (see Sēt'eants', 'Hay dzeragir mi Ghuran i hndiks'). The text covers 594 folios, measuring 21.5 × 15 cms, and is written in two different kinds of Armenian lettering in black ink, with the initial letters of the suras in red ink. The cover is worn and has no title page.

According to the (equally mysterious) owner, the manuscript belonged to Karapet Petros Murad (a native of Istanbul), who was a teacher at Mardasirakan Jemaran in Kolkata, where Sēt'eants' was a student in the 1890s. In 1922, the teacher's Indian widow, who had moved to Istanbul, mentioned selling an Armenian manuscript she had found in her husband's papers to a 'Muslim princess' in the city of Bhopal. Eventually, in May 1922, this manuscript was located and bought back by a friend of Sēt'eants'. It turned out to be Lehats'i's *Ghuran*. The title is the same as in all other manuscripts, but the colophon, as quoted by Sēt'eants', is unique: 'The Ghuran is now completed, it is translated from the Latin language into the Armenian language by philosopher and philologist Step'anos Ilovian, the learned *vardapet*, whom the Lord God will reward. Amen' (Sēt'eants', 'Hay dzeragir mi Ghuran i hndiks', p. 167). Sēt'eants' quotes some of the notes on this manuscript and they are identical to those on MS Yerevan, Matenadaran – 934, indicating that this manuscript is a close copy of the original.

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Seta B. Dadoyan

Ioseb T'bileli

Tp'ileli, Babat'ašvili Tp'ileli

DATE OF BIRTH 1620
PLACE OF BIRTH Georgia
DATE OF DEATH 1688
PLACE OF DEATH Georgia

BIOGRAPHY

Ioseb T'bileli was descended from the family of Giorgi Saakaže, the hero he depicts in his poem *Didmouraviani*. There are various theories about his relationship to Giorgi Saakaže, but it seems safe to assume that he was the son of Saakaže's nephew.

He grew up in the Kvat'axeви monastery in Georgia, and there became a monk. He was well-versed in literature and philosophy, and initially had a successful career in the church hierarchy. He became archbishop of Acquri in the Samc'xe region, and then from 1661 to 1686 was metropolitan of Tbilisi, which explains his name T'bileli or Tp'ileli, 'coming from Tbilisi'. He was later closely involved in the workings of the court of King Vaxtang V (r. 1658-75), where he served as a calligrapher and scribe, and was mentor to Prince Arč'il. He left many written works and it is apparent from some of these that he was involved as judge and mediator in making decisions in court cases.

He was a patron of learning, and oversaw the founding of the library of Sioni Church in Tbilisi and the extension of its holdings. He opened a church school near Tbilisi and had the church of Bobnevi built at his expense (1683). He died in 1688, during the period of internal military conflict between the Georgian kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Didmouraviani

DATE 1684-7

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

According to the introductory stanza, T'bileli wrote *Didmouraviani* at the behest of King Arč'il II (d. 1714). It is generally agreed that the work was composed between 1684 and 1687, after Arč'il had written his own *T'eimuraziani* (1681-5), as the king would otherwise have mentioned it in his own telling of the events it covers. In the first published edition of 1851, edited by Platon Ioseliani from a manuscript that can no longer be traced, the poem consists of 482 stanzas over 73 pages.

The poem is dedicated to one of the most contentious political agents in Georgian history, Giorgi Saakaḡe, and his exploits. Georgian sources call him *Didi Mouravi*, 'the Grand Constable', while Persian-language sources refer to him as *Mūrāv-Beg*, and in Ottoman sources his name appears in various forms: *Mâûrāv Hân*, *Mâgzav*, *Mâğrāv*, *Mâğrâd* or *Mâğrâz*.

Giorgi Saakaḡe was a pivotal character in the triangle of political interrelations between the Georgian kingdoms, the Safavids and the Ottomans in the first half of the 17th century. He held the office of constable at the court of Kartli and was very successful in combating Ottoman

aggression in Georgia. His power and influence caused his relations with King Luarsab II (r. 1606-22), to whom he was related by marriage, to deteriorate so he went to Iran. There he quickly rose through the Safavid military-administrative ranks to become a trusted advisor of Shah 'Abbās in Georgian matters, and also converted to Islam. He surprised the Safavids by changing sides in 1624 and joining the revolt of King T'eimuraz I (d. 1663) against Iranian suzerainty in western Georgia, converting back to Christianity. However, after securing victory he found himself in conflict with T'eimuraz I and was forced to flee to the Ottoman Empire, where he was named *beylerbey* of Karaman (in Konya), and again converted to Islam. While he was still in office, he was executed in Aleppo on the orders of the Ottoman Grand Vizier Hüsrev Pasha.

The poem consists of 11 chapters and features a prologue, a dedication to King Arč'il II, an epilogue and a further dedication to the king.

The story unfolds against the backdrop of the military conflicts between the eastern Georgian kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti and their Islamic neighbours, beginning in 1626. Giorgi Saakaze learns that T'eimuraz I, who with his help has remained on the throne of the kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti, is intent on having him killed. He sends an envoy to the king and learns that T'eimuraz accuses him of having had a hand in the violent death of King Luarsab II, whom Shah 'Abbās had arranged to have strangled. The king, however, denies intending him any harm. Giorgi Saakaze reminds him of his service to the kings of Kartli and Kakheti. T'bileli does not describe his death, so as, he says, not to darken the mood of the readers.

T'bileli presents the narrative from the perspective of Giorgi Saakaze himself. The verses describe the events in which he was central, and the political intrigues and conflicts that characterised the complex Safavid-Georgian-Ottoman relations of the time. The revolt of T'eimuraz I against the Iranians in 1624, in which Saakaze defeats the Iranian army, is a key event. Indeed, the Ottoman historian Ibrahim Pečevi commented on this defeat that nothing worse had so far befallen Shah 'Abbās I in the 40 years of his reign.

SIGNIFICANCE

Against the backdrop of the Safavid-Georgian conflict, the author idealises the historical figure of Giorgi Saakaze as a saviour of eastern Georgia from the Muslim threat. Saakaze declares, 'I can say that I die for Kartli, that I have martyrdom before me, for those who defiled [the Christian] religion I was a bow' (ed. Leonize, stanza 315).

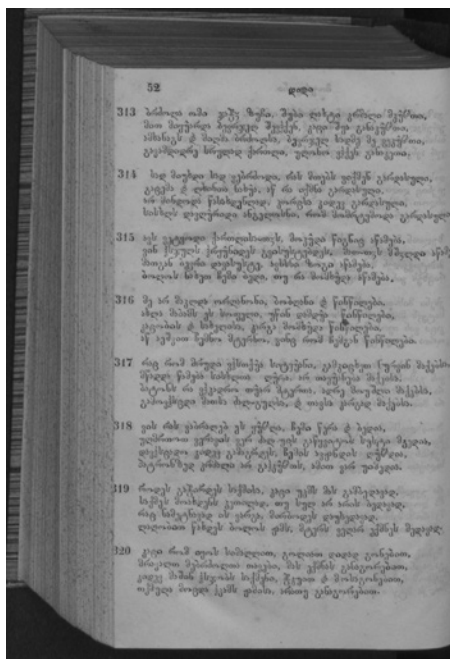


Illustration 12. Stanza 315 (referred to below) from the edition of *Didmouraviani* published by Ioseb T'bileli, 1851

T'bileli does not address the matter of Saakaze's conversions to Islam; on the contrary, Saakaze is expressly shown as a devout Christian, described on several occasions in the poem as praying to the Christian God and asking for the help of Christ and Mary the Mother of God (ed. Leonize, stanzas 51, 55, 56, 125-8); in the cathedral of Mc'xet'a he prays, 'I am your servant and in your service until my soul shall part from my body', and he explains his victory over the Muslims as the result of divine help in the fight against the 'T'at'ars' (stanza 55), which here means Muslims ('to become a Tatar' was a synonym for becoming a Muslim).

The number of extant manuscripts of the work (15) is an indication of its importance to Georgians, who were to endure almost another 200 years of continuing confrontation with their Muslim neighbours. Written with all the pathos of a heroic epic, the poem seems to have enjoyed great popularity. It is worth mentioning that King Arč'il II admonishes his Georgian readers to 'keep passing on his history to your children like a testament' when he tells the story of Giorgi Saakaze in his poem *T'eimuraziani*.

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Nana Kharebava

P'arsadan Gorgijaniže

DATE OF BIRTH	Around 1626
PLACE OF BIRTH	Possibly Gori
DATE OF DEATH	Probably after 1694
PLACE OF DEATH	Possibly Isfahan

BIOGRAPHY

P'arsadan Gorgijaniže was a Georgian politician and historian who followed a unique political and cultural career in the Safavid Empire. He was originally from Gori in Georgia, and since according to his own statement he was 65 when he finished a copy of his Georgian translation of *Jāmi'-i 'Abbāsī* in October 1691 (he had made the translation itself in 1666), he was probably born around 1626. He was apparently not of aristocratic lineage, but was chosen at the age of ten by King Rostom of the Kingdom of Kartli (r. 1633-58), a Muslim Bagratid prince who had returned from the Safavid central court, and was raised at the Georgian court in a Persophile atmosphere. Rostom was also the *dārūgha* (mayor) of Isfahan, the capital of the Safavid Empire, for nearly 40 years.

In 1656, Shah 'Abbās II (r. 1642-66) asked Rostom to send a new *nā'ib* (deputy) to the capital. Parsadan Gorgijaniže was sent and converted to Islam, since 'infidels never ruled the Muslims'. He was officially recognised as acting mayor of the city, though after a short while he was forced to leave this post because of a quarrel with the *dīvānbeḡī* (supreme judge of the court); he was granted the post of *īshīk-āqāsi* (royal chamberlain) and also five villages near Gulpāyigān as a fief. He chose to remain there, spending the rest of his life in the service of the shah. According to his description, his brothers were also promoted to positions of rank as *zargarbāshī* (head of the jewellers' department) and *yūzbāshī* (centurion), respectively. Gorgijaniže's son Davit' was given the post of *īshīk-āqāsi* at the age of 16.

Gorgijaniže was typical of a Caucasian servant who made a successful career in the Safavid political system as part of the royal *ghulām* institution. Despite serving at the imperial court, he was never cut off from his origins, but rather made use of his native connections. In his works, he repeatedly refers to his interventions in Georgian politics with the support of Safavid imperial authority. It is worth noting that, according to

his own statements, these interventions led to his downfall at least twice, in 1666, when he went into a six-year internal exile in Shushtar, in south-western Iran, and 1689, though his withdrawal from the political scene may have provided him with the motivation and opportunity to take up cultural activities. He edited a Georgian-Arabic-Persian vocabulary, and translated *Jāmi'-i 'Abbāsī* into Georgian. He also played an active role in producing a Georgian prose version of the *Shāhnāma* called *Rostomiani* ('Stories of Rostom').

His history of Georgia (for which no clear original title has yet been identified), written around the beginning of the 1690s in Isfahan, revived Georgian historical writing, which had been stagnant for centuries. This work is important, as it completes Georgian history from the conversion of a Georgian king to Christianity up to Gorgijaniže's own time. The original autograph manuscript is now in the National Centre of Manuscripts in Tbilisi. It has never been published in its totality, though the part covering the Safavid era was edited and published by S. Kakabaže ('P'arsadan Giorgijanižis istoria' [P'arsadan Gorgijaniže's history], *Saistorio moambe* 2 (1925) 198-316, published as a separate book in Tbilisi in 1926). It is worth noting that Gorgijaniže was engaged in this work a decade before the Georgian cultural revival of the 18th century. He used many Persian as well as Georgian and Armenian chronicles as source material.

Attention should be paid to the complexity of Gorgijaniže's various identities: M.-F. Brossett (*Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au xix^e siècle*, Partie 2, St Petersburg, 1856, p. 510) suggests that he came from an Armenian background, while the Safavid chronicler Valī-qulī Shāmlū (*Qīṣaṣ al-khāqānī*, fol. 234a) says his name derives from *pārsīmadān* ('not Persian speaking' or 'has no Persian knowledge'), clearly reflecting an Irano-Turkic perspective towards such imperial subjects from the Caucasus. He was not part of the Georgian landed nobility which produced many powerful Safavid statesmen (Kakabaže, *P'arsadan Giorgijanižis istoria*, p. ix, suggests he was from a merchant family). Leaving aside his important Georgian historical works, however, Gorgijaniže was essentially a Georgian statesman of mixed background, pursuing a complicated career within the early modern Muslim world.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

Several Persian chronicles contain brief information about Gorgijaniže's appointment as mayor of Isfahan and his dismissal from the post:

MS Paris, BNF – Supplément Persan 227, Walīqulī Shāmlū, *Qīṣaṣ al-khāqānī*

Abu-l-Qasim P'irdousi (Abū l-Qāsim Firdawsī), *Šah-names anu mep'et'a cignis k'art'uli versiebi*, ed. Iustine Abulaže et al., 2 vols, Tbilisi, 1916, 1934 (Georgian trans. of Firdawsī's *Shahname*, called *Rostomiani* in Georgian)

Muḥammad Yūsuf Vāla Qazvīnī Iṣfahānī, *Īrān dar zamān-i Shah Šaḡī va Shah 'Abbas-i duvvum*, ed. Muḥammad Riṣā Naṣīrī, Tehran, 2001

Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭāhir Vahīd Qazvīnī, *Tārīkh-i Jahānārā-yi 'Abbasī*, ed. Seyyed Sa'īd Mīr Muḥammad Šādeq, Tehran, 2004

See also:

M. Janašvili, *P'arsadan Gorgijaniže da misni šromani*, Tbilisi, 1896 (includes an introduction about Gorgijaniže's biography and works)

V. P'uturize, *P. Gorgijanižis k'art'ul-arabul-sparsuli lek'sikoni*, Tbilisi, 1941 (includes an introduction about Gorgijaniže's biography and works)

Secondary

H. Maeda, 'Parsadan Gorgijaniže's exile in Shushtar. A biographical episode of a Georgian official in the service of the Safavids', *Studies on Persianate Societies* 1-2 (2008) 218-29

R. Kiknaže, *Sak'art'velos istoriis cqarot'mc'odneobis sakit'xebi*, vol 1, Tbilisi, 1982 (includes a detailed study of Gorgijaniže's history)

M. Gobejišvili, 'P'arsadan Gorgijanižis saistorio t'xzulebis leningraduli H 41 nusxis minacerebi', *K'art'uli cqarot'mc'odneoba* 5 (1978) 70-5

R. Kiknaže, *P'arsadan Gorgijaniže da 'istoriani da azmani sharavandendt'ani*, Tbilisi, 1975

K. Tabataže, 'Isev P'arsadan Gorgijanižis t'xzulebis 15 saukunis cqaroebis sakit'xisat'vis', *K'art'uli cqarot'mc'odneoba* 4 (1973) 41-55

D. Kac'itaže, 'Isev P'arsadan Gorgijanižis ert'i sparsulenovani cqaros šesaxeb', *Ağmosavluri p'ilologia* 2 (1972) 153-9 (Kac'itaže has written several articles on Gorgijaniže's Persian sources)

D. Gvritishvili, *Peodaluri Sak'art'velos soc'ialuri urt'iert'obis istoriidan. K'art'lis sat'avadoebi*, Tbilisi, 1955

I. Javakhishvili, *Žveli k'art'uli saistorio mtserloba*, Tbilisi, 1945

Z. Chichinadze, *K'art'uli mtserloba meč'vidmete saukuneshi*, Tbilisi, 1888

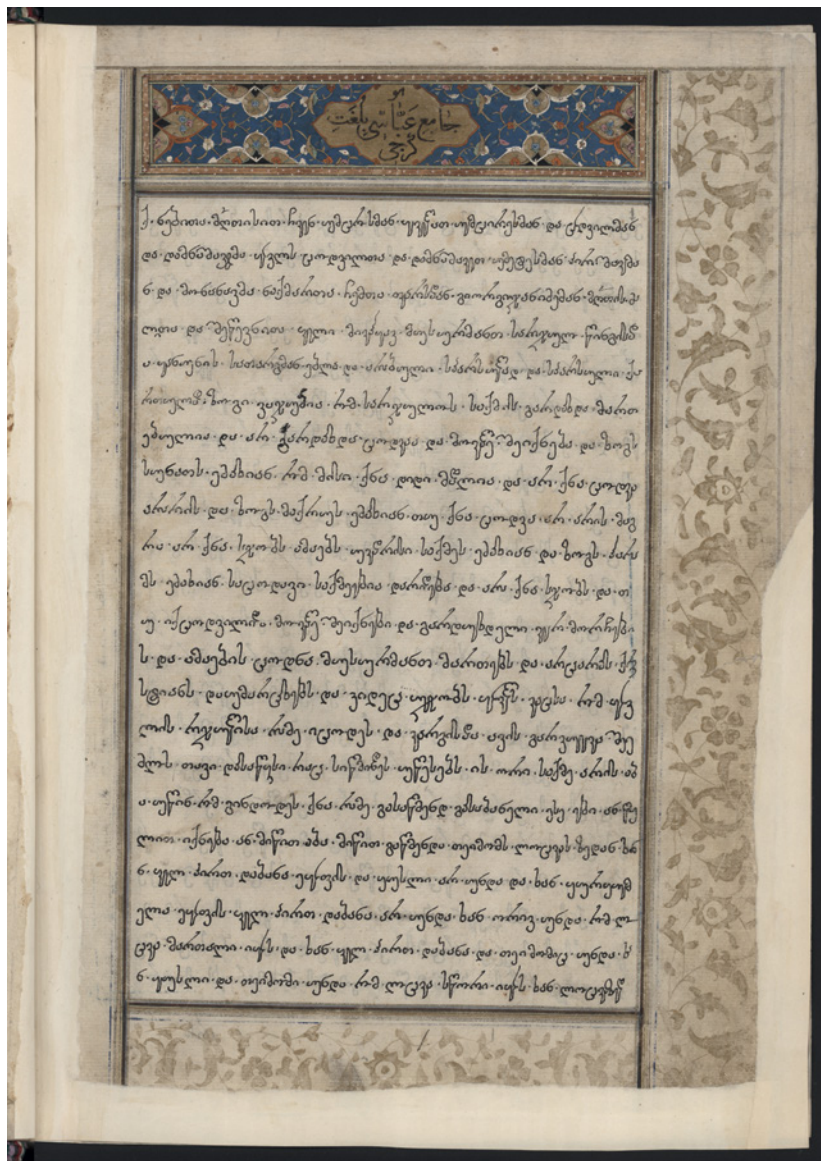


Illustration 13. Page from *Jāmi'-i 'Abbāsī bi luḡhat-i Gurjī*

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

*Jāmi'-i 'Abbāsī bi lughat-i
Gurjī; Jamiabasi k'art'ulad,
'Jāmi'-i 'Abbāsī in the
Georgian language'*

DATE 1666-91

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Georgian

DESCRIPTION

Jāmi'-i 'Abbāsī bi lughat-i Gurjī is a translation from Persian into Georgian of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Amilī's *Jāmi'-i 'Abbāsī*. There are two known manuscripts, in Tbilisi and St Petersburg. The former covers 140 folios (280 pages). P'arsadan Gorgijaniže made this translation during his six-year exile in Shushtar, in south-west Iran, in 1666-71. The introduction contains such statements as: 'Muslims are ruled by this knowledge, while it does not overwhelm Christians. Moreover, it is better for every man to know every religion to some extent, so that they can understand good and evil.' This suggests an openness towards the value of both religions, possibly stemming from Gorgijaniže's mixed religious identity, though it could also indicate strong resentment towards Safavid religious pressure.

Gorgijaniže maintains that he was commissioned to translate this work by Shah 'Abbās II (Brossett *Histoire de la Géorgie*, partie 2, p. 513; Orbeli, *Gruzinskije Rukopisi*, p. 113; P'uturiže, *Gorgijanižis k'art'ul-arabul-sparsuli lek'sikoni*, p. vii). The manuscript, which still awaits full study, also contains the following short works: fols 116r-126v: a notebook or dictionary of Georgian-Arabic-Persian vocabulary, based on Abū Naṣr Farrāhī's *Niṣāb al-ṣibyān*, with a description of the Muslim calendar; fols 126v-127v: secret code of Georgian writings (*anjanis anbana*) and explanation of dreams; fols 128r-133v: translation of *Ikhtilājāt-i a'zā*; fols 134r-140: a genealogy of Ottoman sultans (*Osman jugi*).

SIGNIFICANCE

A man of complex identity, Gorgijaniže navigates the world between different religions and nations. The statement at the beginning of his translation represents his cosmopolitan world-view, and can thus be regarded as a unique expression and reflection of the social and political trends in late Safavid society by a member of the 'Georgian' imperial elite.

The work requires more thorough study, but has clear value for comparative religions, cross-cultural and linguistic studies.

PUBLICATIONS

MS St Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences – M-27 (October 1691)

MS Tbilisi, Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts – S-174 (date unknown)

There are no published versions of *Jāmi'-i 'Abbāsī bi lughat-i Gurjī* (fols 1-115), though the Georgian-Arabic-Persian vocabulary (fols 116r-126v) has been published twice:

M. Janašvili, *P'arsadan Gorgijaniže da misni šromani*, Tbilisi, 1896

V. P'uturiže, *P. Gorgijanižis k'art'ul-arabul-sparsuli lek'sikoni*, Tbilisi, 1941

STUDIES

There are no known thorough studies of this manuscript. Reference is made in the following works:

Janašvili, *P'arsadan Gorgijaniže*, pp. 79-80

E. Metreveli (ed.), *K'art'ul xelnacert'a agceriloba. Qop'ili k'art'velt'a soris cera-kit'xvis gamavrc'elebeli sazogadoebis (S) kolek'c'ia* [Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts: Collections of the Former Society for the Spreading of Literacy among Georgians (S)], Tbilisi, 1960, pp. 191-3

R.R. Orbeli, *Gruzinskie rukopisi instituta vostokovedeniia*, vol. 1, Moscow, 1956, pp. 20-2, 113-14

Hirotake Maeda

Sulaymān, Shah of Persia

DATE OF BIRTH February or March 1648
PLACE OF BIRTH Isfahan
DATE OF DEATH 29 July 1694
PLACE OF DEATH Isfahan

BIOGRAPHY

Shah Sulaymān (Şafī II), whose given name was Sām Mīrzā, was born in early 1648 to a Circassian slave woman, the oldest son of Shah ‘Abbās II. Until his accession, he grew up secluded in the royal harem, surrounded by and cared for by eunuchs and palace women.

Sām Mīrzā was initially enthroned as Shah Şafī II on 1 October 1666, six days after his father’s death, the palace eunuchs having selected him over his younger brother, whom some saw as the more pliable candidate. After a smooth transition, Shah Şafī II’s early reign was rather inauspicious. The young ruler spent most of his time in his harem, only interrupting his immured existence with frequent horseback outings accompanied by his harem women, who were known as *quruq* (which precluded any male attendants). Real power was in the hands of various courtiers who were all jockeying for advantage in the presence of a ruler whose harem upbringing had taught him little about the world. Meanwhile, rapidly dwindling public funds, brought about by Şafī II’s excessive generosity and a structural economic malaise exacerbated by two consecutive poor harvests caused by drought and locust swarms, augured poorly for the future of the state. A devastating earthquake in Shirvan in November 1667 only strengthened the belief that divine wrath was responsible for all this misfortune, prompting the royal physicians and astrologers to suggest a second inauguration.

The shah’s second enthronement, now as Shah Sulaymān, took place on Nawrūz, 20 March 1668. Sulaymān then retreated into the harem again, enjoying its pleasures and caring little for state affairs for the next 25 years. Unlike his predecessors, he never led a military campaign, and he seems to have travelled beyond Isfahan only once. He preferred to stay in his palace, often not appearing in public for months on end. Generally known to be mild-mannered, Sulaymān occasionally had outbursts of rage, and instances of cruelty are recorded as well, especially at times when he was drunk.

The economic malaise did not abate following the shah's second enthronement, even though it long remained disguised as political stability. The period is rife with reports about famine, food riots and popular rebellions. Alarmed by the ballooning deficit, Sulaymān's mother is said to have imposed financial discipline on him following his second enthronement. Encouraged by his budget-conscious grand vizier, Shaykh 'Alī Khān, for the remainder of his reign the shah became known for his parsimoniousness, not so much in his personal expenditure as in money earmarked for public causes, including the filling of administrative positions and the upkeep of the military.

Like his father and grandfather, Shah Sulaymān scrupulously abided by the terms of the Peace of Zuhāb, which Shah Ṣafī had concluded with the Ottomans in 1639. Consequently, Sulaymān's reign was devoid of spectacular events in the form of major wars and rebellions, so much so that contemporary annalists refrained from recording the period in chronicle form. This record set the tone for a near-unanimous contemporary verdict on Sulaymān as incurious, lascivious, erratic and given to wine. Modern scholarship has followed suit by treating him as an ephemeral, insouciantly pacific ruler, whose reign marked the beginning of the terminal decline of the Safavid state.

In his later years, heavy drinking taking its toll, the shah became more and more reclusive and infirm. All in all, Sulaymān, who seems to have suffered from foot pain caused by gout, did not leave his harem for a full four years before his death on 29 July 1694. Two days later his son Shah Sultan Ḥusayn ascended to the Safavid throne.

MAIN SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Primary

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- A. de Rhodes, *Relation de la mission de Perse de la Compagnie de Jesus etablie dans le Royaume de Perse*, Paris, 1669
- J.-B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean Bapt. Tavernier en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes*, Paris, 1676
- N. Sanson, *Estat présent du royaume de Perse*, Paris, 1694
- J.T. Krusinski, *The history of the late revolutions in Persia*, London, 1733
- F. Petis de la Croix, 'Extrait du journal du sieur Petis, Fils, Professeur en Arabe, et secrétaire interprète entretenu en la marine renfermant tout ce qu'il a vu en fait en Orient', in Doury Efendy, *Relation de Dourry Efendy*, Paris, 1810, 73-174

- J. Chardin, *Les voyages du Chevalier Chardin aux Indes, et en Iran*, ed. L. Langlès, Paris, 1810-11 (10 vols and atlas)
- M.-F. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIX^e siècle*, 2 vols, St Petersburg, 1856
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- H. Chick (ed.), *A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia and the papal mission of the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries*, London, 1939, repr. 2012

Secondary

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- R.J. Abisaab, *Converting Persia. Religion and power in the Safavid Empire*, London, 2004
- K. Babayan, *Mystics, monarchs, and messiahs. Cultural landscapes of early modern Iran*, Cambridge MA, 2003
- R. Matthee, *The politics of trade in Safavid Iran. Silk for silver, 1600-1730*, Cambridge, 1999
- ‘Abdal-Ḥusayn Navā’ī, *Rawābiṭ-i siyāsī-i Īrān u Urūpā dar’aṣr-i Safawī*
- H.R. Roemer, *Persien auf dem Weg in die Neuzeit. Iranische Geschichte von 1350-1750*, Beirut, 1989; repr. 2003; condensed version in Roemer, 'The Safavid period', in J.A. Boyle (ed.), *Cambridge history of Iran*, 1986, vol. 5, pp. 189-350
- R. Savory, *Iran under the Safavids*, Cambridge, 1986

WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Correspondence with European states; documents about Armenians and Catholics

DATE 1666-94

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

With regard to Sulaymān's stance on religion, contemporaries have offered different opinions. The Armenian Bedros Bedik, who wrote an informative account of Iran under Sulaymān, claims that the shah never skipped a prayer and was more religiously minded than his immediate predecessors. Bedik calls him 'benevolent towards Christians', though less so than his predecessors (Bedik, *Man of two worlds*, p. 232). The French Capuchin missionary Sanson insisted that Sulaymān loved Christians,

was against forced conversions and even allowed Christians who had adopted Islam because they were unable to pay the poll tax (*jizya*) to return to their original faith (Sanson, *Estat*, pp. 10-12).

Indeed, when in 1690 he visited New Julfa (mainly to select Armenian virgins for his harem), Sulaymān did take a tour of the Armenian All Saviour Cathedral of New Julfa, inquiring about the nature of the imagery. He also continued the royal tradition of acting benevolently towards the Armenians of his realm, affirming their rights and allowing them to retain their freedom of worship. Various royal edicts, *raqams*, in which the shah consents to the (re)building of churches, prohibits Muslim harrassment of Christians, and even contests the right of converted Armenians to get hold of their kin's wealth, testify to this attitude (Kat'oghikos Simēon of Erevan, *Jambr*, pp. 342-8; Ghougassian, *Emergence*, pp. 217-19).

Yet the condition of Iran's 'minorities', Christians as much as Jews and Zoroastrians, unarguably worsened under Sulaymān's rule. This is attributable not to the shah's personal bigotry but rather to his insouciance and invisibility as well as to growing public insolvency. Rarely inviting (foreign) guests to drinking parties, and mostly going out under *quruq*, Shah Sulaymān was far less accessible than his predecessors had been. This royal absence gave a free hand to rapacious officials, and latitude to those intent on emphasising the Shī'ī character of the state. It also allowed hard-line Shī'ī clerics to gain unprecedented influence in state affairs, culminating in the appointment of the dogmatic Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī as *Shaykh al-Islām* in 1687; and it allowed long-standing quarrels among Iran's Armenians, between the dioceses of Echmiadzin and New Julfa, as well as within the New Julfan community, between the Gregorian Armenians and Isfahan's resident Catholics, both local Armenians and missionaries, to fester and worsen. Owing in part to the policies of grand vizier Shaykh 'Alī Khān (in office 1669-89), pressure on the Julfan Armenians, mostly in the form of the enforcement of the poll tax, noticeably increased during Sulaymān's reign (Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen*, pp. 212-13). In 1683, we have the first report about the enforcement of the rules of ritual purity, *najāsāt*. In the same period, various instances of high-ranking Julfan Armenians converting to Islam, including an Armenian bishop in 1673, reflect heightened religious fervour on the part of Shī'ī officials, as well as deep divisions within the Armenians community. The Gregorian Armenians, relying for support on the suburb's patron, the queen-mother, clearly took advantage of the shah's retreat to put pressure on their coreligionists, the Catholic Armenians. In 1694, they paid enough in bribes to obtain a decree from

the queen-mother forcing the missionaries out of New Julfa and having a half-finished church in the suburb demolished (Chick, *Chronicle*, pp. 461-9; 862; Kroell, *Nouvelles d'Ispahan*, p. 78; Ghougassian, *Emergence*, p. 146). Incidentally, one of the only two 'conversion' narratives we have for the Safavid period, a treatise by an anonymous Armenian who chose to adopt Islam, recounts events that took place in Shah Sulaymān's reign (Abkar Armani, *I'tirāf-nāma*; the other, which appears in the same volume, is by a Georgian who converted under Shah 'Abbās).

Shah Sulaymān had a good relationship with the French Capuchin prior Raphaël du Mans, a long-standing resident of Isfahan, who was an important source of information and who served as translator and interpreter at the royal court (Richard, *Raphaël du Mans*). The shah continued to uphold the rights of European missionaries to operate on Iranian soil. In July 1669, Sulaymān issued a *ḥukm* securing the rights and benefits of the resident Carmelites (Chick, *Chronicle*, p. 905; Richard, 'Privilèges', pp. 172, 175). In a decree of 1690, he admonished the authorities not to interfere with the activities of the 'black fathers', the Jesuits (Richard, 'Les missions catholiques', p. 325).

Contacts between the Safavid court and European rulers involving the state of the Catholic missions continued as well. In 1668, for instance, the shah granted a *farmān* to an unnamed European ambassador who had petitioned the court on behalf of the missionaries (Richard, 'Les missions catholiques', p. 325). A year later, in response to the demolition of a church in Yerevan at the instigation of the Gregorians, Pope Clement VIII wrote a letter to the shah complaining about the treatment of the missionaries and requesting relief (Chick, *Chronicle*, pp. 412-13, 1304). In 1685, the shah allowed Sebastian Knab O.P. to establish a Dominican mission in Isfahan (Eszer, 'Sebastian Knab', p. 273). In the 1690s, he authorised a Polish mission in Kerman.

The outbreak of the war over Crete (the Candian War) in 1669, followed by a new Ottoman offensive into the heart of Europe, once again sharpened European interest in enlisting the Safavids in a joint anti-Ottoman coalition. This interest is reflected in the publication of apocryphal letters between the shah and the sultan, representing a genre of 'fake news' that went back to the late 15th century (Matthee, 'Iran's Ottoman diplomacy', pp. 163-73). A more substantive manifestation is a spike in the number of European missions sent to Isfahan at this time. These elicited little in the way of affirmative response from the Safavid court, however, leading to a great imbalance in diplomatic traffic between Iran

and Europe. Shah Sulaymān welcomed the victory of the Holy League at Vienna in 1683, yet left no doubt that continued peaceful relations with the Ottomans were his priority.

Polish traffic was particularly intense in this regard. In 1676 the originally Georgian Bogdan Gurdiecki was appointed permanent resident of the Polish crown at the Safavid court, tasked to lure the shah into an anti-Ottoman coalition. He was to stay, with a brief interruption, until his death in 1699 (Chowaniec, 'Z dziejów'). Various other, mostly *ad hoc*, Polish missions were sent to Iran in the early 1680s, when the Ottomans were engaged in a new offensive into Central Europe. In 1683-4, coinciding with the decisive Christian defeat of the Ottomans before Vienna, various other European envoys visited the Safavid court as well. One of them was Sebastian Knab, who in 1682 was appointed archbishop of Nakhjavan, and who in 1684 sought, but failed, to encourage the shah to resume war against the Ottomans on behalf of the pope and the Austrian emperor (Chick, *Chronicle*, pp. 321, 419; Eszer, 'Sebastian Knab', and Eszer, 'Zu einigen bisher ungelösten Problemen', pp. 268-9). In the same year François Piquet, who at that time served as the apostolic vicar of Baghdad, visited the Safavid court representing King Louis XIV. The letter from the shah to the French monarch that was entrusted to him has been preserved in a French translation (Goyau, 'L'évêque François Piquet', pp. 155-6; for context, see Matthee, 'Iran's Ottoman diplomacy').

Various letters have also been preserved in Swedish archives concerning the several visits Ludwig Fabritius undertook to Iran on behalf of the Swedish Crown in this period. These include notes of appreciation from the Swedish King Charles XI, notification of the arrival of missions, a letter of condolence on the occasion of the death of Charles XI in 1697 and congratulations on the accession of his successor, Charles XII (Zetterstéen, *Türkische, tatarische und persische Urkunden*, pp. 128-32; and, for the context, Troebst, 'Die Kaspi-Volga-Ostsee-Route'). The mandate of the envoy sent to Denmark in 1691, too, was practical in nature, since it was tasked to seek compensation for losses suffered by Iranian merchants in 1687 when a Dutch ship carrying silk was confiscated by a Danish vessel (Vahman, 'Three Safavid documents').

SIGNIFICANCE

The reign of Shah Sulaymān represents continuity as much as rupture in Christian-Muslim relations in Safavid Iran. The shah continued his predecessors' policy of allowing Christians missionaries to operate on Iranian soil. He also issued various decrees confirming Armenian rights and



Illustration 14. Painting of Shah Sulaymān with Georgian and European ambassadors, by ‘Alī-qulī Jabbadār

privileges, especially in Armenia proper, including protection against harassment by Muslims. Like his predecessors, Sulaymān does not seem to have had a personal animus against Christians. But his lack of visibility and the weakness this projected, in addition to mounting fiscal problems, gave forces opposed to Catholic Christians – zealous court officials, hard-line clerics, and Gregorian Armenians seeking to undermine their Catholic brethren – ample opportunity to harass and overtax them. Conditions for Iran's domestic Christians thus deteriorated, as they did for all religious 'minorities'.

PUBLICATIONS

Digitalised copies of letters and *farmāns* by Sulaymān can be found at the Iranian Studies Division at the Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, Philipps-Universität Marburg; <http://www.asnad.org/en/>.

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 Tavernier, *Six voyages*
 Sanson, *Estat présent du royaume de Perse*
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Rudolph Matthee

Yaysm awur vkayabanut'iun srboyn Nikoḷayosi

'On this day the martyrology of St Nikoḷayos'

DATE 1694

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Yaysm awur vkayabanut'iun srboyn Nikoḷayosi nor nahatakin K'ristosi ('On this day the martyrology of St Nikoḷayos the new martyr for Christ') is an anonymous martyrology covering five pages in the earliest manuscript, M1532. It is about the tall and handsome youth Nikoḷayos, who was born in Bursa into a pious but poor family belonging to the Armenian Apostolic Church. Some time after his father's death, his mother sends him to be an apprentice with a blacksmith, after which he works in a smithy in one of Bursa's town quarters. There, he is approached by some Muslims who propose arranging his marriage into the family of a magnate, where he could enjoy status and wealth, if he becomes a Muslim. However, when Nikoḷayos ignores their suggestion, they charge him with having rejected Christianity and accepted Islam, implying he is now breaking the law by persisting in his former faith. To deflect their attention, some of his Muslim neighbours advise him to prepare a feast for his accusers, which he does, thereby gaining their silence for five years. In the interim, he marries and has a daughter, after which the charges resurface and he is arraigned before the *qāḏī*, who, after interrogation, incarcerates him for 10 days, during which time his friends and family seek his release by financial inducement. Meanwhile, the local bishop orders a priest to administer Holy Communion to him in prison and exhort him to endure torture.

At a second hearing, the accusers offer 2,000 *grush* (*qirsh*) to persuade him to accept Islam, though again without success. Consequently, the *qāḏī* finds him guilty of apostasy and hands down a sentence of decapitation. The executioner leads the procession through the city to the place of execution where he appeals to him once more to renounce his faith so as not to cut short his young life, but to no avail. The process is protracted and requires two executioners to complete, after which his body remains on the spot for 28 hours. Receiving permission from the *qāḏī*, the Christians take his remains to the Church of the Holy Mother of God,

where a large throng of faithful, both Greeks and Armenians, file past to venerate his relics, compelling the hierarchy to delay his burial until the next day. The account then states that his tomb became the site of many healings.

The final section functions as a colophon, dating the event to 14 March 1684, on the Wednesday of the fourth week of Great Lent, in the reign of Sultan Ahmed and in the episcopacy of the Lord Suk'ias of the Armenian diocese of Bursa. It concludes by imploring Christ through the martyr's intercession to grant peace to the state and the Christian community.

SIGNIFICANCE

According to Islamic jurisprudence, religious minorities were required to maintain a low profile and, therefore, not to stand out in any way in the public sphere. In this narrative, it is clear that this regulation was inadvertently transgressed by the youth's physical appearance, as, being tall and handsome, he attracted the attention of some local Muslims who wished to re-establish 'balance' by having him join the majority community. Presumably, they considered their goal all the more attainable because of the youth's poverty and vulnerability in lacking a father who might intervene to thwart their purpose. The role of the youth's attractiveness is further emphasised by reference to the nickname given him by his Muslim neighbours in the blacksmiths' quarter, who call him *Ayvaz*, evoking the name of one of the handsome associates of *Köroğlu*, eponymous hero of a popular romance partly based on the historical events of the Celali revolt of the early 17th century.

Building on the above, we note the porous nature of boundaries between the two communities of faith in *Nikolayos*' Muslim artisan neighbours, reaching out to him on two occasions to assist him in dealing with his accusers. First, they advise him to wine and dine these people to deflect them from their purpose, while in the second case they actually approach the *qāḍī* to offer testimony on *Nikolayos*' innocence in opposition to their coreligionists, affirming that they did not hear the Armenian's Muslim confession even though their premises were close by. Similarly, we observe how members of the youth's network do all in their power to secure his release and, when he is being taken to execution, his closest relatives plead with him to comply with the formal legal requirement to save his life and then to escape to another country to practise his faith.

The narrative's depiction of the execution scene is patently elaborated as a set piece, the display of measured order and decorum during the procession and foregrounding of the awesome instrument of justice then

serving to contrast with the ineffective and dishonourable debacle that follows. The process begins with making a public spectacle of the prisoner, removing most of his clothes, and having him walk barefoot and bareheaded with hands tied behind his back in a procession through the city. Detailed description emphasises the impressive structure of the body snaking its way through the streets, the herald in front proclaiming Nikolayos a *murtad*, the appropriate colloquial form of the standard Turkish term *mürted* for an apostate, followed by the executioner brandishing the unsheathed sword and the condemned man walking boldly after, the mob milling around both in front of him and behind. In contrast, at the execution scene the initiative immediately switches to Nikolayos, who after praying falls to his knees in anticipation of the sword blow, only to hear the executioner's plea to him to spare his youthful life. Then, bending his neck for the blade, the condemned has to suffer three botched attempts to decapitate him as the executioner's hands fall limp. Similarly, when the second executioner states he can heal the wound with various medicaments, the youth only becomes exasperated at the delay. The inability of the second official to complete the task then occasions the crowd's comment that 'the youth's innocence will not let him die'. Ignominiously, the executioner is compelled to set aside the sword and draw his knife to slit the man's throat like that of a sacrificial animal.

In typical manner, the author exploits imagery associating Nikolayos with Christ, as in his portrayal as the 'lamb of God' (John 1:29, 36), his empowerment by the Holy Spirit (Luke 4:1), his refusal to react to the taunts of the crowd (Matthew 27:12; Mark 14:61; Luke 23:9; John 19:9), and his comment to the executioner to act quickly as Jesus did to Judas (John 13:27). Similarly, his actions prior to execution visually parallel those of Stephen the Protomartyr in the radiance of his face and his raising his eyes to heaven as he offers prayer (Acts 7:55). Although most of the nexus of cause and effect in the martyrdom is maintained on the human level, the author cites the impulse for the accusers' second phase of activity as emanating from Satan, the principle of evil, indicating the involvement of the supernatural realm in the process. We observe the impact of the martyrdom particularly in the penultimate section reflecting on the significance of events. There the author borrows the image of the martyr's appearance as a rose blooming in winter, irradiating the church with his wondrous new light.

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Peter Cowe

Zak'aria K'anak'erç'i

Zak'aria of K'anak'er

DATE OF BIRTH 1627
PLACE OF BIRTH K'anak'er
DATE OF DEATH 1699
PLACE OF DEATH K'anak'er

BIOGRAPHY

Zak'aria was born in 1627 in the village of K'anak'er, now a northern suburb of Yerevan. His father Mkrtich' was the scribe for the *tanutēr* (land baron) of the district of Kotayk'. At the age of 13, Zak'aria entered as a novice the monastery of Hovhannavank', where he would remain for the rest of his life. According to his own account, his physical disability – lameness – prevented him from becoming a *vardapet* (ordained priest), and he only rose to the rank of deacon (*sarkawag*).

Zak'aria travelled on monastery business to Qazvin (Iran) in 1675, Smyrna (Izmir, Turkey) in 1682, and Üsküdar (Turkey) in 1684. In 1687, he began writing the *kondak*, or cartulary (register book), of the Hovhannavank' monastery, which later formed the third book of his *Patmagrut'iwn* ('Chronicle'). The other two books of the *Patmagrut'iwn* were completed in 1699, shortly before his death.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Zakareay Sarkawagi Patmagrut'iwn, 'The chronicle of Deacon Zak'aria of K'anak'er'

DATE 1699
ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

Patmagrut'iwn is composed in the spoken dialect of the Yerevan region mixed with the late classical and vernacular language and abounds in Persian and Turkish words. The earliest copy, preserved in the Matenadaran Archives (MS 1662) is dated 1699 and consists of 323 double-sided folios. It was first published in 1870 in Vagharshapat (at that time part of Russian Armenia) as *Zak'areay Sarkawagi Patmagrut'iwn*, but this edition contained numerous errors. In 1876, M.F. Brosset translated this edition into French, preserving its errors and introducing others herself. It was only in 1969 that M.O. Darbinian-Melikian published in Moscow a critical edition based on this manuscript along with three other later copies from the Matenadaran archives (MSS 3024, 8018 and 8636). This was published as Zakarii Kanakertsi, *Khronika* ('Chronicle').

Patmagrut'iwn contains historical as well as hearsay accounts of the political and socioeconomic conditions in eastern, or Persian, Armenia, in the second half of the 17th century, including relations between the Christian Armenians and their Shī'ī Iranian overlords. Twelve years after Zak'aria's birth, Persia and the Ottoman Empire ended their long conflict over historical Armenia. In 1639, following the Treaty of Zuhāb, they divided the territory into what would become western or Turkish Armenia and eastern or Persian Armenia. With some changes, the latter was later to become Russian Armenia, and with some border alterations it forms the territory of the present-day Republic of Armenia.

Patmagrut'iwn contains three books: the first recounts the history of the region from the earliest times to the 17th century; the second, the core of the work, concentrates on events in Persian Armenia; and the third deals with the history of the Hovhannavank' Monastery. It does not follow chronological order and is written in a disorganised fashion. It relies on hearsay and unsubstantiated folk tales, e.g. about the great Persian ruler Shah 'Abbās I (1587-1629), as well as accounts of miracles and Armenian martyrs who died rather than convert to Islam. Zak'aria wrote his *Patmagrut'iwn* as a record for future generations so that they would know 'the suffering which we endured'. His work illustrates particularly well the Armenians' trust in their church as, despite 500 years of Muslim rule, they remained steadfast in their Christian faith.

An important part of *Patmagrut'iwn* deals with the relationship between the Persian rulers and governors and the leadership of the Armenian Church. The chronicle clearly indicates that both Persians and Ottomans considered the Catholicos of the Armenian Church as

the caliph of the Armenian people, and accorded him and the Armenian Church special respect and privileges. Muslim courts accepted decrees that granted the church land and tax exemption status. Zak'aria and other Armenian historians recorded these in their histories as evidence for future legal proceedings, if they should be required.

A number of Persian rulers, such as Shah 'Abbās I and Shah 'Abbās II (1642-66) are at times referred to 'as being benevolent to the Christian Armenians'. By contrast, the fate of the population of the Khanate of Yerevan, the border province that separated Persia from the Ottoman Empire, was exposed to the whims of the ruling khan or governor. Of the 15 khans who ruled the province during the 17th century, Zak'aria unconditionally praises the first two, mentions kindly the following three, and portrays the remaining ten as incompetent and cowardly, or corrupt and greedy predators.

SIGNIFICANCE

Patmagrut'iwn demonstrates that Muslim rule over their Christian subjects, in both Persia and the Ottoman Empire, was far from benevolent, and at times downright oppressive. For this reason, for example, most Armenian women were given Islamic names in order to protect them from Muslim men. Some Armenian men, especially those in official positions, also used Islamic names, in addition to their Christian names.

However, *Patmagrut'iwn* makes it clear that the nature of the relationship between Christians and Muslims depended on the individual shah or local governor. When there was a strong central government that maintained control of the land, local officials did not harass the minorities; such was the case for much of the first half of the 17th century. However, when the authority of the Safavid dynasty began to decline, the governors of the borderlands, including Persian Armenia, were free to oppress the population, both Christian and Muslim. For obvious reasons, Zak'aria concentrates mainly on the Christian Armenian and Georgian populations.

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George Bournoutian

Martyrologies included in *Patmagrut'awn*

DATE 1699

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Armenian

DESCRIPTION

In his chronicle *Patmagrut'awn*, Zak'aria K'anak'eṛc'i included three martyrologies. These record the circumstances of the arrest, trial and death of three Armenians, in different places and at different times during the 17th century.

The first, *Nahatakut'awn Galust eric'un* ('Martyrdom of the Priest Galust'), takes up four pages of the editions, and records events that occurred in 1640. An Armenian couple from the district of Basen in the Širak region moved east and settled in the village of Araxus in the region of Kotayk'. There, the wife gave birth to a son, whom they had baptised by the local priest Galust. In view of their dire poverty, rather than requesting payment for conducting the rite, the priest granted them a dole of grain to make bread. Later, the wife's father and brother appeared on the scene, charged the husband with kidnapping the woman and stealing their belongings, and presented a written complaint to the khan of Yerevan.

Unable to fulfil the khan's verdict that they should return the goods, the couple were compelled to embrace Islam. At the same time, they argued it had been their intention to convert much earlier, but the priest Galust had prevented them, baptised their son, and bribed them with wheat to keep silent. The khan summoned the priest to Yerevan to answer the charge of having baptised the son of a Turk, to which Galust replied that he had not known they were Turks and was simply following the protocols of his religion, adding that he bore no guilt in view of their (subsequent) conversion to Islam. To the khan's query regarding the wheat, he replied that the 'bribe' was actually an act of charity. However, the khan was unconvinced, and had him beaten and incarcerated. In prison, two Qur'an reciters read to him, but to no avail, so the khan pronounced the death sentence and ordered him to be bound and transported to the place of execution at the west gate.

Exasperated by the many indignities he suffered en route, Galust insulted Muḥammad and his followers, provoking an order that the Christians should stone him. When they could not be found, the soldiers seized a local gypsy to carry out the task, and when he refused they tried to have him drag the priest around at the end of a rope. When he

again refused, they beat him half to death and then stoned the priest themselves.

During that night, the Muslim guard on watch at the fortress witnessed a bright glow surrounding the priest's body. Believing that some Muslims were burning the corpse, they investigated and were told it was not a fire but a dazzling light.

When he was informed, the khan responded that he had sent the priest to heaven by force, and ordered the Christians to take charge of the body. They also gathered stones and earth daubed with his blood, and buried the priest next to the Apostle Anania in the Armenian monastery in Yerevan. Zak'aria K'anak'erc'i states that the martyrdom took place during Great Lent.

The second martyrology, *Nahatakut'iwn Bałdasar patanwoyn* ('Martyrdom of the youth Bałdasar'), takes up about three pages of the editions and records events that occurred in 1664. Bałdasar was born into an Armenian Christian family of Eudocia (T'ok'at') and apprenticed as a cobbler under a Muslim neighbour, who took Bałdasar with him when he moved to Smyrna to ply his trade. Tax collectors happened to approach the shop during his master's absence and insisted that Bałdasar should pay the poll-tax levied on non-Muslims, against his remonstrations that his master would settle the matter on his return. They brought him before their superior who stated he should become a Muslim in order to avoid the tax, in addition to receiving other benefits.

When Bałdasar refused, he was forcibly circumcised on the spot, carried back to the shop by a porter who slung the boy over his shoulder, and thrown on the floor. Learning what had taken place, the master complained to the chief tax collector about their summary treatment of his apprentice, arguing it was against the law to compel someone to convert.

The craftsman then advised the boy to return to his parents in T'ok'at' to see whether he could live there as a Christian, and arranged for him to travel with a caravan, providing him with money for the road. When he arrived home, the boy found it was impossible to stay there, and so he set out for the centre of the Armenian Apostolic Church at the monastery of Ējmiacin in the vicinity of Yerevan. After visiting several monasteries, he found a *vardapet* with whom he could study, but on the latter's death he moved to Yerevan and was taken in by a Christian cobbler.

Out of the blue, a Muslim approached Bałdasar telling him that he had been sent by his parents to bring him back to T'ok'at', and asking for money to pay the road tolls until they reached Erzurum, where he would

sell his silk and repay the loan. On arriving there, they encountered one of his father's neighbours, also a cobbler, who informed Bałdasar he had been sent to fetch him from Yerevan. The boy therefore agreed to work with him there until it was time to return home. Meanwhile, the other Muslim was annoyed that his plan had been thwarted and began considering ways of holding onto the money he had borrowed. Claiming before the pasha of Erzurum that Bałdasar was a Muslim who had become a Christian in Yerevan and was persisting in practising that religion, he then led the soldiers to the shop at a time when the boy's protector was out.

The pasha demanded that he should return to Islam, promising him a military post if he did so. However, the boy stated that he had been a Christian from birth and was unfamiliar with the other religion, whereupon the pasha ordered him to be incarcerated and his legs placed in irons. At that point, the youth's Muslim friend remonstrated before the pasha and visited Bałdasar in prison, arranging for a priest to come and administer communion.

When his audience with the pasha the following day brought no resolution, the pasha ordered him to be executed. He was taken outside the city, singing psalms as he went, to a hill where he was decapitated.

With the pasha's permission, the Christians retrieved the body along with earth soaked with his blood, brought it to the cemetery and buried him near the south wall of the church. The author indicates that this occurred at 8:00 a.m. in bright sunshine, when suddenly a ball of light descended from the sky and came to hover over the church and gravesite, causing several Muslims to question their faith.

Significantly, Zak'aria then adds that, although he himself had been living in Erzurum for a year around that time, he was not present at the events and learned of them the following day from Bałdasar's Turkish friend. In closing, he records that the date of the martyrdom coincided with the commemoration of that of St Hrip'simē and her fellow virgin martyrs (the Monday following the first Sunday after Easter), and that the priest who communicated Bałdasar was himself martyred three years later and laid to rest in the plot next to his.

The third report *Nahatakut'wn Katareal kusi*n ('Martyrdom of the virgin Katareal [T'amam]') records the death of a young woman in 1691; the account covers around four pages in the editions. The protagonist T'amam (referred to in the work's title by the literal Armenian translation of her Arabic name) was born into the house of a certain Malxas

the *tanutēr* (representative of the Armenian population) in the village of Šalkert in the traditional Armenian province of Gołt'n (in the current Khanate of Naxčawan). When one of the Armenian villagers asked him for a reckoning, it emerged that her father owed a large sum of money.

Asking for three days' leave, he went to Muḥammad Rezā Khan, the governor of Naxčawan, who at that time was in Isfahan, and promised his daughter in marriage to the governor's son, if the governor would rescue him from his pecuniary embarrassment.

Informing the villagers that Malxas had paid him the sum owed, the governor instructed his son Morṭaza Qoli, the khan of Yerevan, to fetch Malxas' daughter T'amam from her village for the wedding. Completely unaware of the arrangements set in motion, T'amam and her mother were taken by surprise, and bewailed the turmoil they had got into. However, the escorts led her to the khan's palace in Yerevan where she was dressed in costly attire and adornments, while they awaited her father's arrival for the nuptials to commence.

Unhappy with her lot, T'amam contemplated various escape routes from her tent overlooking the Hrazdan river gorge. Deciding one night that she was prepared to die for her Christian faith, she jumped down onto the rocks below and lost consciousness for some time. Coming to her senses, she crossed a bridge over the river and walked towards the town of Karbi. Falling in with a Muslim group, she continued with them until they arrived at the village of Elvard, where she left them when she learnt that the population was Christian.

She entered a house and explained her situation to the family, asking them to arrange for a priest to administer communion. While the Muslim headman allowed her free passage in the area, the representative of the Armenian population realised the potential repercussions they might face from the khan and forestalled them by informing him directly. Receiving the order from the khan to execute her, the representative, together with two Muslims, returned to Elvard, bound her and led her outside the village, where they removed her adornments, strangled her, and covered her body with stones.

Next day her father arrived in Yerevan and was informed about what had hapened. Gaining permission to take her body, he went to Elvard, removed the stones, and had T'amam buried near the south wall of the church. After vespers that night, some of the faithful went to venerate her grave and observed a light on it. The author, Zak'aria K'anak'eṛc'i, adds that he heard the tale from the local priest Mkrtič' who had given

her communion, and recorded it. Her grave bore the simple inscription of her name and 1691, the date of her martyrdom.

SIGNIFICANCE

Nahatakut'iwn Galust eric'un

The work presupposes events unfolding against the background of the Ottoman-Safavid War of 1623-39, towards the end of which Sultan Murad IV (r. 1623-40) took the field against the Persians, recapturing Yerevan in August 1635, which, in turn, was followed by Shah Ṣafi's (r. 1629-42) counter offensive in the following spring to recapture the city. Final hostilities ended with the Treaty of Zuhāb in May 1639, which largely set the Turkish-Iranian border until World War I. It is presumably due to the impact of these campaigns and the redrawing of borders that the couple moved to the Kotayk' region, further away from border skirmishes. The author records the appointment of Jaghata K'otuk Muḥammad Khan as governor of the Khanate of Yerevan in 1639, and this should be interpreted against the backdrop of more wide-ranging administrative changes introduced in the province in the postbellum reconstruction and reform.

Though the narrative largely consists of spare historical reportage, Zak'aria's portrayal of the soldiers' removal of Galust to the place of execution associates his martyrdom more closely with that of Christ by adding to the detail of his beard being pulled and the recurring topos of his being struck, beaten on the head, spat upon and slapped (Matthew 27:30; Mark 15:19; John 19:2-3).

Nahatakut'iwn Bałdasar patanwoyn

This account is of great interest for the positive image it presents of the rapport between Christian and Muslim urban artisans. The second Muslim cobbler becomes the primary source for the narrative and is willing to assume a great deal of responsibility on behalf of his friend and colleague, undertaking to bring his son back from Yerevan, leaving him in charge of his workplace in Erzurum during his absence, and pleading with the pasha for his release. Believing the latter to be swayable by pragmatic considerations, he suggests they should let Bałdasar meet his ultimate fate in hell. What benefit do they have from his conversion? He also makes a deeply emotional visit to the boy in prison and is the

catalyst for his receiving communion before his death. Similarly, in the first case Baldasar's family seem perfectly at ease with the tradesman taking their son with him to Smyrna, where, in the second city of the empire the two might potentially acquire a larger clientele and concomitant economic success. Meanwhile, the cobbler does all in his power to try to rectify Baldasar's situation, arranging a caravan for him back to T'ok'at' to reunite him with his parents, and providing him with funds for the journey.

Also important is the reference to the monastery of Ējmiacin as a haven for Armenian Christians to practise their religion openly.

Although, as a result of Shah 'Abbās I's policy of deportation at the beginning of the 17th century, the Armenian population of the Khanate of Yerevan, in which the monastery was located, had been seriously depleted, a series of *catholicoi* in mid-century had given priority to purchasing large tracts of land in a radius around the ecclesiastical centre, which in turn attracted repopulation by Armenian peasants. Consequently, in the early 19th century, during the last years of Persian rule, only the Ējmiacin district had an Armenian majority population. Overall, the Armenian population at that time amounted to 20% of the whole, yet they accounted for 8% of the artisanry in the city of Yerevan. Hence the significance of Baldasar's working with a Christian cobbler there after the death of his religious teacher.

Typical of the genre, where possible the author situates his subject within the broader context of Armenian martyrdom. Thus, in visiting various monasteries, Baldasar is likened to his counterpart Vahan, last prince of Goł'n. After being taken to Damascus, then the Umayyad capital, in his youth and brought up as a Muslim, he reconverts to Christianity on his return to Armenia and spends time on pilgrimage in various monasteries before being summoned to Syria to be martyred in 737. Similarly, Baldasar is associated with St Hrip'simē and her attendant virgins, who fled to Armenia to escape Diocletian's persecutions, only to suffer martyrdom under King Trdat III for assisting in the spread of Christianity around the Armenian capital of Artasat.

Another frequent trait of the genre is to blame Satan for actions perpetrated against Christians who are sincere in the pursuit of their faith. It is perhaps especially appropriate in the instance of the Muslim silk merchant here who fabricates his role in fulfilling a request by the boy's father to bring him back home. Indeed, his deeper motivation is not really elaborated, leaving us to speculate that his action may have been

provoked by knowledge of the boy's having become Muslim and a pious desire to see him live by the tenets of his new religion. Finally, one notes the common stereotype of the description of the martyr's journey to the place of execution being styled after that of Christ, being struck, beaten on the head, spat upon and slapped on the way (cf. Matthew 27:30; Mark 15:19; John 19:2-3).

Nahatakut'iwn Katareal kusin

One of the most interesting aspects of this account is the emphasis it places on the interaction between Muslim and Christian officials at different levels of the Safavid administration.

Thus, subordinate to the khan of Yerevan from the reorganization of 1639 was the *melik* of the Armenian population of the khanate, under whom served a series of lower officials representing the Armenian population of smaller administrative units right down to the level of the village, where T'amam's father held the rank of *tanutēr* or local representative of the Armenian population of Šaḡkert, while a certain Sahak played a parallel role in Elvard, the latter clearly under the authority of the Muslim headman of the village Ułarlu. This administrative structure had no parallel in the Ottoman Empire, where Armenians were primarily represented by the clergy until the reforms of the 1860s.

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Peter Cowe

Muḥammad-Bāqir al-Majlisī

DATE OF BIRTH 1627
PLACE OF BIRTH Isfahan
DATE OF DEATH Between 1698 and 1700
PLACE OF DEATH Isfahan

BIOGRAPHY

Muḥammad-Bāqir al-Majlisī was a famous Twelver Shī'ī jurist and theologian in Safavid Iran (1501-1722), whose exact date of death continues to be disputed. Since he was the son of an important jurist and Hadith commentator with the same last name, Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī (1594/5-1659/60), Muḥammad-Bāqir is known as 'Majlisī II' (Arabic: *Majlisī thānī*; Persian: *Majlisī duvvum*). Father and son are both associated with Isfahan.

As Shī'ism became truly entrenched in Iran during the Safavid era, Majlisī II's teachings and writings played a significant role in propagating the faith. He remains best known for his compilation of an enormous and authoritative compendium of Twelver Shī'ī Hadith called *Biḥār al-anwār* ('The ocean of lights'), which runs to 111 volumes in modern editions. A prolific writer, Majlisī II wrote a large number of theological works in both Arabic and Persian and quite a few shorter ones, mostly in Persian, popularising and actively promoting the tenets and rituals of Shī'ism for broad audiences.

Biographical information about Muḥammad-Bāqir is rather limited. He had two older brothers whom he surpassed in learning, and a sister who became an authority on the family's extended genealogy. Majlisī II's first teacher was his father, and later a number of other prominent jurists/theologians participated in his education, among them Ḥurr 'Āmilī (d. 1693) and Muḥammad ibn Ḥaydar Rafī'ā Nā'inī (d. 1670?). Majlisī II, in turn, became the teacher of a vast number of students, many of whom became important scholars in their own right, such as Muḥammad-Ṣāliḥ Khātunābādī (d. 1714) and Ni'mat-Allāh Jazā'irī (d. 1701).

Unlike many Shī'ī divines who shunned political office, Majlisī II was active and highly influential at the courts of the last two Safavid shahs, Sulaymān I (r. 1666-94) and Sulṭān Ḥusayn I (r. 1694-1722), and also on their weak personalities, especially after the former appointed him

shaykh al-islām (supreme judge in religious matters). Perhaps because of his relationship with these rulers, he advocated obedience to kings, even if they were tyrants. As an 'activist' jurist, Majlisī II demonstrated great zeal in uprooting heresies, fighting both Sunnīs and Sufis, forbidding whatever he perceived to be religious 'innovations' (*bid'a*), and attempting (unsuccessfully) to prohibit the consumption of alcohol throughout the kingdom.

Majlisī II's influence on future generations of Shī'ī jurists, theologians and ordinary believers, has remained profound, and his works continue to be authoritative in Twelver Shī'ism.

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WORKS ON CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS

Ṣavā'iq al-Yahūd, 'Lightning bolts against the Jews'

DATE Unknown; before about 1700

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE Persian

DESCRIPTION

Ṣavā'iq al-Yahūd, one of Muḥammad-Bāqir al-Majlisī's short Persian treatises, details the duties incumbent upon the *ahl-i kitāb* ('People of the Book') living in a Muslim, in this case, Shī'ī, environment. It may have been inspired by his father Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī's possibly less well-known treatise, *Rawḍat al-muttaqīn* ('The garden of the pious'), later known as *Lawāme'e ṣāheb-gerānī* ('The censure of the lord of the happy conjunction'), which discussed how the *ahl-i kitāb* violated their duties as *zemmīs* ('protected people'). This treatise by

his father could well have played a significant role in the forced conversion of Iran's Jews and Armenians between 1656 and 1662 perpetrated by Muḥammad Beg, the Grand Vizier of Shah 'Abbās II (r. 1642-66; Moreen, *Iranian Jewry*, pp. 61-3; Matthee, *Persia in crisis*, p. 189).

Ṣavā'iq al-Yahūd is a four-and-a-half page treatise. Despite its title, which would lead one to believe that it is addressed exclusively to Jews (perhaps his main target), the contents are really meant for all *zemmīs*, whose status Majlisī regarded as just slightly above that of infidels (polytheists), who could be killed outright. The principal subject of the treatise is the *jizya*, its definition (whether it was a land or poll tax), the categories of individual *zemmīs* obliged to pay it, and the (humiliating) conditions under which it should be collected. Whatever the definition, Majlisī ultimately considers this tax and its *willing* acceptance by *zemmīs* as a sign of divine favour towards them, one that not only allows these minorities to live under the protection of Muslims but may ultimately induce them to convert to Islam (in order to avoid the tax and the humiliation that went with it). For the implementation of the *jizya*, he allows the local religious authority (*ḥākim-i musalmānān*) to assume discretionary powers regarding not only rates of assessment but also the level of strictness in the mode of collection. Interestingly, with regard to the latter Majlisī is uneasy about some of the humiliating methods applied in implementing the *jizya*, such as not revealing the rate of taxation until the last moment, because they lack legal justification, though he does not invalidate them and views them as old, entrenched customs (Moreen, *Risāla-yi*, p. 191).

SIGNIFICANCE

While Majlisī mainly reiterates the discriminatory prohibitions enshrined in the so-called Sunnī 'Pact of 'Umar' (itself based on Byzantine legislation) without mentioning it, *Ṣavā'iq al-Yahūd* does have some Shī'ī dimensions. He lists specific laws, such as purifying dishes after contact with *zemmīs* by washing them, rejecting their food or objects made from animal skins or that have been in contact with them, and obligating non-Muslims to stay indoors on rainy and snowy days lest they 'contaminate' Muslims. These laws, addressing the purported state of *najāsa* (Arabic, 'impurity') of non-Shī'īs, were increasingly enforced and onerous between the 18th and early 20th centuries in Iran. He also insisted on his demand that *zemmīs* respect the Prophet Muḥammad and the twelve Shī'ī Imams.

Much of what is succinctly enshrined in *Ṣavā'iq al-Yahūd* became deeply entrenched in Iran's Twelver Shī'ī society, and continues to colour, overtly or covertly, Shī'ī interaction with the non-Muslim world.

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