

## Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505–1624)

# The History of Oriental Studies

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# Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505–1624)

*By*

Robert Jones



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*To the Memory of My Aunt Rosalind Ann Pym (1915–2007)*





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## Acknowledgements

The contents of this book were submitted for postgraduate degrees at the University of London during the 1980s. Part 1 contains my doctoral thesis, *Learning Arabic in Renaissance Europe (1505–1624)*, supervised at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) by the musicologist and grammarian Professor Owen Wright; and Part 2 contains most of my earlier master's dissertation, *The Arabic and Persian Studies of Giovanni Battista Raimondi (c.1536–1614)*, written at the Warburg Institute under the supervision of its director, the late Professor J.B. Trapp. That these studies should be published in their original form so long after they were written came at the welcome suggestion of the editors of this series, Professor Alastair Hamilton and Professor Jan Loop. Since the 1980s, but especially in the 21st century, the story of Arabic studies in early modern Europe has been receiving the attention of a growing number of dedicated scholars. Nonetheless, despite the publication of detailed studies of many aspects of this subject, the editors of this book felt that the basic premises of my findings have not been substantially altered and that, in particular, the technical work on grammar has stood the test of time. I am grateful, therefore, to both of the editors and to Dr Maurits van den Boogert of Brill for offering to produce this book.

It is almost fifty years since I was introduced to the Islamic Arabic grammatical tradition by the historian of Arabic lexicography, musicologist and grammarian John A. Haywood. He took as his text the *Kitāb al-Mufaṣṣal* by the rationalist theologian Abu 'l-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī of Khwarezm (d. 1144). To better understand the Arabic grammatical terms and rules, we undergraduates at Durham University's School of Oriental Studies turned to the work of a British colonial lawyer, Mortimer Sloper Howell, whose Arabic grammar 'from the works of the most approved native or naturalized authorities' was published at Allahabad between 1880 and 1911. This stood me in good stead. In 1979, during a long conversation with the late Professor Michael Baxandall that turned out to be my acceptance on the Warburg Institute's MPhil course, he immediately saw the attraction of exploring Arabic language learning during the Renaissance. 'But what do I do with these manuscripts? How do I tell their story?' I asked him later after deciding to visit Florence to examine the documentary legacy of the 16th-century Medici Oriental Press. 'You'll know what to do,' came the laconic reply. Perhaps the readers of this book, and experts in the history of grammar, may find that what I did with this material is still both useful and interesting. Certainly, I well remember the

excitement I felt on holding in my hands the evidence for the work and thinking of an Italian orientalist who lived over 400 years ago.

In addition to the formal supervision provided by Joe Trapp and Owen Wright, there were others I could consult whose knowledge and experience helped me to advance my research, including Dr R.M. (Mike) Burrell, Peter Colvin, Professor Victor L. Ménage, Professor H.T. (Harry) Norris, Professor John Wansbrough, and my fellow doctoral student Professor Geoffrey Khan – all of whom were at SOAS; Professor Charles Burnett, Dr W.F. (Will) Ryan and Dr Charles Schmitt at the Warburg Institute; Professor L.P. (Pat) Harvey at King's College London; Colin Wakefield at the Bodleian Library Oxford, Dr Geoffrey Roper of Cambridge University Library, Dr Raymond Mercier of Southampton University, and Dr Yasin Safadi at the British Library. Abroad there were meetings and conversations with the independent Irish pilot and scholar, Captain Philip Russell; Professor Angelo M. Piemontese of the University of Rome; Gérard Duverdier of the Collège de France, and Annie Berthier and Francis Richard of the Bibliothèque nationale de France; Professor Jos Hermans at Groningen University Library, Professor Jan Brugman and Professor H.J. (Henk) de Jonge at Leiden University, Dr Ronald Breugelmans and Professor Jan Just Witkam at Leiden University Library, Professor Remke Kruk at Utrecht and Leiden Universities, and Rijk Smitskamp of Brill's antiquarian department; Professor Owen Gingerich of Harvard University, and Miroslav Krek at Bradeis University, Massachusetts. I recall with gratitude the generous help of all those mentioned above, some of whom now hold different positions, while others are in retirement or have sadly departed this life.

Two papers that I gave at conferences of the European Association of Middle East Librarians (MELCOM International), at Leiden in 1984 and at Hammamet in Tunisia in 1987, were instantly accepted for publication in the first two volumes of the journal *Manuscripts of the Middle East* published by Professor Jan Just Witkam at Ter Lugt Press, Leiden. One was my English version of Thomas Erpenius's second oration *De dignitate linguae arabicae*; the other was entitled 'Piracy, War and the Acquisition of Arabic Manuscripts in Renaissance Europe'. I am grateful to Professor Witkam for his permission to republish in this book extracts from the first and a version of the second, renamed here 'The Spoils of War'. I also acknowledge with thanks the access I was given to the holdings of all the libraries mentioned in this book and the permissions granted to publish photographs of material in Groningen University Library, Leiden University Library, the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, and the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. Khalid Chakor Alami and François Wyn deserve special praise for their kindness and professionalism expediting my late request for colour images of manuscripts in the oriental holdings of the BnF.

My career in antiquarian bookselling began while I was writing my doctoral thesis. Favourable conditions granted by my employer, the late Lord Parmoor (Milo Cripps), 4th Baron, enabled me to establish a Middle Eastern department at Bernard Quaritch while at the same time completing the research for this book. His generous material and moral support was wonderful; seductive too. And so I was drawn to the market place where I found collectors who shared and inspired my fascination for the history of European knowledge of the Arab and Islamic world. Here I should recognise with special gratitude Sheikha Hussa Al-Sabah of the Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah in Kuwait, Jasim Homazi, Shaikh Hamad Ebrahim Al-Khalifa, Shaikh Hassan M.A. Al-Thani of the Heritage Library in Doha, and that inveterate Maecenas with his genius for 'dynamic cultural variety' for whom, with countless unsung heroes, I built the Arcadian Library. That trade and scholarship could go hand in hand at Quaritch and with these collectors provided a wonderful opportunity to explore the far wider context of European appreciation and experience of the Arab and Islamic world from the dawn of printing to T.E. Lawrence. Foremost among scholars I consulted on manuscript material, Tim Stanley could always be relied upon. He also gave careful consideration to my doctoral thesis at an earlier stage, as did Jan Loop in the preparation and bringing up-to-date of this book. I am most grateful to both of them for their friendship and acumen, and to Professor Joanna Weinberg for drawing my attention to recent work in the field of Hebrew language studies of the Renaissance. Franca de Kort and Pieter te Velde of Brill are to be thanked for their practical contributions to the production of this publication. And I thank the ever-watchful, ever-present Professor Phil Cleaver and his team at *et al* design consultants who tweaked the pseudokufic in Appendix 7 and advised on the cover. But it is Alastair Hamilton, above all, who has consistently ensured that my work with European books, whether scholarly or commercial, received an exceptional level of professional support and friendship for which I shall forever be grateful. How fruitful our collaboration could be is clear from the exhibition catalogues and studies, in many cases written by him, that we published for the Arcadian Library in association with Oxford University Press. His dedication has been uncompromising. And it is no more evident than in his tireless editorial contribution to this book, without which my youthful foray into academia could never have reached a publishable state. Ultimately, however, any lapses that exist are those of a scholar-bookseller, who wishes only that by finally going into print, he may stimulate others to re-examine the technical and bibliographical aspects of Arabic (and Persian) grammatical studies in early modern Europe.

## Preface

My subject is a phase in the history of Arabic studies in Europe which Maxime Rodinson called the 'birth of Orientalism', but which in my title I have preferred to characterise by the well-worn periodisation implicit in the notion of the European Renaissance. Not that I wish to claim academic immunity from the Orientalist debate. It is precisely this modish controversy which lends such an urgency to the task of writing about the history of western knowledge of, and attitudes towards, the Arabs and Islam. But, like other aspects of cultural life in Renaissance Europe, sixteenth-century Arabic studies are distinguished not only by their profound implications for the colonial and modern periods but also by their deep roots in the classical and medieval worlds and by a set of circumstances and a dynamic which are unique to the Renaissance.

Humanism, by which I mean the insistence on philological studies, the return *ad fontes*, and sound textual criticism associated with fifteenth-century scholars of Greek and Latin (not the philosophical trend of the nineteenth century); printing, and the impact of the distribution and survival of particular editions of texts; trade and the voyages of discovery; the Reformation north of the Alps and the interest of its theologians in different versions of Christian Scripture; the Counter-Reformation at Rome, with its missionary zeal, the desire to preach in the languages of non-believers, and the defensive response to the Schism; the rise of the Ottoman Empire with its military and religious threat in the Mediterranean, the Balkans, and the Hungarian plain; and the Catholic Reconquest of Granada, where a moribund Islamic culture was expelled or forced underground throughout the sixteenth century – these are the forces and the context that induced the birth of Orientalism.

European scholars have been writing about the origins of Orientalism and, in particular, of Arabic studies since the eighteenth century; and even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there are contemporary accounts of individuals who had gained reputations as orientalists and Arabists. Some of the most important monographs on the subject, however, date to the last century and the first half of this century; and recently the subject has been attracting the attention of an increasingly wide range of scholars in both the West and the East. Librarians, cultural historians, historians of science, historians of typography and of the book, theologians, and Arabists – each in turn have been preoccupied by different aspects of a story that, whether they like it or not, has an undeniable topicality. Indeed, a number of exhibitions and specialised

booksellers' catalogues, novels even, have exploited this relevance to give Renaissance Arabists an appeal outside academic walls.

It is common for writers on this subject to transgress the borders of their chosen discipline in order to handle and comment on the variety of sources at their disposal. This book is no exception. Though Part 1 was originally written as a thesis for a university department concerned with the literatures and languages of the Near and Middle East, it inevitably strays beyond the proper preserve of the Arabist to that of the cultural historian. Nonetheless, I hope to demonstrate how certain source material from the period under review is particularly susceptible to Arabist interpretation.

In Part 1, chapter 1, 'The Books', explores different methods of manuscript acquisition and considers the link between the accumulation of texts and bibliographical knowledge. Chapter 2, 'The Teachers', draws attention to the captive, renegade, and free Muslims in Europe, whose scribal skills and knowledge of Arabic contributed to the development of Arabic studies. Chapter 3, 'The Rules', traces the development of the European Arabic grammatical tradition from Pedro de Alcalá to Thomas Erpenius. Part 2 treats Giovanni Battista Ramondi's knowledge of Arabic and also Persian as a case study in Renaissance oriental language learning.

Throughout the book I have been mindful of three difficulties. First, although Renaissance Arabists shared similar goals and collaborated with one another, they could also be fiercely competitive. In their publications, they did not always acknowledge their sources or any assistance they had received, and in their correspondence they could be utterly dismissive of another's efforts. Any reassessment of these Arabists' relative merits must therefore ignore both the silences and the recriminations and return to the sources, both published and unpublished. This brings us to the second point. Since Renaissance Arabists wrote a great deal more than they were able to put through the press, their published achievements must be considered in the light of other documentation, annotated manuscripts, unpublished proofs, and so on. Third, Renaissance Arabists travelled throughout Europe and beyond, they corresponded with one another, and met each other; and the material they sought as well as the methods they employed to overcome particular problems were often not as exclusive to any one nation or individual as some scholars have suggested.

# Illustrations

- 1 Groningen University Library, MS 468, *verso* of initial endpaper. The c. 17th-century copy of a German inscription once written into part of a *maghribī* Quran taken at the sack of Tunis in 1535 by Johannes Marquart von Kungbeck. (See p.32, n. 66 for transcription), with an Arabic inscription in the hand of Johann Heinrich Hottinger 33
- 2 Leiden University Library. Cod. Or. 222, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. Don Bernardo de Josa's Spanish inscription on a copy of Maḥmūd al-Maḥbūbī's popular Hanafite legal compendium, *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fī masā'il al-hidāya*, explaining that he was given the manuscript by Guillén de San Clemente who had taken it at the battle of Lepanto on 7 October 1571. (See p.35, n. 76 for transcription) 36
- 3 Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Laud Or. 246, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. i) The presentation inscription by the Hungarian Mattheus Ujfalvi on a plundered Quran he gave to Jakob Christmann. ii) Samson Johnson's inscription, 1635. (See p.37, n. 82 for transcription) 39
- 4 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS A.F.5, fol. 117<sup>r</sup>. Abū 'l-Fidā's *Taqwīm al-buldān*, copied by Darwīsh Ibrāhīm in 1610 with annotations by Sebastian Tegnagel 59
- 5 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 9737<sup>r</sup>, fol. 229<sup>f</sup>. Tegnagel's copy of his undated letter to Kaiser Matthias I (c. May 1613) 62
- 6 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, MS A.F.26, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. Inscription by Sebastian Tegnagel in the *Lughāt-i Amīr Ḥusayn al- Īyāsī*, which Darwīsh Ibrāhīm copied in Jumādā I AH 1023 (June 1614) 64
- 7 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, MS Arabe 4127, fol. 37<sup>v</sup>. Turkish inscription by François de Boulongne with transcription and translation initialled by Etienne Hubert 72
- 8 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, MS Arabe 4119, fol. 25<sup>v</sup>. *Qaṣīda fī abniyat al-af'āl* copied for Etienne Hubert by Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī at Paris on 4 Ṣafar 1021 (6 April 1612) 88
- 9 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, MS Arabe 4348, fol. 128<sup>v</sup>. Arabic vocabulary copied by Ḥusayn of Buda (right) and Etienne Hubert (left). Transcriptions and Latin glosses by L'Auditeur Hubert or Ḥusayn of Buda 93
- 10 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, MS Arabe 4127, fol. 36<sup>v</sup>. Inscription by Thomas Erpenius, dated Paris 1611, at the end of al-Ḥasanī's *al-Durra 'l-naḥwiyya* 149

- 11 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, MS Arabe 4127, fol. 32<sup>r</sup>. A detail from Al-Ḥasanī's *al-Durra 'l-naḥwīyya*, with marginal annotations by Adriaan Willemsz. (signed Adr.) and Thomas Erpenius 150
- 12 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, 73.S.95(4), Jan Theunisz. (Johannes Antonides), *Methodica descriptio coniugationum arabicarum perfectarum*. Leiden, 1613. With annotations in the hand of Thomas Erpenius 152

# Abbreviations

ASF	Archivio di Stato, Florence
Assemani	Stefano Evodio Assemani, <i>Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum MSS. orientalium catalogus</i> (Florence, 1742)
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BL	British Library, London
BML	Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence
BNCF	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BSB	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
CUL	Cambridge University Library
EP	<i>Enzyklopädie des Islam</i> (Leiden-Leipzig, 1913–38)
EP	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> (Leiden, 1960–2009)
Flügel	Gustav Flügel Leberecht, <i>Die Arabischen, Persischen, und Türkischen Handschriften zu Wien</i> , vols. 1–3 (Vienna, 1865–67)
GAL	Carl Brockelmann, <i>Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur</i> , 2nd ed., vols. 1–2 (Leiden, 1943–49)
Magl.	Il fondo Magliabechiano, BNCF
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna
Saltini	Guglielmo Enrico Saltini, ‘Della Stamperia Orientale Medicea e di Giovan Battista Raimondi’, <i>Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani</i> , 4 (1860), pp. 257–308. [The Roman numerals, I–XXX, refer to his list of manuscripts]
Schnurrer	Christian Friedrich von Schnurrer, <i>Bibliotheca Arabica</i> (Halle, 1811, repr. Amsterdam, 1968)
Slane	Baron de Slane, <i>Catalogue des manuscrits arabes. Bibliothèque nationale (France)</i> (Paris, 1883–1895)
UBG	Universiteitsbibliotheek, Groningen
UBL	Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden

**PART 1**  
*Learning Arabic*  
*in Renaissance Europe*  
*(1505–1624)*

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# Introductory Remarks

## 1 The Difficulties

On 5 November 1620, Thomas Erpenius, professor of Arabic and other oriental languages at the University of Leiden, delivered a lecture *On the Value of the Arabic Language* to a new generation of students and told them they had no excuse to eschew the study of Arabic:

Away with those who want discord among us and are trying with imaginary difficulties to put you off from the study of this most excellent language! I admit that, not so long ago, it presented difficulties for us here. But that was because the necessary means – the rules, the teachers, and the books – were missing, not because of its nature. But now I hope you will never lack them in abundant supply.<sup>1</sup>

Making light of the popular reputation that Arabic had already acquired as a difficult and unprofitable language for Europeans to learn, Erpenius was able to speak with feeling when he reminded his audience of the practical problems – the lack of grammar books, teachers and texts – that had made it so very difficult for pioneering Arabists, including himself, to pursue and promote their interest ‘not so long ago’. It was towards the end of the fifteenth century, throughout the sixteenth century, and with particular intensity during the forty years of his own lifetime (Erpenius was born in 1584, the same year that a future grand duke of Tuscany, Cardinal Ferdinando de’ Medici, founded his famous oriental printing house at Rome)<sup>2</sup>, that a small number of adventurous and determined scholars, sometimes attracting the support of influential

- 
- 1 Thomas Erpenius, *Orationes tres de linguarum ebraeae, atque arabicae dignitate*, (*Oratio II De lingua arabica*) (Leiden, 1621), p. 94: ‘Valeant ergo qui inter nos dissidium volunt et imaginaria difficultate a praestantissimae et utilissimae linguae studio vos conantur avertere. Habuit non ita pridem, fateor, ea hic apud nos suas difficultates, non sua natura, sed quod media necessaria deessent, praecepta, inquam, praeceptores, et libri, quorum utique copiam vos nequaquam spero esse desideraturos.’ The entire oration translated into English by Robert Jones, ‘Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624) on the value of the Arabic language’, *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 1 (1986), pp. 15–24, esp. p. 25.
  - 2 For an account of the *Typographia Medicea*, see Saltini. See also the bibliography: Bandini, Bertolotti, Biagiarelli, Korolevskij, Lodi, Piemontese, Tinto, Vervliet, and, more recently, S. Fani and M. Farina, *Le vie delle lettere. La Tipografia Medicea tra Roma e l’Oriente* (Florence, 2012).

patrons, had tackled these problems in order to provide their fellow Europeans with ‘the necessary means’ for learning Arabic.

## 2 The Achievement

By travelling abroad, often at considerable personal risk, or taking whatever opportunities had presented themselves at home, these pioneering Arabists – for so they may be termed – had learnt the rudiments of Arabic, compiled and even published their own grammar books, met and consulted Arabic-speakers of varying abilities, amassed collections of manuscripts in Arabic (and in other languages of the Near and Middle East), and instigated ambitious publishing programmes for a wide range of Arabic texts.

Between 1505, when the first European grammar book of Arabic was published at Granada, and 1624, when Thomas Erpenius met his untimely end from the plague, more than fifty printed books in or about the Arabic language were issued from European presses.<sup>3</sup> And in roughly this same period the formal study of Arabic emerges as a serious component in the European academic curriculum. Chairs of Arabic were not founded at Cambridge until 1632 and at Oxford until 1634.<sup>4</sup> But almost a century before, in 1538, Arabic was being taught by Guillaume Postel in Paris;<sup>5</sup> at Rome, during the second half of the sixteenth century, it was taught in the Jesuit, Neophyte, and Maronite Colleges;<sup>6</sup> and by 1613, when Erpenius was appointed professor of Arabic at Leiden University, the Arabic chair created in 1600 had already existed for over a decade.<sup>7</sup>

## 3 Dramatis Personae

The pioneers may be divided into two generations. In the early sixteenth centuries, a first generation of Orientalists with a special interest in Arabic – Andrea Alpago (d. 1520), Agostino Giustiniani (1470–1536), Johann Albrecht von

3 The standard bibliography of early Arabic printed books is still Schnurrer (Halle, 1811).

4 P.M. Holt, *Studies in the History of the Near East* (London, 1973), pp. 3–26; G.J. Toomer, *Eastern Wisdom and Learning. The Study of Arabic in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 53–167; and Mordechai Feingold, ‘Oriental studies’ in Nicholas Tacke, ed., *The History of the University of Oxford. Volume IV. Seventeenth-Century Oxford* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 449–503.

5 William J. Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi: The Career and Thought of Guillaume Postel* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957), pp. 7f.

6 Giorgio Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo dei manoscritti orientali della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City, 1939), pp. 193f.

7 W.M.C. Juynboll, *Zeventiende-eeuwsche beoefenaars van het Arabisch in Nederland* (Utrecht, 1931), p. 52.

Widmanstetter (1506–1557), Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo and his Arabic-speaking assistant Leo Africanus (b. c. 1490), Teseo Ambrogio (1469–1540), Theodor Bibliander (1506–1564), Nicolaus Clenardus (c. 1493–1542), and especially Guillaume Postel (1510–1581) – developed areas of interest that were to dominate the attention of a second generation.

These later Arabists straddled the turn of the century during the forty year lifetime of Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624), when the quest for Arabic sources, Arabic speakers and scribes, and the attempt to compose a definitive Arabic grammar book and dictionary for European use, was pursued most vigorously. In Paris there was the circle of Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), Etienne Hubert (c. 1568–1614) and other Arabist doctors of the French king, as well as François Savary de Brèves (1560–1628) with his Turkish and Maronite assistants. In London, there was the vicar of Tottenham, William Bedwell (1563–1632); in Vienna, the librarian of the imperial library, Sebastian Tengnagel (1573–1636) with his Turkish scribes; and in Heidelberg, Jakob Christmann (1554–1613). In Leiden, Christophe Plantin's scholar-printer son-in-law, Franciscus Raphelengius (1539–1597) was working on Arabic as was the influential Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609). In Rome, Giovanni Battista Raimondi (c. 1536–1614) supervised the publication of Arabic books for the Medici Oriental Press; and in Breslau (Wrocław) there was the Avicennist Peter Kirsten (1575–1640).

Both these generations of scholars were the pioneers who created the necessary conditions in which the great seventeenth-century collectors and bibliographers of Arabic manuscripts – Golius, Pococke, Warner, Hottinger, d'Herbelot, and so on – could pursue their work.

#### 4 Middle Ages to Renaissance: Continuity

Looking back in 1620, after nearly eight years in his post and having produced ten important Arabic publications, including a grammar book that would introduce generations of students to the rudiments of Arabic, Erpenius commanded a supreme view of the way European Arabic studies had evolved. For him, the privilege of being able to learn Arabic from an experienced teacher at a European university well-equipped with a library of Arabic books marked a turning point in a process which had been pioneered by figures more remote than his own immediate intellectual mentors – Joseph Justus Scaliger, Franciscus Raphelengius the Elder, and Isaac Casaubon – or the scholars and patrons of the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Gerard of Cremona, the twelfth-century translator of Arabic, and the members of the Council of Vienne, who had met in 1311 and

<sup>8</sup> Erpenius, *Oratio II*, pp. 72–77; tr. Jones, *Value*, p. 22.

called for the establishment of two new chairs in Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Syriac in each of five leading universities,<sup>9</sup> are listed by Erpenius, together with his more recent heroes, for the inspiring way in which they had embraced the challenge of Arabic.<sup>10</sup> But apart from being united by common practical difficulties, there were other ways in which pioneering Arabists of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw themselves as participating in and extending the process begun by their famous predecessors.

After two or three centuries of relative inactivity – there had been some teaching of Arabic during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for missionary purposes<sup>11</sup> – not only were the new scholars of Arabic at long last realising the demands of the Council of Vienne (repeated at Basel in 1434) for Arabic studies to be part of the university curriculum, but they were also returning to the Latin translations of Arabic texts carried out by their medieval predecessors and comparing them where possible with the originals. In the first place this enabled them to acquire some knowledge of a totally alien vocabulary; but once they had improved their Arabic through wider reading and through contact with Arabic-speakers, they were then able to tackle the errors in those famous Latin versions that had so discredited Arabic learning, particularly since the restoration of Greek studies in the fifteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

Moreover, they believed certain Greek and even Latin texts (even literary texts), still lost in their original form, might be recovered in Arabic versions and that medieval Islamic science could still make a major contribution to the advancement of knowledge. Not that the search for Arabic versions of the lost books of Livy was ever rewarded.<sup>13</sup> But we know that important discoveries

9 For the full text of the Council of Vienne's demand for the teaching of Arabic in European universities, see Johann Fück, *Die Arabischen Studien in Europa vom 12. bis Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1955) p. 21, n. 37a.

10 Erpenius, *Oratio II* (tr. Jones, *Value.*). For other examples of scholars promoting Arabic studies through reference to the Council of Vienne, see: Guillaume Postel, *Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium alphabetum, introductio, ac legendi modus longe facilimus* (Paris, 1538), sig. D2<sup>r</sup> (repeated in the preface to his *Grammatica arabica* (Paris, c. 1543)); and Giovanni Battista Raimondi in a document preserved in Florence, BNCF, Magl. 111, 81, (no. 2), referred to by Saltini as xxv, and summarised below p. 265.

11 Karl H. Dannenfeld, 'The Renaissance humanists and the knowledge of Arabic', *Studies in the Renaissance* 2 (1955), pp. 96–117, citing especially the studies of B. Altaner, J. Fück, and Ugo Monneret de Villard.

12 Felix Klein-Franke, *Die Klassische Antike in der Tradition des Islam* (Darmstadt, 1980), pp. 6–11, 18–52.

13 B.L. Ullman, *Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Rome, 1955), pp. 68–69. Ullman describes how at the end of the 16th century a complete version of Livy's history of Rome was reported to exist at La Goulette in Tunisia. This was the first of many tales localising an Arabic version in the Mediterranean: for example, an Arabic and Persian version was said

were made. For example Books v, vi, and vii of Apollonius's *Conics*, lost in Greek, were found in Arabic.<sup>14</sup> Much work remains to be done on the extent and importance of such discoveries. It seems probable, however, that the recovery of lost learning in Arabic versions during the Renaissance made a less profound impact on the mainstream of European learning that can be claimed for the medieval transmission of knowledge from Arabic into Latin.

Arguments have been advanced for Arabic sources preempting and even playing a part in the formulation of certain key theories of the European Renaissance – for example, Ibn al-Shāṭir's theory of lunar and planetary motion and Copernicus's,<sup>15</sup> Ibn Nafis's theory of pulmonary circulation and William Harvey's, and the Arabic grammarians' tripartite division of grammar and Sanctius's division for Latin – and there may be many surprises still in store.<sup>16</sup> Whether or not Muslim scholarship was becoming increasingly peripheral to the concerns of most European scientists and philosophers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I think it is fair to say that the lasting

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to exist in the desert of St Macarius (*Scaligeriana*, 1, Pithou, p. 518); later in the 17th century, hope turned to Fes. In 1615 book 33 came to light in Italy; that same year, an Italian reported there was a complete copy in the library of the seraglio in Istanbul. He and the French ambassador, Achille Harlay de Sancy, had tried to buy it, but the librarian could not find it. Fifty years later, the library burnt down 'and the supposed manuscript was lost – if one can speak of a supposed manuscript as lost'. A Greek from Chios heard the story, and in 1682 told Louis XIV that during the fire, a complete copy of Livy had been thrown out of a window and picked up from a Turk from whom he then bought it. The Greek offered to sell the work in installments at a fabulous price, but he never delivered.

14 See the informative note by G erald Duverdi er to item 142 (Abraham Ecchellensis's Latin edition of the lost books of the *Conics*, published at Florence in 1661) in the exhibition catalogue, Camille Aboussouan, ed., *Le Livre et le Liban* (Paris, 1982), pp. 252f., and above all, Apollonius, *Conics Books v to vii. The Arabic Translation of the Lost Greek Original in the Version of the Ban  M s *, ed. and tr. G.J. Toomer, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1990), vol. 1, pp. xxi–xxv.

15 See David A. King, 'Ibn al-Sh atir' in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 16 vols. (New York 1970–1980), vol. 12, pp. 357–364: '...with the reservation that they are geocentric, his [i.e. Ibn al-Sh atir's] models are the same as those of Copernicus. Ibn al-Sh atir's planetary theory was investigated for the first time in the 1950's, and the discovery that his models were mathematically identical to those of Copernicus raised the very interesting question of a possible transmission of his planetary theory to Europe. This question has since been the subject of a number of investigations, but research on the astronomy of Ibn al-Sh atir and his sources, let alone on the later influence of his planetary theory in the Islamic world or Europe, is still at a preliminary stage.' (pp. 357–8). Raymond Mercier of Southampton University told me the most likely route for the transmission of Islamic planetary theory to Copernicus is via a Byzantine Greek version.

16 Klein-Franke, *Die Klassische Antike*, p. 47, (and sources) on Andrea Alpago's transmission of Ibn al-Nafis's theory of pulmonary circulation. Percival, W. Keith, 'On plagiarisms in the Minerva of Franciscus Sanctius' in Werner Abraham, ed., *Ut Videam: Contributions to an understanding of linguistics* (Lisse, 1975), pp. 249–262.

importance of Arabic studies in this period was of quite a different order to the transmission of knowledge which had taken place in the Middle Ages.

## 5 Middle Ages to Renaissance: Discontinuity

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, northern European scholars had travelled, in the wake of reconquering Christian armies, to southern Italy, Sicily, Toledo and other parts of Spain; and there they had found local people, educated in Arabic, who were able to help them translate the Arabic texts that interested them.<sup>17</sup> These Latin versions were then circulated among the learned in Europe, but not, it seems, the Arabic texts. We hear of Arabic manuscripts housed in the episcopal library at York and also at Cluny during the Middle Ages;<sup>18</sup> but by the late fifteenth century, no substantial collections survived, if indeed they had ever been put together. Nor did the translators leave any didactic traditions that would have enabled their successors to read Arabic. One Latin-Arabic glossary compiled in the twelfth-century, the famous Mozarabic glossary in Leiden,<sup>19</sup> was exploited by a succession of scholars in the sixteenth century; but they inherited no other European dictionaries of Arabic.

The one theoretical work on language by a Muslim scholar to achieve a wide currency in medieval Europe – the section on language in al-Fārābī's *Ihṣā' al-'ulūm* ('The Enumeration of the Sciences'), which was translated into Latin by Dominicus Gundisalvus (John of Spain) as well as by Gerard of Cremona<sup>20</sup> – was important for advancing the notion of grammar as a science with universally applicable rules, but not as a didactic aid for the use of Europeans wishing to receive a grounding in the rudiments of Arabic.<sup>21</sup>

Not until the sixteenth century, when circumstances were seemingly less favourable to the exchange of learning between the Arab-Islamic World and Christian Europe, were Arabic books and a knowledge of the Arabic language brought to parts of Europe that had never known sustained contact with Arab and Islamic culture; and as Erpenius knew, this influx of sources and expertise

17 Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe* (London-Beirut, 1975), p. 263: 'The explosion of scientific translation was the product, in practice, of military success.'

18 Dannenfeld, 'The Renaissance humanists', p. 100, n. 25.

19 P.Sj. van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic glossary of the Leiden University Library* (Leiden, 1977).

20 See the introduction to *Alfarabi Catálogo de las ciencias*, ed. and tr. Angel González Palencia (Madrid, 1932), p. xii. This edition contains the Arabic and both Latin versions.

21 Jan Pinborg, *Die Entwicklung der Sprachtheorie im Mittelalter* (Münster-Copenhagen, 1967).

was a major turning point in the course of European Arabic studies, comparable, so he and others hoped and claimed, to the revival of Greek letters a century earlier.<sup>22</sup>

## 6 Spain

In his retirement at a small Franciscan monastery in Savoy, the theologian John of Segovia, who died in 1458, devoted the last five years of his life attempting to solve the problem of Islam. Believing that Islam was by nature aggressive and Christianity peaceful, he argued that Christendom could only defeat Islam by being true to itself and employing peaceful persuasion. To refute Islam effectively, however, he required a faithful Latin rendering of the Quran. Unfortunately, the only version of the Quran available to John of Segovia and the Latin-reading world – the translation made under such favourable conditions at Toledo in the mid-twelfth century for Peter the Venerable of Cluny – was not, in his view (and in the view of many of his Arabist successors in the sixteenth century), good enough to serve as a source for any effective refutation. A new translation was needed.<sup>23</sup>

It took two years of searching before John of Segovia managed to secure a copy of the Arabic text of the Quran and an Arabic-speaking assistant. This was a Muslim *faqih* from his old university town of Salamanca, who travelled to Savoy to help him. They worked together for several months on a draft version of a new translation of the Quran, but once the draft was complete, the *faqih* went home. Apparently, he was not prepared to stay away from his newly married wife any longer. The work was practically finished, but to make some improvements, John of Segovia searched in vain for a replacement to the *faqih*.

22 Erpenius, *Oratio II*, pp. 83ff.; tr. Jones, *Value*, p. 23. For another example of the revival of European Arabic studies being likened to the revival of Greek studies, see: G.B. Raimondi, in a document now preserved in Florence, Archivio di Stato, *Stamperia Medicea*, Filza 3, doc. 27. In a comparison which obviously favours Ferdinando de' Medici's efforts over Lorenzo's, Raimondi says this of the Medicean Arabic publications: '...vi si vede dove chiaramente riluce la liberalità et la magnificentia della Casa di Medici piu che nella introduzione della lingua et delli libri Greci in Italia, cossi come ho letto in molti libri hora stampati...'

23 See Thomas E. Burman, *Reading the Qur'ān in Latin Christendom, 1140–1560* (Philadelphia, 2007), pp. 178–197; Ulli Roth, 'Juan of Segovia's Translation of the Qur'an', *al-Qantara* 35 (2014), pp. 555–578.

Even with his contacts in Spain and the help of the minister-general of the Franciscans he could not find anyone capable of translating Arabic.<sup>24</sup>

Not that the Catholic reconquest of Granada forty years later in 1492 would make access to Arabic books and Arabic speakers any the easier. Reports that Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros's policy of enforced conversion for the people of Granada was accompanied by the burning of thousands of Arabic manuscripts in the Plaza de Bibarrambla contrast vividly with the attitude towards Arabic learning four hundred years earlier after the reconquest of Toledo. Unlike Archbishop Raimundo of Toledo whose patronage of Arabic studies after that reconquest was so important to the development of medieval learning, the new archbishop of Granada, Fernando de Talavera, did not preside over a group of translators recovering lost classical texts in Arabic versions. True, he commissioned his confessor, Pedro de Alcalá to write a grammar and a lexicon of Arabic; and these works, published at Granada in 1505, represent the first European attempt to teach Arabic on a wide scale.<sup>25</sup> But these were propagandist tools enabling priests to preach out loud in Andalusian Arabic: they offer very limited help to receptive minds interested in reading standard and middle Arabic texts; and though they interested certain European grammarians and lexicographers of written Arabic, their contribution to the revival of Arabic studies was slender.

The relative immaturity of Arabic studies in Spain during the period under review can scarcely be better illustrated than by the curious episode of the Lead Books of Sacromonte in Granada and the search for competent interpreters of their Arabic texts. It was in the spring and summer of 1595 that eighteen books made out of lead plates, inscribed on both sides in an archaic-looking Arabic script (known as the characters of Solomon) were dug up by a team of excavators working under the supervision of the archbishop of Granada, Don Pedro de Castro.<sup>26</sup> These extraordinary Lead Books were purported to contain

24 R.W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), pp. 86–92. For the teaching of Arabic at the University of Salamanca see the survey by Nuria Martínez de Castillo Muñoz, 'The teaching and learning of Arabic in Salamanca in the early modern period' in Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton and Charles Burnett, eds., *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden-Boston, 2017), pp. 163–188.

25 Pedro de Alcalá, *Arte para legeramente saber la lingua araviga. Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana* (Granada, 1505). Schnurrer, pp. 16–19, no.37. (See below, pp. 102–109 for an analysis of the *Arte*).

26 T.D. Kendrick, 'An example of theodicy-motive in antiquarian thought', in D.J. Gordon, ed., *Fritz Saxl 1890–1948. A Volume of Memorial Essays from his Friends in England* (Edinburgh-London, 1957), pp. 309–325; id., *St James in Spain* (London, 1960), pp. 69–87; Mercedes García Arenal, 'The religious identity of the Arabic language and the affair of

writings by two brothers, the Arabs St Tesiphon and St Cecilio, who had known Christ and the Virgin and were disciples of St James. They were enthusiastically accepted by the archbishop and people of Granada as the genuine accounts of two martyrs from the Jacobite mission to Spain. Benito Arias Montano, however, was among those who doubted the authenticity of these Lead Books (as were the scholars in Rome), and he pleaded ill-health to avoid involvement in the debate.

More such books were discovered during the following ten years; and what emerges, and what proved so difficult for the Granadans to accept, was that these had been very cleverly fabricated by beleaguered Moriscos, including Miguel de Luna and Alonso del Castillo. Both these men shared the necessary skills to produce relics that they believed might attract a more tolerant attitude towards their community. De Luna was the author of a sympathetic account of the Muslim conquest of Spain, which he claimed to have translated from an eighth-century source in the Escorial;<sup>27</sup> del Castillo<sup>28</sup> had made a list of inscriptions in the Alhambra Palace at Granada and a catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in the Escorial. Among a number of learned Moriscos in Granada, they were well placed to carry through their plans.

But Philip III commissioned a committee to advise him on how the question of the Lead Books should be handled; and in 1609 it recommended a search abroad for competent translators. A serious effort was made to find them, and at least two Arabists had been induced to visit Granada, one of whom, from the Vatican, was promptly dismissed when he was heard to say he was wasting his time on forgeries.<sup>29</sup> Two of the most distinguished Arabists of the age, Giovanni Battista Raimondi in Rome<sup>30</sup> and Thomas Erpenius in Leiden,<sup>31</sup> received samples of the text from Spain, in 1609 and 1619 respectively.

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the Lead Books of the Sacromonte de Granada', *Arabica* 56 (2009), pp. 495–528; Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español. Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma* (Madrid, 2010), pp. 23–337 (translated into English as *The Orient in Spain. Converted Muslims, the Forged Lead Books of Granada and the Rise of Orientalism* (Leiden-Boston, 2013)).

27 Miguel de Luna, *La verdadera hystoria del Rey Don Rodrigo, in la qual se trata de la causa principal de la pérdida de España y la conquista que della hizo Miramanolin Almançor...* (Granada, 1592–1600).

28 Dario Cabanelas Rodríguez, *El morisco granadino Alonso del Castillo* (Granada, 1965).

29 Kendrick, *St James in Spain*, pp. 108–109.

30 BNCF, MS II, v, 157. (Six different documents bound in together). The fifth document consists of 7 leaves containing Raimondi's parsing of the passage of Arabic that had been sent to him from Spain (see below, Part 2, Appendix 7); a letter from Ello Hybar dated 24 January, 1609; a letter from the cardinal of Granada.

31 Gerard Ioannes Vossius, *Oratio in obitum clarissimi ac praestantissimi viri, Thomae Erpenii...* (Leiden, 1625), pp. 31–32, citing a letter to Erpenius from Archbishop Castro of Granada, dated 4 June, 1619.

Indeed, Erpenius was invited to Granada by Archbishop de Castro to carry out a study of the Lead Books. But there is no evidence to show that he took up the invitation. Later, in 1627, Sebastian Tegnagel in Vienna received a copy of some of the text made by the Jesuit orientalist Pierre Lanssel (1579–1632), who spent some time as professor of Hebrew in Madrid on the invitation of Philip IV.<sup>32</sup>

In the formative period that concerns us in this book, during the sixteenth century and the lifetime of Thomas Erpenius, the influx of Arabic manuscripts and the opportunities for meeting Arabic-speaking teachers and scribes increased fitfully due to a variety of circumstances, the least of which was the Catholic reconquest of Granada. It is possible, however, to argue that circumstances in Spain played some indirect part in the development of European Arabic studies. Thus, Leo Africanus and Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajārī, two Andalusian Moriscos at either end of the sixteenth century, each quit Spain and, having risen to high office in Morocco returned, each in rather different circumstances, to other parts of Europe where, as we shall see, they made important contributions to Arabic studies. Moreover, the work of Alonso del Castillo and the intentions of Arias Montano cannot be denied as important. But contrary to both contemporary and popular modern expectations, the very presence of the Arabic-speaking Moriscos in Andalusia throughout the sixteenth century and beyond, and the repressive response of the Catholic authorities to that community, meant that Spain did not play a significant role in the sixteenth-century revival of European Arabic studies.<sup>33</sup> Though Salamanca University had honoured the Council of Vienne's decree that Arabic should be taught there, the results do not compare with Arabic studies in other European

32 ÖNB, MS 9737r, fol. 151<sup>r</sup> to Sebastian Tegnagel from Pierre Lanssel in Antwerp, dated 23 July 1627: '...in super habes aliquot lineas antiquo caractere Arabico quas ex prima lamina plumbea in montibus Granatensibus ante aliquot annos reperta descripsi, lubenter tuum iudicium excipiam.' The extract from the lead tablet is on fol. 150<sup>r</sup>.

33 An example of the contemporary expectations that Spain could provide Arabic texts may be found at ASF, *Stamperia Orientale*, Filza 5, fols. 158, 169, 202, 208, 214–215: the letters from Fabrizio Caputi in Madrid to G.B. Raimondi in Rome, dated January to April 1592. In these letters, Caputi reported that he had been offered a published grammar and wordlist of Arabic (i.e. Alcalá's), that he hoped to acquire a grammar and dictionary written by Nicolaus Clenardus, and that Arabic manuscripts could be available in Cordoba. On the poor state of Arabic studies in Spain see Marcel Bataillon, 'L'arabe à Salamanque au temps de la Renaissance', in *Hespéris* 31 (1935), pp. 1–17; Luis García-Ballester, 'The circulation and use of medical manuscripts in Arabic in 16th century Spain', *Journal for the History of Arabic Science* 3/2 (1979), pp. 183–199; and Martínez de Castillo Muñoz, 'The teaching and learning of Arabic in Salamanca', pp. 171–188.

institutions; and until Casiri's catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in the Escorial published in Madrid in 1760 and 1770 there is no Arabic printing in Spain.

This astonishing revival of interest in Arabic took place in other parts of Europe that had never known sustained contact with Muslim culture. By the early seventeenth century, centres of learning as far flung and as different in culture, outlook, and circumstances as Rome, Vienna, and London, or Breslau, Heidelberg and Paris, could boast of scholars with a knowledge of Arabic and collections of Arabic manuscripts that were wholly unprecedented in those parts.

# The Books

## 1 Manuscript Acquisition

The European acquisition of Arabic manuscripts during the period that concerns us here progressed fitfully due to a variety of circumstances and initiatives. There was, of course, the unsolicited influx of manuscripts brought by visitors from North Africa, and the Near and Middle East, or plundered by Christian soldiers and sailors after acts of war and piracy. Some of the texts acquired in these fortuitous ways were highly prized by European scholars; some were considered insignificant; many were new and difficult to digest. But the process of acquisition could be more selective. Adventurous scholars travelled abroad with particular authors or subjects in mind, or else they instructed their agents to look out for particular texts. To some extent they were successful at finding what they sought, but they also returned simply with what was available and often unknown in the West.

This accumulation of manuscripts was intertwined with a gradual increase in bibliographical knowledge. But such knowledge was not necessarily sophisticated enough to make sense of the newly acquired material. Of course, European speculation about the recovery of certain lost Greek and Latin works in Arabic versions and the desire to improve upon the medieval Latin versions of Arabic works continually focused attention on the search for known texts by particular authors. At the same time, however, Arabists were handling a growing number of works and authors that were completely new to them. As Erpenius told the listeners to his orations, and as we can see from the marginalia in some of the Arabic manuscripts he owned or consulted, he had gained a general impression of the vast extent of Arabic literature and learning from the number of authors cited in those manuscripts. But before eastern bio-bibliographical works were available in the west, it was difficult to know which particular works or authors should be singled out as particularly important in any given field and therefore worth searching for and acquiring.

One important episode at the end of our period signals the approach of greater bibliographical control over unknown Islamic material: this was the visit by Erpenius's pupil, Jacob Golius, to Morocco in 1624. It was then that Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī supplied Golius with a copy of Ibn Khallikān's biographical dictionary (probably the first occasion that such a work had fallen

into European hands).<sup>1</sup> It was then too that Golius, no doubt acting on Erpenius's instructions, sought manuscript copies of specific texts cited in Leo Africanus's *Description of Africa*. This unique account of North Africa which became widely available in many editions after the first edition of 1550, was written by an Andalusian emigré to North Africa and later hostage and Catholic convert in Rome. The text is chiefly remembered and still consulted as a source on North African history, geography and ethnography. But it should also be pointed out that it provided early Arabists with important clues on certain Arabic authors and their works. (For details of this information and how Erpenius and Golius acted upon it, see below pp. 48–53).

## 2 Arabists Abroad

At Leiden in 1620, Erpenius told his audience that among European scholars there were those who were able to acquire a serviceable knowledge of Arabic by taking any opportunity that presented itself at home; and there were those who travelled abroad to pursue their interest in Arabic – but not without considerable risk.

It was not too much trouble for some of them to undertake lengthy, dangerous and costly journeys for its sake. Nicolaus Clenardus, Etienne Hubert and others went to Africa for that reason alone. Gerard of Cremona, Andrea Alpago, Guillaume Postel, Giovanni Battista Raimondi and many others made their way to Asia and stayed long there. On the other hand, Jean Mercier, of all Christians the most distinguished in Hebrew philology, similarly set out on a Journey for the same purpose, but within a short time – even before leaving his homeland – he was called to the homeland that is common to us all. Also, Agostino Giustiniani, Bishop of Nebbio, famous for his six-language psalter, is believed to have perished in a shipwreck while on that same Journey. Likewise, Georg Weigenmeier, author of a most excellent Hebrew grammar, perished *en route*.<sup>2</sup>

Of these adventurers, Andrea Alpago was exceptional in that he spent most of his life in Damascus, attached to the Venetian legation. He travelled widely in

1 M.Th. Houtsma, ed. and tr., *Uit de oostersche correspondentie van Th. Erpenius, Jac. Golius en Lev. Warner* (Amsterdam, 1887), pp. 28–29. The entire subject is discussed by Jan Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger. Arabic and Islamic Studies in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 131–184.

2 Erpenius, *Oratio II*, pp. 73–74; tr. Jones, *Value*, p. 22.

search of manuscripts in other parts of the Arab World; and though his amendments to Gerard of Cremona's Latin version of Avicenna's *Canon* are very well known in many editions of that work, we do not know what became of his manuscript collection.<sup>3</sup> Another Italian scholar, but apparently not an Arabist, Francesco de' Rosi, travelled to Damascus and, in a library, found an Arabic manuscript of what he believed was a lost work by Aristotle – the so-called pseudo-Aristotelian *Theology* (in reality, a paraphrase of selections from *Enneads iv, v, vi*). Using bribery, he smuggled the manuscript out of the library, took it to Cyprus, and had it translated by a certain Moses Araovas. Later, it was revised by Pier Nicola Castellani and Rosi produced his Latin edition, with a dedication to Pope Leo x, at Rome in 1519.<sup>4</sup>

Guillaume Postel, to whom we shall return, made two excursions to the East, from which he greatly profited as an Arabist. As in the case of Alpago and other Arabists who travelled abroad, he too combined diplomatic duties with his academic interests. From 1534 to 1537 he accompanied the mission of Jean de la Forêt to Tunis, Istanbul, and Egypt.<sup>5</sup> In Tunis they discussed measures against the Genoese and in Istanbul their aim was to negotiate an alliance with the Ottomans against the emperor, Charles v. Apart from assisting the mission as interpreter, Postel was able to take lessons in Arabic from an educated Turkish Christian and to buy Arabic books. Such was the speed of Postel's progress in learning Arabic (and which he accounted for by his prior knowledge of Hebrew), that the teacher considered him a demon. As for the manuscripts Postel collected, these were all dispersed during his lifetime. He later recorded that he owned grammatical, mathematical, and astronomical works before leaving on a second journey to the East.<sup>6</sup> But only two manuscripts have positively been identified as acquisitions from Istanbul in 1536: a commentary by Averroes on Aristotle's *Organon* and parts of a work by Avicenna, now in Leiden University Library.<sup>7</sup>

That second visit to Palestine and Syria from 1549 to 1550, returning that year to Venice via Istanbul, was sponsored by the Venetian printer Daniel

3 Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, 'Avicenne et les médecins de Venise', *Medioevo e Rinascimento. Studi in onore di Bruno Nardi* (Rome, 1955), pp. 117–198, esp. p. 185.

4 Jill Kraye, 'The Pseudo-Aristotelian *Theology* in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe', in Jill Kraye, W.F. Ryan and C.B. Schmitt, eds., *Pseudo-Aristotle in the Middle Ages* (London, 1986), pp. 265–286, esp. p. 265.

5 Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi*, pp. 5–6; M.L. Kuntz, *Guillaume Postel, Prophet of the Restitution of All Things. His Life and Thought* (The Hague, 1981), pp. 23–25; id., 'Voyages to the East and Postel's thought' in Jean Céard and Jean-Claude Margolin, eds., *Voyager à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1987), pp. 53–54; Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 309, n. 1.

6 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 322.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 323. UBL, Cod. 2073 and Cod. 2071 a & b.

Bomberg. Postel hoped to improve his knowledge of the languages of the Near East as well as to assist Eastern Christians by securing copies of their religious texts for publication in the West. In order to finance his book buying, he joined the entourage of the French ambassador to the Turks, Gabriel de Luetz, Baron d'Aramont.<sup>8</sup> Some of the manuscripts which Postel acquired during this journey have now been located by Giorgio Levi della Vida in the Vatican Library (one is in the Bodleian).<sup>9</sup> They were transferred to the Vatican between 1622 and 1623 from the Palatine Library in Heidelberg, where they had been kept since 1555 when Postel pawned them to the elector, Otto Heinrich.

In the Vatican Library there is a list dating from around 1600 of the oriental manuscripts that were in the Palatine Library – 10 Arabic, 1 Ethiopic, and 4 Syriac;<sup>10</sup> and, according to Levi della Vida, excepting the fourth volume of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* taken at the sack of Tunis in 1535 and Ibn Buṭlān's *Taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥa* containing an Arabic annotation dated 1552, they were all acquired by Postel during his second visit to the East between 1549 and 1550.<sup>11</sup> The Arabic manuscripts now located in the Vatican Library consist of Abū 'l-Fidā's famous geographical work *Taqwīm al-buldān* (bound with the copy of Ibn Buṭlān's *Taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥa*); an Arabic version of the Pentateuch; Nestorian polemical works; an anti-Jewish, anti-Islamic polemic entitled *Jalā' al-'uqūl fī 'ilm al-uṣūl* by Abū 'l-Barakāt, with the Arabic text of the Apocalypse together with a commentary; the *Dialectics* and *De Fide Orthodoxa* of St John of Damascus as translated by Antonio Monaco; Paul's Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Canonical Epistles of Jacob, Peter, John and Jude – all in Arabic; and an Arabic and Turkish prayer book.

The one manuscript in the Bodleian Library is the second part of the universal chronicle written by the thirteenth-century Copt, Jirjis ibn al-'Amīd al-Makīn.<sup>12</sup> At the time of the transfer of the Palatine manuscripts to the Vatican in 1622, this manuscript was still being used by Erpenius in Leiden. He had

8 Bouwsma, *Concordia Mundi*, p. 16; Kuntz, 'Voyages', p. 55.

9 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, pp. 290–320.

10 Ibid., pp. 293–294. The list is at BV, MS Palatino Latino 1951. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 293, n. 2, records editions of this list: a copy of this list existed in Hamburg and was published by F.L. Hoffmann, 'Ein Verzeichniss von Handschriften der ehemaligen Heidelberger Bibliothek', *Serapeum* 11 (1850), pp. 161–169 (cf. 15, pp. 313–4); the same list of oriental manuscripts was repeated pp. 201–2 with the title 'Libri arabici quos habet Bibl. Palat. a Guil. Postello' and at the end 'Index horum libb. Arab. et Syriac. missus a Grutero 3 decemb. An. 1603'. The Ethiopic manuscript is not mentioned in this second copy. The Hamburg copy is sometimes incorrect.

11 Ibid., pp. 317–319.

12 Bodl., MS Marsh 309. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, pp. 295–6, explains how the manuscript was borrowed by Erpenius from Heidelberg in 1613, inherited by Golius in 1624, bought at

borrowed it from Heidelberg ten years before while on his European tour. After his death in 1624, the manuscript must have passed into the hands of his pupil, Golius (who saw the edition and translation prepared by Erpenius through the press)<sup>13</sup> and thence with part of his collection to the Bodleian. One Vatican manuscript not on the Palatine list, but nevertheless included by Levi della Vida among those that Postel pawned to Otto Heinrich, contains Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *al-Tadhkira fī 'l-hay'a* and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī's *al-Risāla al-sharafiyya fī 'l-nisab al-ta'lifiyya*.<sup>14</sup>

Among Levi della Vida's conclusions two points are contestable. First his exclusion of Ibn Buṭlān's *Taqwīm al-ṣiḥḥa* from the manuscripts Postel collected abroad in 1549 and 1550 on the grounds that it contains an Arabic inscription by a certain Faḍl Allāh al-Ṣā'igh of Damascus recording his seeing the book on a date equivalent to 24 July 1552.<sup>15</sup> There is no more reason to assume that the manuscript did not leave the East until after this date, than to suggest that Faḍl Allāh was in Europe on that date. Orientalists often showed their manuscripts to their eastern visitors, who wrote this kind of comment.

On the second point we have additional documentary evidence to that available to Levi della Vida. In the Vatican list of Palatine manuscripts, item 5: 'Onomasticon Simplicium Medicamentor(um). 4to *sehr dick*', was identified by Levi della Vida (for no reason that he made apparent) with a pharmacopoeia by Ibn Jazla entitled *Minhāj al-bayān fī mā yasta'miluhu al-insān* a copy of which is in the Vatican.<sup>16</sup> But a letter written on 7 January 1607 by the librarian of the Palatine Library, Jan Gruter, to Sebastian Tegnagel in Vienna, and now preserved among Tegnagel's correspondence in Vienna, gives a list of the Arabic manuscripts in the library which is identical to the list used by Levi della Vida except in one important respect.<sup>17</sup> The Latin title of the pharmacopoeia is

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auktion by Archbishop Marsh in 1696 and left by him in 1713 to the Bodleian. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, pp. 290–320.

13 Schnurrer, pp. 113–117, no. 155.

14 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 307. But Jan Gruter, librarian at Heidelberg around 1600, does not add anything to the ten Arabic manuscripts in the Palatine collection. See his letter to Tegnagel in n. 17 below

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 295 and 319.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 298. BAV, MS Arabo 374.

17 ÖNB, MS 9737<sup>r</sup>, fol. 48<sup>r</sup>. Letter from Jan Gruter to Sebastian Tegnagel, dated Heidelberg 7 January 1607. (A copy of the letter in Tegnagel's more legible hand is on fol. 49): '...Libros Arabicos quos habemus obvenerunt nobis per Gulielmum Postellum, qui eos ante 45 annos oppigneravit Othoni Henrico Electori, neque deinde redemit aut ipse aut haeredes eius, titulum autem praeferunt istum: 1. Geographica Abilfedasi cui adglutinatae in fine computationes medicae. 2. Liber Elbuchari Mahometis. 3. Abul chassumi historia complexa res tan Christianos quam Turcarum gestas annis DC a fuga Mahometis ad Medinat alnabi. 4. Liber Pentateuchi cum arabica explicatione. 5. Abenbicar Onomasticum

preceded by the word 'Abenbicar'. This is the name used by the sixteenth-century encyclopaedist Conrad Gesner for Ibn al-Bayṭār, author of another well-known pharmacopoeia, *al-Jāmi' li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa-l-aghdhīya*. Since Gesner relied on Postel's manuscripts for reference to other Arabic authors, it is probable that his knowledge of Ibn al-Bayṭār's pharmacopoeia derives from the same source.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, as Levi della Vida knew, Georges Weill, one of the first biographers of Postel, had already claimed that Postel owned a copy of this work as well as a work by Dioscorides, neither of which were accounted for.<sup>19</sup> It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that this work, rather than the work of Ibn Jazla, should be included among the manuscripts that Postel pawned to Otto Heinrich. As for the present location of Postel's copy of Ibn al-Bayṭār's work, we would expect it to have been removed to the Vatican with the other Palatine manuscripts in 1622–23; and certainly a copy exists there.<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, a copy of this work kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France contains Greek annotations which François Secret has identified as being in Postel's hand.<sup>21</sup>

Secret has also pointed out the present locations of some of the other Arabic manuscripts collected at some stage by Postel. Nine of Postel's Arabic manuscripts are listed in a catalogue of the library of the Jesuit Collège Louis-le-Grand (Collège de Clermont) which was dispersed in 1763.<sup>22</sup> Two of these are the manuscripts which are now in Leiden and which he collected in 1536. Four are in Berlin. They are a commentary on the Quran, an Arabic grammar with an Arabic-Turkish lexicon and works on syntax, another Arabic-Turkish lexicon, and a work by Avicenna with a Turkish commentary.<sup>23</sup> One, an Arabic version of Euclid's *Elements* is in Copenhagen.<sup>24</sup> Two other manuscripts – an

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simplicium medicamentorum. 6. Disputatio Mahumetani cum Christiano de religione. 7. Ioan. Damascenus de Orthodoxa Fide, cui praemittitur logica, item kalendarium cum festis Sanctorum. 8. Acta Apostolorum Epistol. D. Pauli, D. Iacobi, D. Petri, Ioan, Iud et Apocaly. Ioan. 9. Liber adversus haereses Orientalis Ecclesiae. 10. Precationes Arabicae. Praeter hos nihil habemus in lingua illa Arabica, in qua cur cesset Christmannus, in causa est, ut ait, quod non inveniatur Typographum, qui faciat sumptus in ipsis cudendis, quae edi cuperet, frugeatque alioquin et contemnatur id studium passim...'

18 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 324.

19 loc. cit.

20 BAV, MS Arabo 1432. G. Levi della Vida, *Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City, 1925) p. 224, no. 1432. The manuscript is dated 3 Muḥarram 688 AH.

21 BnF, MS Arabe 2499 (Slane, p. 443). François Secret, *Bibliographie des manuscrits de Guillaume Postel* (Geneva, 1970), pp. 57–59.

22 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 323.

23 Secret, *Bibliographie*, pp. 57–59.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 57–59.

eschatological work and an Arabic grammatical and lexicographical work – remain to be found.

While at Heidelberg, the manuscripts proved a great attraction to European scholars during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The texts Postel had collected exercised a powerful influence on the second generation of Arabists and provided the sources for a number of their Arabic publications. Causaubon, Christmann, Kirsten, Tengnagel, and Erpenius all either consulted, borrowed, or copied them.<sup>25</sup>

Nicolaus Clenardus, disappointed by the moribund state of Arabic studies at Salamanca in the fifteen-thirties, travelled on to Granada, where he received instruction in Arabic from a 'Moor', and then spent a year in Fes. But he experienced difficulties acquiring Arabic manuscripts; and there is no record that any he may have owned have been preserved in European libraries.<sup>26</sup>

A generation later, Etienne Hubert managed to collect manuscripts during his visit to Morocco in 1599, when he succeeded Arnout de Lisle as physician to the Moroccan sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr. But, though several of his manuscripts have been preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (we shall refer to some below, and also to his copy of the Quran, now in Danzig), and although Francis Richard's catalogue of Persian codices at the Bibliothèque nationale contains a footnote with a list of Hubert's manuscripts, there is still no definitive study of his collection. Joseph Justus Scaliger, Isaac Casaubon, and Thomas Erpenius esteemed his knowledge as an Arabist; François Savary de Brèves was critical:

One of the King's doctors called Monsieur Hubert has been in Fes and Morocco and knows something of the language, but very little. He wrote to me saying that he is now expert in law in that language. To tell you the truth that is deceiving the public...<sup>27</sup>

Due to the slender evidence available, it is difficult to form an independent view. From some of the entries Hubert made in an Arabic-Latin lexicon he compiled, it is clear that he acquired a conversational facility for the local dialect of Arabic during his visit to Fes and a familiarity with some local place

25 See, for example, the copies Christmann made himself are in UBG. Copies commissioned by Tengnagel, now in the ÖNB, are discussed below.

26 Bataillon, 'L'arabe à Salamanque', *passim*

27 BnF, Département des Manuscrits, Coll. Dupuy, 812, fol. 209. Text quoted by G rald Duverdier in Aboussouan, ed., *Le Livre et le Liban*, p. 165; and Hamilton, *William Bedwell the Arabist (1563–1632)* (Leiden, 1986), p. 152, n. 112.

names.<sup>28</sup> His knowledge of standard written Arabic, on the other hand, may perhaps be gauged to some extent from his annotations to his own copy of the Medicean Arabic edition of Avicenna's medical *Canon*. These undated notes show how carefully he applied himself to understanding the Arabic text of greatest interest to his profession, not only by referring to the published Latin translation (the method used even by the editors of that edition) but also through recourse to an Arabic-Turkish lexicon.<sup>29</sup>

By contrast, Savary de Brèves rivalled Andrea Alpago's thirty years abroad by spending twenty-two years in the Near East, for thirteen of which – from 1591 to 1604 – he represented France as ambassador in Istanbul. He returned to Paris with the diplomatic success of an alliance concluded between Sultan Ahmet and Henri IV, a collection of about a hundred oriental manuscripts, and ambitious plans for an oriental printing-press and a college of oriental studies.<sup>30</sup> He also brought a gifted Turkish assistant, Hüsayn of Buda (see below, Chapter 2, Part 10). Posted to Rome between 1608 and 1614, he pursued his idea of printing books in Arabic and issued two Arabic publications *ex typographia Savariana*.

De Brèves returned to Paris with two of the Maronite assistants he had met in Rome, Gabriel Sionita and Johannes Hesronita, who went on to produce two important publications in the period that concerns us – an Arabic grammar (1616) and a Latin version of the Medicean edition of al-Idrīsī's *Nuzhat al-mushtāq*, called *Geographia Nubiensis* (1619). But by 1618, ten years before his death, de Brèves had been forced into retirement; and although Erpenius, in

28 BnF, Ms Ar 4348. Two examples of Hubert's local knowledge may be found on: fol. 41<sup>v</sup> 'badī' / Elbeday un jardin de mulai Hamed'. fol. 180<sup>v</sup> 'wabā'un/ pestis vulgo Marochi'.

29 BnF, *Imprimés*, Rés T29.5: Hubert's copy of Avicenna's *Canon* in the Medicean edition of 1593. The entire book is intermittently annotated by Hubert (and possibly his brother l'Auditeur) – in parts copiously. Part of the preface is accurately vocalised, suggesting access to a manuscript copy. The first paragraph on p. 33, *fī ajnās al-qawī bi-qawl kullī*, is fully vocalised. The most heavily annotated pages are at the opening of the section *fī amzijat al-adwiya al-mufrada* on pp. 114, 115, and 116. These pages also contain evidence that Casaubon's young Dutch protégé Adriaan Willemsz. (especially pp. 114–116, 136, 137, and up to 143) and the Moroccan visitor Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajārī (especially p. 117) consulted this book. Willemsz. compares the text with Rhazes; Hubert occasionally corrects the text. There are references to Andrea Alpago and to Dioscorides, to an Arab-Turkish lexicon (pp. 283, 412) and to Raphelengius's dictionary (p. 504). From p. 206 onwards most of Hubert's notes merely consist of the Latin titles. For Adriaan Willemsz. see Alastair Hamilton and Arnoud Vrolijk 'Hadrianus Guilielmi Flessingensis. The Brief Career of the Arabist Adriaen Willemsz', *Oriens*, 39 (2011), pp. 1–15.

30 Aboussouan, ed., *Le Livre et le Liban*, pp. 159–173. See also Alastair Hamilton, 'François Savary de Brèves' in David Thomas and John Chesworth, eds., *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 9. Western and Southern Europe (1600–1700)* (Leiden-Boston, 2017), pp. 415–22.

his oration of 1620, still publicly commended de Brèves' manuscript collection as well as that of Harlay de Sancy (de Brèves's successor in Istanbul),<sup>31</sup> in a letter to Sebastian Tengnagel written two months after the oration he gives a disappointing account of his meeting with de Brèves and reveals that he had not seen de Sancy's collection:

Monsieur de Brèves has completely abandoned his inclination for this discipline. I saw the man recently when I was in France; but I found him so upset by mental breakdown that future scholars who think they can expect anything from him must, in my opinion, be deluded. I asked for Monsieur Sancy more than once at his home but because he was at court it was in vain; nor have I yet been able to acquire a list of his books.<sup>32</sup>

It is not known what was in de Sancy's collection.<sup>33</sup> But the fact that the first edition of al-Fārābī's *Opera Omnia* in Latin was dedicated to de Sancy, suggests a learned interest in Arabic on his part.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, a catalogue of de Brèves's collection does exist. Compiled by Antoine Vitré when he bought the collection in 1632 and published by him in Paris in 1656, it has been criticised by Gérald Duverdier as an unreliable source for identifying what remains of the collection in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.<sup>35</sup>

### 3 Agents

Erpenius claimed that Giovanni Battista Raimondi, director of the Medici Oriental Press, travelled abroad to pursue a knowledge of Arabic;<sup>36</sup> and a diary of

<sup>31</sup> Erpenius, *Oratio II*, pp. 86–87; tr. Jones, *Value*, p. 24

<sup>32</sup> ÖNB, MS 9737S, fol. 220<sup>r-v</sup>. Letter from Thomas Erpenius to Sebastian Tengnagel dated Leiden 1 February 1621: '...Dominus de Brèves animo omnino ab illis Uteris abiecit, me quidquam praestat aut praestiturus est. [fol. 220<sup>v</sup>] Vidi nuper cum in Gallia essem hominem. Sed comperi eum ita irritatum et offensum capitis diminutione, ut frustra ego futuros iudicem literatos, qui in re literaria, aliquid porro ab eo volent exspectare. D. Sansium, quod in aula esset semel atque iterum frustra domi eius quaesivi. Neo librorum eius catalogum hactenus nancisci potui...'

<sup>33</sup> Aboussouan, ed., *Le Livre et le Liban*, p. 213 states that the historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou acquired some oriental manuscripts from Achille Harlay de Sancy, ambassador in Istanbul, for the Bibliothèque du Roi.

<sup>34</sup> Al-Fārābī, *Opera Omnia*, ed. G. Camerarius (Paris, 1638).

<sup>35</sup> Aboussouan, ed., *Le Livre et le Liban*, pp. 208–211.

<sup>36</sup> Erpenius, *Oratio II*, p. 74; Jones, *Value*, p. 22.

a journey from Hormuz to Venice, written in his hand, may confirm this.<sup>37</sup> Whether or not Raimondi acquired manuscripts in this way (and the very recent discovery of the Venetian Arabic Quran, generally considered a ghost but said by Erpenius to have existed, reinforces the impression that his information should be taken seriously), at Rome he was well placed to keep in close touch with diplomatic and missionary agents to the Near and Middle East.

The first two to travel on behalf of the Medici Press were Giovanni Battista Britti, who was despatched to Ethiopia, and Giovanni Battista Vecchietti, who left for Egypt and Persia.<sup>38</sup> In November 1585 Britti wrote from Goa to Raimondi in Rome.<sup>39</sup> The letter tells of shipwreck and of a failure to gain official recognition – just the sort of dangers and difficulties encountered by those who would ultimately benefit European Arabic studies and of whom Erpenius was to write so appreciatively in his oration.

Giovanni Battista Vecchietti had already made two journeys to Alexandria when, in 1584, he was given the dual task of negotiating a union between Rome and the Coptic patriarch in Egypt and then a military alliance with Persia on behalf of the king of Spain and the pope. Later he was to make a series of visits to Egypt together with his brother, Girolamo Vecchietti, in 1590, 1592 to '94, and 1595 to '97. Some of the Coptic manuscripts they recovered on those occasions may still be seen in the Vatican Library. From 1598 to 1607 Giovanni Battista travelled for his own sake in Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia and India. At Agra in 1604 he met his brother Girolamo. Their return Journey brought them to Aleppo in 1607. Diary entries by Raimondi in Rome record not only the brothers'

37 ASF, *Stamperia Orientale*, Filza 3, fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-5<sup>v</sup>: 'Viagio per terra de lindia [sic] orientale à Venetia', describing a journey from Hormuz, overland through Iran, to Aleppo, Tripoli, and thence to Venice via Corfu, undertaken between February and December 1575. Both sources for Raimondi's journey to the east are referred to by Saltini (1860), p. 265. Cf. Margherita Farina, 'A case of Sixteenth-Century Portuguese-Italian Interference', *Oriente Moderno*, 98 (2018), pp. 52–72.

38 ASF, *Stamperia Orientale*, Filza 3, doc. 2: Instructions to G.B. Britti and G.B. Vecchietti on their mission for the Vatican as well as a request for manuscripts from the press. *Ibid.*, Doc. 3: Letters from Ferdinando de' Medici to Sig. Gabriele Mobsier seeking support for Britti and Vecchietti in their travels; *Ibid.*, Doc. 4: An order for 1300 gold scudi to be given to the travellers by the papal court, dated 2 March 1584; *Ibid.*, Doc. 56: 77 folios containing accounts and letters relating to the voyages of Britti and G.B. Vecchietti. For the Vecchietti brothers see also Francis Richard, 'Les frères Vecchietti, diplomates, érudits et aventuriers' in Alastair Hamilton, Maurits H. van den Boogert and Bart Westerweel, eds., *The Republic of Letters and the Levant* (Leiden-Boston, 2005), pp. 11–26.

39 ASF, *Stamperia Orientale*, Filza 3, doc. 7: Letter from Britti to Raimondi in Rome, dated Goa 25 February 1585. *Ibid.*, doc.8: Letter from Britti to Cipriano Saracinelli in Rome, dated Goa 25 November 1586. Saracinelli was secretary to the Medici press and later became Ferdinando's agent at Venice. Both edited by Roberto Almagià, in 'Giovanni Battista Britti Cosentino, viaggiatore in Oriente', *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 25 (1957), pp. 75–103.

arrivals and departures but also information on manuscript acquisitions which he gleaned from G. B. Vecchietti's letters.<sup>40</sup> Among the acquisitions were a copy of al-Fīrūzābādī's *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* destined for Signor Camillo Rinocini and a copy of an Arabic version of the Pentateuch for himself. Some of the manuscripts they collected are now located in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana. Since it was Raimondi's habit to record on each manuscript the name of the person who had sold or given it to the Medici Press, identification of the original buyers is made easy. Other manuscripts collected by the Vecchietti found their way to Paris and are now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.<sup>41</sup>

The Maltese priest, Leonardo Abel, was in Rome from about 1580 acting as interpreter and confessor to Arabic speakers there. In 1582, Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro appointed him titular bishop of Sidon and in 1583 he travelled to Aleppo where he worked with Jacobites, Nestorians, Melkites and Armenians.<sup>42</sup> He took trouble to collect manuscripts relevant to each church and worked closely with the Medici Oriental Press, particularly on the committee established to produce anti-Islamic material. His collection of oriental manuscripts was considerable – according to Christophe Dupuy writing to Scaliger in May 1604, Abel had 150 volumes of Arabic works.<sup>43</sup> Some of these are in the Vatican Library, others he passed on to the Medici Press and are now in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana.

In his diary, Raimondi recorded the departure of three Carmelite friars to Persia on 6 July 1604. They are Paolo Simone, Giovanni Tadeo and Vincenzo.<sup>44</sup> Later he was to write to them with specific requests for Persian manuscripts: grammars and lexicons; a Persian translation of Avicenna's *Canon* and the *Najāt*, and of Dioscorides's *De Simplicibus*; books of the Scriptures in Judaeo-Persian; histories of the kings of Persia; and any other books of use for gaining a knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Turkish.<sup>45</sup>

From Vienna Sebastian Tenggengel,<sup>46</sup> who never left Europe, kept in touch with the Imperial dragomans at Istanbul: Johannes Paulus Albanus, in the second decade of the seventeenth century; and Michel d'Asquier in the

40 ASF, *Stamperia Orientale*, Filza 2, doc. 25 (Raimondi's diary), fol. 14<sup>v</sup>: Raimondi refers to a letter from G.B. Vecchietti to his brother in Rome, dated Cairo 17 June 1599, in which these manuscript acquisitions are recorded.

41 See Francis Richard, 'Les manuscrits persans rapportés par les frères Vecchietti et conservés aujourd'hui à la Bibliothèque Nationale', *Studia Iranica* 9 (1980), pp. 291–300

42 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, pp. 200–205.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 217.

44 ASF, *Stamperia Orientale*, Filza 2, doc. 25, fol. 24<sup>r</sup>.

45 BNCF, MS II, V, 157, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>.

46 Franz Unterkircher, 'Sebastian Tenggengel', in Joseph Stummvoll, ed., *Die Geschichte der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Vienna, 1968), pp. 129–145.

mid-sixteen twenties. A list of *desiderata* sent to Albanus in 1613 and again in 1617 requested information on historical texts by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, al-Ṭabarī, Saʿīd ibn Biṭrīq, and others; on the *Qāmūs* and other lexicographical works by al-Akhtarī and al-Jawharī; and on the geographical and cosmographical texts of al-Idrīsī, Ibn al-Ḥawqal, and al-Qazwīnī. Tengenagel also wanted information on what was available in the bookshops of Istanbul and among the learned, whether Muslim, Christian or Jew. He especially requested that the Jews be asked about works in Arabic or Hebrew by Aristotle, Plato, Galen, Hippocrates and Averroes, and on philosophy, astronomy, and medicine.<sup>47</sup> Tengenagel also contacted the wandering Egyptian Copt, Yūsuf ibn Abū Daqan (known to Europeans as Josephus Abudacnus or Barbatus), who was in Istanbul at the time.<sup>48</sup>

For others who did not venture outside Europe, Venice offered an excellent opportunity for learning some Arabic or Turkish of a rudimentary kind from merchants and dragomans, and for buying some manuscripts. Erpenius had planned a journey to Istanbul, by boat from Venice to Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and thence overland across the Balkan Peninsula; but he did not get beyond Venice in the early part of 1612. Nonetheless, as he told Casaubon in an unpublished letter, he was able to make some important manuscript acquisitions there. At first he had come across a Jew who supplied him with some Hebrew books recently brought from abroad; then, from a Venetian nobleman, he acquired some books in Arabic script. These books are now housed with most of his other oriental manuscripts in the University Library at Cambridge.<sup>49</sup> Another

47 ÖNB, Cod. 8997, fols. 52<sup>r</sup>-53<sup>r</sup>: Tengenagel's lists of Arabic and Turkish books he required Albanus to find in Istanbul in 1613 and 1617: '...Prego anche à Vostra Signoria di mandarmi una lista de tutti i libri con gli nomi de auctori e la materia de eſi che sieno trovati nelle bottege overo librerie de Constantinopla, ò appreſo altri huomini dotti Turchi, Christiani ò Hebrei. In Alcair, Haleppo, Damasco et Egipto credo che ſi trovino aſai libri in Arabi, Syriano et Chaldaeo...' (See below p. 63, n. 60.)

48 Letters from d'Asquier to Tengenagel now in ÖNB, Cod. 9737s, fol. 313, dated Ofen 26 September 1624; Cod. 9737t, fol. 22, dated Komorn 4 April 1625; fols. 167-168: [Istanbul, 1627]; fols. 169-170, dated Prague 9 February 1628. Letters from Joseph Barbatus in Istanbul to Tengenagel in ÖNB, Cod. 9737t, fols. 1-2, dated 3 January 1625; fol. 152, dated 29 July 1627. For Michel d'Asquier see Alastair Hamilton, 'Michel d'Asquier, imperial interpreter and bibliophile', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 72 (2009), pp. 237-41, and for Yūsuf ibn Abū Daqan (or Barbatus or Abudacnus) see id., 'An Egyptian traveller in the Republic of Letters: Josephus Barbatus or Abudacnus the Copt' in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57 (1994), pp. 123-150.

49 On the sale of Erpenius's oriental manuscripts to the Duke of Buckingham and their subsequent entry to Cambridge University Library, see J.C.T. Oates, 'The manuscripts of Thomas Erpenius', *The Bibliographical Society of Australia and New Zealand, Occasional publication 1* (Melbourne, 1974), pp. 1-17. See also Edward G. Browne, *A Catalogue of the*

Arabist who travelled to Venice was Jean-Baptiste Duval. There he collaborated with a Syrian whom he called Angelus Seraphinus; but we do not know of any manuscript acquisitions he may have made.<sup>50</sup> Others who collected Arabic manuscripts at home include Widmanstetter, Scaliger (whose collection has been examined by Arnoud Vrolijk and Kasper van Ommen), and Raphelengius and Bedwell (whose collections have been studied by Alastair Hamilton).<sup>51</sup>

#### 4 Eastern Christians in Europe

The very first Arabic manuscripts to enter the Vatican Library, probably from its inception in 1450, were some fifty-seven manuscripts which may have been brought to Italy as a gift by the legation of the Coptic patriarch John XI to the Council of Florence in 1441.<sup>52</sup> These books formed the basis of an oriental collection which, before Postel's few influential manuscripts entered the Palatine Library at Heidelberg in 1555, was unrivaled by any other in Europe. Despite its larger size, the Vatican's collection in the early sixteenth century does not seem to have attracted anything like the interest that Postel's elicited a hundred years later<sup>53</sup> – partly of course because Arabic studies were that much more advanced in the early seventeenth century, but also because Postel's manuscripts, though few, contained such an interesting range of texts. Teseo Ambrogio, who had a collection of more than thirty manuscripts stretching, at his

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*Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1896), pp. xii–xxii, I, The Erpenius Manuscripts. Erpenius's oriental manuscripts are identified and described there and in Browne's *A Handlist of the Muhammadan Manuscripts... Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1900).

50 BnF, ms Arabe 4338 (Duval's manuscript Arabic-Latin dictionary compiled at Venice in 1610). See the preface, dated Paris 1613, p. 100r: 'Et licet illa in civitate Neptunia [Venice] multi istius linguae [Arabic] periti passim reperiantur, pauci tamen illam legere, aut ad normam congrui usus dictiones suas revocare, legitima observatione dignoscunt.' See the note by Gérard Duverdier in Aboussouan, ed., *Le livre et le Liban*, p. 204, n. 75.

51 For Scaliger's collection see Arnoud Vrolijk and Kasper van Ommen, eds., *All my Books in Foreign Tongues'. Scaliger's Oriental Legacy in Leiden 1609–2009* (Leiden, 2009) and Kasper van Ommen, 'Tous mes livres de langues étrangères'. *Het oosterse legaat van Josephus Justus Scaliger in de Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden* (Leiden, 2020); for Raphelengius's collection see Alastair Hamilton, "'Nam tirones sumus": Franciscus Raphelengius' *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (Leiden 1613)' in Marcus de Schepper and Francine de Nave, eds., *Ex Officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini (ca. 1520–1589)* (Antwerp, 1989), pp. 557–589, esp. pp. 586–588, and for Bedwell's collection see Hamilton, *William Bedwell*, pp. 87–91.

52 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, pp. 32–33, 83–85.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

estimation, to almost five arms' length,<sup>54</sup> mentioned a stay in Rome in 1512 and the discussions he had with Eastern people there. But he made no reference to the Vatican's Oriental manuscript collection.<sup>55</sup>

As a result of the Council of Florence a union was formed between Rome and certain of the eastern Churches such as the Copts and the Jacobites. Though short-lived, the union presaged further attempts by Rome to unite with these churches in the following century, sporadically at first, but with greater success in the latter half, particular under Pope Gregory XIII, who founded a college for Maronites at Rome in 1582. From this college came Victor Scialac, Gabriel Sionita, and Johannes Hesronita, the protégés of de Brèves who were to make such important contributions to Arabic studies in Europe.<sup>56</sup>

At the end of 1577, or in the first days of 1578, an unusual and distinguished person of considerable learning arrived in Rome. He spoke neither Latin nor Italian and because of his lack of credentials was treated at first with diffidence. Yet this man, Ignazio Ni'matallah, was the patriarch of the Syro-Jacobite Church in Antioch. He claimed to have left his homeland in order to negotiate a union between his Church and Rome, although rumour had it that, having apostatised and embraced Islam, he was on the run from his former co-religionists and was seeking protection in Rome.<sup>57</sup>

In attempting to form such a union, Ni'matallah, known as Nehemes and Neema to Europeans, was following in the footsteps of his predecessor, Ignazio 'Abdallah who in 1549 had sent a priest, Moses of Mardin, to Rome for the same purpose. Nothing was concluded on that occasion, though in the context of this study it is significant that Moses 'Mardenas' made an important

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54 Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi, *Introductio in chaldaicam linguam syriacam atque armenicam et decem alias linguas* (Pavia, 1539), fol. 208<sup>v</sup>: '...sunt quippe mihi plus quam triginta librorum capita tum parva tum magna et volumina duo quae explicita ad quinque fere brachiorum longitudinem extendunt.' Two of Ambrogio's Arabic manuscripts have been identified. See O. Löfgren and R. Trani, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana* (Vicenza, 1975), p. 7, no. vii: a 14th-century manuscript containing the four Gospels and five lectionaries. (A notice on fol. 1a records Ambrogio's ownership and the fact that it was bought in Pavia for two denarios). Also, Renato Trani, 'I manoscritti arabi esistenti nelle biblioteche di Pavia', *Atti della Accademia Nazionale del Lincei* 28 (1973), pp. 19–21, and plate: ms Aldini 185 of the University Library, Pavia, being a copy by Teseo Ambrogio of most of the first three Gospels in Arabic, completed on 14 October 1528.

55 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 98.

56 For the Maronite College see Nasser Gemayel, *Les échanges culturels entre les Maronites et l'Europe. Du Collège Maronite de Rome (1584) au Collège de 'Ayn Warqa (1789)*, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1984).

57 Levi della Vida, *Documenti intorno alle relazioni delle chiese orientali con la S.Sede durante il pontificato di Gregorio XIII* (Vatican City, 1948), pp. 1–113.

contribution to European Syriac studies. It was with his assistance, as well as Guillaume Postel's, that Johann Albrecht von Widmanstetter was able to edit the Syriac New Testament published at Vienna in 1555. Moses also helped the Flemish orientalist Andreas Masius with his study of Syriac at Rome in the early fifteen-fifties.<sup>58</sup> Even before his own visit, Ni'matallah had sent four emissaries to Rome but none of them had reached their destination safely and so he had made the journey himself.

It was through the support of Cardinal Giulio Antonio Santoro, who held special responsibility for the eastern Churches, that Ni'matallah shortly received the official recognition he deserved. Santoro secured him an audience with Pope Gregory XIII, a living allowance, and later on an ecclesiastical benefice.

Through the mediation of the patriarch, the hope was that the Monophysite Churches could be incorporated into the Church of Rome. But Ni'matallah brought more than political influence to Europe. He was educated in the *lingua franca* of the Middle East, Arabic, and he was familiar with the medicine, mathematics and astronomy of the region. Scaliger referred appreciatively several times in his great chronology, *De Emendatione temporum*, to a learned correspondence he had entered into with Ni'matallah; and the pope appointed him to the commission for calendrical reform. Whether or not this appointment was merely intended to expedite the acceptance by the eastern Churches of the rulings of the commission, Ni'matallah made strong representations to the commission in favour of an oriental calendar to replace the Julian calendar.<sup>59</sup>

But the greatest benefit of Ni'matallah's visit to Rome was his participation in the activities of the Medici Press. In the first place Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici persuaded the patriarch to give his collection of manuscripts to the press as the basis for its library. In return he would receive a monthly allowance of twenty-five scudi as well as access to the books for the rest of his life. Ferdinando and Raimondi were also fortunate in securing his services on two of the editorial boards of the press, one of which was concerned to produce anti-Islamic propaganda in appropriate languages and the other to edit Avicenna's *Canon* and retranslate it to Latin. While the retranslation never materialised, we may assume Ni'matallah's participation in the Arabic edition of 1593.

58 Ibid., p. 5; id., *Ricerche*, pp. 142–145; Robert J. Wilkinson, *Orientalism, Aramaic and Kabbalah in the Catholic Reformation. The First Printing of the Syriac New Testament* (Leiden-Boston, 2007), pp. 63–90.

59 Levi della Vida, *Documenti*, pp. 19–20.

Ultimately it was not only the removal of Cardinal Ferdinando to Florence in 1587, where he became grand duke of Tuscany, and the death of Pope Gregory in 1585 that made it difficult for the press to fulfill its aims; it was also the death of the patriarch sometime before early 1595 that deprived Raimondi of his most learned collaborator and prevented the publication of works appropriate to a western market or translations to complement the Arabic publications.

A published list from the mid-seventeenth century of manuscripts owned by the patriarch indicates the breadth of his interests and of the importance of the collection to Raimondi in the early phase of the press's history before he was able to make his own collection with the help of agents. If, as the list claims, Ni'matallah owned manuscript copies of Avicenna's medical *Canon* and the recension of Euclid's *Elements* attributed to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, then Ni'matallah's collection must be regarded as central to the press's decision to publish these works. Among the other manuscripts owned by Ni'matallah were works of theological, scientific, and historical interest: the New Testament and Psalms in Arabic; the Gospels in Persian; grammars and lexicons of Middle-Eastern languages; works on Aristotelian logic and philosophy in Syriac and Arabic; al-Fārābī, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, and Ibn Māsawayh on medicine; the *Conics* by Apollonius of Perga in its complete Arabic version; Ptolemy on astronomy in Arabic; al-Kindī and Abū Ma'shar on astrology; Thābit ibn Qurra on mathematics; works on the astrolabe; Avicenna's *Canon* in Persian; legal texts in Syriac and Arabic; a chronical in Arabic beginning with Adam; the history of the Patriarchs and Fathers; Aristotle's *De virtute gemmarum*, and Geber (Jābir ibn Ḥayyān) and Rhazes (Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā al-Rāzī) on alchemy.<sup>60</sup>

## 5 The Spoils of War

One of the ways in which Islamic Arabic manuscripts, particularly Qurans and prayerbooks, came into European hands during the sixteenth century was

60 See the list of manuscripts purported to have belonged to Ni'matallah in Philippe Labbé, *Nova bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum* (Paris, 1653). See also the list published by J.H. Hottinger in *Promtuarium, sive Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Heidelberg, 1658), Appendix, pp. 30–34. BNCf, Magl. III, 102, and ASF, *Stamperia Orientale*, Filza 3, docs. 48–49 are two of Raimondi's lists of oriental manuscripts belonging to the Typographia Medicea. For information on these and the published lists, see: A.M. Piemontese, 'I fondi dei manoscritti arabi, persiani, e turchi in Italia' in F. Gabrieli and U. Scerrato, eds., *Gli Arabi in Italia* (Milano, 1979), pp. 661–688; id., 'Les fonds de manuscrits persans conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Italie', *Journal Asiatique* 270 (1982), pp. 273–293, esp. p. 284, n. 44 and n. 45.

when they were taken as spoils of war and as pirates' booty. It is usual for devotional works to be carried into battle and on journeys by devout Muslims. So when European forces achieved success against Ottoman troops in the Mediterranean Sea or on the Hungarian plain, or when pirates attacked shipping off the North African coast, they often found such books among the possessions of prisoners and hostages, and on the bodies of the dead. It was even possible to stumble upon whole collections of Arabic manuscripts in the *madrasas* and mosque libraries of any towns or citadels they captured. On one exceptional occasion, Spanish pirates boarded a boat and found the entire library of a Moroccan sultan.

Violent events could of course lead to the destruction of books along with other property. But some Christian soldiers and sailors kept the Arabic books they found as trophies and as merchandise. As with other plundered goods, a trade developed in these handwritten Qurans and manuscripts; and some found their way into the collections of a few European scholars who were eager and able to read Arabic texts. Others were presented to distinguished patrons of Arabic studies. Today, a number of these Arabic manuscripts of Ottoman and *maghribī* provenances, saved four or five centuries ago from the ravages of war and piracy, are still preserved in major European libraries.

Not that the sixteenth century was the first time Arabic books were acquired in this way by the West. Nor was it the last. The medieval transmission of knowledge from Arabic into Latin had followed closely in the wake of the Christian reconquest of Sicily and Spain. In particular, the capture of the city of Toledo in 1085 released an abundance of Arabic manuscripts and local Arabic speakers for use by Christian scholars; and under the patronage of Archbishop Raimundo in the early twelfth century, scholars travelled there from all over Europe to collaborate with Arabic-speakers on the translation of texts that interested them.<sup>61</sup>

During the colonial period the appropriation of oriental manuscripts, including Arabic texts, also contributed to the growth of European libraries and Orientalism. For example, the capture of Seringapatam in 1799 by British troops under Colonel Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, yielded spoil that was fantastic – even fictitious in the case of Wilkie Collins's *Moonstone*. It also provided 2,000 volumes in Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Hindi collected by

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61 On the medieval transmission of knowledge following Christian reconquest, see for example: Daniel, *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*; W. Montgomery Watt, *The Influence of Islam on Medieval Europe* (Edinburgh, 1972), p. 60; Maxime Rodinson, 'The Western image and Western studies of Islam' in Joseph Schacht and C.E. Bosworth, eds., *The Legacy of Islam* (Oxford, 1974), p. 15.

Tipu Sultan. These manuscripts were then divided between British libraries at home and in India.<sup>62</sup>

Books taken as spoils of war or booty often bear inscriptions proudly testifying to the circumstances in which they were acquired; and by collecting some of these inscriptions together and dovetailing them with events chronicled in the history books it is possible to build up a picture of this form of acquisition for the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. We shall now give some examples and follow this with an appraisal of the value of such acquisitions for the development of Arabic studies in Renaissance Europe.

## 6 Vienna

During the first Turkish siege of Vienna in 1529, one of the citizens, Johann Traberger, composed some doggerel in German and wrote it into a small Muslim prayerbook, glossed in Turkish, which he acquired. The six rhyming couplets explain how Traberger had bought the book from a mercenary who had picked it up from an abandoned Turkish camp in a deserted house outside the city.<sup>63</sup> (The other great siege of Vienna in 1683 also provided Europeans with Muslim prayerbooks).<sup>64</sup>

## 7 Tunis

In 1535, the siege and sack of Tunis by the emperor Charles v included the looting of manuscripts, especially Qurans, from the mosques and libraries of the

62 Denys Forrest, *Tiger of Mysore. The Life and Death of Tipu Sultan* (London, 1970), pp. 301–302. Charles Stewart, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Library of the late Tippoo Sultan of Mysore...* (Cambridge, 1809).

63 Daniel von Nessel, *Catalogus sive Recensio Specialis omnium codicum manuscriptorum graecorum, nec non linguarum orientalium, Augustissimae Bibliothecae Caesareae Vindobonensis...* (Vienna-Nürnberg, 1690), Pars VII, no. 273, records the following inscription: 'Als man zalt 1529. Jahr/ Diß Buechlin erobert war / Zu Wien vor der grossen Statt/ Is der Tuerk die beleget hatt/ In deß Tuerken Veldlaeger dauß/ In einem oeden verprenten Hauß/ Darin Tuerken gelegen sind/ Nach dem sie wider abzogen sind/ Durch ein Landsknecht zart/ Mir Johan Traberger verkaufft wart/ Als ich in der Statt Wienn gelegen/ Und sambt andern hab helffen verwaren.'

64 ÖNB, MS A.F.527, an Arabic prayer book. Flügel, p. 156, no. 1719, records the following inscription from fol. 1r. 'Dises Bichel ist in der Belagerung Wienn von P. Willibalt von Steyr bekummen worden Anno 1683 in den Monat September.' ÖNB, Mxt. 205, an Arabic prayer book. Flügel, vol. 3, p. 153, no. 1714, records the following inscription from inside the top cover: 'Bettbüchlein So im Monat Septemb. A 1683 bey der den 12 dito beschehen entsetzung der Statt Wienn, in dem verlassenen Türkhischen Lager ist gefunden worden.'

city.<sup>65</sup> Apparently, one extract from a Quran copied in a large *maghribi* hand was taken from Tunis 'as a souvenir' by Baron Johannes Marquart von Kungbeck on 21 July 1535. At least a later copy of the manuscript now kept in Groningen also bears the unequivocal German inscription which proclaims this.<sup>66</sup> (See Plate 1.)

On 26 July 1535, Bernardo Riparoli took the fourth volume of a Mamlūk copy of al-Bukhārī's famous collection of *ḥadīth*, the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, from the Mosque at Tunis. This manuscript then came into the Palatine Library at Heidelberg; and along with the majority of the Arabic manuscripts pawned to the elector by Postel, it later passed on to the Vatican.<sup>67</sup> A fragment of a letter received by Tegnagel in about 1624 describes the Arabic manuscripts in the library of Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, including a Quran plundered at Tunis, 'Alcoranus ex direptione Tunnetana'<sup>68</sup> – the very words contained in an inscription on the first leaf of an Andalusian Quran, copied in Seville in 624 AH/1226 AD, and now kept in Munich.<sup>69</sup> It had been transmitted to the Arabist Johann Albrecht von Widmanstetter before entering the duke's library. Three volumes of an eight-

65 See Alberto Guglielmotti, *Storia della marina pontificia*, vol. 3 (Rome, 1886), pp. 406–409; and Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 3 (Pest, 1828), p. 174.

66 UBG, MS 468, fols. 1–53, a c. 17th-century European copy of an extract from a Quran in a large *maghribi* hand. H. Brugmans, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum universitatis Groninganae bibliothecae* (Groningen, 1898), p. 252. The inscription on the *verso* of the endpaper opposite fol. 1 reads: 'Dißes Buch hab Ich / Johannes Marquart von Kung / beck Freyherr etc. als der allerdurch / leuchtigest Fürst und Herr Carolus / der V Römischer Keyßer in Africam / zoch, und die Haupt Statt des Barbarisch / en Landts, Thunis genant, erobert / und blünderet gewonnen, und zu einer Ge / dechnus mit mir heraus geführt, unnd / ist solliches beschehen als man zalt nach / Christi unßeres Erlösers Geburt / MDXXXV Jahr, auf den abend Mariae / Magdalena, welcher war der 21 Julii.' (See Plate 1). Bound in with this fragment, on fols. 53–71, is another European copy of a kufic Quranic extract, which had originally been acquired (according to the inscription copied opposite fol. 56) in 1620 in Egypt by Tobias Krum and brought to his cousin Sebastian Schobinger at St Gallen. (See the entry on Schobinger in *Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse* (Neuchâtel, 1932), vol. 6, p. 61). For Schobinger's ownership of the Quran fragment from Tunis, see J.H. Hottinger, *Thesaurus Philologicus seu Clavis Scripturae* (Zurich, 1659<sup>2</sup>), p. 401. Following the kufic section there is a *naskh* transcription and Latin version by Hottinger, and, as Jan Loop, *Johann Heinrich Hottinger*, pp. 123–130, has shown, it seems likely that 'Hottinger, or someone commissioned by him' was responsible for copying both the Quranic extracts.

67 BAV, MS Arabo 249. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, pp. 296–298.

68 ÖNB, Cod. 97378, fol. 323.

69 BSB, Cod. Arab. 1. Joseph Aumer, *Die Arabischen Handschriften der k. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München* (Munich, 1866), p. 1.

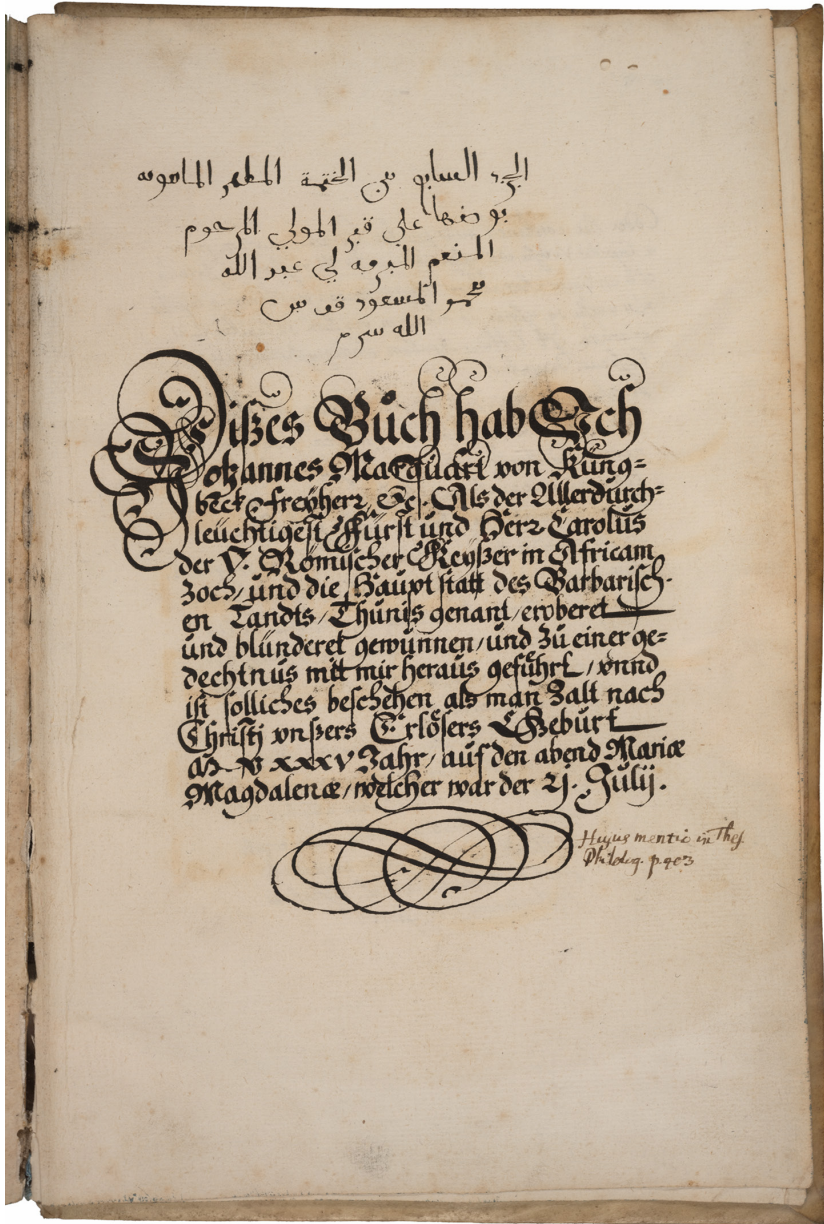


PLATE 1 Groningen University Library, Ms 468, verso of initial endpaper. The c. 17th-century copy of a German inscription once written into part of a *maghribi* Quran taken at the sack of Tunis in 1535 by Baron Johannes Marquart von Kungbeck, with an Arabic inscription in the hand of Johann Heinrich Hottinger. (See p. 32, n. 66 for transcription.)

volume *maghribī* Quran copied in the late fifteenth century now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, were taken from Tunis, apparently by the emperor Charles v himself, and made their way to the Escorial Library, where Cardinal Granvelle acquired them for his own collection.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, two manuscripts recorded in the mid-sixteenth century by Federico Ranaldi in his inventory of Arabic manuscripts in the Vatican Library, have been identified by Levi della Vida with two *maghribī* manuscripts that formerly belonged to the mosque in Tunis. It is likely that they too were taken away during the sack of 1535.<sup>71</sup>

A number of other Qurans and devotional works in the Vatican, listed by Ranaldi and identified by Levi della Vida with manuscripts of eastern rather than *maghribī* provenance, were probably plundered by Christian pirates boarding Muslim boats or confiscated from Turkish prisoners-of-war.<sup>72</sup> Two juridical texts among these manuscripts may have belonged to a travelling *faqih*.<sup>73</sup>

## 8 Lepanto

On 7 October 1571, victory over the Ottoman fleet at that most celebrated of naval engagements, the battle of Lepanto, also brought Arabic manuscripts into European hands and eventually into the hands of scholars who could read them. Apparently some twenty Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts, including a so-called 'Corán de Lepanto', were acquired by the Escorial Library as a result of the battle, though information on this is unclear.<sup>74</sup> One precisely documented example of a manuscript won at Lepanto, however, is the copy of the popular abridgement of the *Hidāya*, the hanafite text by al-Marghīnānī, composed by Maḥmūd al-Maḥbūbī and entitled *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fī masā'il al-hidāya*.<sup>75</sup> Now preserved in the University Library at Leiden, and traditionally classified among the Scaliger legacy, a Spanish inscription by Don Bernardo de Josa clearly states that he was given this manuscript with ten other books

70 BnF, MSS Arabe 438, 439, 440 (i.e. vols. 1, 2, and 6). François Déroche, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes, manuscrits musulmans*, vol. 1 (2) (Paris, 1985), pp. 37–38, records the following inscription from the beginning of volume 2: 'c'est l'alchoran que Charles le Quint, Empereur des Romains et Roy des Espagnes, aporta de ses expéditions de Tunis et Alger et que le cardinal Granvelle avoit tiré de l'Escorial pour le mettre en sa bibliothèque.'

71 BAV, MSS Arabo 214, 219. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 190.

72 BAV, MSS Arabo 209, 222, 225, 230, 232. Levi della Vida, p. 190.

73 BAV, MSS Arabo 254, Turco 21. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 191.

74 Braulio Justel Calabozo, *La Real Biblioteca de el Escorial y sus manuscritos árabes* (Madrid, 1978), pp. 138–139.

75 GAL, vol. 1, p. 468.

in Rome by Guillén de San Clemente (Don Guillem de Sanctelimente), who had acquired them among the spoils at Lepanto.<sup>76</sup> (See Plate 2.)

## 9 Hungary

Away from the Mediterranean, in quite a different theatre of war, in the disputed borderlands of north-western Hungary, a number of skirmishes in 1591 and 1592 led to outright war in 1593. The forces of the emperor Rudolph II engaged Ottoman troops under the command of the eighty-year old grand vizier, Sinān Pasha; and the initial Habsburg successes brought more Ottoman Arabic and Turkish manuscripts into European hands.<sup>77</sup>

Having taken up his winter quarters in Belgrade, Sinān Pasha was not in a position to help the Pasha of Ofen defend Stuhlweissenburg (Székesfehérvár), which the Imperial army attacked on 3 November 1593, leaving 6,000 Turkish troops dead and capturing 44 canons.<sup>78</sup> Among the dead was a man who had been carrying an octavo size manuscript containing extracts from the Quran and prayers as well as an Arabic grammatical text. Stephanus Schupman of Görz in Illyria (Gorizia) picked up the blood-stained book and later gave it to

76 UBL, Cod. Or. 222. P. de Jong and M.J. de Goeje, *Catalogus Codicum Orientalium Bibliothecae Academiae Lugduno Batavae*, vol. 4 (Leiden, 1866), p. 120. I am grateful to Professor Alastair Hamilton for alerting me to his discovery that, contrary to the traditional view, this manuscript did not belong to Joseph Justus Scaliger but to Franciscus Raphelengius. Alastair Hamilton identifies nine manuscripts that formerly belonged to Raphelengius, and are now preserved in Leiden University Library, in his “Nam tirones sumus”., pp. 586–588. I am also very grateful to Alastair Hamilton for supplying me with a transcript of the inscription on fol. 1r: ‘la ley o seta de Mahoma [crossed out] fue la felice y ha gloria de dios afortunada jornada dela batalla nauall quando se uençio la armada turchesca siendo doscientas y trenyta (sic) galeras y sexenta galeotas y la uençio el .s. don joan de austria hermano dell rey don phelipe nuestro señor siendo generall de la armada christiana que eran dosçientas y ocho galeras seys galeazas y trenyta fragatas encontraron se las ditxas dos armadas delante del golfo de lepanto dia de sanct marcos martir y papa a los 7. de octubre 1571 años y siendo uençidos los turchos solo se saluaron 28 uexelles entre galeras y galeotas quedando las demas en poder de los christianos y se tomo este libro entre los ricos spolios que de ditxa uictoria quedaron y me fue dado a mi don bernardo de josa 10 otros por don guillem de sanctelimente que en ditxa jornada se hallo y de alla lo traxo en roma y alli me lo dio jta est Bernardo de josa.’ (See Plate 2). For San Clemente see Stefan Hanß, *Die materielle Kultur der Seeschlacht von Lepanto (1571). Materialität, Medialität und die historische Produktion eines Ereignisses* (Würzburg, 2017), pp. 348–349.

77 For an outline of the course of this war, see C. Max Kortpeter, *Ottoman Imperialism during the Reformation: Europe and the Caucasus* (New York-London, 1972), pp. 123–158, and the sources cited there.

78 Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 4 (Pest, 1829), pp. 221–222; N. Jorga, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (Gotha, 1910), vol. 3, p. 295.

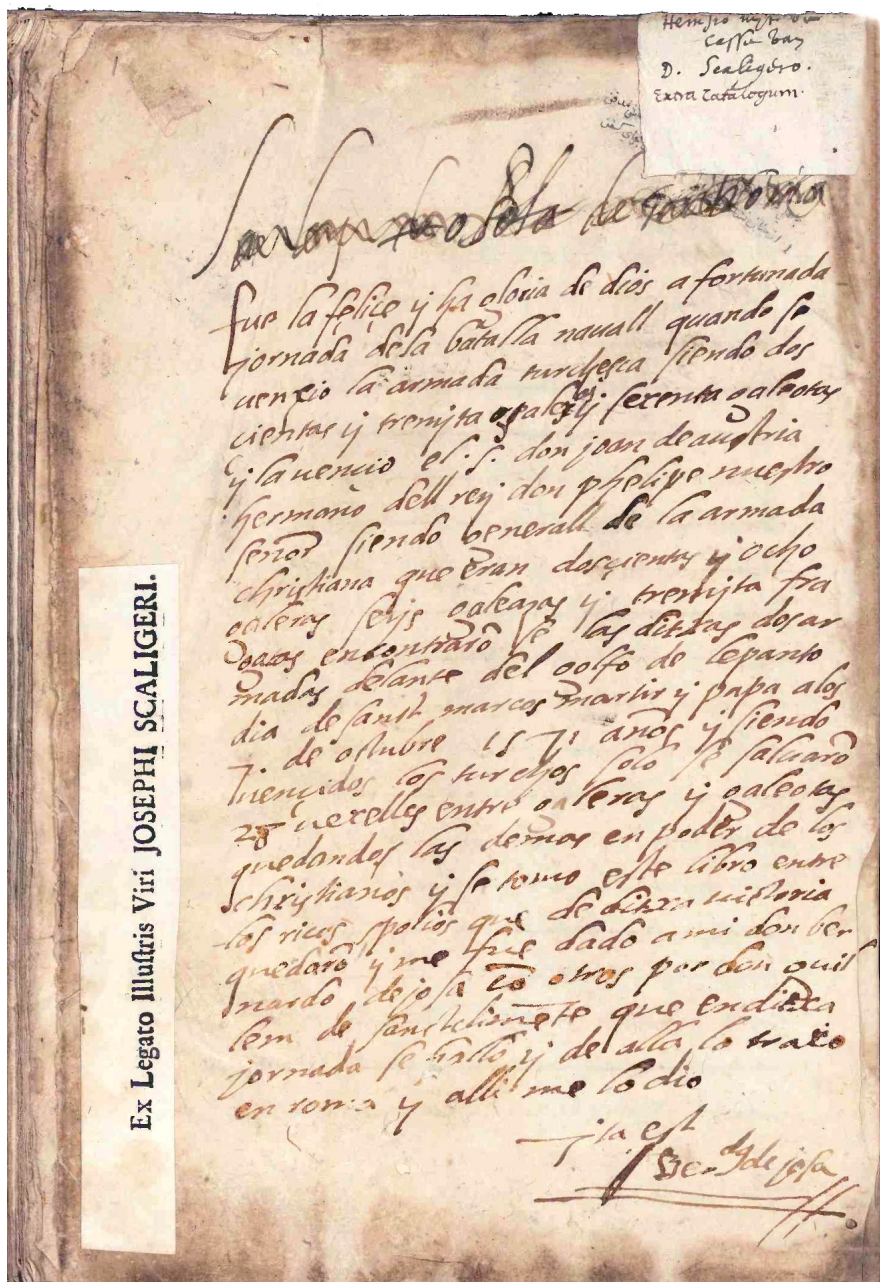


PLATE 2 Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 222, fol. 1r. Don Bernardo de Josa's Spanish inscription on a copy of Maḥmūd al-Maḥbūbī's popular Hanafite legal compendium, *Wiqāyat al-riwāya fi masā'il al-hidāya*, explaining that he was given the manuscript by Guillén de San Clemente who had taken it at the battle of Lepanto on 7 October 1571. (See p. 35, n. 76 for transcription.)

Hieronymus Beck von Leopoldstorf – or so a record of an inscription on the manuscript tells us.<sup>79</sup>

The Habsburg forces did not take full advantage of their victory and the lack of Turkish reinforcements; and instead of advancing on Gran (Stregom and later Esztergom), they spent the rest of November capturing lesser objectives with the help of Hungarian barons.<sup>80</sup> Among the Turkish strongholds they successfully besieged was the castle of Füleke, where once again a manuscript may have been acquired among the spoils. On this occasion – or possibly two years before, according to another source – it was a Swabian dignitary, Vitus Marchtaler of Ulm (1612–1676), who took the manuscript, or rather scroll, which contains a set of genealogical tables in Turkish – the *Şubhat al-akhbār*, translated from the Persian text of Shafīʿī al-Sharīf by Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf, and now located in the Herzog August Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel.<sup>81</sup>

Late in 1593 a Hungarian by the name of Matthaëus Ujfalvi (Ujfalvy) sent a manuscript copy of the Quran as a present to Jakob Christmann in Heidelberg. It may also have come from Füleke. According to the donor's inscription, eleven forts previously occupied by the Turks had been recovered at the end of that year; and this book was taken among the spoils.<sup>82</sup> (See Plate 3).

Subsequently, more than twenty years after Christmann's death, this manuscript was acquired in 1635 by Samson Johnson, chaplain to the British envoy to

79 Nessel, *Catalogus*, no. 182, recording the following inscription: 'In victoriosissimo illo, Devini numinis Clementia, Christianorum conflictu contra Turcas ad Alban Regalem 3 die Novem. 1593 feliciter obtento, Steffanus Schupman Goritiensis, occiso Turco, ex spoliis hunc librum, sanguine conspersum, Hieronymo Beck à Leopoldstorf D.D.'

80 Hammer, *Geschichte*, vol. 4, pp. 221–222; Jorga, *Geschichte*, vol. 3, p. 295.

81 Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, MS Heinemann 3899. The manuscript was taken from Füleke according to Manfred Ullmann in his 'Arabische, türkische und persische Studien' in Friedrich Seck, ed., *Wilhelm Schickard 1592–1635. Astronom, Geograph, Orientalist, Erfinder der Rechenmaschine*, (Tübingen, 1978), p. 115, n. 38. But according to Nessel, *Catalogus*, no. 158, it was taken from a plundered mosque two years before the capture of Füleke: 'Volumen manuscriptum Genealogicum Turc-Arabicum... quod biennio antequam famosissimum illud Ungariae Castellum Villek expugnaretur, Dominus Vitus Marchtalerus Suevus, tum temporis in Ungaria militans, in direptione Templi Muhammedani (Mesgidam vocant) nactus fuit...'

82 Bodl., MS Laud. Or. 246. I am very grateful to Colin Wakefield, formerly of the Oriental Department of the Bodleian Library, for informing me of his discovery of this manuscript and its former ownership by Christmann. The following transcription of the inscription on fol. 1<sup>r</sup> was made possible with the kind help of Mr Wakefield, Professor Alastair Hamilton, and Professor H.J. de Jonge. 'Clarissimo et doctissimo viro Domino Iacobo Christmanno / professori logices in inclyta Heidelbergensi / Academia dignissimo: Matthaëus Ujfalvi / Ungarus memoriae et observantiae ergo mitte / bat. Anno 1593. Cuius finis fuit Un / garis optatissimus et felicissimus receptis trium septi / manarum spatio undecim arcibus antea a turcis occupatis. Ex quarum spoliis et hic liber.' (See Plate 3.)

Germany, who passed it on that same year to William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, chancellor of Oxford University, and the foremost patron of Arabic studies in England. It is now preserved in the Bodleian Library. The manuscript, which is in an undistinguished *naskh* hand dated 977 AH/1569 AD, contains annotations by Christmann as well as two leaves of text lost from the original copy and supplied by Christmann in his own Arabic hand.

During the campaigning season of 1594, Ottoman forces regained the initiative and their strategic advantage was secured by the fall of Javarin (Raab, Yaniq, Győr). On 9 March, however, success over the Turks at Neuigrat left an Arabic prayerbook to a Habsburg soldier. Like a number of other manuscripts that were won in the following year, it is now kept in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.<sup>83</sup> In the summer of 1595, Habsburg forces attacked the fortress town of Gran, eventually forcing its capitulation in August and taking full possession at the beginning of September.<sup>84</sup> According to a French pamphlet celebrating the victory of 4 August,<sup>85</sup> the booty consisted of 3,200 camels, 4,000 horses, 37 pieces of artillery, 27 ensigns, 'avecq force bagage et butin de toute sorte' – including, as we learn from the inscriptions they contain, several manuscripts now in Vienna.

Two officers fighting at Gran each presented a Quran to Job Hartmann Baron Enenkelius: one is from Wolf Dietrich Baron of Althann,<sup>86</sup> the other from Bernard Leonis Gallus.<sup>87</sup> A soldier also sold him a section of the Quran (the

83 ÖNB, MS A.F.501. Flügel, vol. 3, p. 158, no. 1723, records the following inscription inside the lower cover: '1594 Nichts ohn Vrsach. Diess Piechl hab Ich bekhumen Als wir Neuigrat haben eingenumen von Türgen, welches ist geschehn den 9 tag Marcij Im funfzehnhundert Vnd in Vier und Neunzigen Jar. Gott geb weitter glückh und Heyl.'

84 Jorga, *Geschichte*, pp. 314–315.

85 Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London: EA 59.12 (59641). Lesley Forbes, *Catalogue of Books Printed between 1500 and 1599 in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London, 1968), no. 291: *Brief Traicté de la Victoire que le Compte Charles de Mansfelt, Prince du Saint Empire, Capitaine Lieutenant General en Hongarie à l'encontre du Turc, devant la ville de Strigoine, a par la grace de Dieu obtenu, le 4. iour d'Aougst, l'An 1595* (Antwerp, 1595), 8vo., 4 unnumbered leaves.

86 ÖNB, MS A.F.184. Flügel, vol. 3, p. 43, no. 1588, records the following inscription on fol. 286v: 'Strigonio a Christianis capto sub auspiciis Rudolphi II. Imp. Caes. Aug. An. MDXCV liber hic turcicus Job. Hartmanno Baroni Enenkelio donatus An. sequente a Dn. Wolfacacio Barone de Althann Equit. CCC. Germ. Ductore cognato suo.' On Wolf Dietrich von Althann (1557–1620), captain in Rudolph II's army, see Moritz Bermann, *Österreichisches biographisches Lexikon. Genaue Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter und denkwürdiger Personen jedes Standes in der österreichischen Monarchie von der frühesten Zeit bis auf unsere Tage*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1851), p. 114.

87 ÖNB, MS A.F.424. Flügel, vol. 3, p. 44, no. 1592, records this inscription from fol. 3f: 'Strigonio capto an. MDXCV. Hic liber Turcicus bibliothecae Enenkelianae ab Austriae Militiae Summo praefecto D. Bernardo Leone Gallo donatus fuit.'

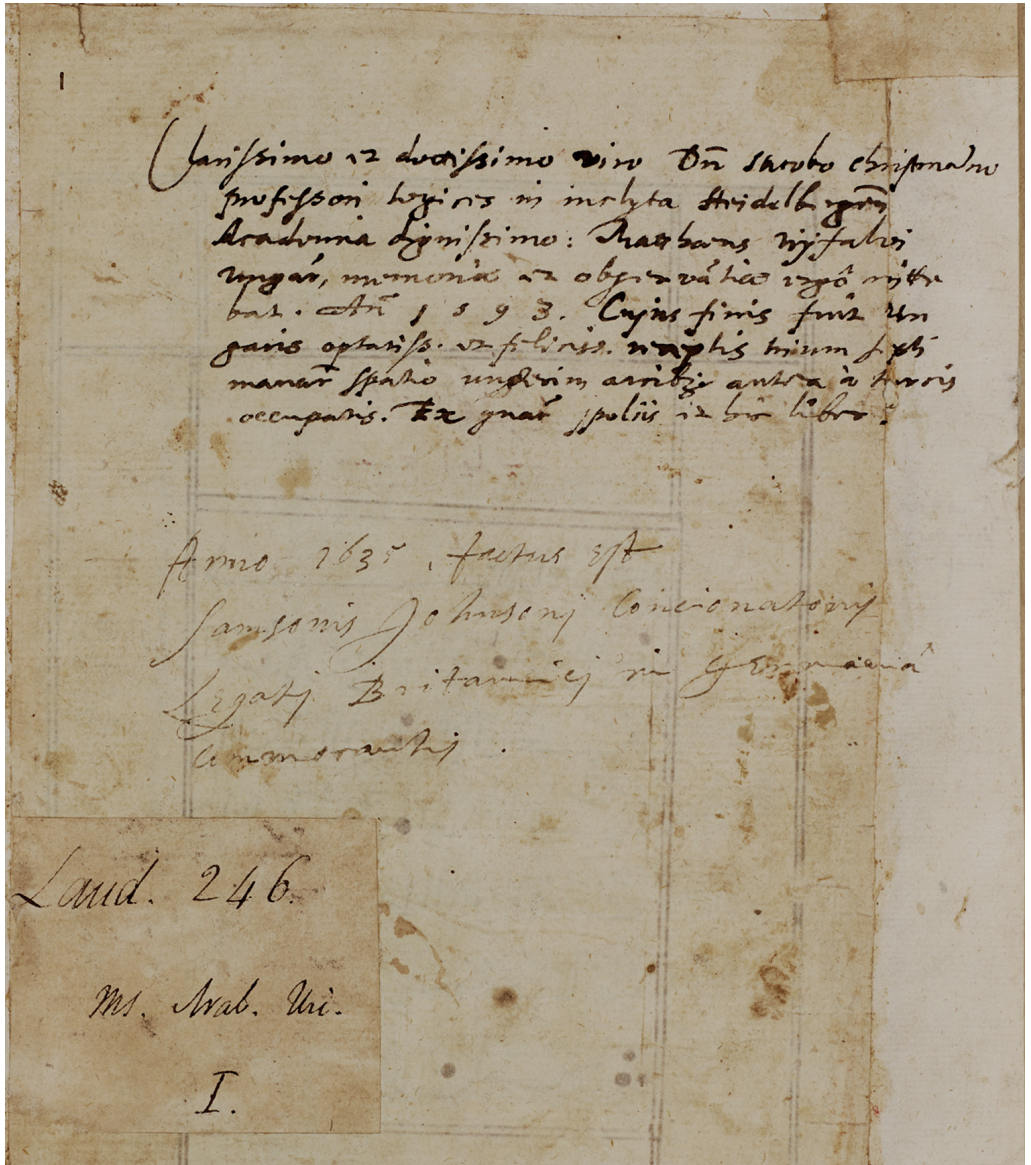


PLATE 3 Bodleian Library Oxford, MS Laud Or.246, fol. 1r, detail. i) The presentation inscription by the Hungarian Matthaeus Ujfalvi on a plundered Quran he gave to Jakob Christmann. ii) Samson Johnson's inscription, 1635. (See p. 37, n. 82 for transcription.)

nineteenth *juz'*).<sup>88</sup> Job Hartmann von Enenkel of Albrechtsberg and Hohenegg (1576–1627)<sup>89</sup> was an Austrian baron whose passion for genealogy and books drove him to create a library unparalleled by those of his peers, and which, by 1624, contained some 8,000 volumes. Hartmann had studied at Jena from 1592 to 1594; and from 1596 to 1600 he was to undertake an Italian tour, visiting the universities of Padua, Bologna, and Siena. But his whereabouts in the years 1594 to 1596, between these periods of study, were not altogether clear.<sup>90</sup> From the inscriptions to be found in some other Arabic manuscripts acquired at Gran, it now appears that the nineteen-year-old bibliophile baron had also taken up arms against the Turks, as his father had done before him.<sup>91</sup> If not in the thick of the battle, he was close enough behind the leading troops at Gran to 'rescue', as he put it, some other books from destruction. He therefore acquired another section of the Quran (the sixteenth *juz'*),<sup>92</sup> two Arabic prayerbooks,<sup>93</sup> and a lexicon containing some 700 difficult Arabic and Persian epistolary terms, glossed in Turkish – the *Kitāb-i Mushkilāt-i inshā'* by an anonymous author.<sup>94</sup>

88 ÖNB, MS A.F.245. Flügel, vol. 3, pp. 48–49, no. 1603, records the following inscription from fol. 20<sup>v</sup>: 'Capto a Christianis Strigonio an. MDXCV Liber hic Turcicus inter praedam emtus a milite per Job. Hartmannum Baronem Enenkelium.'

89 See Baroness Anna Coreth, 'Job Hartmann von Enenkel: ein Gelehrter der Spätrenaissance in Österreich', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Geschichtsforschung und Archivwissenschaft in Wien* 55 (1944), pp. 247–302.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 261.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 252.

92 ÖNB, MS A.F.246: the 13th and 16th *juz'*s. Flügel, vol. 3, p. 48, no. 1602, records the following inscription at the beginning of *juz'* 16: 'Strigonio capto An. MDXCV. Liber hic a Job. Hartmanno Barone Enenkelio inter spolia castror. Turcicor. Expugnator. acquisitus et Bibliothecae suae illatus an. MDXCVI.'

93 ÖNB, MS A.F.473. Flügel, vol. 3, pp. 164–165, no. 1730, records the following inscription from inside the front cover: 'Deo conservatori cujus favore auxilioque Dn. Rudolphus Austr. Imp. semper augustus Italicus. Hispanicus. Pannonicus. Turcicus. Dacicus. anno IHV MDXCV arces Strigonias recepit heic feliciter expugnatis captisque hostium castris Jobus Hartmannus Enenkel Liber Baro Austr. hunc librum bibliothecae suae a militari violentia vindicavit.'

ÖNB, MS A.F.531. Flügel, vol. 3, p. 189, no. 1763, records this inscription from fol. 1<sup>r</sup>: 'Strigonio recepto anno Dni MDXCV. Hic libellus turcicus captus bibiothecaeque dicatus a Jobo Hartmanno Enenkelio Albrechtsbergio Libero Barone Hohenecio Austrio.'

94 ÖNB, MS A.F.175. Flügel, vol. 1, p. 116, no. 108 (2), records this inscription from fol. 41<sup>v</sup>: 'Per Dominum nostrum Rodolphum recepto Strigonio MDXCVI Jobus Hartmannus Enenkel Liber Baro hunc librum ab interitu vindicavit.'

## 10 Piracy

Doubtless the single most dramatic episode in this story of the European appropriation of Arabic manuscripts was when Spanish pirates closed on a boat off the west coast of Morocco. According to Spanish sources, this took place in about 1611. When they boarded the boat, the pirates found it was carrying an exceptionally valuable cargo in the shape of Sultan Mawlay Zaydān's household effects. This included his entire library of some three or four thousand Arabic manuscripts. Back in Spanish waters, the cargo was unloaded and the library presented to King Philip III who deposited it in the library of the royal monastery of San Lorenzo at the Escorial.<sup>95</sup> A source used by Lévi Provençal claimed that a French captain was commissioned to convey the library and other effects from Safi to Agadir, but that when the agreed fee was not forthcoming, he headed for Marseilles and was then captured off Sale by three Spanish galleons.<sup>96</sup>

For the Moroccan side of the story we have a brief passage in Erpenius's second oration on the value of Arabic:<sup>97</sup> according to the 'Ambassador of the king of Morocco' – by whom Erpenius may have meant his assistant, Aḥmad ibn Qāsim – the library, consisting of 7,800 books, had been 'treacherously abstracted' by a ship's captain from Marseilles. Could it be that the pirates were acting on inside information and that their interception of the boat was calculated? If so, this act of piracy would represent the only occasion, in the period that concerns us, on which the acquisition of Arabic manuscripts was the objective rather than the fortuitous outcome of European aggression.

The period closes with another documented act of piracy which brought several Arabic and Turkish manuscripts into Europe. This time the books, now in the Vatican Library, were seized off Malta in 1620 and handed on by the inquisitor of Malta, Leonetto della Corbora, to Pope Paul V in Rome.<sup>98</sup> Apart from some Turkish manuscripts<sup>99</sup> and sections of Qurans,<sup>100</sup> the booty comprised a collection of prayers with the celebrated poem on the Prophet,

95 Justel Calabozo, *La Real Biblioteca*, pp. 171–187; Daniel Hershenzon, 'Traveling libraries: The Arabic manuscripts of Muley Zidan and the Escorial Library', *Journal of Early Modern History* 18 (2014), pp. 535–558.

96 *Ibid.*, p. 173.

97 Erpenius, *Oratio II*, p. 65: 'Quinque aut sex anni sunt, quod Regis Marroccani Bibliotheca Arabica, a Nearcha quodam Massiliensi improbe in Hispanum avecta, et in Regis Hispaniarum Bibliothecam translata fuit. Ea, referente ipsiusmet Regis Marroccani Legato, codicibus Justis & distinctis constat septem mille et octingentis.'

98 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, pp. 260–262.

99 BAV, MSS Turco 3, 4, 6, 26, 31, 352.

100 BAV, MSS Arabo 201, 204, 205, 224, 227.

al-Būṣīrī's *Burda*,<sup>101</sup> another collection of prayers;<sup>102</sup> a copy of a well-known manual of logic, the *Shamsīyya* by Najm al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī (also known as al-Kātibī), with a commentary by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Taḥṭānī;<sup>103</sup> and a collection of religious and magical writings with another copy of the *Burda*, and an account of a vision of the prophets and of the first two orthodox caliphs that occurred to the Algerian 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Makhlūf al-Tha'ālibī.<sup>104</sup>

## 11 The Value of Plunder to Arabic Studies

These examples we have cited of Arabic manuscripts that were acquired as booty and spoils during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries provide a catalogue of conflicts, both major and minor, between Christian and Muslim forces during this period. But what importance can be attached to these manuscripts for Renaissance Arabic studies?

Interest in accommodating the Arabic manuscript collection of Mawlāy Zaydān must to some extent have been stimulated by the memory of Benito Arias Montano, who had argued in favour of Arabic studies. But since his death, and before the disastrous fire of 1671 when over half the Arabic manuscripts in the library were lost, no notable Spanish scholars emerge who would have been capable of exploiting such sources.

In the Escorial, the library of Mawlāy Zaydān was a prize that few could enjoy for its contents, especially since the final expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain on the edict of Philip III in 1609. As with the interpretation of the Lead Books, the necessary expertise came from abroad. A Scottish Arabist, David Colville, worked on the collection from 1617 for a decade, taught Arabic, and may have produced a catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts, now lost;<sup>105</sup> and on the orders of Philip IV, the Franciscan Arabist Dominicus Germanus of Silesia (d. 1670) spent the last eighteen years of his life there, teaching Arabic, working on a translation of the Quran into Latin, and researching other projects relating to Arabic and Islam.<sup>106</sup>

In Rome the manuscripts acquired from Malta in 1620 could be of little consequence for the development of Arabic studies. With the establishment of the *Propaganda Fide* missionary organisation, and the removal of the Medicean

101 BAV, MS Arabo 237.

102 BAV, MS Arabo 238.

103 BAV, MS Arabo 302.

104 BAV, MS Arabo 370.

105 Justel Calabozo, *La Real Biblioteca*, pp. 93, 224–226.

106 *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 226–227.

oriental manuscripts to Florence, Arabic printing in Rome became restricted to Christian Arabic texts and language primers; and any interest in Muslim devotional texts, such as those from Malta, would have been negligible.<sup>107</sup>

In northern Europe, on the other hand, a text such as the commentary on the *Hidāya* acquired at Lepanto stimulated interest on the part of Erpenius in the comparative study of eastern and western law; and this manuscript could have been one of those he referred to when he told students of the many legalists he had seen cited in one or two books.<sup>108</sup> Moreover, although the volume of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Tunis was not among the manuscripts Erpenius borrowed from Heidelberg in 1612, it was during his meetings and discussions with Aḥmad ibn Qāsim a year earlier that Erpenius realised the importance of being conversant with a wide range of Islamic theological literature, including Quranic commentaries and the Sunna.<sup>109</sup> Tegnagel considered it worthwhile to borrow a volume of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* from Munich and to have it copied by one of his Turkish prisoner-scribes.<sup>110</sup>

One plundered book that was put to scholarly use in print was the set of Turkish genealogical tables taken from Füleki by Vitus Marchtaler in 1593. Over thirty years later Wilhelm Schickard, the astronomer and orientalist at Tübingen, incorporated the first six dynasties (of the seventeen it traces) into his historical publication, the *Tarich*, issued at Tübingen in 1628. Ultimately, however, the scholarly value of such a mythical text for a historical work is negligible; and it cannot be claimed that Schickard advanced European knowledge of eastern history by using this source.<sup>111</sup>

As it happens, the single most likely book to be found among manuscripts acquired in combat, the Quran, was also greatly coveted by pioneering Arabists. Not only did they look forward to producing translations and commentaries of the Quran that would be better informed and more accurate than the refutations and derivative versions of those who knew no Arabic. They also venerated its fully vocalised text as an invaluable language primer. The medieval

107 Aurélien Girard, 'Teaching and Learning Arabic in Early Modern Rome: Shaping a Missionary Language' in Loop *et al.*, eds., *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic*, pp. 189–212.

108 Erpenius, *Oratio II*, pp. 57, 79–80; tr. Jones, *Value*, pp. 18, 23. Another legal text Erpenius might have consulted was a commentary on *al-Mudawwana*, two volumes of which are classed among the Scaliger legacy at Leiden: UBL, Cod. Or. 1313 and 220. De Jong and De Goeje, *Catalogus*, vol. 4, p. 103.

109 Isaac Casaubon, *Epistolae* (Rotterdam, 1709), p. 661: a letter from Thomas Erpenius to Isaac Casaubon, dated Paris iv Kalends October 1611.

110 ÖNB, MS A.F.31 is the copy that Tegnagel commissioned. See Flügel, vol. 3, p. 84, no. 1647. BSB, Cod. Arab. 113, 114, 115, 116, are sections of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of *maghribī* provenance that belonged to Widmanstetter. See Aumer, *Die Arabischen Handschriften*, pp. 23–24.

111 Manfred Ullmann, 'Arabische, türkische und persische Studien', pp. 115–120.

Latin version commissioned at Toledo by Peter the Venerable of Cluny in 1143 and published by Theodor Bibliander at Basel exactly four hundred years later in 1543 provided the source for a number of published versions in vernacular European languages in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.<sup>112</sup> These were challenged by a few editions and retranslations by Arabists of short *sūras* and, in the mid-seventeenth century, by a French version of the entire text by the French consul in Cairo, André Du Ryer.<sup>113</sup> But real progress in understanding the meaning of the Quran and creating an effective refutation could only be made on the basis of the entire Arabic text.

Rumours that an Arabic Quran was printed at Venice early in the sixteenth century have recently been confirmed by the sensational discovery of a single extant copy that belonged to Teseo Ambrogio.<sup>114</sup> But like a number of other publications in Arabic script in the sixteenth century, such as the map of Hajji Ahmed<sup>115</sup> and the Arabic editions of the Medicean Press, this edition was intended for sale in the Ottoman world and must have had a very restricted European circulation. None of the second generation of orientalists are known to have seen copies of the Venice Quran; and until the editions of Hinckelmann<sup>116</sup> and of Marracci<sup>117</sup> at the very end of the seventeenth century, Arabists wishing

112 For the Cluniac Quran see James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton, 1964); Hartmut Bobzin, *Der Koran im Zeitalter der Reformation. Studien zur Frühgeschichte der Arabistik und Islamkunde in Europa* (Beirut, 1995).

113 See Alastair Hamilton and Francis Richard, *André Du Ryer and Oriental Studies in Seventeenth-Century France* (London-Oxford, 2004).

114 On the rumour, see Schnurrer, pp. 402–4, no. 367; José Balagna, *L'imprimerie arabe en Occident (xvi<sup>e</sup>, xvii<sup>e</sup>, xviii<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Paris, 1984), pp. 23f: 'Le Coran énigmatique de Venise'. On the discovery, see Angela Nuovo, 'Il Corano arabo ritrovato (Venezia. P. e A. Paganini, tra l'agosto 1537 e l'agosto 1538)' in *La Bibliofilia* 89 (1987), pp. 237–271. On its fate, see Hartmut Bobzin, *Ließ ein Papst den Koran verbrennen? Mutmaßungen zum Venezianer Korandruck von 1537/38* (Munich, 2013).

115 V.L. Ménage, "The Map of Hajji Ahmed" and its makers', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 21 (1958), pp. 291–314.

116 *Al-Coranus s. lex Islamitica Muhammedis, filii Abdallae pseudoprophetae, ad optimorum codicum fidem edita ex museo Abraham Hinckelmanni* (Hamburg, 1694). Schnurrer, p. 410ff, no. 376; and Jean Aucagne S.J., 'La préface d'Abraham Hinckelmann, ou la naissance d'un nouveau monde', in *Le livre et le Liban*, pp. 138–143.

117 *Alcorani textus universus ex correctioribus Arabum exemplaribus summa fide, atque pulcherrimis characteribus descriptus, eademque fide, ac pari diligentia ex arabico idiomate in latinum translatus... His omnibus praemissus est Prodromus totum priorem tomum implens... auctore Ludovico Marraccio...* (Padua, 1698). Schnurrer, pp. 412–414, no. 377. See the articles in Gian Luca D'Errico, ed., *Il Corano e il pontefice. Ludovico Marracci tra cultura islamica e Curia papale* (Roma, 2015) and Reinhold F. Gleis and Roberto Tottoli, *Ludovico Marracci at Work. The Evolution of his Latin Translation of the Qur'an in the Light of his Newly Discovered Manuscripts* (Wiesbaden, 2016).

to read the Quran in Arabic had the difficult task of finding handwritten copies. Complete manuscript Qurans were rare.

From Breslau in January 1608 Peter Kirsten told Tegnagel of the manuscript copies of the Quran that were known to him:<sup>118</sup> a very elegant one belonging to Scaliger; the precious one in Tegnagel's library,<sup>119</sup> which he wanted to borrow; and four examples in Breslau (two of his own, one in a public library, and one belonging to a friend). An undated manuscript Quran, now preserved, like Christmann's Quran, in the Bodleian Library, contains an unequivocal ownership inscription by Thomas Erpenius, stating that he had been given the manuscript by Isaac Casaubon in 1610.<sup>120</sup> That was the year Erpenius spent ostensibly studying theology under Du Plessis Mornay at the Huguenot college in Saumur, but in reality devoting his time to learning Arabic, writing the first draft of his famous Arabic grammar book, and reading the Quran – this Quran, which was at first lent to him by Casaubon and then given to him in early August 1610. In April, Erpenius had written to Casaubon saying that he had not yet set about a serious reading of the Quran, but that he was dipping into it and recording paradigms with page and line references, rather than by chapter and verse, because the length of some *sūras* and the uncertain system of *āyāt* (red dots in this copy) did not make for easy retrieval of words.<sup>121</sup> Keeping information in this way meant that it was essential for him to acquire his own copy, even to

118 ÖNB, MS 9737<sup>r</sup>, fols. 71<sup>r</sup>-72<sup>v</sup>, 72<sup>r</sup>, a letter from Peter Kirsten in Breslau to Sebastian Tegnagel in Vienna, dated 3 January 1608.

119 Possibly ÖNB, MS A.F.6., a fine Quran in *thuluth* script copied c. 1555. It contains a later interlinear Turkish translation. Though the richly conceived illumination was not completed, Tegnagel referred to this Quran in 1625 as 'rarus et pretiosus'. See the exhibition catalogue, Rudolph Neck et al., eds., *Österreich und die Osmanen* (Vienna, 1983), p. 53, exhibit 78.

120 Bodl., MS Marsh 358. I am grateful to Colin Wakefield for locating this manuscript for me. Erpenius's ownership inscription is on the *verso* of the first blank leaf following the text and reads: 'Sum Thomae Erpenii ex dono Clarissimi viri Isaaci Casauboni anno 1610.' See Alastair Hamilton, 'Isaac Casaubon the Arabist: "Video longum esse iter"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 72 (2009), pp. 143–168, esp. p. 158; and Hamilton and Vrolijk, 'Hadrianus Guilielmi Flessingensis', pp. 5, 10–11, discussing the earlier ownership of the manuscript by Adriaan Willemsz. Casaubon had inherited the manuscript after Adriaan Willemsz.'s death.

121 Casaubon, *Epistolae*, pp. 343–344: A letter from Thomas Erpenius in Saumur to Isaac Casaubon in Paris, dated 1 April 1610, and containing the following: 'Alcorani seriam lectionem nondum sum aggressus, (etsi eum aliquoties regularum indagandarum gratia percurrerim) quod ante mihi sit describendus, quo omnia in eo observanda commode in Dictionarium meum referre possim, citatis paginis et lineis; nam azoararum citatio non potest mihi sufficere, cum quaedam nimis proluxae sint, et versuum, (quos /āyāt/, id est *signa*, vocant) ratio ita incerta et varia, ut de ea ipsi /masṭīn/ [i.e. /mu'allimīn/] nihil possint certi statuere, licet singulis azoaris eorum numerus superscribantur.'

make his own copy despite the shortage of time. But by the beginning of July, Erpenius had not had time to copy out the Quran; and because he had no copy of his own, he was only recording words with reference to the *sūra* numbers. He asked Casaubon again to buy him a Quran, and this time even suggested he sell him this copy.<sup>122</sup> Thus, when Casaubon yielded to Erpenius's entreaties and, what is more, simply gave him the Quran, he could not have been more pleased.<sup>123</sup>

Two indices written by Erpenius into the manuscript give page references for *sūra* headings and page and line references for the mystic letters which he sought to interpret on several occasions. His precise linguistic interest in the Quran is displayed in this copy by his marginal notes, which refer to variants in a copy then kept in the king's library in Paris.<sup>124</sup> Moreover, an incipient interest in the chronology of the revelation of the *sūras* is to be seen in the margin to *Sūra* 96, where Erpenius quotes a certain Abu Ja'far (possibly al-Ṭabarī) and the claim that this was the first (revealed) *sūra*. He also copied out the Arabic imprecation which he had seen in gold lettering and gold roundels at the beginning of Scaliger's copy – possibly the same elegant Quran referred to by Kirsten.<sup>125</sup> Furthermore, Erpenius's right to his Quran is confirmed in another note written by Etienne Hubert,<sup>126</sup> whose own *maghribī* copy is now in Danzig (Gdańsk).<sup>127</sup> Finally, we should mention that two students of Jacob Golius used Erpenius's Quran to make their own copies of the text. Jacob Vogeley

122 Ibid., pp. 355–356, Erpenius to Casaubon, dated 2 July 1610: 'Si fortassis Alcoranus aliquis Arabicus venalis in manus tuas incidat, velis eum pro me emere; modo tersus sit, et utcunque bene scriptus: de pretio nihil possum determinare, melius id me nosti. Valde optarem quam primum unum habere, antequam scedulas meas in Dictionarium reponendas dissecem, quo cuique voci paginam et lineam Alcorani mei possim assignare. Hactenus nimirum non nisi azoaras notavi, quia proprium Alcoranum non habui. Coeperam eum describere; sed labor et amissio temporis ab incepto me revocavit. Si auderem, rogarem te, ut illud exemplar, quod hic a te habeo, mihi venderis; si quidem alia exemplaria habeas, ita ut hoc sine incommodo magno carere queas.'

123 BL, MS Burney 364, fol. 23<sup>r</sup>, Erpenius to Casaubon dated 20 August, 1610: 'Quod Alcoranum Arabicum quem postremis meis a te petiveram tam benevole ex voto meo mihi concedas, mirum in modum gaudeo, et gratias tibi ago quam possum maximas.'

124 On fol. 13<sup>r</sup> of his Quran, Erpenius refers to two Qurans belonging to the king – *codex major regnus, minor reg.*

125 Not identifiable among the Quran sections classed among the Scaliger collection in Leiden University Library.

126 Hubert's note is on the *verso* of the initial blank leaf preceding the text and reads: 'Je reconnai ce livre pour celuy de Monsieur Erpenius. Hubert.' (With his initial, to be seen in several of his manuscripts in BnF, including MS Arabe 4127, fol. 37<sup>v</sup>. See Plate 7.)

127 Wojciech Dembski, *Catalogue des manusrits arabes* (Warsaw, 1964) (vol. 5, 1, of *Catalogue des manusrits orientaux des collections polonaises*), p. 15, no. 1: a *maghribī* Quran copied in 1008 AH/ 1599–1600 AD.

wrote out the Quran using Erpenius's and one other as an exercise in writing Arabic. His copy is now in Magdeburg.<sup>128</sup> Anton Deusing, who became professor of medicine at Groningen University, also used Erpenius's Quran alongside one or two others; and his copy is now in Groningen.<sup>129</sup>

It is likely that several of the Qurans just mentioned were bought by scholars after they had been plundered. Of the documented examples of plundered Qurans cited above, we know that Johann Albrecht von Widmanstetter could have employed his copy from Tunis (with other copies he owned) for the Latin translation which he prepared;<sup>130</sup> and it is evident that Jakob Christmann carefully read the copy he acquired from Hungary, annotating it in a way which reveals a primarily theological rather than linguistic interest in the text. Like Erpenius, he too included an index to the *sūras*, adding the observation that there were 114 chapters in the Arabic text as opposed to 124 in the Latin version (the Bibliander edition).

The Qurans and sections acquired by Job Hartmann, on the other hand, were probably not put to scholarly use. Although he was acquainted with Sebastian Tenggengel<sup>131</sup> and with Hieronymous Megiser, who published the first substantial European grammar of Turkish in 1612, Hartmann does not appear to have known any Arabic or Turkish; and these books could have represented little more than hard won curiosities in a bibliophile's library.

128 Adnan Jawad al-Toma, *Die Arabischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Marburg* (Marburg, 1979), pp. 35–42, no. 1.

129 UBG, MS 469. 'Al-Coranus Muhammedicus Propriā manu ab A. Deusingio exaratus'. Brugmans, *Catalogus*, p. 252. This manuscript will have to be compared with Erpenius's Quran before Brugmans' statement that Deusing's text is a copy of Erpenius's can be confirmed. As P.Sj. van Koningsveld has pointed out in his pencilled annotation in the copy of Brugmans' catalogue in the reading room at Groningen University Library, it seems rather to be a collation which used Erpenius's copy and one or two others, including an e.r. and an e.b. or *exemplar bibliothecae* (which library is unclear). There are also marginal references to Erpenius's edition of *Sūrat Yūsuf* (Leiden, at the author's press, 1617 – Schnurrer, no. 368). Variant readings cease from fol. 107<sup>r</sup> (of 216 leaves of text). Deusing records Erpenius's note that Scaliger's copy contained two gold roundels at the beginning; but there is no indication that he ever saw this Quran. Perhaps it never entered Leiden University Library. (See p. 45, n. 118 above.)

130 Max Müller, *Johann Albrecht v. Widmanstetter 1506–1557. Sein Leben und Wirken* (Bamberg, 1908), p. 76.

131 ÖNB, MS 97377, fols. 266–280: letters to Sebastian Tenggengel from Job Hartmann.

## The Teachers

### 1 Captives and Converts

Armed conflict between Christians and Muslims in the sixteenth century did not only provide some European scholars with an arbitrary selection of Arabic and Turkish manuscripts, when Christian forces were successful; the reconquest of fortified towns on the Hungarian plain and acts of piracy in the Mediterranean resulted in the capture of a number of Arabic-speaking North Africans and Quranic-educated Turks, whose varying abilities as scribes or even scholars commended them to their captors for referral to higher authorities.

At a time when the opportunities for meeting anyone with a knowledge of Arabic were extremely limited, and the chance of being able to employ someone who could make a reliable copy of an important Arabic text was even more remote, news of the arrival of a Muslim captive at a European court was the cause of excitement among Arabists. Not only was there the possibility of learning some Arabic from the captive but he might also be able to offer the services of a scribe. Moreover, if he were persuaded or forced to renounce his faith and be baptised, he could reach a much wider European audience as a Christian than he could as a Muslim, since his knowledge and ideas could then be published.

### 2 Leo Africanus

The most famous and exceptional of these Muslim-educated hostages was al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Wazzān al-Zayyātī (or al-Fāsī), who was born at Granada, whence his family fled to Fes and its court circle after the reconquest by Ferdinand and Isabella. Educated at Fes, Ḥasan gained a remarkable knowledge of North African culture and geography during his travels in the service of the sultan of Fes, Muḥammad al-Burtuqālī. But around 1518, while returning to Fes from a visit to Cairo, the pilgrimage to Mecca, and possibly a mission to Istanbul, he was captured by Sicilian pirates in the western Mediterranean, probably at the island of Djerba off the Tunisian coast. Someone must have recognised the value of Ḥasan's alien knowledge and abilities, for he was brought to Rome, presented to Pope Leo X, and – supplied with Arabic

manuscripts from the Vatican Library that display his annotations – held captive for a year at the Castel Sant’Angelo until his conversion and release on 6 January 1520.

Baptised Johannes Leo de Medicis, in honour of his papal patron – it is as Leo Africanus that he became particularly well-known throughout Europe in the sixteenth century and beyond, thanks to the many editions and translations of his *Description of Africa*, a cultural, historical and geographical compendium which he had originally jotted down as notes in Arabic, and which Giovanni Battista Ramusio used for his *editio princeps* in Italian, published at Venice in 1550.<sup>1</sup> Leo wrote on a number of other subjects, but little has been discovered: the Arabic notes for the *Description* are lost, as are his grammar of Arabic, an epitome of Islamic chronicles, a compendium of Malikite law, a collection of epitaphs from burial-grounds around Fes, and his poetry – all of which he refers to in his *Description*.<sup>2</sup>

One work which can positively be identified and located is the Arabic section of an Arabic-Hebrew-Latin vocabulary, which is now housed in the Escorial Library, and which he compiled at Bologna in 1524 for a Jewish doctor, Jacob Mantino, who also owned his grammar book.<sup>3</sup> Another of his works to survive was the tract on the art of metrics.<sup>4</sup> Whether Leo’s ‘Lives of the Arab Philosophers’, as he called it in his *Description*, is the same as the *De viribus illustribus apud Arabes* published by J. H. Hottinger in 1664 and by J. A. Fabricius in 1726 has been disputed, though Levi della Vida believed that it was (as did Épaulard) and that it provided an indication of the synoptic nature of Leo’s writing, so typical of his period.<sup>5</sup> At Rome, two humanist orientalisks benefited from meeting Leo: Count Alberto Pio di Carpi, who commissioned him to

1 For biographical information on Leo Africanus, see the preface to Louis Massignon, *Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle... d’après Léon l’Africain*, Algiers, 1906. Angela Codazzi, ‘Leone Africano’ in *Enciclopedia italiana* vol. 20 (Rome, 1933), p. 899. Both are referred to by Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 100, and by A. Épaulard in the preface to his modern French version, *Description de l’Afrique* (Paris, 1956 and 1981). See also Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels. A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between World* (New York, 2006), pp. 15–272, 278–373; Bernard Rosenberger, ‘Une carrière politique au service du sultan de Fès’ in François Pouillon, ed., *Léon l’Africain* (Paris, 2009), pp. 31–65.

2 The editors’ article ‘Leo Africanus’ in *EP*, vol. 5, pp. 723–724.

3 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 102, n. 1; the manuscript is now located at the Escorial Library, MS 598.

4 A. Codazzi, ‘Il trattato dell’arte metrica di Giovanni Leone Africano’ in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida* (Rome, 1956), vol. 1, pp. 180–198.

5 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 100, n. 3; Épaulard, p. 226, n. 265.

make a copy of an Arabic version of the Pauline Epistles;<sup>6</sup> and Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo, who took lessons in Arabic from him.<sup>7</sup>

We do not know what became of Leo, whether he died a Christian or returned to North Africa and resumed the external profession of his faith as a Muslim.<sup>8</sup> What is important, however, in the context of manuscript acquisition in the period under review is that in his *Description of Africa*, Leo referred to a score of historians, geographers, and writers on religion and magic from the Maghrib and the wider Islamic world.

Al-Idrīsī is mentioned obscurely on two occasions, first as ‘Es Sacali’ (i.e. al-Ṣaqāllī, the Sicilian)<sup>9</sup>, and then as ‘Es Serif’ (al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī) in the section on Carthage;<sup>10</sup> al-Mas‘ūdī appears once as ‘El Meshudī’;<sup>11</sup> Ibn Khaldūn is mentioned twice, once as ‘Ibnu Calden’ and with a clear reference to his History of the Berbers,<sup>12</sup> and once as ‘Ibnu Caldun’ in the section on the exorcists of Fes;<sup>13</sup> Ibn Ḥayyān, the historian of Andalusia, appears in the section on Carthage in a barely recognisable form as ‘Ibnu Reiiem’;<sup>14</sup> Al-Bakrī appears four times, once with a reference to ‘his book The Regions and Routes of Africa’ – an allusion to the title of his geographical text, *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*;<sup>15</sup> and Ibn ‘Abd al-Mālik (here ‘Ibnu Habdulmalic’) is mentioned as a chronicler who wrote a seven-volume work on Marrakesh (actually a biographical dictionary: *Kitāb al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila*).<sup>16</sup> But the historian most frequently cited – he appears six or seven times<sup>17</sup> – is Ibn Raqīq (‘Ibn Rakik’), or al-Raqīq Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Qāsim al-Kātib al-Qayrawānī, whose *Ta’rikh Ifriqiya wa-l-Maghrib* was highly praised by other Arab historians.<sup>18</sup>

6 Ibid., pp. 103–108.

7 Ibid., p. 106.

8 Davis, *Trickster Travels*, p. 252, assumes that he reverted to Islam.

9 Épaulard, p. 152. Épaulard’s French version of the *Description* has been preferred on account of its index and notes and because it was prepared on the basis of the original Italian manuscript as well as the Ramusio edition (See *EP*, vol. 5, pp. 723–724). I have cited the Arabic names in the form given in Épaulard’s translation.

10 Épaulard, p. 376.

11 Ibid., p. 461.

12 Ibid., pp. 34–35. See also Oumelbanine Zhiri, ‘Lecteur d’Ibn Khaldūn. Le drame de la décadence’ in François Pouillon, ed., *Léon l’Africain* (Paris, 2009), pp. 211–236.

13 Épaulard, *Description*, p. 219.

14 Ibid., p. 395.

15 Ibid., pp. 565–6.

16 Ibid., p. 108. *EP*, vol. 3, p. 675. *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 581.

17 Épaulard, *Description*, pp. 15, 22, 49, 376 (possibly twice), 403, 456.

18 *EP*, vol. 3, pp. 902–3. *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 161; Suppl. 1, p. 252.

In his description of Fes, Leo devoted some attention to certain aspects of Islam and mentioned a number of writers, particularly writers on Sufism:<sup>19</sup> al-Muḥāsibī, called 'El Harit ibn Ased'; al-Ghazālī, called 'El Gazzali', 'a very great scholar who wrote a splendid treatise on these matters in seven books' (no doubt a reference to the *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*); oddly in this context, a commentary on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, called 'El Hariri';<sup>20</sup> one of the Suhrawardīs, probably Shihāb al-Dīn Abu Ḥaḥṣ, referred to by Leo as 'a brilliant and knowledgeable writer... his work is in four volumes'; 'Umar ibn al-Fāriḍ, called 'Ibnulfarid', whose allegorical poetry is singled out for the purity of its language; and an unidentified commentator on that poetry, named 'Elfargani'. In other parts of the *Description*, Leo also mentions a Moroccan saint's biographer, 'Ettedle'<sup>21</sup>, i.e. Abu Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyā al-Tādilī, known as Ibn al-Zayyāt and author of the famous hagiographical collection, *al-Tashawwuf ilā rijāl al-taṣawwuf*;<sup>22</sup> and also 'Elcalbi', author of 'the book of Muḥammad's prophesies', i.e. Ibn 'Amr al-Kalbī.<sup>23</sup>

In his section on alchemy, three writers are mentioned.

There are numerous works on this art composed by excellent writers. The principal one is the treaty by Geber [Jābir ibn Ḥayyān ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Kūfī al-Ṣūfī] who lived a hundred years after the death of Muḥammad and was they say a Greek renegade... another author is Attogrehi [Abū Isma'īl al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Ṭughrā'ī], secretary to one of the Sultans at Baghdad... another treatise on alchemy was written in the form of poems touching all aspects of the art by a master called Mugairibi [al-Mughayribī – referred to by Ibn Khaldūn in his *Muqaddima*].. this work was commented on by a Mamluke of Damascus, an extremely competent practitioner of this art, but the commentary is more difficult to understand than the text.<sup>24</sup>

No other publication in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries contained the type of inside information on Arabic writers and their works that Leo, as a Muslim-educated hostage, was able to supply; and though sketchy, the bio-bibliographical details he gave could provide vital clues for European scholars wishing to know about Arabic learning and literature. Geber, of

19 Épaulard, *Description*, pp. 220–223.

20 See commentaries on the *Maqāmāt* in *GAL*, Suppl., vol. 1, pp. 486–499.

21 Épaulard, *Description*, p. 168.

22 *EP*, vol. 3, p. 975.

23 Épaulard, *Description*, p. 246.

24 *Ibid.*, pp. 226–7.

course, was already a familiar name to Europeans on account of the medieval Latin versions of some of his work which, during the sixteenth century, were enjoying a wider readership in printed form; and as an apologist for Arabic studies, William Bedwell lists Geber among the great Arabic scholars<sup>25</sup>. 'El Gazzali' too was a familiar name; but it was as the author of the *Maqāṣid*, a clear resume of the oriental *falsafā*, that 'Algazel' had first entered Europe in the Middle Ages.<sup>26</sup> His identity as a writer on Sufism and author of the *Ihyā*, is completely new in the West.

Al-Idrīsī, on the other hand, was not an author whose work had been translated to Latin in the Middle Ages; and when the *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī dhikr al-amṣār...*, the abridged version of his *Kitāb Rujār*, was published, first in Arabic by the Medicean Press in 1592 then at Paris in 1619 in a Latin version by the two Maronites Hesronita and Sionita, there was no reason for Europeans to associate it with Leo's references. Not only would the names used by Leo have been difficult for Europeans to associate with al-Idrīsī, but also the original Arabic edition omits any reference to al-Idrīsī's authorship.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, due to a misprint in that edition (*/arḍunā/* for */arḍuhā/*) the Latin edition disguises al-Idrīsī's authorship still further by attributing the work to a Nubian. Casaubon annotated his own copy of Jean Florian's Latin version of Leo's *Description* (Antwerp, 1556)<sup>28</sup> with references to 'Geog', i.e. the Medicean edition of al-Idrīsī; but there is no sign that he associated Leo's references to 'Es Sacali' and 'Es Serif' with the author of the Arabic book before him.

Erpenius read the *Description* carefully. In his orations on Arabic in 1613 and 1620 he referred to Leo as a source on Arab universities, historians of African affairs (especially Ibn 'Abd al-Mālik), and Arabic poetry.<sup>29</sup> He must also have valued the *Description* as a bibliographical guide when searching for manuscripts. Not that he ever travelled to North Africa where doubtless he would have found some of the Arabic texts mentioned by Leo a century before. But his pupil, Jacob Golius, did.<sup>30</sup> Between 1622 and 1624 he accompanied a diplomatic mission to Morocco; and, with the help of a man from Fes, while stationed at Safi, he was able to commission the purchase and copying of Arabic texts – including works by authors mentioned by Leo Africanus. Golius's

25 Hamilton, *William Bedwell*, pp. 91, 109, 115, 119.

26 George C. Anawati, 'Philosophy, theology, and mysticism', in Joseph Schacht and C.E. Bosworth, eds., *The Legacy of Islam* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 359–366, esp. p. 381.

27 Schnurrer, pp. 167–173, no. 187.

28 BL, 793.d.2.

29 Juynboll, *Beoefenaars*, pp. 76–77; Erpenius, *Oratio II*, pp. 52, 59, 60; tr. Jones, *Value*, pp. 8–19.

30 Juynboll, *Beoefenaars*, pp. 124–128. *El<sup>2</sup>*, vol. 5, pp. 723–724, 'Leo Africanus'.

accomplice in Fes was Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, whose diplomatic visit to France and the Low Countries and meetings with Erpenius over a decade earlier will be discussed in the next chapter. What is remarkable is that, of the nine authors or works Aḥmad mentions in his letters to Golius at Safi, four correlate precisely with authors referred to by Leo: Ibn Khaldūn, al-Masʿūdī, Ibn al-Raḡīq, and al-Ḥarīrī.<sup>31</sup> This could, of course, be coincidence. It can be argued that these authors' works would have been as current in Morocco in the tenth century *hijrī* as in the eleventh. In other words, they would have been as well known to Aḥmad ibn Qāsim as they had been to Leo Africanus; and there was no need for Golius to have recourse to a European publication for bibliographical information when he was actually in Morocco and in touch with a Moroccan scholar—diplomatic of similar stature to Leo. Against this, Aḥmad's letters indicate that he was responding to Golius's initiative; and it is reasonable to assume that Golius derived his initial interest in those four authors from reading the *Description of Africa* under Erpenius's enthusiastic guidance.

However meagre they were, Leo's literary references in print possessed a considerable power and authority that far outlived his lifetime. At Rome, he had been able to collaborate with one or two orientalist teachers or scribes. It was through the many editions and translations of the *Description of Africa*, however, that he reached beyond his own generation and provided Arabists with important bibliographical clues, which, in the case of Erpenius and Golius, were actively pursued. When, in the mid-seventeenth century, Golius decided to publish al-Ḥarīrī's first *maqāma*,<sup>32</sup> he could choose from a much wider range of texts than had been available or known about in his days as Erpenius's protégé. Even so, as we have seen, there is a continuous thread uniting this choice of text with the notoriety first given to al-Ḥarīrī by Leo Africanus a century before.

The contributions of other Muslim captives, though less well-known and less enduring than in the exceptional case of Leo Africanus – whose information still provides important source material for modern scholars of North African history and ethnography<sup>33</sup> – were nonetheless highly valued by the first generations of Arabists.

31 Houtsma, *Oostersche correspondentie*, pp. 24–33. The commentary on the *Maqāmāt* that Aḥmad acquired for Golius was by al-Sharīshī.

32 Al-Ḥarīrī's first *Maqāma* was published by Golius as reading material in his reissue of Erpenius's Arabic grammar – *Arabicae linguae tyrocinium* (Leiden, 1656). Schnurrer, pp. 56–57, no. 81.

33 *Elʿ*, vol. 5, pp. 723–724, 'Leo Africanus'.

### 3 Paul Willich

Bartholomaeus Radtmann, a neglected German Arabist who taught at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder, and published a little-known introduction to the rudiments of Arabic in 1592, took lessons in Arabic from a Turkish captive, baptised Paul Willich.<sup>34</sup> In the preface to his *Introductio in linguam arabicam*, Radtmann described his encounter with Paul Willich to his patron, Barthold von Mandelsloh, close advisor to the elector of Brandenburg, Johann Georg, at Biberteich and Beelitz.<sup>35</sup>

34 Radtmann used not to be mentioned in any of the major studies of Renaissance Arabists. His *Introductio in linguam arabicam* is a rare book. It is entered by Schnurrer, p. 20f., no. 40. The copy that provided Schnurrer with his entry had belonged to and been recorded by William Marsden in his *A Catalogue of Dictionaries, Vocabularies, Grammars and Alphabets* (London, 1796), and is now located in the library of London University's School of Oriental and African Studies, EB 59.25 (11531/3), see Lesley Forbes, *Catalogue of Books printed between 1500 and 1599 in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London, 1968), p. 174, no. A12, where, due to the imprint confusingly dated MDIIXC, she wrongly dates Radtmann's *Introductio* to 1588. Schnurrer, relaying Lelong, pointed out, however, that Radtmann's preface is dated Kalends of November, 1592, and that therefore the imprint date should have been MDXCII. After comparison with the SOAS copy, an acephalous copy of a quarto publication on the Arabic alphabet, 622.h.2.(2\*) in the British Library, entered in the printed catalogue with a date of [1600?], 'Wanting all before p. 3. The Arabic characters are supplied in ms.', can now positively be identified as a copy of Radtmann's *Introductio*, lacking 8 leaves (sigs. \*1-A4) comprising title-page, dedicatory preface, and pp. 1-2 of text. See below, Appendix 1, pp. 251-252, for the author's initial identification of this tract in his MPhil dissertation (Warburg Institute, 1981). The BL online catalogue now lists the tract under Radtmann, Bartholomaeus.

35 Radtmann, *Introductio*, sigs. A1<sup>r</sup>-A2<sup>r</sup>, summarised by Schnurrer, p. 20f., no. 40. The full text runs as follows: 'Auidiveram in Illustrissimi Electoris Brandenb. aula degere hominem Turcicum Adrianopolitanum; quem ante annos viginti quinque captum Vesperini in Hungaria et deductum primum ad illustrissimae memoriae principem Ioannem Marchionem Brandenb. post huius obitum, Illustrissimus item princeps Ioachimus Fridericus Archiepiscopes Magdeburgensis Administrator in famulorum suorum numerum transtulerat, postea eruditum et institutum doctrinae Christianae capitibus, et suae gentis errores palam detestantem, sacro sancto Baptismate perfundendum et annumerandum Christianis et Pauli nomine, quod ipse sibi tum abiecto patrio Salomonis vocabulo delegit, appellandum cura verat. Hic gnarus esse Arabicarum litterarum ferebatur, quarum ego a multis annis studio arseram. Accessi et vidi hominem et locutus sum cum eo nostra lingua multa familiariter, depraehendi eum a puero in Arabicae linguae, inprimis autem in Alcorani, quo Turcae religionis suae mysteria recondita opinantur, studiis fuisse versatum, et lectionem quidem Arabicam adeo callere exacte ut quae tum in manibus erant Arabica scripta, typis excusa, in iis permulta perperam esse posita confirmaret, et ut corrigi et reduci ad genuinam scribendi rationem possent, diserta oratione ostenderet. Itaque quod caeteris deerat supplevit, quod redundabat resecurit, alia emendavit, et redegit in ordinem, aliis obscurioribus lucem addidit. Ea me res iam ante cupiditate cognoscendi Arabica calentem et utentem consuetudine hominis, neque mali meo iudicio et ingeniosi, dies aliquot, eo deduxit, ut quae de eo sparsim audieram,

Paul was a Turk from Adrianople (Edirne) who had been captured at the Hungarian town of Veszprém some twenty-five years earlier. He was brought to Johann Margrave of Brandenburg-Küstrin, after whose death he entered the service of Prince Joachim Friedrich, the administrator of the archbishopric of Magdeburg. There he was taught Christian doctrine and baptised. Hearing that Paul knew Arabic, Radtmann, who for many years had taken a great interest in Arabic, went to see him; and, conversing with him in German, he discovered that Paul had been taught Quranic Arabic as a boy and that his reading knowledge seemed precise and fluent enough to identify and correct numerous errors in the printed Arabic books that were then available. Radtmann spent some days under instruction from Paul, comparing his analysis of the Arabic language with other published sources, and taking notes that he was later persuaded by friends to publish as the *Introductio in linguam arabicam* – even though the lack of Arabic type meant that the Arabic had to be written into every single copy by hand.

Apart from their deliberations on Arabic grammar, or rather, as the publication reveals, the sound and shape of the Arabic consonants and vowels, Paul suggested that, if they could acquire a copy of the Quran, they could also produce a faithful translation and draw up a lexicon: mindful, perhaps, of his own captivity and the ties of his upbringing, he asserted that the best way to acquire a Quran would be to extort one from some distinguished Turkish captive as a ransom for his freedom. Even if they were able to acquire a Quran in this manner and to carry out the work they intended, no such translation or lexicon was

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consignata primum accurate et collata cum aliorum traditis, attentius ponderanda suscipere, et quae ad characteres eius linguae pernoscendos, et ad characterum inter se compositionem et ad lectionis iustae rationem pertinent, methodo quandam Grammaticis usitata compraehenderem. Quin spem mihi fecit idem Paulus si Alcoranum genuinum integrum et nativa lingua loquentem nanciscatur (cuius consequendi viam maxime oportunam fore aiebat, si a captivo Turca illustriore in redemptionis precio exigatur) summo studio ac labore neque infructuoso illo se elaboraturum, ut et vera eius interpretatione potiamur, et inde Lexici, quod unum desideramus, saltem primordia constituerentur; quibus adiicere si qua primum praetermissa fuissent, non fore difficillimum arbitrabatur. Sed ut ad nostra redeam, etsi accepta de Paulo et aliis, ab illo tamen potissimum, in chartam tum memoriae tantum meae causa conieceram, neque in animum induxeram, ea in publicum unquam emittere: tamen cum uno alterove amicorum quorum non minor esset erga Arabicas literas animi affectio, iudicium de iis plane idem quod meum, communicandum censui nostrum illum quantumvis tenuem ac immaturum atque informem foetum, et eorum de hoc censuram exquisivi, qui non modo tum probare coeperunt ac laudare, quam vocabant, industriam meam, sed me etiam ut eam caeteris hominibus, vel ad horum utilitatem aliquam (quae tamen quanta inde ad ullum redire queat nequaquam certe ipse praedico) vel eorum excitandum studium et aemulationem nostris in lucem editis, ostenderem, vehementer hortati sunt.'

published by Radtmann. His fame as an Arabist rests solely, now as then, on his one publication and his collaboration with Paul Willich.

In 1608, sixteen years after the *Introductio* was issued, but only a short distance upstream from Frankfurt an der Oder, at Breslau in Silesia, it was referred to by Peter Kirsten in his grammar of Arabic, where he ascribes authorship more to Paul than to Radtmann and judges the book as only ‘moderately learned’.<sup>36</sup> In certain respects, Paul is no more of an authority than the Europeans who are cited – Theodor Bibliander, Guillaume Postel, Jakob Christmann and Ruthger Spey. His division of the Arabic consonants into six phonetic classes, for example, has less validity than the categorisation arrived at by the European scholars; and his recollection of the Arabic terms for the vowel signs was so poor that he had to give the Turkish terms instead.<sup>37</sup>

Jakob Christman was another contemporary who, so it seems, had heard about Paul Willich. In a letter to Sebastian Tengnagel he mentioned that in 1589 – before publication of Radtmann’s *Introductio* – he had sent a copy of his ‘Specimen of Turkish Exercises’ to a Turk at the Brandenburg court for comment and correction but that he had received no reply.<sup>38</sup>

#### 4 Darwīsh Ibrāhīm

Some twenty years after Radtmann had collaborated with Paul Willich and Christmann had sought his advice, another Turkish captive was employed as a scribe – this time in Vienna by Sebastian Tengnagel. Tengnagel corresponded a great deal with other librarians; and whenever possible he borrowed any oriental manuscripts they had in their collections. Then he used an educated Turkish prisoner from the so-called Long War to make copies of these manuscripts for his own benefit before returning the originals to their owners. In particular he borrowed manuscripts from the Palatine Library in Heidelberg and the University Library in Leiden.

36 Peter Kirsten, *Grammatices arabicae liber I* (Breslau, 1608), p. 34: ‘Paulus ille Turca, (cuius doctam satis introductionem in linguam Arabicam vir Clarissimus Dominus D. Bartholomaeus Radman P.P. in Academia Francofurtana doctissime ante annos aliquot communicavit)’.

37 For more details of the grammar, see below.

38 ÖNB, Cod. 9737<sup>r</sup>, fol. 160<sup>r</sup>, copy of an undated letter (c. 1610) from Jakob Christmann (but not in his hand) to Jan Gruter on a visit to Sebastian Tengnagel in Vienna: ‘Velim etiam Domino Tengnagel ostendas specimen exercitationis Turcicae, quod anno 1589 in Saxaniam [missi], ad Praelum Turcum equitem aulae Brandenburgensis sed responsum nullum accepi...’

By combining information from Tegnagel's correspondence with details in the manuscript copies he commissioned, some picture of his collaborative efforts with an educated Turkish prisoner-of-war can be built up. Tegnagel never mentioned the name of his scribe in his letters; and on this evidence alone it is not always clear whether he was referring to one and the same scribe or more than one. By also taking into account the manuscript copies themselves, Gustav Flügel's descriptions of the manuscripts, and Nessel's late seventeenth-century catalogue of the Viennese Library, it is, however, possible to identify one scribe with certainty: Darwīsh Ibrāhīm.

Darwīsh Ibrāhīm may already have been in captivity in 1606. At any rate, the availability of a captive who was also competent as a scribe would have been a decisive factor encouraging Tegnagel to borrow Arabic manuscripts from other libraries; and sometime during 1606, probably late in the year, Tegnagel asked Jan Gruter, librarian of the Palatine Library, if he could borrow the manuscript containing Abū 'l-Fidā's geographical work, *Taqwīm al-buldān*.<sup>39</sup> On the orders of the elector, however, Gruter, to his embarrassment, was prevented from lending it. Instead of the manuscript itself, he sent a list of the library's ten Arabic manuscripts which corresponds, except in one detail (as we have seen), with the list used by Levi della Vida in his reconstruction of Postel's oriental manuscript collection in the Palatine Library.<sup>40</sup>

At the end of March 1607, however, Gruter sent Tegnagel a manuscript via Andreas Wechel.<sup>41</sup> It was not the *Taqwīm al-buldān*; but it was another of the manuscripts that formerly belonged to Postel: the chronicle of the Arabs to the year 658 AH by the Copt, Jirjis ibn al-'Amīd al-Makīn.<sup>42</sup> Sometime during the course of the year, before March 1608 when Wechel took the manuscript back to Heidelberg,<sup>43</sup> Tegnagel commissioned his Turkish scribe to make a copy of the text. I have not identified the present location of this copy. It was in Vienna at the end of the seventeenth century (complete with Latin annotations by Tegnagel),<sup>44</sup> but it was not entered by Flügel in his catalogue in the mid-nineteenth century. Then, at the end of January 1608, Gruter wrote to

39 BAV, MS Arabo 266. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, pp. 294–295.

40 ÖNB, Cod. 9737<sup>f</sup>, fol. 48<sup>r</sup>: a letter from Gruter to Tegnagel dated 7 January 1607 (copied by Tegnagel on fol. 49<sup>r-v</sup>). See above, pp. 18–19, n. 17, for a transcription of part of this letter with its list of the Arabic MSS in the Palatine Library.

41 ÖNB, *Ibid.*, fol. 53<sup>r</sup>: a letter from Gruter to Tegnagel dated 27 March 1607.

42 Bodl., MS Marsh 309. See above, p. 17, n. 12.

43 ÖNB, *Ibid.*, fol. 67<sup>v</sup>: a note by Tegnagel which records his returning of the manuscript on 5 March 1608: 'Respondi 12 Januar 1608. Scripsi iterum et remisi Abul Chaṣūmi Historiam Arabicam per Andream Wechelum 5 Mart. 1608'. For an explanation of how Abul Chaṣūm refers to al-Makīn, see Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, pp. 295–6.

44 Nessel, *Catalogus*, no. 32.

Tengnagel offering to lend the *Taqwīm al-buldān*, once the chronicle had been returned.<sup>45</sup> Tengnagel complied immediately; and, presumably on receipt of the chronicle, Gruter sent the *Taqwīm al-buldān* to Vienna on 6 April 1608.<sup>46</sup>

The copy of the *Taqwīm al-buldān* commissioned by Tengnagel is now preserved in Vienna<sup>47</sup> and a colophon, as interpreted by Flügel in his catalogue, gives the scribe's name in full as well as a fragment of biographical information. His name was Darwīsh Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Shikārī al-Shā'irī al-Abṣalū'ī and he had formerly been in the service of Ḥaydar Muḥibb Qannabī in the castle of the Hungarian town of Javarin. As Flügel noticed, due to the scribe's grammatical imprecision, the date of copying may be read either as 1029 AH or 1019 – an ambiguity which is only now resolved in favour of the latter date (1610 AD) thanks to the evidence of Tengnagel's correspondence. 6 April 1608 is of course the *post quem* date; a letter dated 28 February 1611, in which Tengnagel informed Jakob Christmann that the *Taqwīm al-buldān* had been copied, provides the *ante quem*.<sup>48</sup> In this letter, Tengnagel also provides some biographical information which corroborates and extends some of the details in the colophon to this copy of the *Taqwīm al-buldān*. He was the prisoner of a baron from Raab, claimed to be Persian by birth (though Tengnagel found this hard to believe, since the man scarcely knew any Persian and still less Arabic), was a skilled painter, and excelled in Turkish poetry (al-Shā'irī).

45 ÖNB, Ibid., fol. 74: a letter from Gruter to Tengnagel dated 30 January 1608.

46 ÖNB, Ibid., fol. 89: a letter from Gruter to Tengnagel dated 6 April 1609.

47 ÖNB, MS A.F.5. Flügel, vol. 2, pp. 418–9, no. 1265. (See Plate 4).

48 ÖNB, Cod. 9737<sup>r</sup>, fol. 187<sup>r-v</sup>: a letter from Tengnagel to Christmann dated 28 February 1611. '...Turca vero iste non est meus, sed cuiusdam Baronis Iavariensis in praesidio, Persa natione, ut fert, sed vix mihi credibile, cum persicum ubi a paucis vocabulis etiam Turcis in usu discesserit inquam haud calleat multa minus vero Arabicam nisi nonullas dictiones [fortasse] quas turces scriptis suis [inserere] trabantium est, scite tamen pingit, et Poesi Turcica excellit, ita ut omnibus ei modis persuadere connitur ut abiecto Mahumetismo christianae fidei nomen det et certam hic fedem figat, quod se facturum quidem pollicetur, sed [ ] se primum persolvere velle et in de ad nos redire statuit, verum nusquam tuta fides Turcica nec addisci possum ut hisce credam. Chronicon illud Mahummedic. et Abilfadam Cosmograph. magno cum taedio et molestia, non absque erratis et mendis descripsit. Abilfadam contuli et multa ommissa ac perperam exarata emendavimus Chronicon temporis angustia cum vestro contendere non licuit in quo haud dubie non tenuis vitiorum sege haerebit. quae corrigi et supplevi aliquando tuo studio ac opera nisi grave molestumque esset, tam quam qui maxime velim transmitterem enim meum cod. ut studiosi allcuius industria cum vestro Palat. comparari posset...'



Other orientalist heard directly or indirectly that Tegnagel was employing the services of a Turkish scribe. In February 1608 Peter Kirsten wrote to him from Breslau asking Tegnagel to find him a captured Turk who could read and write Arabic.<sup>49</sup> He expected a copy of the man's work before accepting him; and he would let Tegnagel know how much money to spend on obtaining such a scribe. In a letter dated 27 November 1610,<sup>50</sup> Tegnagel told Isaac Casaubon that in Vienna he had access to Turkish scribes who could gloss the bilingual Turkish-Arabic and Persian-Turkish lexicons that Scaliger had owned but was prevented from interpreting due to the absence of Turks in Holland. Tegnagel could also employ Jewish scribes, who could copy Hebrew works or transcribe the Judaeo-Arabic Pentateuch that Scaliger had owned (and Erpenius eventually put into Arabic script and published in 1622). On the 28 February 1611, Tegnagel told Daniel Heinsius, librarian of the university library at Leiden and custodian of Scaliger's legacy of oriental manuscripts, that he was employing a 'not inexpert scribe'.<sup>51</sup> Tegnagel spoke of scribes to Casaubon; but from the letter to Christmann, it is clear that the copyist of the *Taqwīm al-buldān*, Darwīsh Ibrāhīm, was also the copyist of the lost chronicle.

Tegnagel also made the admission to Christmann that the copying of both manuscripts was inaccurate. Not that this contradicted his statement to Heinsius. Flügel referred to the copying of the *Taqwīm* as 'very incorrect'. But it was the conditions in which the scribe was held prisoner rather than any lack of expertise that Tegnagel blamed for causing these mistakes. By comparing the captive's copy of the *Taqwīm al-buldān* with the Heidelberg manuscript, Tegnagel told Christmann that he had made some corrections; and these corrections in Tegnagel's hand are evident in the Vienna manuscript. (See Plate 4). He had not had time, however, to compare the copy of the chronicle with the original, so he was sending the copy to Heidelberg in the hope that Christmann could find time to compare the two.

49 ÖNB, Ibid., fols. 77–78: a letter from Peter Kirsten to Tegnagel dated 9 February 1608. Fol. 78': 'Uno adhuc P.T. me (?dare) posset beneficio, si cum Dn. Thielis turcam quandam captum, qui legendi et scribendi solum calleret linguae Arabicae rationem, mihi transmitteret, pretio quanti redinundus esset prius indicto, datoque ante specimine, quid praestare posset.'

50 ÖNB, Ibid., fol. 170: a letter from Tegnagel to Isaac Casaubon dated 27 November 1610. (Not in Casaubon's published correspondence). 'Adest enim Hebr. et Turcici librarii copia, qui Turco Arabicum illud lexicon et Turco Persicum quod Scaliger magnis optavit notis explanare et interpretare posset. Item... A Pentateuchum, inquam, litteris Hebraicis et ling. Arab, exaratos per Judaeum quandam, cuius hic facilis copia exscribi curarem.'

51 ÖNB, Ibid., fol. 185': a letter from Tegnagel to Heinsius dated 28 February 1611. 'Sed causa spe, ego tandem turcam librarium non inscitum et in hoc studiorum... nactus.'

The problem of where his captive copyist was to work and be housed was a recurrent issue for Tegnagel. In a letter of 19 October 1610 Karl von Liechtenstein of Eisgrub wrote to Tegnagel about the Turk he had bargained for on Tegnagel's behalf and asked whether the manuscript copying should be carried out within or without the city of Vienna.<sup>52</sup> For want of other manuscript copies by Turkish captives surviving from this date, I assume that the reference is to Darwīsh Ibrāhīm. Then in May 1613 Tegnagel wrote to his patron, the emperor Matthias, again about the conditions of captivity of his scribe.<sup>53</sup> (See Plate 5.) Again, as we shall point out, it is likely that the scribe in question is Darwīsh Ibrāhīm.

In this letter to the emperor Tegnagel reminded him that he had recently urged him to manumit a captive Turk belonging to a certain Baron Siegfried Preiner (possibly the baron from Javarin mentioned in the letter to Christmann) so that he could copy some Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts that Tegnagel had borrowed, at his own risk and expense, from other European libraries. The prisoner's freedom had been granted, but, since his effectiveness as a scribe was severely impaired by the conditions in which he was kept (the very problem Tegnagel had told Christmann about in Ibrāhīm's case), Tegnagel wanted to take the Turk into his own household. To cover the expense, he sought an annuity from the emperor of one hundred florins. Apparently, Tegnagel's wish was not entirely granted. Though the Turk's services were made available to the royal library whenever they were required, the baron still reserved the right to hold him captive as one of his prisoners.<sup>54</sup>

The likelihood that Tegnagel was referring to Darwīsh Ibrāhīm emerges thus: in June 1614, a year after Tegnagel wrote to the emperor, he employed a scribe to copy a Persian-Turkish lexicon (the colophon is dated Jumādā 1, 1023), *Lughāt-i Amīr Ḥusayn al-Īyāsī*, which he borrowed from the Scaliger legacy in Leiden.<sup>55</sup> Flügel noted that the manuscript was written by an unknown dragoon in a large, clear, and not unpleasant vocalised *nashkhī*.<sup>56</sup> But had he compared it with Ibrāhīm's copy of the *Taqwīm al-buldān*, he would surely have recognised that the lexicon had been copied by the same scribe.

In the course of a fortnight Tegnagel added an intermittent Latin version to the dictionary<sup>57</sup> (see Plate 6), thereby not only realising Postel and Scaliger's

52 ÖNB, Ibid., fol. 138<sup>r</sup>. Unterkircher, 'Sebastian Tegnagel', p. 138.

53 ÖNB, Ibid., fol. 229<sup>r</sup>: copy of an undated letter (c. May 1613) from Tegnagel to Kaiser Matthias I, written in Tegnagel's hand. (See Plate 5).

54 Unterkircher, 'Sebastian Tegnagel', p. 139 (referring to ÖNB, Cod. 9737r fol. 230<sup>r</sup>).

55 UBL, Cod. Or. 227 is Scaliger's copy; ÖNB, MS A.F.26 is the copy that belonged to Tegnagel.

56 Flügel, vol. 1, pp. 146–7, no. 144.

57 See the note by Tegnagel on fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. (See Plate 6).

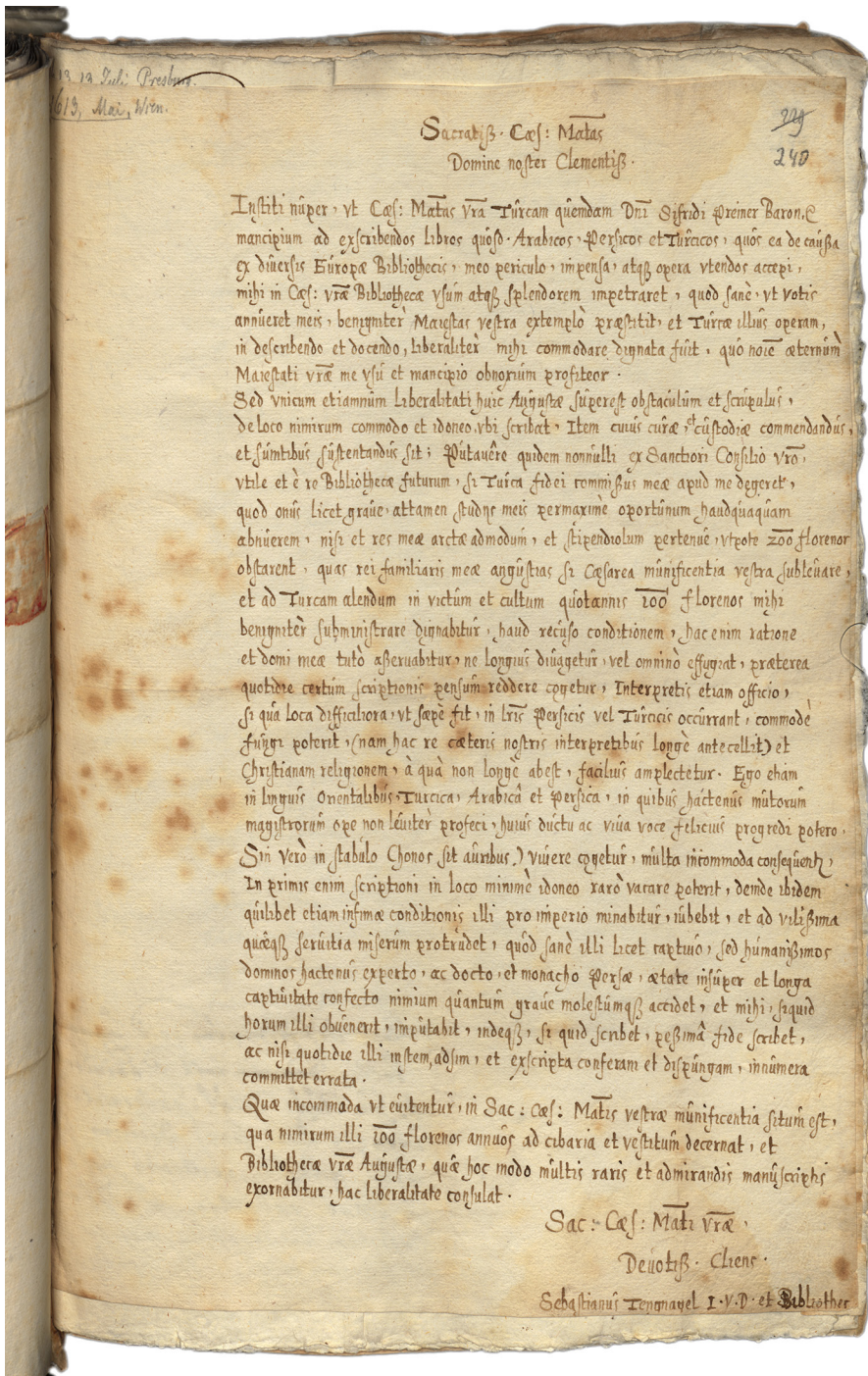


PLATE 5

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. 9737r, fol. 229r. Tengnagel's copy of his undated letter to Kaiser Matthias I (c. May 1613).

vision of Arabic to be studied in conjunction with the learning, and particularly the lexicons, of the other major Islamic languages, but also translating one of the very texts which Scaliger had left to Leiden University and which in his lifetime, as Tegnagel knew from his published correspondence, Scaliger had been prevented from understanding due to the absence of Turkish informants in Leiden.<sup>58</sup> As we know from his letter to Casaubon quoted above, the idea for working on Scaliger's bilingual dictionaries had already occurred to Tegnagel four years earlier; and since then he had corresponded with Daniel Heinsius in order to borrow both the Persian-Turkish lexicon and the Turkish-Arabic lexicon, the *Mirqāt al-lughā*. On 23 August 1614 Tegnagel wrote to Heinsius to say he was sending back the Persian-Turkish lexicon with Joannes Wilhelm of Amersfoort (the brother of Arnold Wilhelm) and suggesting it should be published with the Latin version he had made.<sup>59</sup>

Whether Tegnagel ever received the *Mirqāt al-lughā* we do not know. In any event, he owned a copy of the text, written by an anonymous scribe in 946 AH/1540 AD at Seres in Macedonia.<sup>60</sup> He also owned a copy of *al-Akhtarī*, the popular Arabic-Turkish dictionary of which Erpenius too had acquired a copy during his stay in Venice in the early part of 1612.<sup>61</sup>

Another text that may have been copied by Darwīsh Ibrāhīm for Tegnagel was an Arabic version of St John of Damascus's *De fide orthodoxa*, of which there was a copy in the Palatine Library (now in the Vatican Library) which is prefaced by a calendar of Melkite festivals.<sup>62</sup> At any rate, the manuscript was

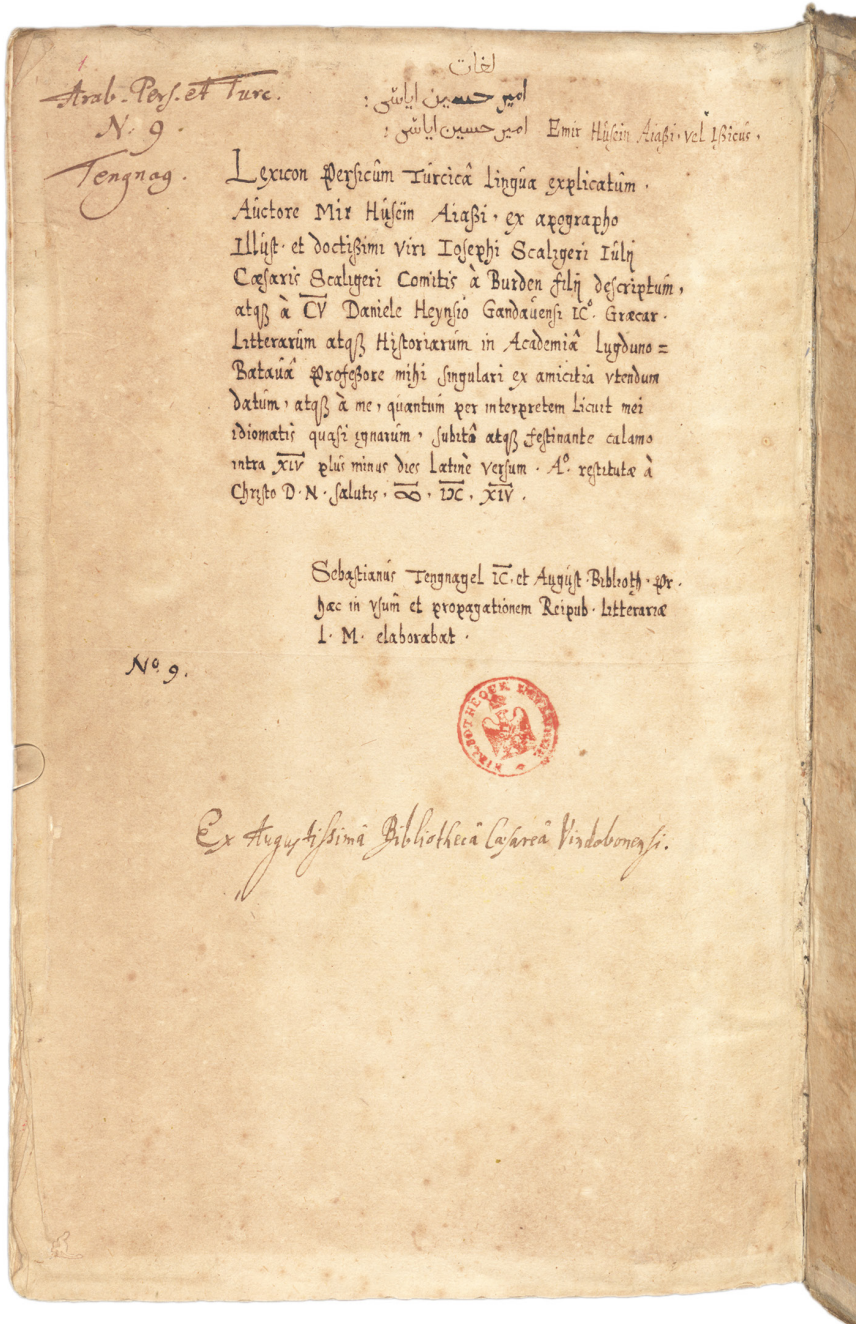
58 See Hamilton, "Nam tirones sumus", p. 578, n. 63, where he explains that this text was included by Scaliger in a letter to Etienne Hubert as a source for his manuscript Arabic-Latin dictionary, *Thesaurus linguae arabicae*, but that, judging from this manuscript, it was not put to any significant use.

59 Tegnagel made his request for the Scaliger lexicons in two letters: ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, fol. 177 (2 February 1611); and fol. 185<sup>r</sup> (28 February 1611). The letter returning the manuscript is on fols. 257<sup>v</sup>-258<sup>r</sup>.

60 ÖNB, MS A.F.39. Flügel, vol. 1, p. 118, no. 113. Flügel notes that fol. 250 contains an extract from another work with the following marginal note by Tegnagel: 'Catalogus quorundam librorum, qui extabant vel citabantur in auctore quodam Turc [sic] Arabico, quem Turcico legato Anno 1614 donavi, reservato tantum ob varios auctores hic enumeratos hoc folio.' Perhaps this leaf contains the names Tegnagel forwarded to Albanus in Istanbul in 1613 and 1617. Further inspection of manuscripts available to Tegnagel may reveal the precise source for his bio-bibliographical information on Arabic authors.

61 ÖNB, MS A.F.209. Flügel, vol. 1, p. 120, no. 115.

62 BAV, MS Arabo 177: the Arabic version by Antonio Monaco entitled *al-Idāh fi 'l-madhhab al-ṣaḥīh* (also containing a fragment of a Melkite calendar of festivals). (N.B. the Arabic note by a dragoman (*tarjumān al-afranj*) named Faḍlallāh ibn Jirjis on the endpaper saying he had seen the manuscript.) See Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, pp. 300-301.



sent in April 1613 to Tegnagel;<sup>63</sup> and a copy of the Melkite calendar was made and was known to Nessel.<sup>64</sup> The *De fide orthodoxa* was, moreover, a text that interested Christmann; and in the undated letter he sent to Gruter who was visiting Vienna, he asked for a copy to be made provided he was satisfied with the scribe's copying, vocalisation, and translation of 'a small Arabic book' at Vienna – whatever this would cost.<sup>65</sup> He would also like the Turk to correct and comment on his 'Specimen of Turkish Exercises', that had failed to reach, or been neglected by, that Turkish informant at the Brandenburg court, probably Paul Willich.<sup>66</sup>

Two other manuscripts copied on unknown dates by Darwīsh Ibrāhīm at Javarin were a Quran, with an interlinear Turkish translation;<sup>67</sup> and a commentary on the Quran.<sup>68</sup> Both remain to be located, possibly in the National Library at Vienna.

He also made a copy of the first part of a manuscript containing part of al-Bukhārī's famous collection of *ḥadīth* which Tegnagel had borrowed from the library of the Duke of Bavaria, Maximilian I (and which had formerly belonged to Widmanstetter).<sup>69</sup> Not that Ibrāhīm's name and the date of copying appear in the colophon of the copy now preserved in Vienna.<sup>70</sup> Flügel, who was as dismissive about the quality of the copying as he was about Ibrāhīm's *Taqwīm al-buldān* and the Persian-Turkish lexicon, did not associate the handwriting in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* with either of the other two manuscripts.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, the same

63 ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, fol. 204<sup>v</sup>, (the *verso* of a letter from Gruter to Tegnagel) contains this note by Tegnagel: 'Rescripsi 14 Aug 1612 ut commodet mihi Ioan Damascen Arabice Ms'. Fol. 209<sup>r</sup>, a letter from Gruter to Tegnagel dated Frankfurt, 17 September 1612, stating 'Impetravi quidem Arabicum Damascenum' (perhaps it had been lent to someone else). Fol. 227<sup>r</sup>, a letter from Gruter to Tegnagel dated April 1613, stating 'Mitto tibi Damascenum'.

64 Nessel, *Catalogus*, no. 22: 'Calendarium sanctorum' copied for Tegnagel from the Palatine codex. Not in Flügel, vol. 2, pp. 485–489, 'Astronomie, Astrologie und Kalendarographie – Arabisch'.

65 ÖNB, Cod. 9737r, fol. 160<sup>r</sup>: a copy of an undated letter from Jakob Christmann in Heidelberg to Jan Gruter.

66 Ibid. See p. 56, n. 38; also above p. 54, n. 35.

67 Nessel, *Catalogus*, no. 4: '/al-Qur'ān/ cum versione Turcica interlineari, scriptus a quodam Captivo Turca, cui Nomen /Darwīsh Ibrāhīm/ Dervis Ibrahim, dum in carceribus Jaurinensibus detineretur, ut videre est ex Epistola ab eo scripta ad Cl. Tegnagelium.'

68 Nessel, *Catalogus*, no. 53: '/tafsīr al-Qur'ān/ Commentarius Anonymi in Alcoranum, Arabicè, mutilus in principio. 4to., in charta. Cum Ibrahimi Dervisii, Monachi Turcici, Epistola ad CL. Virum, Dominum Tegnagelium. 4to., in charta.'

69 See above, p. 43, n. 110.

70 ÖNB, MS A.F.31.

71 Flügel, vol. 3, p. 84, no. 1647: 'den sich Tegnagel aus einem Bayerischen Codex e Codice Bavarico von einem nicht eben sehr unterrichteten Abschreiber copiren liess.'

hand is unmistakable in all three manuscripts. Inspection of the undated manuscripts for watermarks, marginalia, and so forth may provide more precise evidence as to the date of copying. In the meantime, there is one clue that suggests a later rather than earlier date for the copying of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. In a note added by Tegnagel to a letter he received from Robert Scheilder dated Madrid 6 March 1619, Tegnagel mentions that Scheilder had returned the three Arabic books he had borrowed from the Bavarian library.<sup>72</sup> Finally, a copy of Sa'dī's *Gulistān*, now in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana and said by Assemani to have been copied in 1587 by a certain Ibrāhīm Darwīsh, deserves to be inspected in case it is by the same scribe.<sup>73</sup>

## 5 Neophytes at Rome

At Rome, Giovanni Battista Raimondi, director of the *Typographia Medicea*, could call on a wider range of Arabic-speaking assistants than any other orientalist in Europe. Apart from visitors from the eastern churches of the Levant and Egypt, there were North African and Turkish converts to Catholicism. A college was founded by Gregory XIII on 1 September 1577 expressly for neophytes, as the converts were called;<sup>74</sup> and a number of its Arabic-speaking members worked for Raimondi. These neophyte assistants have shadowy pasts; and just how they came to be in Rome, whether they became Catholics through coercion or conviction, is unclear. It is likely, however, that, as in the case of Leo Africanus half a century before, they too were the victims of war and piracy.<sup>75</sup>

Paolo Orsini [Orsino, Ursini], a Turk from Istanbul<sup>76</sup> and (like a number of other neophytes) baptised with the surname of the famous Roman family, acted as interpreter on the arrival in Rome of the Jacobite patriarch Ignazio Ni'matallah.<sup>77</sup> As we have seen, it was the patriarch with his entourage, his manuscripts and his knowledge who was so greatly valued by Raimondi and the *Typographia Medicea*. But Paolo too continued to work in collaboration

72 ÖNB, Cod. 9737s, fol. 167 (the letter from Scheilder to Tegnagel); fol. 168 (the envelope with Tegnagel's note).

73 Assemani, no. 92.

74 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 405. Pastor, *Storia dei Papi*, vol. 11, 1955, pp. 179–180. For a history of the origins and early years of the college see Karl Hoffmann, *Ursprung und Anfangstätigkeit des ersten päpstlichen Missionsinstituts* (Münster, 1923).

75 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 408.

76 Saltini, pp. 263, 273.

77 ASF, *Stamperia Orientale*, Filza 2, doc. 25, fol. 18<sup>r</sup>.

with the patriarch, Raimondi and others; and though the nature of his contribution may be difficult to determine, it is important to recognise that this Arabic-speaking or Arabic-educated Turkish convert was involved in the production of at least two of the Medicean Arabic publications. According to Raimondi in his diary, he died in Florence on 16 July 1600.<sup>78</sup>

On 17 August 1584, Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici established an editorial committee responsible for preparing an edition and translation of the Arabic text of Avicenna's *al-Qānūn fi 'l-ṭibb*. The committee was to convene in the patriarch's house and the other members were a certain Giovan Battista of Lucca (physician to Cardinal Giacomo Savelli), Raimondi, and Paolo Orsini.<sup>79</sup> Not that any new Latin version of the *Canon* was produced by the press; and the bilingual vocabulary lists and short passages in Latin prepared by Raimondi (presumably in collaboration with the committee) show no signs of originality: Gerard of Cremona's medieval version was their guide.<sup>80</sup> But the Arabic text was issued; and despite its many typographical or editorial errors (which study of the manuscript original and of proof pages may explain)<sup>81</sup> this edition of 1593 made a considerable impact on the development of Arabic studies in other parts of Europe, especially where Arabic texts were hard to find in manuscript form.<sup>82</sup>

Paolo Orsini was also one of the team responsible for the Latin version of the Gospels in Arabic which was published interlinearly (in place of the vocalisation) in the bilingual issue of the Gospels of 1591.<sup>83</sup> Unlike the case of the *Canon*, there is no formal document requesting the participation of any

78 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 408, n. 4.

79 ASF, *Stamperia Orientale*, Filza 3, doc.20. Cited by Saltini, p. 263, n. 1.

80 BNCF, MSS II, III, 6 (Saltini II), II, III, 14 (Saltini X), and II, III, 20 (Saltini XVI): three manuscripts containing Arabic and Latin vocabulary drawn up by Raimondi from the *Canon* (see below, Part 2, Appendix 3). BNCF, II, III, 15, (1) (Saltini manuscript XI): Extracts in Raimondi's hand from the Arabic text of the *Canon* interspersed with the medieval Latin version by Gerard of Cremona, rearranged to suit Arabic word order (See below, pp. 275–279).

81 Assemani, p. 349, no. 215 (containing marginal notes which Assemani claims are an indication that this was the printer's exemplar). The present shelf-mark is not published. The relevant material in two manuscripts not recorded by Assemani should be noted: BML, MS Or.459, fols. 545a–561b: proof pages from the Arabic *Canon* with many handwritten corrections. BML, MS Or.460, fols. 172b–195b: copy by Raimondi of some of the Arabic *Canon*, with vertical lines in red ink separating each word on the last three leaves.

82 Schnurrer, pp. 449–451, no. 393. On the impact of the *Typographia Medicea* in Europe see Robert Jones, 'The Medici Oriental Press (1584–1614) and the Impact of its Arabic Publications on Northern Europe' in G.A. Russel, ed., *The 'Arabick' Interest of the Natural Philosophers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 88–108.

83 Schnurrer, pp. 343–351, no. 318.

individual or team; and the translation has traditionally been attributed to the Maronite scholar Gabriel Sionita or to Antonio Sionita, possibly a relative of Gabriel.<sup>84</sup> A rather charred and damp-stained manuscript exemplar of the printed edition, now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, provides the evidence for this translation having been a team effort. Frequently throughout the text, the translators have signed their names to confirm participation in, and approval of, the Latin version. They were Leonardo Abel, Tomás de Sarracina, Diego de Guadix, Paolo Orsini, and Giovanni Battista Raimondi (who was the copyist for both the Arabic and the Latin).<sup>85</sup> Moreover, this same team under the supervision of Raimondi was to form the basis of an editorial committee for the publication of a polyglot Bible.<sup>86</sup>

This extremely ambitious project preoccupied Raimondi for many years; and in January 1593, he attempted to gain papal support for it through the mediation of Cardinal Gabriele Paleotto. It was not to be. Among those included in the project by Raimondi was another neophyte, this time from Tunis, who had also adopted the Orsini surname but is better known as Guglielmo Africano. Unlike Paolo Orsini, whose attendance at the Neophyte College is not recorded, we know that Guglielmo entered the Neophyte College on 9 October 1577.<sup>87</sup> He died on 29 November 1594.<sup>88</sup>

Both Paolo Orsini and Guglielmo [Orsini] Africano were entered by Raimondi in a list he kept recording the loan of manuscripts to individual borrowers between 1591 and 1605.<sup>89</sup> Thus in 1592 on 4 May 1592 Paolo Orsini

84 Aboussouan, ed., *Le Livre et le Liban*, p. 239, note by Gérald Duverdier to exhibit 122. Schnurrer, p. 350 did not doubt that Raimondi was responsible for the translation, but adduces no proof.

85 Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, ms Res. 208. F. Guillén Robles, *Catálogo de los manuscritos árabes existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid* (Madrid, 1889), p. 251, no. DCVI. For examples of the translators' signatures, see fols. 31a, 132b, 192b. The colophon dated 1059 'in the year of the martyrs' on fols. 440b-441a has been copied by Raimondi from a manuscript original, but no entry for the Gospels in Assemani corresponds to this.

86 Saltini, p. 273. See also the note by Saltini, 'La Bibbia Poliglotta Medicea', *Bollettino Italiano degli Studi Orientali*, N.S., 22-24 (1882), pp. 490-495.

87 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 407, citing a register of members of the Neophyte College, which in 1938 was preserved in the Collegio Angelicum at Rome.

88 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 407, 'Passo di questa vita presente adi ultimo di nouembre 1594 fu sepolito nella chiesa delli catacumini.' Raimondi, in his diary of events in Rome between 1590 and 1610, gives the more precise date and time ('à hore 21') for Guglielmo's death. See ASF, *Stamperia Orientale*, Filza 2, doc.25, fol. 6<sup>r</sup>.

89 ASF, *Stamperia Orientale*, Filza 2, doc.24.

borrowed a work recorded as 'La Logica in Arabico della Sciamsia'<sup>90</sup> and on 25 May the same year a Psalter in Aramaic. On 20 February, Guglielmo borrowed an Arabic commentary on al-Zanjānī's *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*; and on 29 February he borrowed Avicenna's *Najāṭ*. Given that Raimondi published the *Najāṭ* in 1593, as an appendix to the *Canon*, and al-Zanjānī's grammar book in 1610,<sup>91</sup> it seems probable that he may have consulted Guglielmo on editorial matters.

Guglielmo was also a scribe. Two manuscripts he copied at the Neophyte College were removed to the Vatican Library in 1662 where they remain,<sup>92</sup> as does another manuscript he copied for the bishop of Sidon, Leonardo Abel.<sup>93</sup> A copy of the Pauline Epistles, which he made for Raimondi, is in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence (where most of the manuscripts collected or copied for Raimondi and the Typographia Medicea, including those that belonged to Ni'matallah, are now kept);<sup>94</sup> and a manuscript containing prayers, which he copied for Father Benedetto Mami, is now in Venice.<sup>95</sup>

Another member of the Neophyte College, Domenico Sirleto Africano, contributed to Arabic studies in Rome and beyond. Originally from Djerba, he entered the college on the same day as Guglielmo;<sup>96</sup> and where Guglielmo had taken the Christian name of one of the cardinals deputed by Pope Gregory XIII to supervise the college (Guglielmo Sirleto), Domenico took the surname. Like Guglielmo, Domenico was responsible for copying a number of manuscripts for the college, five of which also entered the Vatican Library in 1662.<sup>97</sup> He also copied some manuscripts for Leonardo Abel, which are now in the Vatican Library.<sup>98</sup> One manuscript fragment in the Vatican contains evidence for a rudimentary Arabic lesson given to Abel by Domenico.<sup>99</sup>

Two manuscripts copied by Domenico and now housed in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana may have been copied for Raimondi (though equally

90 Probably a reference to *al-Risāla 'l-shamsiyya* by Najm al-Dīn 'Alī ibn 'Umar al-Qazwīnī. Several copies of this text were collected for the Typographia Medicea and are now housed in the BML, Florence. See Assemani, p. 335, no. 194; p. 338, no. 198, p. 341, no. 206 (Ignazio Ni'matallah's copy). Two manuscripts also contain the commentary on this text by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Taḥṭānī: p. 334, no. 192, and p. 338, no. 197. One manuscript also contains the commentary of Burhān al-Dīn ibn Kamāl al-Dīn: p. 340, no. 204.

91 Schnurrer, pp. 25–27, no. 47.

92 BAV, MS Arabo 21, 27. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 429.

93 BAV, MS Arabo 20. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 429.

94 Assemani, no. 24.

95 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 429.

96 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 407, citing the Register (see p. 68, n. 89 above).

97 *Ibid.*, p. 407: BAV, MSS Arabo 96, 122, 139, 188, 194. Also some lexicons to which he contributed but which did not enter the Vatican in 1662.

98 *Ibid.*, p. 407: BAV, MS Arabo 30, 173.

99 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 233. BAV, MS Arabo 1482.

there are manuscripts that belonged to Abel in that library).<sup>100</sup> One manuscript copied by Domenico is now preserved in Paris.<sup>101</sup> It is his copy of Abū ‘Ubayd al-Qāsim ibn Sallām’s collection of proverbs, *Kitāb al-Amthāl* and it may have played a significant part in Northern European Arabic scholarship and printing. For this was the text that Scaliger translated and Erpenius edited and published at Leiden in 1614 (at the Raphelengius Press) and again in 1623 (at his own press);<sup>102</sup> and the manuscript they used had been brought to Casaubon from Rome by David Rivault, sieur de Fleurance. Moreover, as Erpenius pointed out in the preface to the edition, the vocalisation in Rivault’s manuscript was influenced by colloquial usage (as is the other copy of the proverbs made by Domenico and now in the Vatican Library).

According to Levi della Vida, although Domenico Sirleto must have received some education before his capture, his knowledge of literary Arabic is revealed as anything but perfect in the copies he made; and the help he was able to give to Leonardo Abel would have been short-lived: within two years of Domenico entering the Neophyte College, Bishop Moses of Şūr had arrived in Rome with Nímatallah. He taught at the Neophyte College from 1581 to 1585, owned and copied a number of mainly Christian Arabic texts which he passed on to the college and to Leonardo Abel, and (again according to Levi della Vida) was able to help Abel much more effectively than Domenico Sirleto could.<sup>103</sup> One other neophyte at Rome who made very poor copies of a few manuscripts for Leonardo Abel was Clemente Rubino (d. 20 October 1590).<sup>104</sup> He had entered the Neophyte College on 2 October 1579, but he did not work as a scribe for the college. Nor is there any record of his working for Raimondi and the *Typographia Medicea*, so far as is known.

100 Assemani, nos. 37, 366.

101 BnF, MS Arabe 3969.

102 Schnurrer, pp. 210–212, nos. 216, 217. See Arnoud Vrolijk, ‘The Prince of Arabists and his many errors. Thomas Erpenius’s image of Joseph Scaliger and the edition of the *Proverbia Arabica* (1614)’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 73 (2010), pp. 297–325.

103 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 233.

104 *Ibid.*, p. 429: BAV, MS Arabo 9, 31, 52. Levi della Vida attributes the copying of BAV, MS Arabo 133 to Clemente on one occasion (p. 169) and then to Domenico (pp. 244–5, n. 43). The neophyte hands are not easily distinguishable. BAV, MSS Arabo 244 and 245 (copies of the printed work *Muṣāḥabat* [sic] *rūḥāniyya* – Schnurrer, no. 236) were attributed to a neophyte hand by Levi della Vida (pp. 256–8); but he did not regard the hand as identical with either Guglielmo, Domenico, or Clemente.

## 6 François de Boulogne

Two Arabic manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris provide evidence for the collaboration by the French doctor, Etienne Hubert, with a converted Turkish captive. Hubert, who travelled as an emissary of the king of France to Morocco in 1600 and later collaborated with the Moroccan emissary Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, had a special interest in learning Arabic in order to read medical texts. But the manuscripts which show us his joint efforts with this Turkish informant are not specifically medical. One, according to a note by Hubert's brother, l'Auditeur [possibly François] Hubert, contains 'Quelques Chapitres de l'Alcoran écrits par François de Boulogne, Turc que mon frere avoit retiré des gardes du roy en vi xii'.<sup>105</sup> The other is a *maghribī* copy of a commentary on al-Ṣanhājī's grammar, *al-Muqaddima al-ājurrūmiyya*, by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ya'lā al-Ḥasanī, and entitled here *al-Durra 'l-naḥwiyya fī sharḥ al-jarūmiyya*. It has two lines of Ottoman Turkish added to the end-paper in a different hand; and these have been transliterated by the doctor, who mentions that they were written by François de Boulogne, a baptised Turk.<sup>106</sup> (See Plate 7.) But like the Hubert brothers, their Turkish assistant remains an elusive figure.

## 7 Juan Andrés

Finally in this section there is the case of a man from the fifteenth century whose conversion to Catholicism came not as the result of captivity but of persuasion and environment. In August 1487 the son of a certain 'Abdalla', who had succeeded his father in the office of *faqīh*, was in the cathedral at Valencia. There he met the reverend and learned Marqués Adesora and renounced Islam. He was baptised with the name Juan Andrés after the two disciples. Then like St Paul, as he put it, he began to teach the opposite of what he had formerly believed and was invited to Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella to assist with the conversion of those Moriscos who had stayed behind.<sup>107</sup>

At Granada Juan Andrés met and collaborated with Martín García, future inquisitor general of Aragon and Catalonia and eventually bishop of Barcelona.

<sup>105</sup> BnF, MS Or. Ar. 460. Slane, p. 129.

<sup>106</sup> BnF, MS Or. Ar. 4127. Slane, p. 665, did not identify the commentary. See *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 308, on al-Ḥasanī (b. Fes 672/1273 d. 723/1322). (For François de Boulogne's inscription, see Plate 7).

<sup>107</sup> Juan Andrés gives autobiographical material in the preface to his *Confusion of the Sect* (See following notes). See also, Louis Cardillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens* (Paris, 1977), p. 351.



PLATE 7 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, MS Arabe 4127 fol. 37<sup>v</sup>. Turkish inscription by François de Boulogne with transcription and translation initialled by Etienne Hubert.

From 1500 García was preaching in Arabic; and Juan Andrés provided him with information on the Quran and the Sunna of exceptional quality. Indeed, at the request of García, Juan Andrés compiled a small polemical work entitled 'The Confusion of the Sect', which was first published in Spanish at Valencia in 1515.<sup>108</sup> What is remarkable about this book is that, because of his familiarity with Islamic sources (including al-Qāḍī 'Iyād's *Kitāb al-Shifā' bi-ta'rīf huqūq al-Muṣṭafā*, the twelfth-century defence of Islam which was popular among Moriscos<sup>109</sup>), it allowed a critique of Islam which was far better informed than any other European source. Juan Andrés does not appear to have made any contribution towards the development of European Arabic studies, whether as a teacher or a scribe. But like Leo Africanus's *Description of Africa*, several translated versions of his *Confusion* provided a wide European readership with an unprecedented glimpse of Islamic sources. In the course of the century, the work was translated into Italian, French, Latin, German and English.<sup>110</sup> It also supplied raw material for other polemical tracts including, for example, one written by a Dominican friar at Florence for the protection of Italians in their daily business with Turks.<sup>111</sup>

## 8 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad

In the summer of 1612 when Thomas Erpenius returned to Holland from Venice where he had been collecting oriental manuscripts, he went at first to his parents' home in Middelburg. It was, after all, almost four years since he had

108 Juan Andrés, *Confusion de la secta mahometana* (Valencia, 1515).

109 On the other side of the polemical divide, the Moroccan Aḥmad ibn Qāsim also made use of Qāḍī al-'Iyād's work (see p. 86, n. 158 below) and Cardillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, p. 216.

110 The following editions can be identified from an initial search in the *National Union Catalogue* and the catalogues of the BL and the BnF: Italian. *Confusione della setta*, (translated to Italian by Domingo Gaztelu Guiberalde) (Seville, 1537). (Gaztelu was secretary to Signor Don Lope de Soria, Spanish ambassador to the Signoria of Venice). Reprinted: [Seville], 1540; Venice, 1541; n.p. 1543; Venice, 1545; n.p. 1548; Venice, 1597. French. *Confusion de la Secte*, [tr. Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie] (Paris, 1574). Latin. *De Confusione Sectae Mahometanae* [tr. J.Lauterbach], [Leipzig, 1595] pp. 85–268 of his *De bello contra Turcas Suscipiendo*. Reprinted Leipzig, 1600; Utrecht, 1656. German. *De confusio sectae Mahometanae. Die schendliche Vormischung der Mahometischen Sect...* (Leipzig, 1598). Another German translation at Hamburg, 1685. English. *The Confusion of Muhammed's Sect or a Confutation of the Turkish Alcoran* [tr. Joshua Notstock] (London, 1652).

111 A. Pientini da Consignano, *Della demonstratione degli errori* (Florence, 1588).

left Leiden University for a period of itinerant study which was to be dominated by his learning of Arabic, thanks to the sponsorship of his parents.

From Middelburg he wrote to Isaac Casaubon in London about the difficulties he faced in pursuing his career.<sup>112</sup> Previously he had always resigned himself to abandoning oriental studies, if there were no opening for him in the university, and accepting God's call to the ministry. But now, with the turbulent political situation in Leiden and the Arminian dispute, Erpenius's parents were reluctant to allow him to follow a theological training. Nor did they want him to go abroad, in spite of the positions he had been offered as an orientalist in Paris and Milan. Most frustrating of all was the lack of vacancies for orientalists at Leiden University:

Master Coddæus has taught Hebrew for a long time. Jan Theunisz., a Dutch Anabaptist, had begun to lecture on Arabic. He worked once for Raphelengius, and got to know Arabic from him. Recently, having spent half a year with some Arab living in Amsterdam, he has got some knowledge of Arabic. I hear that a grammar by Raphelengius was a considerable service to his study. I cannot tell how much he knows as I have never met him. Nor can I easily meet him since I do not wish to appear to cast darkness on his light or to want to oust him from his position. He has not yet been accepted among the professors; he has merely been allowed to hold open lectures for a year in order to prove his knowledge and ability. After that he will either be able to remain or he will have to go away, according to whether he is judged suitable or not to take on a professorship. As for his lectures, he gives them outside the university building because he is unable to speak Latin fluently. As long as he had no security of tenure as a professor, he has left his wife and children behind in Amsterdam, where he sells brandy. Were it not for this man my prospects would have been quite fair and I would have had the opportunity to pursue my oriental studies. But I hardly think that it is possible now, since I am not prepared to write begging letters or to try to have the man expelled even though there is no doubt, to speak freely, that I am in a position to discharge the position myself to the greater profit of the public and the glory of the university.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Casaubon, *Epistolae*, pp. 665–7, dated 12 July 1612. For Erpenius's career see Arnoud Vrolijk and Richard van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands. A Short History in Portraits, 1580–1950* (Leiden-Boston, 2014), pp. 31–40.

<sup>113</sup> Casaubon, *Epistolae*, p. 666. The Latin text is given by Schnurrer, p. 355; and Juynboll, *Beoefenaars*, p. 71.

As it happened, Jan Theunisz. (1569–1637), or Johannes Antonides to give him his Latin name, did not secure the tenure of his post after his probationary year, despite three publications of direct relevance to Arabic studies: a collection of apologies for Arabic with *sūras* 1 to 2/verse 38, in Latin published at Amsterdam in 1611;<sup>114</sup> Paul's Epistle to Titus in Arabic, published at Leiden by the Raphelengius Press in 1612;<sup>115</sup> and a paradigmatic table of the Arabic verb, published at Leiden by the Raphelengius Press in 1613, previously ignored or considered a ghost, but actually existing in one known copy.<sup>116</sup> In February 1613, thanks to Casaubon's and Heinsius's intervention, Erpenius was installed as extraordinary professor of Arabic in Theunisz.'s place.

There can be no doubting the superior abilities of Erpenius, whose achievements during his years of study abroad (let alone his professorial output) rank among the finest among all Arabists of the period. But over three hundred and fifty years later, in a brave attempt to reveal the preferment of Erpenius as nothing more than a conspiracy on the part of the scholarly establishment to get rid of a man who diluted his scholarship with inn-keeping, H.F. Wijnman sought to restore Theunisz.'s honour by focusing attention on the superior abilities of his Arabic-speaking teacher as against the inadequacy of those from the Arab world who advised Erpenius.<sup>117</sup>

The man Theunisz. met in Amsterdam in the second half of December 1609, a certain 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad, was a secretary to a Moroccan delegation sent to Holland by the Sherifian sultan, Mawlay Zaydān (reg. 1603–1627). That year, Mawlay Zaydān had ousted his brother, Mawlay Shaykh, who had fled to Spain. Hence the delegation to Holland, seeking an alliance

114 Johannes Antonides, *Doctissimorum quorundam hominum de arabicae linguae antiquitate, dignitate et utilitate testimonia publica. Una cum interpretatione Latina partis Azoarum primae Alcorani* (Amsterdam, 1611). Juynboll, *Beoefenaars*, p. 55; Wijnman, *Antonides*, p. 18–22 (see below n. 117).

115 [Johannes Antonides, ed.], *D. Pauli Apostoli Epistola ad Titum, arabice cum Joannis Antonidae Alcmariani interlineari versione Latina ad verbum* (Leiden, 1612). Schnurrer, pp. 354–356, no. 321. On the origins of the manuscript original and William Bedwell's attitude to this publication, see Hamilton, *William Bedwell*, pp. 39–40.

116 ÖNB, 73.S.95(4).

117 H.F. Wijnman, 'De Hebraicus Jan Theunisz. Barbarossius alias Johannes Antonides als lector in het Arabisch aan de Leidse Universiteit (1612/1613)', *Studia Rosenthaliana*, 2 (1968), pp. 1–29, 149–177. Hamilton, *William Bedwell*, pp. 39–40, regards Theunisz.'s knowledge of Arabic as 'perfectly adequate'. M.J. de Goeje, on the other hand, noted that 'Antonides has acquired some skill in Arabic but his orthography is below par and he makes the most dreadful grammatical mistakes' (See Juynboll, *Beoefenaars*, p. 55, n. 4).

between Mawlay Zaydān and the States General against his brother and the Spaniards.<sup>118</sup>

Such a delegation sent to England in 1600 by Mawlay Zaydān's father, Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Dhahabī (reg. 1578–1603), had wished to conclude a similar alliance with Queen Elizabeth I. Doubtless that occasion had also offered the opportunity to the English Arabist William Bedwell, for exercising and improving his knowledge of Arabic, though we have no means of telling how effective his informants might have been.<sup>119</sup>

For 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad, however, there is the testimony of Theunisz.. In the preface to his record of a religious dispute he held with 'Abd al-'Azīz, Theunisz. claims that by having him to stay in his house for four months from December 1609 to April 1610, he was able to learn more than he could have by spending a whole year in Barbary – especially when it came to Arabic vocabulary.<sup>120</sup>

Moreover, two extant manuscripts dated 1019 AH (1610 AD) in 'Abd al-'Azīz's hand – a copy of Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Jazarī's book of prayers, *al-Ḥiṣn al-ḥaṣīn min kalām sayyid al-mursalīn*,<sup>121</sup> and a copy of the Gospels made for an Englishman in Amsterdam, John Paget, and taken from the edition printed at Rome in 1590/91<sup>122</sup> – are evidence for his learned and practical assistance to Theunisz. and others with an interest in Arabic in Amsterdam.

By contrast, according to Wijnmann, Erpenius's informants – an Egyptian Copt named Yūsuf ibn Abū Daqan (Abudacnus or Barbatus) and a Moroccan 'merchant', Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī – had nothing like the expertise in Classical Arabic that 'Abd al-'Azīz possessed.<sup>123</sup> Whether Wijnmann's suggestion that 'Abd al-'Azīz was not merely secretary to the Moroccan delegation but also secretary to Mawlay Zaydān remains to be established. Mawlay Zaydān had two secretaries named 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Muḥammad. One is well-documented, the other named al-Tha'ālibī is not. If he left any documents in

118 Wijnman, 'Antonides', pp. 2–4. See Dorrit van Dalen, 'Johannes Theunisz and 'Abd al-'Azīz: a friendship in Arabic studies in Amsterdam, 1609–1610', *Lias*, 43 (2016), pp. 161–189.

119 Hamilton, *William Bedwell*, pp. 15–18. For the embassy see Jerry Brotton, *This Orient Isle. Elizabethan England and the Islamic World* (London, 2016), pp. 268–275.

120 *Joh. Antonii Alkmarianus, Arabi en Lat. handschrift over den Christelijke godsdienst en den Koran*, 1609, in Leiden Archive, Ms 7457. Published by H.F. Wijnman, 'Moet Jodocus Hondius of Jan Theunisz beschouwd worden als de eerste drukker van Hebreuwsche boeken in Amsterdam?', *Het Boek*, 17 (1928), pp. 301–313, esp. p. 310.

121 Amsterdam University Library, MS 11, A, 16.

122 Leeuwarden Provincial Library, MS 2785.

123 Wijnman, 'Antonides', p. 156: 'Noch Joesoef Aboe Dakan noch Ahmad ibn Kasīm [sic] bezaten echter op verre na die kennis van het klassieke Arabisch, waarover Jan Theunisz.' leermeester 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Mohammed beschikte.'

Morocco that have been preserved and can be identified then comparison of these with those left by Theunisz.'s assistant in Amsterdam will resolve the matter.<sup>124</sup> Ironically, one private secretary of Mawlay Zaydān who can positively be identified is Erpenius's associate, Aḥmad ibn Qāsim.

## 9 Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajārī

Until recently the story of Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajārī as told by historians of European Arabic studies and by historians of the last Moriscos was a classic case of the left hand not knowing what the right hand is doing. Neither set of scholars was aware of Aḥmad's life and activities in the sphere that did not primarily concern it; and as a result, Aḥmad emerged in two completely different contexts with nothing to connect either.

For writers about Renaissance Arabists, Aḥmad ibn Qāsim was little more than an obscure and forgotten Moroccan merchant who played some part in helping Etienne Hubert, Thomas Erpenius and Jacob Golius with their Arabic studies. Their sources had been six published letters: a letter from Erpenius to Casaubon in London, written at Paris on 28 September 1611;<sup>125</sup> one letter in Arabic from Aḥmad to Erpenius in Leiden, written at Amsterdam on 16 June 1613;<sup>126</sup> and four letters from Aḥmad to Golius in Safi, written at Marrakesh in 1624.<sup>127</sup> I have already had occasion to remark on these letters to Golius in the context of the search for manuscript copies of works by authors cited by Leo Africanus.

From his letter to Casaubon, we know that Erpenius had spent four months over the summer in Conflans-Sainte-Honorine, escaping from the distractions of city life and devoting himself to Arabic studies. But three or four weeks before writing his letter to Casaubon, in other words at the beginning of September 1611, he was interrupted by a most unexpected though nonetheless welcome visitor from Morocco. The 'Moroccan merchant' (*Mercator quidam Marocensis*) had been sent to him from Paris by Etienne Hubert; and Erpenius described the encounter as follows:

/Aḥmad/ by name and /muslim/ by religion, he was a cultured and highly intelligent man who, as a youth, has given some attention to reading and writing and spoke 'Latin-Arabic' (as the classical language is called since

124 On the two secretaries of Mawlay Zaydān named 'Abd al-'Azīz, see Wijnman, 'Antonides', p. 2, and the references he cites.

125 Casaubon, *Epistolae*, pp. 660–662, dated Paris, 28 September 1611.

126 Houtsma, *Oostersche correspondentie*, pp. 20–24.

127 *Ibid.*, pp. 24–33.

the variation of the cases is like Latin) fairly well. Our encounter brought us both happiness: for his part, he found a man in this place who was studying Arabic; and for my part, I met an Arab who I hoped would be able to teach me something. I was not disappointed. We spent the whole day talking together, mixing Arabic and Spanish, which he knew but which I could not understand. Hearing that he would be in Paris for two to three months, I decided to return to town in order to consult him more easily, for I am looking everywhere for words which have been causing me problems. He would not help me in the grammars and willingly recognised and admired me as a master. Although, however, he did not understand the majority of the problem-words any better than I did, he was a great help to me with many of them. At first I experienced some difficulty in following his pronunciation; but I soon got used to it and now it is as if he is speaking Latin to me. However, his speech is not very pure and, as he himself admits, he often fails to observe grammatical rules and mixes colloquial idioms with classical as he is not accustomed to the language of the learned. We had frequent disputations about religion, but, believe me, some of their errors are not as easy to refute as many suppose.<sup>128</sup>

Erpenius's account of his meeting with this Aḥmad should be treated with caution. His natural confidence in his own genius and his desire to satisfy Casaubon's expectation of him meant that his attitude towards other Arabists or Arabic-speakers was exacting, and sometimes plain hostile. And while his prejudice towards his rival Arabists has begun to be tempered in the cases of Theunisz. and Kirsten, the reputation he has given his Moroccan assistant, Aḥmad ibn Qāsim, for being a moderately learned merchant with a liking for theological debate also deserves some refinement.

As it happens, Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī has left considerably more evidence for his scholarly activities than has Theunisz.'s informant, 'Abd al-'Azīz (possibly al-Tha'ālabī); or, at least, more material has come to light in Aḥmad's case. A number of neglected manuscripts in European libraries show direct

128 Casaubon, *Epistolae*, pp. 660–662. The text has been reproduced by Houtsma, *Oostersche Correspondentie*, p. 23 and by Juynboll, *Beoefenaars*, p. 68. Thanks to Gerard Wiegers and other scholars Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī has at last come into his own. See, for example, G.A. Wiegers, *A Learned Muslim Acquaintance of Erpenius and Golius. Aḥmad b. Kāsim al-Andalusī and Arabic Studies in The Netherlands* (The Hague, 1991); id., 'A life between Europe and the Maghrib: the writings of Ahmad b. Qāsim al-Ḥajarī al-Andalusī (born ca. 977/1569–70)' in G.J.H. van Gelder and E. de Moor, eds., *The Middle East and Europe: Encounters and Exchanges* (Amsterdam-Atlanta, 1992), pp. 87–115.

signs of his collaboration with Erpenius and others; and we shall return to these below. Other manuscripts in Europe and abroad have attracted the attention of modern historians writing about the Moriscos in Andalusia and North Africa; and their researches in the last three decades reveal much more about the personality and activities of Erpenius's 'merchant'. From these sources, Aḥmad emerges as a well-read, well-travelled, and versatile champion of the Morisco cause and as a translator and author with a number of interesting works to his name.

At the instigation of a leading scholar in the Azhar, Shaykh 'Alī al-Ujhūrī, Aḥmad wrote an autobiographical work entitled *Riḥlat al-shihāb ilā liqā' al-aḥbāb*. This work is now lost, but apparently it contained a detailed account of his travels in Europe, North Africa, and the East and a record of his theological disputes with Christians and Jews.<sup>129</sup> Fortunately, an abridged version he made of it called *Kitāb Naṣīr al-Dīn 'alā al-qawm al-kāfirīn* does survive; and the unique manuscript, discovered by Clelia Sarnelli Cerqua<sup>130</sup> in Cairo in 1964, was published in 1987 at Casablanca in an edition by Muḥammad Razūq.<sup>131</sup>

Three other works by Aḥmad demonstrate his skills as a translator from Spanish into Arabic and *vice-versa*. One is his Arabic version of an astronomical text by the Jewish scholar from Salamanca, Abraham ben Samuel Zacuto (born c. 1450), entitled *al-Risāla 'l-zākūtiyya* and consisting of ten leaves with 248 tables. Could this be the mnemonic words for telling the declination of the sun that Aḥmad heard about from Golius and requested him to supply in Arabic or Spanish?<sup>132</sup> It survives in a unique copy in the royal library at

129 The contents of the *Riḥla* are described in the preface to *Kitāb Nāṣīr al-Dīn* (see the following two notes); Clelia Sarnelli Cerqua, 'Lo scrittore ispano-marocchino al-Ḥajarī e il suo *Kitāb Nāṣīr ad-Dīn*' in *Atti del terzo congresso di studi arabi e islamici* (Naples, 1967), pp. 595–614, esp. 602, 606, mentions the survival of passages from the *Riḥla* in other works by Moroccan writers.

130 Sarnelli Cerqua, 'Lo scrittore', also contains her Italian version of the preface to the *Kitāb Nāṣīr al-Dīn*. See two other works on al-Ḥajarī by this author: 'La fuga in Marocco di as-sihab Aḥmad al-Ḥajarī al-Andalusī', *Studi Magrebini*, 1 (1966), pp. 215–219; and 'Al-Ḥajarī in Andalusia', *Studi Magrebini*, 3 (1970), pp. 161–203.

131 Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī al-Andalusī, *Nāṣīr al-Dīn 'alā 'l-qawm al-kāfirīn*, ed. Muḥammad Razūq (Casablanca, 1407/1987). See also the more recent edition with additions in Spanish and an English translation, Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, *Kitāb Nāṣīr al-Dīn 'alā 'l-qawm al-kāfirīn* (*The Supporter of Religion against the Infidel*), ed. P.S. van Koningsveld, Q. al-Samarrai and G.A. Wieggers (Madrid, 1997). My references are to the Casablanca edition and the translations from the Arabic are my own.

132 Houtsma, *Oostersche correspondentie*, pp. 24–25: 'You told me that you have mnemonic words for determining the declination of the sun. If it were possible for you to translate it into Arabic or Spanish and send me the translation, we would be very pleased.'

Rabat.<sup>133</sup> The other two translations have long been known about independently; but not until 1959 were they brought together in a single study by L. P. Harvey, who found that the biographical information contained in each work corresponds exactly.<sup>134</sup> One is a manual of gunnery, originally written in Spanish by a Morisco corsair while commanding the Tunisian fortress of La Goulette, and translated to Arabic by Aḥmad ibn Qāsim with the title *Kitāb al-ʿIzz wa-ʿl-raḥ̣a wa-ʿl-manāfiʿ li-ʿl-mujāhidīn fī sabīl Allāh bi-ʿl-madāfiʿ*. According to Aḥmad it was the first such manual in Arabic; and it now survives in at least six manuscript copies.<sup>135</sup> The other is a collection of Arabic tracts, including a sermon for Ramadan (possibly by al-Ujhūrī) and an account of the Sherifian sultans of Morocco, which Aḥmad translated from Arabic to Spanish for the benefit of his fellow Morisco refugees in Tunisia. It survives in a unique manuscript now preserved in Bologna and edited by J. Penella Roma.<sup>136</sup> Both these works contain biographical material, especially the former with its autobiographical appendix (edited by Harvey); and, together with the autobiographical *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, we are better equipped than in any other case (except Leo Africanus's) to learn about the Arabic-speaking assistant of Arabists in Renaissance Europe from the assistant's point-of-view.

His full name was Aḥmad ibn Qāsim ibn Aḥmad ibn al-faqīh Qāsim ibn al-Shaykh al-Ḥajārī al-Andalusī or, in his Spanish work, Ehmed ben Caçim Bejarano hijo de Ehmed hijo de alfaquí Caçim hijo del Saih el Hhachari Andaluz. Descendant of a family from Béjar in the province of Salamanca, Aḥmad himself was born in about 1569/70 at al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar (presentday Láchar), a village twenty-five kilometers to the west of Granada,<sup>137</sup> Aḥmad claimed that his

133 Rabat Royal Library, no. 1433. See Sarnelli Cerqua, 'Lo scrittore', p. 604. On Zacuto see 'Zacuto, Abraham Ben Samuel', *Encyclopaedia Judaica* vol. 16 (Jerusalem, 1971), cols. 903–6. An Arabic version in a c. AD 1500 *maghribī* hand (with late 17th century interpolations by a Turk) of his *Canones tabularum celestium motuum* and of his *Almenach perpetuum* exists in Milan, MS Ambrosiana 338 (Löfgren and Traini, *Ambrosiana*, p. 164). For details of the manuscript, see E. Griffini, 'Lista dei mss. arabi nel fondo della Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano', *Rivista degli studi orientali* 7 (1916), pp. 192–210: no. 338.

134 L.P. Harvey, 'The Morisco who was Muley Zaidan's Spanish Interpreter', *Miscelanea de estudios árabes y hebraicos* 8 (1959), pp. 67–97.

135 *GAL*, vol. 2, 465 and Suppl., 2, 714 lists three manuscripts (Vienna and two in Algiers); three other copies have been located by Harvey, 'The Morisco', p. 67, n. 1 (Istanbul, Cairo, Chester Beatty).

136 Bologna University Library MS D565. Edited by Juan Penella Roma in vol. 2 of 'Los Moriscos españoles emigrados al Norte de Africa después de la expulsión', PhD thesis, University of Barcelona, 1970. Id., 'Introduction au manuscrit D.565 de la Bibliothèque universitaire de Bologne' in *Étude sur les moriscos andalous en Tunisie* (Tunis, 1973), pp. 258–263.

137 Sarnelli Cerqua, 'Lo scrittore', pp. 598–9.

mother-tongue was Arabic.<sup>138</sup> We have no information of any formal education that he may have received as a child, other than that he learnt how to read *al-ʿAjamiyya*, i.e. Spanish or Aljamiado (Spanish in Arabic characters). Aḥmad refers to two old men, al-Ukayḥil al-Andalusī and al-Shaykh al-Ṣāliḥ al-Jabbis (i.e. Alonso del Castillo and Lorenzo Hernández el Chapiz), whose knowledge of Arabic was officially recognised. With the discovery of the relics and a parchment document in Arabic at Torre Turpiana in 1588 and then the famous Lead Books of Sacromonte in 1595, which I mentioned above in the Introduction, the authorities employed a number of learned Moriscos as interpreters. Normally, however, it was highly dangerous for a Morisco to be seen reading an Arabic book. Even so, Aḥmad had learnt to read Arabic; and in about 1597, despite his efforts to keep it secret, his skill came to the notice of the authorities and involved him too in the interpretation of the parchment and the Lead Books.<sup>139</sup>

As Aḥmad explains in the *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, this came about when Bishop Maldonado was learning to read Arabic with the help of the grandson of al-Jabbis, al-Ḥakīm Muḥammad ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣī.<sup>140</sup> Aḥmad was also present but was reluctant to reveal his knowledge of Arabic. They were reading Idrīsī's geographical compendium *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāʿ al-āfāq* (most probably in the Medicean abridgement of 1592); and as Aḥmad tentatively suggested certain meanings for the Arabic text, the bishop realised he knew Arabic and told him he too must help the archbishop of Granada, Don Pedro de Castro, with the interpretation of the Lead Books. Such prominence was disturbing for Aḥmad. On the bishop's recommendation, Aḥmad was summoned to meet Archbishop Pedro; and *en route* he wondered how best to explain the acquisition of his forbidden knowledge:

What escape is there when the Christians kill and burn all those they find with an Arabic book or who they know can read Arabic. As for what is said about the translators of Andalusia, they were old men and they are excused because they learnt to read Arabic in their youth when the age of Islam was close. As for al-Ḥakīm Abū al-ʿĀṣī, he used to read on account of his grandfather, the translator as we said. What shall I say when he asks me who taught me?

On the way, the bishop told me, 'Say to the great lord 'the two translators knew nothing'. But I told myself I would say the opposite of this,

138 Harvey, 'The Morisco', p. 70, questioned Aḥmad's claim to speaking Arabic as his mother tongue. But in the light of *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* this is not necessary.

139 Sarnelli Cerqua, 'Lo scrittore', p. 599, n. 27, for an explanation of the date for Aḥmad's collaboration. For identification of moriscos mentioned by Aḥmad, see García Arenal and Rodríguez, *The Orient in Spain*.

140 *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, p. 25.

because those who make claims are found out. When we reached him, he received us and said to me, 'Bishop Maldonado has told me that you can read Arabic well. ' So I said, 'I am not one of the eloquent'. He said, 'Where did you learn it?' I said, 'Know, oh lord, that I am an Andalusian from al-Ḥajar al-Aḥmar and our spoken language there is Arabic. I then learnt to read *Ajamīyya*. Then I went to Madrid, the king's city, and there I found an Andalusian [i.e. Arabic-speaking] doctor from Valencia whose name was such-and-such. He taught me to read Arabic and it came easily to me because of my Arab origin.' He then said, 'What about your teacher the doctor?' I said, 'he died – God have mercy on him – two or three years ago.'

Everything I told him when he questioned me about the doctor, that he was from Valencia, was a lie. For reading Arabic in Valencia was widespread among non-Muslims and forbidden to all the other people of Andalusia.<sup>141</sup>

Excusing his deceit through reference to al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, Aḥmad continues with his account of how he was shown the parchment and asked to dictate its meaning to Bishop Luis de Raya. For more contentious words, he was given a two volume copy of *Kitāb al-Jawharī* (i.e. the *Ṣaḥāḥ*) to consult; and to look up a place name, he was given special permission to read Idrīsī's *Nuzhat al-mushtāq*, no doubt in the Rome edition for, as Aḥmad explains, */wahuwa min al-kutub allatī ta'malu[-hā] al-naṣārā bi-'l-qālib/* ('it is one of the books the Christians produce with a mould').<sup>142</sup>

In 1599 Aḥmad ibn Qāsim left Spain and, taking a boat from Puerto de Santa Maria (just northeast of Cadiz), he reached the Portuguese settlement of al-Buraygha on the Moroccan coast, and escaped into Muslim territory. There, on 10 *dhu 'l-ḥijja* 1007 (4 July 1599),<sup>143</sup> he met Sultan Mawlay Aḥmad who was so impressed by his bilingual ability in Arabic and Spanish that he gave him a post as official interpreter.

Aḥmad settled in Marrakesh and, after the death of Mawlay Aḥmad, continued to work in the service of his son, Mawlay Zaydān. It was during that sultan's reign that Philip III issued an order on 22 September 1609 calling for the final expulsion of all Muslims from Spain. In the course of the exodus, some of the refugees had their belongings stolen by the French sailors who had promised to give them safe passage to North Africa. They appealed to Mawlay

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., pp. 25–26. See below, pp. 172–3, for the Arabic text.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>143</sup> Sarnelli Cerqua, 'Lo scrittore', p. 600.

Zaydān for assistance; and he ordered a delegation of five of those refugees to be dispatched to Henri IV to seek reparation for their losses. The five would be accompanied by an Andalusian emigré who had left Spain before them; and Aḥmad ibn Qāsim was chosen for this role 'after being in Muslim territory for twelve years', as he put it, i.e. in 1019 AH (1610/11 AD).<sup>144</sup>

The delegation embarked at Safi and rounding Spain and France, reached Le Havre thirty days later. Naturally, returning to the *bilād al-shirk* made a big impression on Aḥmad: he spent the first night before disembarking dreaming that he was reciting *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ*.<sup>145</sup> They made their way to Rouen, where Aḥmad recognised a merchant called /F\*r\*ṭ/, whom he had met in Marrakesh and whose knowledge of Arabic he described as excellent. Their conversation immediately developed into a religious discussion, thus setting the tone for other encounters with Christians during the mission. After three more days they reached Paris.

As we have already seen from Erpenius's letter to Casaubon, Aḥmad first met Etienne Hubert in Paris and then visited Erpenius in the country at Conflans in early September 1611. Erpenius did not record the details of his theological discussions with Aḥmad, and all we know from what he told Casaubon is that he felt ill-equipped to refute a Muslim's defence of the Quran.<sup>146</sup> Nor, as far as is known, did Hubert keep a record of his discussions with Aḥmad. But Aḥmad did. In the Spanish manuscript at Bologna, we learn of his discussions with a certain 'Arpenius', in which Aḥmad argued for the excellence of the Prophet's miracles as opposed to those of Christ, which he dismissed as 'juegos de manos' – sleight of hand.<sup>147</sup> And in the *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* he gives a detailed account of his encounter with Hubert. Their first meeting took place as follows:

In that city I met a learned man who could read Arabic and had some Christian students. He was called Hubert. He said to me, 'I will be of service to you in whatever you need me to be. I will represent you to people

144 Ibid., p. 613, n. 96. *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, p. 20.

145 *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, p. 45.

146 Casaubon, *Epistolae*, pp. 660–662. Reproduced by Fück, *Die Arabischen Studien*, p. 63, n. 158. From his meeting with Aḥmad, Erpenius learnt that citing the Quran alone was an insufficient way of refuting Islam, for the Muslim would reply with an explanation from the *tafsīr* or a saying of the prophet taken from the *Sunna*. Not that Erpenius fully understood what the *Sunna* was, for he counted the Maliki legal text, *al-Mudawwana*, as part of it.

147 Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, p. 216. Like the other historians of the Moriscos, Cardaillac did not identify 'Arpenius' with Thomas Erpenius and does not demonstrate any knowledge of European Arabists.

in authority, and so on. All I would like from you is to read you some Arabic books we have and for you to explain to me what is in them.' I told him to bring them to me; and of all books he brought the Mighty Book. I asked him where he had acquired the Quran and he told me, 'I was in the town of Marrakesh and there I learnt to read Arabic. My stay there was on the orders of the French king; and I was to inform him secretly of everything I learnt about the sultan of Marrakesh, his court and his movements.' On seeing the book of God Almighty in the hands of an impure unbeliever I felt jealous. Then he handed over Ibn Sīnā's *Qānūn* on medicine, Euclid's book on geometry, books on grammar such as the *Ājurrūmiyya* and the *Kāfiyya*, a book in Arabic containing discussions between a Muslim and a Christian and about religions, and other books. We began by talking about science and then we had a discussion about religions.<sup>148</sup>

Clearly, Hubert showed Aḥmad the Arabic printed books he had: the Medicean publications, including his copy of the *Canon* now in the Bibliothèque nationale de France which contains some annotations in Spanish by Aḥmad;<sup>149</sup> and that obscure publication from Rome, *Muṣāḥabat* [sic] *rūḥāniyya*.<sup>150</sup> He also showed him his manuscript copy of the Quran that he had brought back from Morocco (and is now kept in Danzig).<sup>151</sup> But most of Aḥmad's account of their meeting concerns their theological discussions. His meeting with Erpenius at Conflans is not recorded in the *Kitāb Naṣīr al-Dīn*.

According to Erpenius, Aḥmad intended to stay two or three months in Paris after meeting him. Then, sometime in the winter of 1611/12, he made an excursion to Bordeaux to see a certain *Qādī al-Andalus*, as Aḥmad called him.<sup>152</sup> This is probably a reference to Cardinal de Sourdis, leader of a mission to those Moriscos who had fled from Spain to France after the expulsion and no doubt an essential contact for settling grievances that had arisen as a result of the expulsion, including those of Aḥmad's party.<sup>153</sup> When Aḥmad reached Bordeaux, the cardinal was on the Spanish border at St Jean de Luz; and Aḥmad travelled on there to see him, dating his arrival generally to 1020 AH.<sup>154</sup> He

148 *Kitāb Naṣīr al-Dīn*, p. 50. (See below, pp. 172–173, for the Arabic text).

149 BnF, Rés.T29.5., p. 117: 'dize de los medicos...' On Hubert's copy of the Medicean *Canon*, see above p. 21, n. 29.

150 Schnurrer, no. 236.

151 See above p. 46, n. 127.

152 *Kitāb Naṣīr al-Dīn*, chapter 6, p. 55: /Fī qudūminā ilā qāḍī al-andalus bi-faranja bi-kitāb al-sulṭān/.

153 Cardaillac, *Morisques et Chrétiens*, p. 144.

154 *Kitāb Naṣīr al-Dīn*, p. 55.

returned to Paris with the cardinal; and on the Prophet's birthday, 1021 AH (13 May 1612), dined at his house.<sup>155</sup> Again Aḥmad gives a full description of the theological discussions that followed. Chapters 8 and 9 of the *Kitāb Naṣīr al-Dīn* give details of his discussions with Christians in Orléans and Bordeaux; and chapter 10 covers his discussions with Jews in France and Holland. For having concluded their business in Paris and gaining the compensation they sought, the party left via Le Havre for Holland in order to take ship for Morocco.

At Amsterdam on 16 June 1613, Aḥmad wrote what appears to be a farewell letter to Erpenius. In it, Aḥmad tells Erpenius that after returning from Bordeaux to Paris he had asked after him and learnt that he was away in Venice. Then in Amsterdam, Aḥmad had met merchants known to him from Morocco; and in The Hague two people told him that Erpenius was professor of Arabic (*mushtahid fi 'l-qirā'a 'l-'arabiyya*) at Leiden. Aḥmad was writing the letter as he waited to embark for Morocco; and from this source alone it would appear that Aḥmad and Erpenius did not meet again. But from the *Kitāb Nāṣīr al-Dīn* we learn otherwise. In Aḥmad's words:

When we entered the city of Leiden, we saw the university; and I found a man who was studying Arabic with others. And he received a stipend for that. I had met him in France and he took me home. He spoke to me in Arabic, inflecting the nouns correctly and conjugating the verbs. He had many Arabic books, including the mighty Quran. We began talking; and he confessed to the trinity of the godhead, because they agree in that with the pope and his followers. He praised his religion very much with complete praise for our lord Jesus. I told him, 'What you say contains good and laudable things and we are in agreement with you over it except for your saying he is a god or truly the son of God.' He also mentioned the Holy Spirit. I said to him, 'The Holy Spirit is the Paraclete mentioned in the Gospels.' And he agreed that he was. I said, 'You know different languages. What does Paraclete mean?' He told me this is not a Latin word but Greek, meaning *shafī'* (intercessor) in Arabic. I said to him, 'This is one of the names of our prophet – the blessing and peace of God be upon him – and this is a noun denoting an individual name.' And he agreed with me. I said, 'So why do you make him a god and you say three and one to mean one thing.'<sup>156</sup>

<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p. 63

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., p. 106. (See below, p. 173, for the Arabic text.)

Attention then shifts from Erpenius to ‘a wise man celebrated for [his knowledge of] medicine and the sciences’<sup>157</sup> who told him about the Latin version of the Quran (presumably the Cluniac version) and pointed out that there were no miracles in it as there were in the Gospels. Were there other books in which miracles were recorded? Aḥmad suggested a work by al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ,<sup>158</sup> and there followed a discussion on miracles. Some other scholars brought an Arabic book to Aḥmad and enquired about its contents. When he identified it as a Sufi text and offered to translate it, they were amazed. Not that they found the contents or his ability so surprising; but because the book had been brought from an island in the East Indies, a distance of a year’s journey by boat and a long way from Aḥmad’s country, and yet he was still able to understand it. Echoing a view of the ubiquity of Arabic expressed by many apologists for Arabic studies, from Postel to Erpenius, these scholars went on to contrast the universality of Arabic with the fragmented linguistic map of Europe. ‘Every language is different while Arabic is the same throughout the world’, they told Aḥmad.<sup>159</sup>

Back in Marrakesh, Aḥmad continued to work for Mawlay Zaydān. His contact with Holland was renewed, however, when Jacob Golius arrived at Safi as a member of a Dutch mission and got in touch with Aḥmad in order to obtain copies of the Arabic texts that interested him and his master, Thomas Erpenius. Aḥmad was well-placed at the court in Marrakesh to provide the required texts, some of which, as we have seen, were works by authors cited by that other famous Andalusian emigré to the Moroccan court and close advisor to European Arabists, Leo Africanus. Aḥmad also copied some manuscripts for Golius; and two manuscripts in Aḥmad’s hand and now in Leiden University Library testify to this activity: the *Ḥulal al-mawshiyya fī dhikr al-akhbār al-marrākushiyya*<sup>160</sup> and Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī’s *al-‘Umda fī maḥāsin al-shi‘r wa-ādābi-hi*.<sup>161</sup> It may be that these copies were made from what remained of Mawlay Zaydān’s library.<sup>162</sup> Vossius, the writer of a very important source of information on Erpenius – his funeral oration – said so; he

157 The editors of the 1997 edition of the *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, p. 196, suggest that this may have been the Leiden professor of anatomy Petrus Pauw.

158 A reference to al-Qāḍī ‘Iyāḍ (d. 1149), whose *Kitāb al-Shifā’ bi-ta’rīf ḥuqūq al-Muṣṭafā*, an apologetic text containing information on the prophet’s miracles, was much used by Moriscos. Cf. Juan Andrés’s use of the *Shifā’* for a chapter on the Prophet. See p. 73, n. 109 above.

159 *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn*, pp. 107–108.

160 UBL, Cod. Gol.24. (Cat 11, 185). Houtsma, *Oostersche correspondentie*, p. 29 n. 1. The author now identified as the 14th-century Granadan, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Sammāk.

161 UBL, Cod. Gol.22 (Cat 1 121). Houtsma, *Oostersche correspondentie*, p. 33, n. 3.

162 Vossius, *Oratio*, fol. 89.

also spoke of Mawlay Zaydān's respect for Erpenius, a respect which was no doubt founded on Aḥmad's reports of the Dutchman.

On the death of Mawlay Zaydān in 1627, Aḥmad continued to work for his sons Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik and then al-Walid. But on the latter's death in 1045/1635 and the consequent political confusion in Morocco, Aḥmad left for the pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>163</sup> The following year, he visited Egypt, completing composition of the *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* on 21 Rabī' II 1047 (12 September 1637).<sup>164</sup> On the way home, he stopped at Tunis; and the last we hear of him is on 20 Rajab 1051 (25 October 1641), the date he completed the copy of the *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn* which survives in Cairo.<sup>165</sup>

Apart from the information on Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī derived from the two sets of published sources, I should draw attention to a number of manuscripts in European libraries testifying to Aḥmad's close collaboration with the Arabists in Paris and, in one or two cases, providing further dates for Aḥmad's European tour.

Like Hubert's copy of the Medicean *Canon*, a number of manuscripts now preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris offer signs of Aḥmad's collaboration. They also reveal the peril and isolation he felt in being so far away from the safety of his adopted Islamic homeland. An Arabic-Turkish lexicon with Latin glosses that was worked on by Etienne Hubert contains references to the interpretation of several entries by Cidi/Sidi (Hamed) Ben Cas(s) in/Caçin as well as a list of the names of the Arabic letters transliterated to Latin script with the note: 'Prononciation d'Affrique par Ben Caçin'.<sup>166</sup>

A *qaṣīda* written by the grammarian Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Mālik, rhyming in *Lām-alif* and entitled *qaṣīda fī abniyat al-qf'āl* ('On the structure of the verbs') with a commentary by the author's son, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, was copied for Etienne Hubert by Aḥmad, who states as much in the colophon.<sup>167</sup> (See Plate 8.) Aḥmad also implores his God for a safe return to Marakesh. Some Spanish glosses written upsidedown in Hubert's hand suggest a scene in which the two men sat opposite one another as the bilingual informant explained the Arabic text to the doctor.<sup>168</sup> The mood of the colophon is

163 Sarnelli Cerqua, 'Lo scrittore', p. 601.

164 loc. cit.

165 loc. cit.

166 BnF, MS Or. Ar. 4348, (Slane, p. 695), fol. 1<sup>r</sup>. Aḥmad's name is entered on fols. 140<sup>r</sup>, 146<sup>r</sup>, 151<sup>r</sup>, 182<sup>r</sup>.

167 BnF, MS Or. Ar. 4119, (Slane, p. 663), fol. 25b. (See Plate 8).

168 Ibid., fols. 1b, 7a, 25b, 26a. Spanish glosses in two other hands may have been written by Aḥmad and/or Etienne Hubert's brother, 'l'Auditeur' Hubert. A misprint in Slane (p. 664) gives a misleading date for this manuscript of 1712 AD. It should read 1612.

وَإِلَيْهِ وَالصَّحَابَةَ الْكِرَامَ وَمَنْ اتَّبَعَهُمْ فِي سَبِيلِ الْمَقْرُونِ تَلَا  
 وَأَسْقَلَ اللَّهُ مِنْ أَثْوَابِ رَحْمَتِهِ سِنَّزًا حَبِيبًا عَلَّانًا لَمْ يَشْتَمَلَا  
 وَأَنْ يَنْتَسِرَ لِي سَعْيًا كَوْنُ بِهِ مُسْتَبَشِّرًا أَمَّا لَا تَبَايَسُوا وَجَلَا  
 كَمَلَّةِ الْمَيْبِلَةِ مُحَمَّدِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى وَحَسَنِ عَوْنِهِ  
 عَلَى عَبْدِ الْغَرِيبِ الْغَرِيبِ الْمُضَكَّرِ الْمُعْتَرِفِ بِذَنْبِهِ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ قَاسِمٍ  
 بِنِ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ الرَّفِيعِ قَاسِمُ بْنُ الشَّيْخِ الْأَنْدَلُسِيِّ وَخَالِدُ بْنُ  
 مَدِينَةَ بَيْرُوتَ بِعِرَانِصَه كَتَبَهُ لِلنَّصْرَانِيِّ أَتَمَّ طَبِيبُ  
 سُلْطَانِهِ وَتَرْجَمَانُ مِلَّةِ الْعَرَبِيَّةِ الرَّيْغَةَ الْأَبْرَانِصِيَّةِ  
 وَاللَّحْيِينَ وَالرُّومِ وَكَانَ الْعِرَاقُ مِنْهُ فِي يَوْمِ الْارْبَعَاءِ مِنْ  
 شَهْرِ صَفَرِ عَامِ أَحَدٍ وَعِشْرِينَ وَالْإِسَانَةَ حَتَّى مَاتَ خَيْرَهَا  
 وَأَعَادَ نَا إِلَى بِلَادِنَا وَفَعَّ مَرَّ كَثَبًا حَرَسَهَا اللَّهُ وَأَجْمَعْنَا  
 مَعَ أَحِبَابِنَا سَالِمِينَ غَائِمِينَ غَيْرِنَاءَ مَبِينٍ عَلَى  
 سَبْعَانَا هَذَا وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ وَآلِهِ  
 وَسَلَّمَ تَسْلِيمًا  
 كَثِيرًا أَمِينًا  
 يَا رَبَّ الْعَالَمِينَ

further enhanced by a short poem composed by Aḥmad in which he laments his estrangement from his family.<sup>169</sup> This same manuscript also contains evidence for Aḥmad's familiarity with the Morisco texts that were planted in Granada together with the Lead Books: two pages contain an apocryphal story of the childhood of Christ, copied out by Aḥmad, in which Christ explains the significance of some letters of the Arabic alphabet in its *maghribī abjad* form.<sup>170</sup>

A copy of al-Jazūlī's *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* written in a *maghribī* hand closes with a note by Aḥmad who records his inspection of the book at Paris and confirms its western Islamic provenance. Again Aḥmad takes the opportunity to put down a prayer for his safe return.<sup>171</sup> A single volume containing European texts on Arabic grammar – both printed and manuscript – may have been worked on by Etienne Hubert's brother, 'l'Auditeur'. It bears a note to the effect that an Arabic alphabet had been copied out by Aḥmad.<sup>172</sup>

In an introduction to his manuscript Arabic-Latin dictionary, Jean-Baptiste Duval – a pupil of Hubert and eventually interpreter to the French court – discussed the reasons for studying Arabic and referred to some Arabic texts he possessed. He also added that Sidi Hamed filius Cassini Marrochensis had seen those books at his home on 22 April 1612. Demonstrating his interest in the East a quarter of a century before he would visit Egypt, Aḥmad told Duval how much he would like to live in Asia where many excellent books could be found.<sup>173</sup>

A single entry by Erpenius in a manuscript of Arabic Proverbs now housed in the Staats und Universitätsbibliothek, Hamburg, is slender evidence for the close collaboration he and Aḥmad claim to have enjoyed.<sup>174</sup> Yet it is not the only evidence. In a note prefacing a grammatical text – a commentary on Ibn Mālik's *Alfyya* now among the Erpenius manuscript collection in Cambridge University Library – Erpenius states that this manuscript does not contain the entire text but that he had inspected it with Aḥmad ibn Qāsim 'the Spanish Muslim, my friend, who is now in Amsterdam'. The note is dated September,

169 Ibid., fol. 26a.

170 Ibid., fols. 27b-29a.

171 BnF, MS, Or. Ar. 1181, (Slane, p. 229), fol. 99b.

172 BnF, MS, Or. Ar. 4213, (Slane, p. 679), fol. 27b.

173 BnF, MS, Or. Ar. 4338 (Slane, p. 694), pp. 997–998: 'Eos vero libros, penes nos ut vidit Sidi Hamed filius Cassini Marrochensis, decim Kal. Maias Anni 1612 testatus est illo instanti desiderium quo summpere ardebat videndae Asiae ubi tot optimi libri reperirentur, multo sibi verisse.'

174 Staats und Universitäts Bibliothek Hamburg, Cod. Or. 154 (Carl Brockelmann, *Katalog der Orientalischen Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek zu Hamburg* (Hamburg, 1908, photo-reprint Hamburg, 1969), p. 49), p. 5: 'R Achmad Arabs Marocensis narravit mihi /bawāqī/ scriptoris celebris nomen esse.'

1613.<sup>175</sup> Furthermore, a copy of a letter written in Arabic by Erpenius, dated September 1611, and now kept in Leiden must have been written to Aḥmad. Houtsma saw it but did not publish it, even though it is revealing in a number of ways:

May the peace and blessing of God be on my beloved and noble lord, and may his Creator in this lower world and the hereafter bring him continual joy, and may he and his people receive their heart's desire in the way of good things. Amen.

As Aristotle, the chief philosopher and Alexander's tutor, said, 'Every human-being longs for knowledge; and this longing is an innate quality since he is born with no knowledge of anything at all. In the beginning his mind is comparable to an unmarked slate, but when it has been filled with wisdom and knowledge it is like a handsomely wrought tablet.

He who does not strive to acquire useful knowledge for the improvement of his mind implies that he is bestowed with a natural disposition in which there is no desire for knowledge as mentioned above. And he stays for ever like a cake in which the best part has gone bad or like a walnut without a kernel. But those whom, as you taught me in person, your Glorious Quran calls 'possessed of sense' are not like this; and so that I should not be like this, I am your slave.

I have, from time to time, studied in order to acquire something in the way of glorious knowledge. And a knowledge of languages has been a great help in acquiring what I really value – especially those languages which are most necessary for that: Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic. With a great deal of effort I have taught myself something about them, though very little in the case of Arabic because of its great difficulty and the lack of books and teachers in this country. From every Arab who came here I have picked up some sayings and words in their language in order to increase my knowledge and to content my soul.

You too, o my lord, you have been kind to me and taught me more than I deserve. For this I thank you with all my soul and promise to remember you with my mouth and heart all my life. But my desire is like that illness called [? ]: nothing I receive satisfies me. Indeed, it only increases my longing. For this reason I am resorting to your kindness and seeking your help now.

175 CUL, MS Ar. Mm. 6.23: 'Textus autem integer hic non inseritur sed enim vidi apud /Aḥmad ibn Qāsim/ Muselmanum Hispanum amicum meum qui nunc est Amstelrodami. Leidae anno 1613 mense Septembri.'

Explain for me, by God Almighty, in Spanish the meanings of these words which I have read in the *Sūrat al-Baqara* of the Glorious Quran: [blank]. Furthermore, I want you to know that the word *biḍ'*, which held us up recently, occurs twice in the fair Quran, as I told you that day. Namely, in the middle of *Sūrat al-Yūsuf*, in the words of the Almighty: 'He remained in prison for some years' [12:42]; and at the beginning of *Sūrat al-Rūm*, in His words: 'After their vanquishing, they shall be the conquerors in a few years' [30:3, 4]. And in my view, this *biḍ'* means that same as *baḍ'* with the transfer of the letters, in the same way that *madh* (praise) and *ḥamd* agree [in meaning]. If you ask me how many years Joseph spent in prison I will give you the reply that this word does not indicate this and that I do not know whether this can be known anywhere other than in this passage.

I also said, before this, to Your Excellency that I read in the Quran that, apart from pork, carrion, and blood, Muslims are forbidden to eat other foods. And I was not mistaken in this for, at the beginning of the *Sūrat al-Mā'ida*, it is said that apart from the things already mentioned, you are forbidden to eat everything 'devoured by beasts of prey' [5:3]. I take this to mean any livestock eaten by lions when found, such as gazelles and other wild animals which we are allowed to eat. Also forbidden are 'strangled, beaten, fallen to death, and gored animals' (they agree with Christ's command).

This is the end of what I have to say. So even Muslims, Christians and Jews are forbidden bad food. Written at Paris in the month of September in the year 1611 of our Lord Jesus Christ, son of Mary, Glory to Him from your friend and servant Thomas van Erpen.<sup>176</sup>

Compared with the other more renowned letter he wrote in Arabic to William Bedwell two years earlier on 14 September 1609, Erpenius's powers of composing Arabic in this letter show a definite and not unsurprising improvement. What is particularly interesting, however, is that Erpenius exhibits a respectful almost reverential attitude towards Aḥmad, his faith, and the Quran, and an inclination to reconcile doctrinal differences between Christianity and Islam, even to the extent of avoiding the issue of the Trinity by dating the letter 'in the year 1611 of our Lord Christ son of Mary'. Moreover, it provides more evidence

<sup>176</sup> UBL, MS Or. 1228, no. 39. Houtsma, *Oostersche correspondentie*, pp. 24, 115, mentions this letter but was in doubt as to the addressee. Hamilton, *William Bedwell*, pp. 32, 135 n. 7, believed (on my hasty suggestion) that the letter was to Bedwell. A moment's reflection on its contents and the date, however, leaves no doubt that it was written to Aḥmad ibn Qāsim. (See below, pp. 173–4, for the Arabic text.)

of why Aḥmad, by his own admission as well as Erpenius's, so respected Erpenius's precise knowledge of and interest in Arabic.

## 10 Ḥusayn of Buda

Among Turkish assistants to European orientalists and Arabists, Ḥusayn of Buda, the Turkish protégé of François Savary de Brèves, is a distinctive figure. Unlike Paul Willich, Darwīsh Ibrāhīm, Paolo Orsini, and François de Boulogne, he was neither a captive nor a convert, but a free-man (at least when de Brèves knew him).<sup>177</sup> Moreover, his abilities as a scribe and linguist were recognised by de Brèves and Jacques-Auguste de Thou as outstanding<sup>178</sup> – a judgement which no other orientalists vouchsafed their Turkish assistants.

The details on Ḥusayn's life are slender and documents showing evidence for his assistance to Savary de Brèves very few. In 1602, aged seventeen, he may have been taken from Gran by Trinitarians.<sup>179</sup> Then in 1608 he accompanied Savary de Brèves from Paris, where he had met and impressed de Thou, to Rome.<sup>180</sup> It seems that de Brèves's patronage was very important for Ḥusayn: when de Brèves fell ill in Rome, Ḥusayn feared lest his own safety would be endangered if he were left alone without his influential patron's protection; so he demanded to return home. But, even if he were about to die, de Brèves wanted to keep Ḥusayn. So he applied to the French sovereign to secure a stipend for Ḥusayn; and by February 1613 we hear that, unlike Tegnagel in his attempts to gain the Austrian emperor's support for Darwīsh Ibrāhīm, de Brèves was successful.<sup>181</sup>

On 12 April 1612, de Brèves wrote to Jacques-Auguste de Thou about Ḥusayn:

It is true what you say in your letter to me about the Turk called Ossin who is with me and whom you know: it is incredible that a man of his age knows what he knows. Apart from speaking Arabic, Turkish, and Persian, you know that he speaks Latin and also knows French, Italian, a Slavonic language, Hungarian, and German. Furthermore, he writes in Turkish, Arabic, Persian, and Latin, and very well in German; and reads all the other languages.<sup>182</sup>

<sup>177</sup> Aboussouan, ed., *Le Livre et le Liban*, p. 163.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

<sup>179</sup> *Vers l'Orient* (Paris, 1983), p. 40, no. 82: '...Huseyn de Bude... un jeune lettré ottoman qui avait probablement été ramené en 1602 de Gran par les Trinitaires à l'âge de dix-sept ans.' No source is given for this conjecture.

<sup>180</sup> Aboussouan, ed., *Le Livre et le Liban*, p. 163.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163.

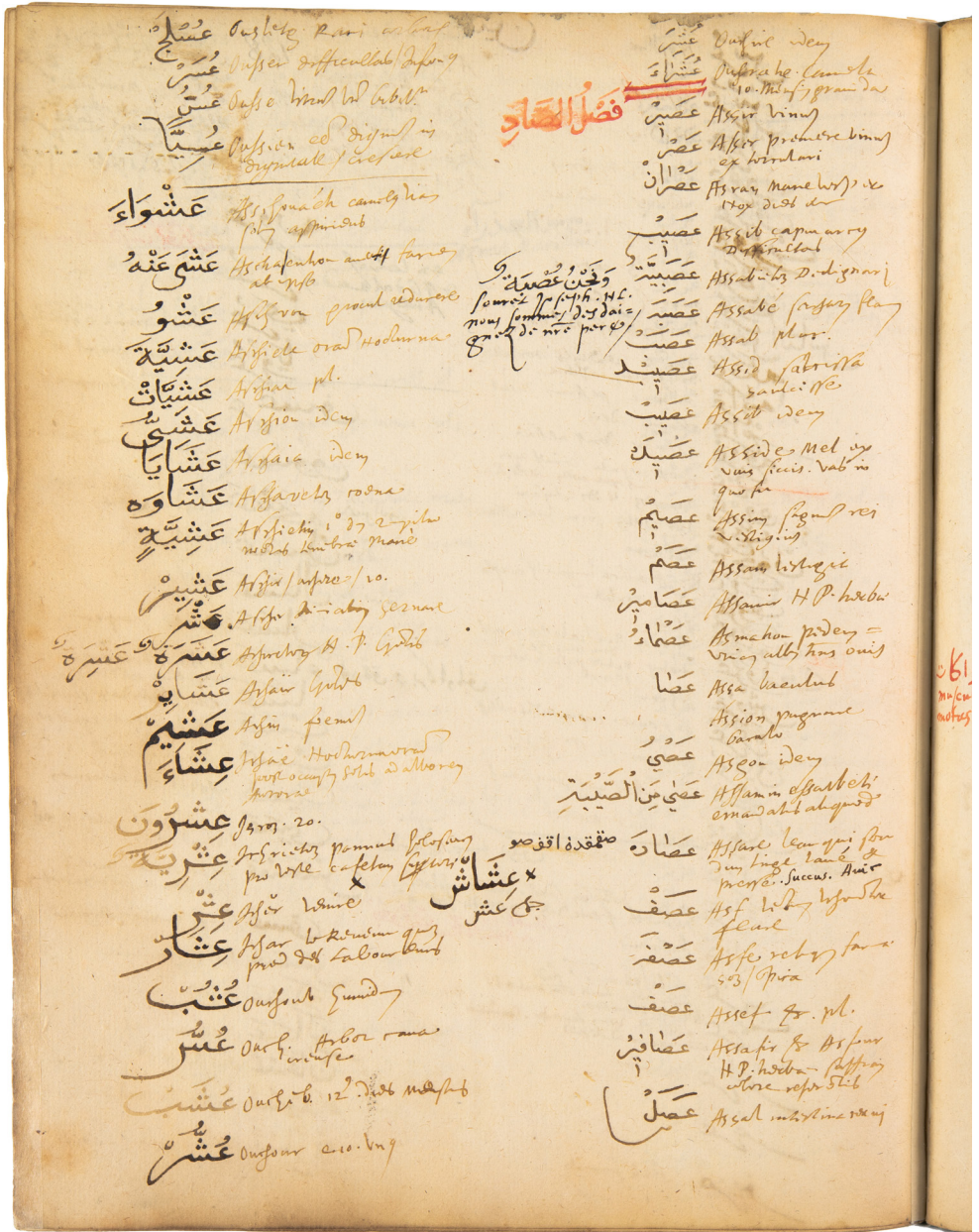


PLATE 9 Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, MS Arabe 4348, fol. 128r. Arabic vocabulary copied by Ḥusayn of Buda (right) and Etienne Hubert (left). Transcriptions and Latin glosses by l'Auditeur Hubert or Ḥusayn of Buda.

Three manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris testify to Ḥusayn's mastery as a copyist. Moreover, these documents reveal that, while in Paris with Ḥusayn, de Brèves did not have exclusive rights to his knowledge and assistance. The Hubert brothers also collaborated with him.

A Persian-Turkish glossary which was copied by Ḥusayn contains French equivalents by de Brèves.<sup>183</sup> Another manuscript containing a similar Persian-Turkish glossary and some stories from Sa'dī's *Gulistān*, some of which were copied by de Brèves, was, in the main, assembled by L'Auditeur Hubert. 'Houssin' is mentioned at one point, though his precise role in the copying or interpretation of this manuscript is unclear.<sup>184</sup> The Arabic-Turkish lexicon, already mentioned in connection with Aḥmad ibn Qāsim, seems originally to have been the result of a calligraphy class once held by Ḥusayn for the benefit of Etienne Hubert. Both hands alternate and the doctor's gradually approximates more effectively to Ḥusayn's meticulous hand as the manuscript progresses.<sup>185</sup> (See Plate 9.) Moreover, there are signs that, like Aḥmad ibn Qāsim, Ḥusayn of Buda saw Hubert's copy of the Medicean edition of the *Canon*.<sup>186</sup> In Rome too, it appears that Ḥusayn did not only work for de Brèves. A fragment now in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana at Florence provides evidence for collaboration between Ḥusayn and Giovanni Battista Raimondi of the Medici Press at Rome.<sup>187</sup>

183 BnF, MS Or. Pers. 208.

184 BnF, MS Or. Turc. 218, fol. 21b: a reference to 'Houssin' (and also to an Armenian named Iohannes Jacopio Taurisien). Fols. 74a-79: Stories from the *Gulistān*. (See *Vers l'Orient*, p. 40, no. 82, where fols. 74a-79 are attributed to de Brèves's hand.)

185 BnF, MS Or. Ar. 4348, (Slane, p. 695).

186 BnF, Rés. T29.5., on the blank leaf before *al-kitāb al-thānī*: two lines of Arabic poetry written in a very fine hand (probably Ḥusayn's).

187 BML, MS Or. 459, fols. 326a and 327b, containing some Turkish vocabulary and an Arabic couplet as well as the name Ḥusayn Budūnī.

# The Rules

## 1 Preamble

Leading Arabists of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries considered it a priority to provide their fellow Europeans with the necessary tools for learning Arabic. In little more than a hundred years between the publication of the first European grammar book and glossary at Granada in 1505 and the death of Thomas Erpenius in 1624, twenty Arabic grammar books and three Arabic lexicons appeared in print. A number of other grammatical compendia published in this period contain sections on Arabic and one polyglot lexicon includes Arabic among its entries.<sup>1</sup>

Frequently those pioneers' attempts to introduce the rudiments of Arabic to others followed hard upon the heels of their own efforts at learning the language: learning Arabic and compiling a grammar book could be a simultaneous process. The initial grammatical studies made by Thomas Erpenius between 1610 and 1613, for instance, were undertaken not for himself alone, but for the benefit of his intellectual mentor and friend, Isaac Casaubon, and also in anticipation of the needs of his future students.

Naturally the difficulties of printing Arabic and securing sufficient patronage meant that much of this grammatical and lexical material never appeared in print. Sketches for grammar books, lists of vocabulary, and interlinear translations in Arabic manuscripts therefore provide additional sources that must be taken into account in any assessment of those scholars's merits as students and teachers of Arabic. Indeed, since grammar writing presented the first Arabists with such a persistant challenge, both their published and unpublished work in this field provides an essential window on their relative abilities to overcome a common problem.

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1 Schnurrer, as we saw, is still the standard bibliography for early Arabic printed books, including printed grammars of Arabic during the period under review. For a list of grammars alone, during the period 1505–1833, see H.E. Wiejer's '*Grammatica Arabica*', a review of T. Roorda's *Grammatica Arabica* (Leiden, 1835) in *De Gids* 1 (1837), pp. 265–282, 382–391, 429–439. This list is based on Schnurrer (1811); Hammer-Purgstall, 'Orientalische Literatur', [*Wiener*] *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 76 (1836), pp. 134–258, esp. pp. 169–171; id., *Geschichte*, vol. 7, p. 583ff (on works published in Turkey since 1728); and Joseph-Toussaint Reinaud 'Notices des ouvrages arabes, persans et turcs imprimés en Egypte', *Journal Asiatique* 8 (1831), pp. 333–344.

During the European Renaissance, interest in and knowledge of a growing number of languages – including Arabic – increased as intellectual and physical horizons expanded. While an active knowledge of Latin remained crucial for participation in the European world of learning, an understanding of Greek and Hebrew gained increasing prestige among leading humanists and received institutional recognition with the establishment of the trilingual colleges of Corpus Christi, Louvain, Alcalá de Henares (Complutense), and the Collège Royal (now the Collège de France) in the second and third decades of the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> At the same time European vernacular languages gained ground among writers and scholars as a respectable medium for intellectual pursuits – the so-called ‘Rebabelisation’. In the Middle East, India, and the Far East, as well as in the New World, European voyagers were coming into contact with previously little-known non-European languages; and post-Tridentine Catholic and particularly Jesuit missionary readiness to communicate in the languages of the members of other Christian sects or of unbelievers added further impetus to the promotion of these exotic languages within Europe.<sup>3</sup>

Such unprecedented contact with so many different languages led to a plethora of grammatical writings. These are characterised by being descriptive rather than theoretical and reductive rather than truly comparative.<sup>4</sup> Theories of the monogenesis of language persisted, though new ideas of language kinship herald the downfall of Hebrew as the original language.<sup>5</sup>

2 On the Renaissance ideal of the *homo trilinguis* see, for example, G.A. Padley, *Grammatical Theory in Western Europe 1500–1700. The Latin Tradition* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 15; L. Kukenheim, *Contributions à l'histoire de la grammaire grecque, latine et hébraïque à l'époque de la Renaissance* (Leiden, 1951) (but criticised as factually incorrect by Percival in *Modern Trends and Scaglione, Ars Grammatica* (see below); R.R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge, 1973); P.S. Allen, ‘The Trilingual Colleges of the early Sixteenth Century’ in P.S. Allen, ed., *Erasmus, Lectures, and Wayfaring Sketches* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 138–163; J.C.H. Lebram, ‘Hebräische Studien zwischen Ideal und Wirklichkeit an der Universität Leiden in den Jahren 1575–1619’, *Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis*, N.S., 56 (1975), pp. 317–357.

3 See Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 2, Book 2, pp. 490–543 (Chapter XI: ‘Language and Linguistics’), and the secondary literature cited there.

4 J.H. Rowe, ‘Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century grammars’, in Dell Hymes, ed., *Studies in the History of Linguistics. Traditions and Paradigms* (Bloomington, Ind., 1974), pp. 361–379.

5 Giuliano Bonfante, ‘Ideas on the kinship of the European languages from 1200 to 1800’, *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*, 1 (1953–54), pp. 679–699. G.J. Metcalf, ‘The Indo-European hypothesis in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries’ in Hymes, ed., *Studies*, pp. 233–257. D. Droixhe, ‘Le comparatisme linguistique européen d’Ange Canini (1554–1555): Un transfert de rationalité’ in M. Tavoni, ed., *Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento*, vol. 2 (Ferrara, 1996), pp. 319–332; id., *Souvenirs de Babel: La reconstruction de l'histoire des langues de la Renaissance aux Lumières* (Brussels 2007); S. Kessler-Mesguich, *Les études hébraïques en France: De François Tissard à Richard Simon (1508–1680)* (Geneva, 2013); R. Contini, ‘I primordi della

In order to rescue Latin from the barbarous treatment it had received at the hands of medieval writers and to restore its classical eloquence (whether Ciceronian or not), the speculative philosophising and didactic verses of medieval grammarians were rejected in favour of a return to late Roman sources, most notably Donatus and Priscian.<sup>6</sup> Inevitably, the central role of Latin in scholarship and the rediscovery of its classical grammatical texts meant that the vernacular languages, which had no sustained grammatical tradition of their own, were predominantly described according to Latinate terminology and categories.<sup>7</sup>

Like Latin, however, Greek and Hebrew had their own classical grammatical traditions; and these were of fundamental importance as sources for European grammarians of these languages.<sup>8</sup> The same applied to the three major Islamic languages of the Middle East. In the absence of any sustained European grammatical traditions for these languages, the rules of Persian and Turkish morphology could be found in the grammatical and lexical writings of contemporary Ottoman scholars, while Arabic could be studied in the more established writings of the *naḥwiyyūn*.

Naturally, understanding a foreign grammatical tradition presents difficulties of interpretation; nonetheless, the possibility of exploiting the findings of other scholars from another culture presented an easier and more reliable means of learning and teaching exotic languages than forging an independent analysis *ex nihilo*. It is no exaggeration to say that the pioneering Arabists of the European Renaissance owed their greatest debt for their knowledge of the Arabic language to the Arabic grammatical tradition. In one startling case two

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linguistica semitica comparata nell'Europa rinascimentale: *Le Institutiones* di Angelo Canini (1554), *Annali di Ca' Foscari. Serie Orientale* 25 (1994), pp. 39–55.

6 Padley, *Grammatical Theory*; W. Keith Percival, 'The grammatical tradition and the rise of the vernacular' in *Current Trends in Linguistics*, 13 (1975), pp. 231–275; on the Latin tradition see especially pp. 238–245 (1.2).

7 Percival, *The Grammatical Tradition*, pp. 247–250 (1.4). L. Kukenheim, *Contributions à l'histoire de la grammaire italienne, espagnole, et française à l'époque de la Renaissance* (Amsterdam, 1932). See also, for example, Sanford B. Meech, 'Early Application of Latin Grammar to English', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 50 (1935), pp. 1012–32; Aldo D. Scaglione, 'Ars Grammatica – A bibliographical survey, two essays on the grammar of the Latin and Italian subjunctive, and a note on the ablative absolute' in *Janua Linguarum* (The Hague-Paris, 1970).

8 Percival, *The Grammatical Tradition*, pp. 245–247 (1.3; A. Pertusi, 'Erotemata. Per la storia e le fonti delle prime grammatiche greche a stampa', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 5 (1962), pp. 321–351; Nahum M. Waldman, 'The Hebrew tradition' in *Current Trends in Linguistics*, 13 (1975), pp. 1285–1330; O. Kluge, 'Die hebräische Sprachwissenschaft in Deutschland im Zeitalter des Humanismus', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* 3 (1931), pp. 81–97, 180–193; Kukenheim, *Contributions à l'histoire de la grammaire grecque*.

Arabic grammatical texts were published at Rome in 1592 in their pristine state, untranslated and uncommented on. But, as we shall see, these were exceptional publications and generally the Arabic grammatical texts were given some degree of interpretation for home consumption.

As with Greek and Hebrew grammatical texts, the interpretation or adaptation of the Arabic grammatical texts could be effected in two ways. First, the integrity of the original system could be preserved by presenting the text in its original form with the addition of a parallel translation and explanatory notes; or, second, their contents could be incorporated into a western-style grammar book arranged in accordance with Latinate categories.

In the first adaptation, the Arabic terminology was transmitted – as any foreign terminology is transmitted to another culture – in a variety of ways: it was replaced by an equivalent European term, translated literally, or preserved in a transliterated form.

Thus, for those Arabic linguistic features most susceptible to comparison with Latin linguistic features, the Arabic term describing that feature could be rendered by a Latin term describing a similar feature. *Ism* and *fi'l* can be said to correspond with *Nomen* and *Verbum*. Of course the definitions for these terms differed widely between the two grammatical traditions as well as within each one; but, for the major categories of the parts of speech and certain subdivisions within those categories, replacement of an Arabic term by a Latin was a legitimate didactic ploy. Sometimes that term would be accompanied by a definition in the Arabic text which the Arabists would translate to Latin. But, although there is handwritten evidence for their interest in theoretical divergencies within the Arabic grammatical tradition, the Arabists almost never committed their observations on those divergencies to print.

As for those linguistic features that are peculiar to Arabic, they were sometimes described by Arabic terms the literal sense of which, when translated literally to Latin, give the European learner a good sense of the original feature. For example, *verbum pertusum* (as used by Postel) or *verbum concavum* (as used by Erpenius) for *al-fi'l al-ajwaf* is a succinct way of describing the medial weak verb, passing into English as 'Hollow Verb'.

Other peculiarly Arabic features are described by Arabic terms which are best adapted intact. *Kasra*, for example, has no equivalent term in Latin grammar, nor does knowing the literal sense of its root ('breaking') assist the learner. Preserved in a transliterated form, however, it provided a new European term for a novel linguistic phenomenon.

The success or failure of a grammar book presented in this way would depend, therefore, not only on the precise rendering of the Arabic term by equivalence, translation, or transliteration, but also on the correct choice of the

most efficient means of transmission for a particular Arabic term. For example, transmitting the Arabic term for the imperfective, *muḍāriʿ*, by means of transliteration may ultimately be less confusing than imposing a spurious equivalence with the Latin terms *praesens* or *futurum*.

In the second method of interpretation or adaptation, Arabic texts on *naḥw* and *ṣarf* were dismantled by European grammarians and reassembled in more familiar guise as Latin text books. Not that this necessarily implies the total abandonment of the original Arabic categorisation and wholesale imposition of Latinate categories. Arabic grammatical categories were preserved and their terminology was still transmitted in the ways we have just described. But inevitably this method offered the writer a greater opportunity for overlaying a Latin categorisation. As we shall see, the emphasis on the Arabic or Latin grammatical component would vary according to the author and also according to the part of speech being treated.

In view of the greater prestige attached to Hebrew in the sixteenth century and the more advanced level of scholarship reached by Hebraists in this period, it might easily be assumed that a knowledge of Hebrew, and especially of the many published grammatical texts of Hebrew, played a critical part in the development of European Arabic studies and the European Arabic grammatical tradition. All Arabists had trained first as Hebraists; but, while lexical comparisons were commonplace and Hebrew lexicons were important in the compilation of some Arabic-Latin lexicons, including the first ones published by Valentin Schindler in 1612<sup>9</sup> and by Franciscus Raphelengius in 1613,<sup>10</sup> the same was not the case for Hebrew grammars and the compilation of grammars of Arabic.

In his day Postel believed that the speed with which he had learnt Arabic and which caused his teacher in Turkey to say he was possessed by a devil, was due to his prior knowledge of Hebrew. Not that this meant he incorporated a major Hebrew component in either of his Arabic grammar books; nor did Thomas Erpenius in his grammars of Arabic. In any case Erpenius was more sceptical about the value of a prior knowledge of Hebrew for students of Arabic. In his second oration to the students of Leiden University on the value of Arabic, he referred to local geography to make his point:

Those who learn Hebrew in order to facilitate their learning of Arabic seem to me to have undertaken their study as if they were setting out from here to the Hague via Delft. 'But', you will say, 'according to you, the

9 Valentin Schindler, *Lexicon pentaglotton* (Hanau, 1612).

10 Franciscus Raphelengius, *Lexicon arabicum* (Leiden, 1613). Schnurrer, no. 48.

Hebrew language is close to Arabic.' Indeed that is the case and Delft is closer to The Hague than Leiden. But the journey from here to Delft is longer than from here to The Hague... I have certainly had quite a few students unversed in Hebrew letters whom I taught along with those who had a good knowledge of it. But believe me, the Hebraists did not keep ahead of the others for long and, although they tended to commit the verb paradigms to memory a little more quickly, that is only a few hours' work for those who do not know Hebrew. The words that are common in both languages are also detected a little more easily by the Hebraists than by the others, but that is a small thing...<sup>11</sup>

There were occasions when Arabists drew attention to similarities between the analytical practices of the Hebrew and Arabic grammatical traditions, just as they did for similarities between the Greek and Arabic grammatical traditions. Thus the tripartite division of the Arabs was compared with that of the Hebrew and Greek grammarians. Occasionally too, they made their own comparisons between similar linguistic features. But, as I have already stressed, given the necessary application and collaboration, European Arabists had access to a grammatical tradition that scribes and scholars in the Islamic World were still keeping alive.

The real basis of the Arabists' grammar books were Arabic grammatical texts, adapted with an overlay of Latin terminology and categorisation. Comparisons with the more familiar languages of Hebrew or Greek and the inclusion of terminology culled from their grammatical traditions played a superficial part in rendering Arabic less forbidding. Ultimately, however, it was the Arabic grammatical tradition that was of the greatest importance; and any European Arabist who neglected it did so at his peril and to the detriment of his students.

Not that this reliance on the Arab grammarians was without its problems. One of the disadvantages was that European grammarians were easily blinded to the grammatical features that characterise dialectal forms of Arabic and Middle Arabic. As we shall see, Pedro de Alcalá injected superfluous Classical features into his grammar of Granadan Arabic; and grammarians of Classical Arabic accompanied their analyses with excerpts from Middle Arabic, often Christian, texts. This lack of appreciation for diachronic aspects of literary

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<sup>11</sup> Erpenius, *Oratio II*, pp. 92–93; Jones, *Value*, p. 24.

Arabic contrasts sharply with humanist interest in the historical development of Latin.<sup>12</sup>

Furthermore, the humanists' debate on the relationship of Latin (or even Greek) to the vernaculars was never equalled in profundity by Arabists discussing the peculiarities of colloquial Arabic dialects – especially *maghribī* and Andalusian Arabic – and their relationship to Classical Arabic. Throughout the sixteenth century, *Punica* and *Arabica*, though singled out as separate languages, were never properly distinguished (except in matters of script). Only with Thomas Erpenius, in his preface to his edition of the Arabic Pentateuch, published at Leiden in 1622, are specific features of *maghribī* Judaeo-Arabic clearly delineated.

Reliance on the Classical Arabic grammatical tradition and a refusal to distinguish between the linguistic peculiarities of Arabic texts emanating from different cultural and linguistic sources has dominated the European Arabic grammatical tradition not only in the period under review but also right down to the present day. William Wright's *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, still consulted as a standard primer for written Arabic, has recently been criticised for this very failure.

Less apparent is the fact that this conservatism in nineteenth-century grammar books owes a great deal to the dominance of Thomas Erpenius's original analysis of Arabic. It is usually said that his *Grammatica arabica* held sway throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but that it was superseded by Sacy's *Grammaire arabe* which was published at Paris in 1810. But there are precise ways in which the Dutchman's work reemerges in the texts of Sacy and of William Wright; and the first stage of the grammatical tradition described here has a direct relevance for the grammatical analysis of Arabic with which modern Arabists are quite familiar.

## 2 Pedro de Alcalá

In Spain at the outset of the sixteenth century, the need to preach to the recently conquered Muslims of Granada in their own language prompted the publication of an extensive Arabic-Spanish glossary and an analytical grammar of Arabic for the instruction of priests. The works were commissioned by the new archbishop of Granada, Fernando de Talavera, and written by his confessor, Pedro de Alcalá, a friar in the order of Saint Jerome but of whom little

<sup>12</sup> On humanist appreciation for the historical development of Latin, see Aldo D. Scaglione, 'Ars Grammatica'.

else is known. The grammar, entitled *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua araviga*, first appeared on 5 February 1505; and the lexicon, known as *Vocabulista aravigo en letra castellana*, also appeared in 1505, possibly on that same date. A second improved and expanded edition of the *Arte* came out in the following year.<sup>13</sup>

Pedro de Alcalá clearly states that these books were not intended for those wishing to read texts in Classical Arabic, but for Spanish priests needing to preach in the local Arabic dialect of Granada:

My aim in this matter was to keep to the popular language, as I said, and in neither small nor large part to adhere to the refined language of the 'alfaquies' (or those who speak in a fine way and pay attention to Arabic grammatical endings), for if I were to abide by them, I would not achieve my intention of teaching the common [clergy] (or giving knowledge to those who are to teach).<sup>14</sup>

Thus, certain characteristic features of Spanish Arabic are clearly preserved in the *Arte*. Here are some examples: a sophisticated phonetic transliteration throughout the work (and the *Vocabulista*) is based on the sound system of Spanish Arabic; the verb paradigm gives {nv---} and {nv---u} morphemes for the first person singular and plural of the imperfective;<sup>15</sup> two moods only, the imperative and the non-imperative (indicative), are given;<sup>16</sup> and the identification of nominal case by means of syntactic markers (particles and prepositions) teaches the analytical rather than the synthetic nature of Spanish Arabic.<sup>17</sup>

13 Schnurrer, pp. 16–18, no. 37. F.J. Norton, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Printing in Spain and Portugal 1501–1520* (Cambridge, 1978), p. 124, no. 348, p. 126 no. 352. In this study I have used Paul de Lagarde's edition of Alcalá's work (Göttingen, 1883; photoreprint Osnabrück, 1971) which gives the second edition of the *Arte* with a critical apparatus to indicate variations from the first edition. The *Arte* in its first edition and the *Vocabulista* have also been reprinted in a facsimile edition (The Hispanic Society of New York, 1928).

14 Alcalá, *Vocabulista*, p. 74: 'porque en esta tove por fin de me conformar a la comun lengua como dixey y no en poco nin en mucho conformarme a la limada lengua de alfaquies (o de aquellos que hablan sutil y perfectamente por los terminos de la gramatica araviga), porque si a estos yo me conformara no consiguiera a mi intento que es de enseñar a los populares (o dar dotrina a los que han de enseñar)'. The translation I have given is by William Cowan, 'Arabic grammatical terminology in Pedro de Alcalá', *Historiographia Linguistica* 8 (1981), p. 358.

15 Alcalá, *Arte*, p. 5.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 15.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 5, 9–10.

In practice, however, like all future European grammarians of Classical Arabic, Pedro de Alcalá turned to both the Latin and the Islamic grammatical traditions in formulating grammatical rules of the *Arte*; and inevitably this reliance influenced the effectiveness of his analysis of Spanish Arabic.

In the dedicatory preface of the *Arte*, Pedro assumes some familiarity with Latin grammatical concepts on the part of his reader and goes on to explain his belief in the universal applicability of Latin terminology: 'This name 'Pedro' is a proper noun in Latin, just as it is in Arabic', he claims.<sup>18</sup> Not that the Latin grammatical framework necessarily distorts Spanish Arabic as 'violently' as Johann Fück and others, who have treated the *Arte* as a grammar of Classical Arabic, have suggested. As we shall see, the application of Latin grammatical rules and terms by way of orientation is actually less distorting to Spanish Arabic than the overlay of Arabic terminology or the underpinning of Classical Arabic grammatical rules which Pedro also brought to the *Arte*. For, in spite of his claim 'in neither small nor large part to adhere to the refined language of the 'alfaqies'', elsewhere Pedro admitted that he did collaborate with various 'learned faqihs'.<sup>19</sup>

The *Arte* is dominated structurally by the Latin model of eight parts of speech, with a subdivision of the noun and verb into six and seven *accidentes* respectively.<sup>20</sup> Within this framework, which derives from the grammars of Latin and Spanish of Pedro's fellow countryman, Antonio Nebrija, the analysis and terminology of Latin grammar play an important part. The noun is

18 Ibid., pp. 2–3: 'Pues queriendo, reuerendissimo señor, proseguir esta materia, non cure poner aqui muchos principios y dotrinas dela lengua latina, assi como dezir, que cosa es nombre, y que verba, y que es nombre sustantiuo, y que adgetiuo, que proprio y que apelatiuo, etc – porque presupongo que esta breue dotrina mayormente es acomodada a aquellos que tienen algun conocimiento dela lengua latina, avn que sea (como ya dixen) no muy crecido, y estas dotrinas o diuisiones, ya enella las tienen complidamente escritas por los autores dela lengua latina -, mas solamente demostrar lo mas sucintamente que yo pudiere, la manera dela lengua compuesta delos terminos della: y esto porque las mesmas difiniciones y declaraciones que ay en una lingua quanto ala comunicacion delos terminos en su manera, essas mesmas son en todas las otras, mirando ala comunicacion delos terminos de cada vna. Ca por la mesma razon que este nombre Pedro es nombre proprio en la lengua latina, por essa mesma lo es en la arauiga. Pero porque algunos no piensen, que assi como la lengua arauiga es defetuosa de tiempos y modos en la materia del verbo, assi lo sea en defeto de todas las partes dela oracion, porne de cada una dellas algo: porque es verdad, que las ay todas complidamente en especie, a un que no asi en numero, como en la lengua latina.'

19 Alcalá, *Vocabulista*, p. 70.

20 Alcalá, *Arte*, pp. 4–5: 'Las partes dela oracion en la lengua arauiga son ocho, como en la lengua latina: conviene saber, nombre, pronombre, verbo, participio, preposicion, adverbio, interjection, coniunction. Empero las partes mas principales ansi como en la lengua latina, son nombre y verbo...'

declined according to the six Latin cases; the article is only treated as a syntactic marker, the dual as a plural; the *idāfa* construction is termed a compound noun; the perfective and imperfective are termed perfect and present; the verb paradigm only comprises two tenses (present and perfect), two forms (I and II), and two moods (indicative and imperative), begins with the first person singular and does not give any gender distinction to 2nd and 3rd persons; a third tense, the future, is included in a paradigm for the verbs 'to be' and 'to have'; prepositions are divided between those that govern the accusative and those that govern the ablative.<sup>21</sup>

Whereas this approach is completely at variance with the methods and analysis of Muslim grammarians and would give a distorted view of Classical Arabic, it is not necessarily an inappropriate way of treating Spanish Arabic – 'the popular language' that Pedro wished to describe.<sup>22</sup>

Imposing six nominal cases on the three inflectional endings of Classical Arabic triptote nouns would cause obvious confusion. But the analytical nature of Spanish Arabic means that the identification of six nominal cases by means of syntactic markers is a perfectly reasonable didactic ploy. Also, because Spanish Arabic only has two moods (the imperfective does not inflect for subjunctive and jussive as in Classical Arabic), Pedro's description is quite adequate.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, the lack of gender distinction within the 2nd and 3rd persons singular is only distorting for the 3rd since the distinction is not made within 2nd person singular Spanish Arabic verbs)<sup>24</sup>. Treating the words /*kullu yawm[in]* / as a compound noun would obscure the details of the *idāfa* construction in Classical Arabic; but since this construction had become a lexicalised feature in Spanish Arabic (and, as Pedro shows, the genitive construction was more normally expressed in an analytical way through the use of prepositions) 'compound noun' is an adequate term for the *idāfa* in Spanish Arabic.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the limitations of Pedro's descriptions with regard to number and tense are only apparent: closer inspection of his text reveals that the dual is set in opposition to the plural through the concept of a plural for two items;<sup>26</sup> and the imperfective verb, which is also called the present, is seen also to comprise

21 These are all areas of distortion as listed by Fück, *Die Arabischen Studien*, pp. 32–33.

22 Ibid., pp. 32–33, 'Der enge Anschluß an die lateinische Grammatik nötigt naturgemäß zu manchen Gewaltsamkeiten'. Fück did not recognise that this criticism should be levelled at Pedro's analysis of Spanish Arabic and that any distortions caused to the grammar of Classical Arabic are irrelevant to a proper assessment of the *Arte*.

23 F. Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch of the Spanish Arabic Dialect Bundle* (Madrid, 1977), 6.1.0. All the references given in my text to Spanish Arabic features derive from Corriente.

24 Ibid., 6.1.1.

25 Ibid., 7.1.4, 5, 6.

26 Alcalá, *Arte*, p. 8: 'plural para dos y plural para de dos arriba.'

the future when qualified by an appropriate nominal in the adverbial accusative.<sup>27</sup>

Less satisfactory is the treatment of the definite article as a syntactic marker and the total neglect of the semantic opposition between definite and indefinite (though, in Pedro's favour, it should be said that his system of transliteration maintains the constant shape of the article /al-/ and therefore displays the characteristically Spanish Arabic disregard for assimilation to a previous vowel.)<sup>28</sup> The one criticism that can seriously be upheld is that concerning the arrangement of the verb paradigm according to the Latin model. Neglecting the arrangement of the Muslim grammarians (i.e. 3rd person singular first) hinders an appreciation for the triliteral root in the Arabic verb and its derivatives. Finally, what appears to be the most inappropriate use of the Latin model – the derivation of perfective verb morphology from the imperfective – is not as distorting to Spanish Arabic as might be supposed.<sup>29</sup> Muslim grammarians provide precise rules for the reverse derivation – perfective to imperfective. But Spanish Arabic imperfective verb morphology does not derive regularly in that way, so Pedro's analysis is quite acceptable.

Ironically, it is Pedro's recourse to the Islamic grammatical tradition that poses the greater threat to the accurate analysis of Spanish Arabic. Not that his inclusion of Arabic terminology is so distorting; it provides an embellishment to the Latin framework which serves as little more than an indication of the exotic nature of the language or of the author's scholarly abilities. Thus, eighteen Arabic terms appear in the first edition of the *Arte*. Half of these relate to orthography: the obscure mnemonic terms for the vowel signs (*minibé, minibī, minibú, minében, mininbīn, minúnbun, minéb*) and for which no obvious Arabic source has been found; */shukla/*; and */alif sākin/*. Six provide equivalents of varying precision for the Latin case terms: for example, */mubtada'/* (the inchoative in a nominal sentence) stands for any nominative. Two describe the enclitic pronouns: */ḍamīr/*, also referred to as *conoscimiento* (confusingly, the term *conoscimiento* is also used in the analysis of nominal declension to mean 'case-marker'); and */tamyīz/*, which Pedro describes as being similar to */ḍamīr/* (even though */tamyīz/* has a completely different technical sense in Arabic and seems to have been borrowed in this context for its non-technical sense of 'specification'). One other Arabic term – a precise equivalent for 'imperative' – only appears as an afterthought at the end of a chapter. The terms for the three non-finite forms of the verb only occur in the second edition of the *Arte*,

27 Ibid., p. 16.

28 Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch*, 5.3.1.

29 Alcalá, *Arte*, pp. 18–19.

indicating, at least, the continuation of. Pedro's own study of Arabic in the period between the editions.<sup>30</sup>

The more serious distortion of Spanish Arabic grammar arises less overtly, however. Throughout the *Arte*, excessive reliance on the Islamic grammatical tradition resulted in the formulation of rules for features which are typical of Classical Arabic but not of Spanish Arabic. Indeed, some of these rules are at variance with usage as reflected in both Pedro's works.

Thus, the rule for the dual ending in /ayn/ does not reflect the Granadan usage of /ay/.<sup>31</sup> Inclusion of the participle as a circumstantial complement (/ḥāl/) is not justified by its marginal occurrence in Spanish Arabic (this feature only occurs twice in Pedro's works).<sup>32</sup> The rule giving four forms for the relative pronoun (masc./fem. x sing./plur.) is at variance with actual usage (again this is apparent from Pedro's own texts where /alladhī/ is used as a universal relative regardless of number and gender).<sup>33</sup> The three non-finite forms of the verb (active and passive participles and verbal noun), included by Pedro in the second edition, are an infrequent feature in Spanish Arabic.<sup>34</sup> And the rule on the effect of velar phonemes on vocalic contour (i.e. what Muslim grammarians describe as the inhibition of /imāla/ in /faṭḥa/ and of /u/ being lowered to [o] in that same context) is not consistently reflected in practice.<sup>35</sup>

Pedro does not alert the reader to the source for these rules, though on the one occasion he adduces a supposedly classical rule by way of contrast to his own rule for colloquial usage he promptly dismisses it as irrelevant to the purpose of his book. Pedro states that all nouns ending in i, u, o, or a consonant are masculine and that any others are feminine. Then he adds the following:

It is true that there are some Arabic nouns which, by this rule and according to the common parlance of the people, are masculine but which the alfaquis say can be feminine; and they say that you can either say /ṭala'at

30 Cowan, 'Arabic grammatical terminology', does not seem to have known about the second edition of the *Arte* and only referred to the first edition as published in a photographic reprint by the Hispanic Society (New York, 1928). See, more recently, F. Corriente, 'Missionary's Middle Arabic: the case of late Andalusī' in J. Lentin and J. Grand'Henry, eds., *Moyen arabe et variétés mixtes de l'arabe à travers l'histoire. Actes du Premier Colloque International (Louvain-la-Neuve, 10–14 mai 2004)* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2008), pp. 87–98 and Otto Zwartjes, 'More on "Arabic linguistic terminology in Pedro de Alcalá."' *Historiographia Linguistica* 41 (2014), pp. 247–297.

31 Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch*, 2.9.3.

32 *Ibid.*, 5.4.1.

33 *Ibid.*, 5.12.4.

34 *Ibid.*, 6.1.0.

35 *Ibid.*, 6.1.0.

al-shams/, i.e. ‘the sun rose’, which is feminine, or /ṭala‘a al-shams/, which is masculine. But I am not concerned with these or other niceties since my principle aim is speaking and teaching the language of the common folk, not the niceties of Arabic grammar.<sup>36</sup>

On one other occasion, in his description of the formation of the passive voice in the imperfective, Pedro actually quotes from what seems to be an Arabic grammatical text:

Fiel mubni o muháguel limén me yucemé fáilun, yudám ávil hárfu gua yuqçar ákiru.<sup>37</sup>

i.e. ‘A passive verb, in which the agent is not named, has its first letter with /ḍamma/ and its other with /kasra/.’

This happens to be an appropriate description of the vocalisation for the passive voice in the imperfective Spanish Arabic verb. But, as in the case of the isolated use of Arabic terminology, it may only have served to confuse the preacher. Nor would its meaning necessarily have been any clearer to the isolated student of Classical Arabic outside Spain. Not only is the phrase ungrammatical, but also the form of words is not typical of the Arab grammarians’ descriptions of the imperfective passive.

Because Pedro intended to teach ‘the language of the common folk not the niceties of Arabic grammar’ and given the absence of Arabic type at this date, his use of transliteration throughout both the *Arte* and the *Vocabulista*. was both justifiable and necessary. Certain Arabic phonemes which cannot easily be represented in romanisation are distinguished through Pedro’s innovatory inclusion of diacritical marks in the transliteration. Thus *c* stands for /th/; *h* for /kh/; and a sign resembling initial /‘ayn/ over a vowel for /‘/. Although Pedro explains his innovation with reference to the Arabic letters in wood-cut Arabic script, the transliteration was only intended as a phonetic representation of

36 Alcalá, *Arte*, p. 7: ‘Verdad es que ay algunos nombres aravigos que son masculinos por esta regla y segun la comun habla dela gente, los quales dizen los alfaquis que pueden ser femeninos: y dizen que pueden dezir subio el sol taláat a xemz – que es aqui femenino – o taláa a xemz – que acqui es masculino. Pero destos y de otros primores yo no curo, porque mi intencion principal es hablar y enseñar la lengua dela gente comun, y no los primores dela gramatica araviga’.

37 Ibid., p. 17.

Spanish Arabic.<sup>38</sup> This is all the more evident in that other Arabic phonemes which are phonetically and graphically distinct in Classical Arabic, are not distinguished in Pedro's transliteration: *d* stands for /dh/ and sometimes for /z/; *t* for /t/ and /t̄/; *h* for /h/ and /h̄/; *d* for /d/, /ḏ/, and /z/; and /hamza/ is left untransliterated. Other Classical Arabic phonemes that are undistinguishable in Pedro's transliteration are /k/ and /q/; /s/ and /ṣ/ and /z/; and /sh/ and /z/.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, Pedro's adherence to Spanish pronunciation in his transliteration reinforces this lack of distinction: depending on its following vowel, one roman letter may represent two completely different Arabic phonemes.

Finally, in spite of his declared intention, Pedro made the curious decision to devote the opening and closing chapters of his book to the Arabic script. A wood-cut block print of the Arabic alphabet in Chapter One, and a number of individual letters throughout the text give readers some idea of the script in its *maghribī* form (at least for /fā' and /qāf/). In the alphabet table most letters are given in both their independent and initial forms. /'ayn/, /ghayn/, /fā', qāf/ and /hā' are also given in their medial forms. /yā' and /mīm/ are given with two additional final forms each, and /lām-alif/ in three different forms. But there is very little information on how these letters should combine. Letters that do not join subsequent letters are mentioned in the final chapter, which is really concerned with 'The rules for distinguishing the beginnings and ends of words'. These include the final quiescent /alif/ in the 3rd person plural of the imperfective verb and in the nominal indefinite accusative, nominal inflection (given in the opening chapter without regard to grammatical usage), and the consonantal ending of the verb except in the plural (clearly an aberration in so far as written standard Arabic is concerned).<sup>40</sup> This information on Arabic orthography seems all the more superfluous when, as we have just shown, Pedro's system of transliteration is not narrow enough to provide a tight correspondence between the letters of the Arabic and Roman alphabets.

Pedro de Alcalá's works contain important information for modern diachronic studies of western Arabic dialects; and even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, several scholars in other parts of Europe who were interested in reading Classical Arabic texts, were not deterred by his ostensibly parochial concerns. Joseph Justus Scaliger and Franciscus Raphelengius

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>39</sup> Fück, *Die Arabischen Studien*, p. 30, considers Pedro's transliteration an advance on previous attempts but is critical of the lack of precise distinction between consonants (which have phonemic opposition in Standard Arabic). But in view of Pedro's declared aim, his transliteration should be regarded as a successful reflection of phonemic merging in Spanish Arabic.

<sup>40</sup> Alcalá, *Arte*, pp. 30–31.

included vocabulary from the *Vocabulista* in their own lexicons of Arabic; and, as we shall see, Teseo Ambrogio, Jakob Christmann, Peter Kirsten, and Raphaelengius all paid attention to the *Arte* in their own grammatical studies.

### 3 Leo Africanus to Nicolaus Clenardus

During his stay in Rome or Bologna, Leo Africanus produced an Arabic grammar book which is now lost.<sup>41</sup> Since Leo was a Granadan by birth it might be assumed that the type of Arabic described in that book would betray some of the colloquial features to be found in the Granadan publications of 1505. But Leo's interests and education were classical. One of his surviving works is on Classical Arabic prosody; another is his Arabic-Hebrew-Latin glossary (of which the Arabic part is preserved in the Escorial), written for a Jewish doctor no doubt wishing to read Arabic medical texts.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, in view of the author's keen interest in Classical Arabic writings (as revealed in his *Description of Africa* and his *De viris illustribus*) and the *milieu* of Rome and Bologna, where antagonism towards Islam did not require the same absolute rejection of Islamic learning as in Andalusia, it seems likely that Leo's work would have been one of the first works providing Europeans with an analysis of the rudiments of Classical Arabic grammar.

Guillaume Postel owned Leo's grammar and later he gave it to Andreas Masius.<sup>43</sup> But where had Postel acquired it? Perhaps it was among the Arabic manuscripts that Postel obtained from Egidio da Viterbo:<sup>44</sup> Egidio could easily have commissioned Leo to write it. At any rate Egidio was very eager to learn Arabic; and when the Genoan bishop of Corsica, Agostino Giustiniani, sent him an Arabic grammar book from Corsica, Agostino claimed that it would be more welcome to Egidio than the gift of one of the ferocious dogs or speedy stallions with which Corsica abounded.<sup>45</sup> Later, Egidio passed this manuscript on to Johann Albrecht von Widmanstetter and, like other Arabic manuscripts belonging to Widmanstetter, it came into the library of Maximilian Duke of

41 Not mentioned in 'Leo Africanus', *ELP*, vol. 5, pp. 723–724. Épaulard, *Description*, p. ix.

42 See above, p. 49, n. 3.

43 Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 321.

44 On manuscripts acquired by Postel from Egidio da Viterbo, see Hamilton, 'Nam tirones sumus', pp. 561–562.

45 Joseph Perles, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hebräischen und Aramäischen Studien* (Munich, 1884), p. 179, quoting from the dedication of the manuscript grammar, which is dated Saint Florent (Corsica) 9 November 1524: 'Mihi certe (si te novi) persuasum est, ista tibi longe gratiora esse quam si te donarem aut ferocissimo cane aut velocissimo equo, quibus nostra haec insula quandoque abundare solet.'

Bavaria, and is now in the State Library at Munich.<sup>46</sup> It may even have been Agostino's grammar to which Widmanstetter referred in the preface to his Syriac Alphabet, *Prima elementa syriacae* (Vienna, 1555/56) when he declared his desire to publish an Arabic version of the Bible and also an Arabic primer (*Arabicæ quoque linguae instrumenta*).<sup>47</sup>

Equally, Widmanstetter may have meant a commentary on the *Ājurrūmiyya* which was given to him by the Spanish humanist Jacobus Lopes Stunica at Bologna in 1530 during the coronation of Charles V by Pope Clement VII – an event Widmanstetter recorded twenty-five years later in the preface to his *editio princeps* of the Syriac New Testament (Vienna, 1555).<sup>48</sup> There the commentary is said to have been by a certain 'Mahomed Alinsarius'; and such a work entitled *Unwān al-ifāda li-ikhwān al-istifāda* by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Isma'īl al-Anṣārī, and copied in an Andalusian hand with Latin annotations in the margin, is among Widmanstetter's manuscripts in Munich.<sup>49</sup>

Here begins an abiding European interest in the contents of this the most popular and concise of all Arabic grammatical tracts – *al-Muqaddima al-ājurrūmiyya*. It was written in the late 7th AH/13th AD century by a student from Fes, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd al-Ṣanhājī, also known as Ibn Ājurrūm (Son of the Pauper) from which the title of his tract derives.<sup>50</sup> As part of his education, Sanhājī had journeyed to Cairo where he studied under a grammarian from Granada. But it was during the *ḥajj* at Mecca, with his face turned towards the Ka'ba, that he composed his enduring primer as a revision and distillation of al-Zajjājī's *Kitāb al-Jumal*.

The twenty-six chapters of the *Ājurrūmiyya* exemplify what has so often been said of the Arab grammatical tradition: i.e. that it is preoccupied by the external form of the language – inflection and government – rather than by

46 BSB, Munich, Cod. Arab. 920.

47 Max Müller, *Johan Albrecht v. Widmanstetter*, p. 78, referring to J. Widmanstetter, *Syriacæ Linguae... Prima Elementa...* (Vienna, 1556), sig. A3<sup>v</sup>: 'operam mox dabo, ut Arabicæ quoque linguae instrumenta librosque sacros Div. Carolo Max. Ro. Imperatori et Johanni Lusitanarum inclyto regi ad innumerabileis Asiae Africaeque populos in Catholicae Ecclesiae ditionem redigendos subministrem.' For Widmanstetter see also Wilkinson, *Orientalism*, pp. 137–192.

48 Müller, *Widmanstetter*, p. 17, referring to the dedication in Widmanstetter's edition of the Syriac New Testament (Vienna, 1555), fol. 6: 'Jacobus Lopes Stunica ex equestri ordine doctissimus theologus... mihi se apud Inachum Mendozam Burgensem antistitem in Mahomedis Alinsarii commentariis, quos in Jaromum grammaticum Arabem olim scripsit, explicandis doctorem praebuit.'

49 Aumer, *Die Arabischen Handschriften*, pp. 327–8, no. 733. *GAL*, Suppl., 2, p. 332: Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Mālaqī (d.754/1353) refers to this copy as Munich 753 [sic].

50 G. Troupeau, 'Ibn Ādjurrūm', *EF*, vol. 3, p. 697.

grammatical function. Thus, for example, the noun is said to be recognisable from the genitive inflection, the indefinite ending, or the definite article; and the verb is recognisable from the particles indicating past or future and from the quiescent /t/ of the third person feminine singular in the past; inflection is determined by governing words, *'awāmil*; eighteen different *jawāzim* apocope the verb; and so forth. In the interests of this classification by form, the rote-learner is hurried through a maze of grammatical functions: inflections of the noun in the singular, dual and various plurals are mingled with the inflections of the verb, whether perfective, imperfective, or imperative.

In the same year that Stunica brought Widmanstetter al-Anṣārī's commentary on the *Ājurrūmiyya*, another northern European, Nicolaus Clenardus, received instruction on the *Ājurrūmiyya* in Spain. At Louvain Clenardus had managed to compile a mute list of Arabic vocabulary from the unvocalised Arabic text in Agostino Giustiniani's famous polyglot psalter, published in Genoa in 1516. But in October 1531 he left Louvain. In order to learn the language properly, he travelled to Salamanca where he believed Arabic was being taught in accordance with the dictates of the Council of Vienne. True there was a professor of Hebrew and Arabic at Salamanca, Hernán Núñez. But Núñez's first advice to Clenardus was to stick to Greek and Latin and not to bother with such 'a barbarous language' as Arabic.<sup>51</sup>

Despite this unpromising introduction, Núñez showed Clenardus some Arabic manuscripts he had in his library (and which do not seem to have elicited the depredations of the Inquisition as might have been the case in Andalusia); and seeing Clenardus's excitement over a copy of the *Ājurrūmiyya*, he consented to recollect his former studies and to interpret it for Clenardus at an appointed hour every day. In a letter written appropriately enough from Fes (Ṣanhājī's home town two centuries before), Clenardus described how for four or five days he patiently put up with Núñez's awful instruction on the *Ājurrūmiyya*, the *Gurremia* as he called it, and by not causing offence to the teacher, the *Gurremianus*, managed to acquire his copy of the Gospels in Arabic and another grammatical work by a certain 'Albucasim'. Núñez was quite rightly enthusiastic about the *Ājurrūmiyya*, according to Clenardus: not only had he come across it when there were no Arabs around, but it was also a standard primer in Granada and Africa.

It is possible that by 'Albucasim', Clenardus was referring to Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Zamakhsharī, the famous author of the 6th AH/12th AD century, and

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51 Bataillon, 'L'arabe à Salamanque'.

therefore by extension to his *Kitāb al-Mufaṣṣal fi 'l-naḥw*.<sup>52</sup> This is a work which would have provided him with far more information than the *Ājurrūmiyya*. Nonetheless, Albucaṣim's analysis of Arabic according to predominantly formal criteria seemed inadequate to Clenardus. Armed with this text, he was able to disentangle the rules of Arabic grammar in an Arabic version of the Gospels. But this experience he likened to the Latinist, knowing the Greek alphabet, trying to learn Greek grammar from a copy of Demosthenes's speeches and Book Four only of Theodore Gaza's Greek grammar (i.e the section on syntax). For, as Clenardus went on to observe:

Albucaṣim does not teach the declensions of the nouns or the conjugations of the verbs. On the contrary, everything in it is about syntax.<sup>53</sup>

What better testimony to the problem facing European scholars wishing to teach themselves and others the rudiments of Arabic from the works of the Arab grammarians – and which, a generation later, Peter Kirsten was to repeat.<sup>54</sup> In fact, Clenardus wrote a grammar of Arabic and compiled a dictionary; and from letters written by Fabrizio Caputi in Madrid to Giovanni Battista Raimondi in Rome in 1592, it appears that both works were still in existence in Madrid at that date.<sup>55</sup> Clenardus's outstanding ability as a didactic grammarian is evinced by the frequency with which his grammars of Greek and Hebrew were republished throughout the sixteenth century and beyond; and no doubt his grammar of Arabic displayed similar ingenuity and success.

52 Fleisch, *Esquisse*, pp. 15–16. But see Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, 'The teaching and learning of Arabic in Salamanca', pp. 185–186, who argues that the work in question was either an abridged version of the *Mufaṣṣal* or the *Kitāb al-Jumal* by al-Zajjāji whose *kunya* is also Abu 'l-Qāsim. See also below, p. 204, n. 8.

53 An episode referred to by Bataillon, 'L'arabe à Salamanque', p. 11. Nicolaus Clenardus, *Epistolarum Liber II* (Antwerp, 1566), p. 238: 'Albucaṣim neque Nominum declinationes neque verborum tradit conjugationes sed omnis res est in eo de Syntaxi.'

54 See Kirsten, *Liber tertius grammatices arabicae* (Breslau, 1610), Dedicatory Preface: 'Scio enim ipsos Arabes in scholis suis nihil aliud Grammatici post solam lectionem et scriptionem tradere quam syntaxin quod haec lingua ipsis sit materna seu vernacula, unde de Etymologia non sunt solliciti. Syntaxeos vero rationem tradunt, referente Clenardo vel carmine vel prosa.'

55 Juynboll, *Beoefenaars*, pp. 18–19, refers to Clenardus having written a grammar and dictionary of Arabic. ASF, *Stamperia Orientale*, Filza 5, fols. 158, 169, 202, 208, 214–215: letters from Fabrizio Caputi in Madrid to G.B. Raimondi in Rome, dated January to April 1592. In these letters Caputi reported that he had been offered a published grammar and wordlist of Arabic (i.e Alcalá's) and that he hoped to acquire a grammar and dictionary written by Nicolas Clenardus.

#### 4 Guillaume Postel and Teseo Ambrogio

The first European publication to contain an analysis of standard Arabic grammar was Guillaume Postel's guide to twelve non-Roman scripts, *Linguarum XII characterum differentium alphabetum, introductio ac legendi modus longe facilissimus*, published at Paris in 1538 on return from the visit to North Africa and Istanbul in the entourage of Jean de la Forêt.<sup>56</sup>

According to the title, Postel intended to provide Europeans with an introduction to the scripts of twelve different languages, including Arabic, and 'by far the easiest' method for reading (but not understanding) them. Thus each language is considered in a separate chapter with a woodcut print of the alphabet, phonetic analysis of individual letters with reference to the sounds of other more familiar languages, and reading exercises. These are the first steps for the learner. There are no lists of vocabulary and, with the exception of Arabic, no grammatical analyses that would enable him to understand what he was reading. Only because the script and structure of Arabic require some basic principles of grammar to be learnt in order that an unvocalised text may be read, does Postel give Arabic a more extensive treatment in a chapter entitled *De lingua punica arabicave*.

Postel's *Introductio*, which was rapidly superseded by his own more extensive and more influential *Grammatica arabica*, was nonetheless important for establishing the shape of things to come. Certainly, the *Grammatica arabica* was the first publication to adapt Arab grammatical tracts to a western-style grammar book and set an example for others to follow. But the *Introductio* heralded two other forms of publication on Arabic language.

First is the type of book that contains the rudiments of several eastern languages in a single work. This is a genre which Schnurrer discounted from inclusion in the section on grammar in his Arabic bibliography, but which no study of Arabic language teaching can overlook when Arabic is one of the languages treated. Moreover, such polyglot primers deserve additional attention in view of their wider implications for the history of comparative grammatical analysis. Superficially, the link between Postel and his contemporaries and nineteenth-century semitists seems tenuous. The sixteenth-century books were intended to provide the learner with introductions to a range of languages within a single volume. They were not conceived as theoretical works on

56 Not in Schnurrer. Forbes, *SOAS Catalogue*, pp. 22–23, nos. 45, 46. On Postel's Arabic grammatical works, see Philip Russell, 'De Lingua Arabica. An annotated edition, with introduction, of the writings of Guillaume Postel (1510–81) on Arabic Grammar', (MA dissertation, Faculty of Arts, University College Dublin, November 1981).

language kinship. For didactic reasons, however, comparisons were made between certain features of an unknown language, such as Arabic, and similar features in a more familiar language such as Hebrew. This is particularly evident, for example, in the approximating of the phonetic values of Arabic consonants to equivalent sounds in other languages; and while a reductionist method of this kind is quite different to a true comparative analysis, it cannot be discounted as part of the prehistory of that approach.<sup>57</sup>

Second is a type of book that carries more substantial implications for Arabic teaching: the Arabic texts of Arabic grammatical tracts published together with a translation or glossary for didactic purposes. These days such tracts are no longer published for that reason but for their interest to historians of the Arab grammatical tradition. Sacy and other nineteenth-century Arabists, however, edited such works to improve their students' knowledge of Arabic; and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a number of elementary Arabic tracts, including the *Ājurrūmiyya*, were issued as a direct method of learning Arabic. Adopting a readymade analysis of Arabic in its pristine state was less arduous than adapting it to the requirements of a western style grammar book and had the additional advantage of avoiding the risk of distortion that might arise from analysing Arabic according to the structure of Latin grammar books. Nonetheless, the translations and commentaries that were needed to explain the foreign terminology could still cause confusion.

The chapter on Arabic in the *Introductio* does not present an Arabic grammatical text precisely in the way that was soon to evolve. But it does reflect the desire that Postel plainly expressed both in this chapter and in the *Grammatica arabica* for publishing Arabic grammatical tracts with Latin versions for teaching purposes.<sup>58</sup> Five of the twelve pages of this chapter contain passages in Arabic script which have been printed from wood-cut blocks. These passages consist of the Arabic alphabet,<sup>59</sup> a reading exercise,<sup>60</sup> a verb paradigm,<sup>61</sup> a list of nominal forms,<sup>62</sup> and a list of particles arranged according to the

57 See Rowe, 'Sixteenth and seventeenth century grammars'.

58 Postel, *Introductio*, sig. D2<sup>v</sup>: 'Ut autem id fiat auctores optimos et grammaticam in has partes attuli, olim, si Deus dederit, omnia in rempublicam bonum editurus.' Id., *Grammatica arabica* (Paris, c. 1543), sig. D11<sup>v</sup>: 'De verbis defectivis hic ample dicerem, si pateretur compendii brevitatis. Id vero fieri quum tres grammaticae Arabicae libri a nobis conversi latine prodierat, ubi ars absolute tradetur.'

59 Postel, *Introductio*, sig. D3<sup>f</sup>.

60 Ibid., sig. D4<sup>f</sup>. The reading exercise consists of a syllabary, the Lord's Prayer, and another short prayer.

61 Ibid., sig. E2<sup>v</sup>.

62 Ibid., sig. E3<sup>v</sup>.

inflections they govern.<sup>63</sup> The grammatical texts are accompanied by parallel translations and the whole is interspersed by Postel's Latin text which acts as a form of commentary. Clearly, Postel devised the alphabet and reading exercise himself. The other passages, on the other hand, have been adapted from one or more Arabic grammatical tracts on *naḥw* and *ṣarf*. The examples he gives of verbal morphology and its associated terminology could easily derive from the Ottoman paradigmatic tables known as *al-Amthila al-mukhtalifa*, to which he refers.<sup>64</sup>

In the *Introductio*, Postel brought the Arabic tripartite division of speech to Europeans for the first time. He also included and commented on Arabic terms relating to the morphology of the Arabic verb and deverbal nouns in a more convincing way than Pedro de Alcalá had done in his *Arte*. Inevitably, adapting Arabic grammatical features and terminology to Latin categories proved difficult. For example, the use of 'Ablative absolute' to describe the Arabic adverbial accusative (he gives /nahāran/ 'by day' and /laylan/ 'by night' as examples) is clearly inaccurate.<sup>65</sup> *Suppositum* for the Arabic active participle (/fā'il/); *dictio recta* for the Arabic passive participle (/maf'ūl/); and *possessio* for the *idāfa* construction could also be misleading.<sup>66</sup> Strictly speaking, *suppositum* and *dictio recta* are terms used by Renaissance grammarians for Latin nouns positioned before and after the verb respectively in Latin SVO sentences.<sup>67</sup> The Arabic terms *ism fā'il* (*nomen agens*) and *ism maf'ūl* (*nomen patiens*), on the other hand, refer to active and passive verbal nouns that can be used for either subject or predicate, *idāfa*, as well as being used for a possessive phrase, may also be used with a partitive sense.

In the title of this chapter of the *Introductio*, Postel gave the misleading impression that both western Arabic (*Punica*) and Classical Arabic (*Arabica*) were a single language. In fact the supplementary grammatical outline is of Classical Arabic without regard for the peculiar features of *maghribī* Arabic that Erpenius, a generation later, was to take account of in the preface to his

63 Ibid., sig. E4<sup>r</sup>. (Russell, *De Lingua Arabica*, p. 137, note to *Introductio*, sig. E4<sup>r</sup> found no Arabic source for Postel's most likely-looking borrowing from an Arab grammarian: /al-kalām madāru-hu 'alā thalātha ma'ānin: al-fā'iliyya wa-'l-maf'ūliyya wa-'l-idāfa/.)

64 Ibid., sig. E4<sup>v</sup>: 'Verba habent suos canones ex *emthilath*, id est coniugationibus, ut praefiximus.'

65 Ibid., sig. E1<sup>r</sup>.

66 Ibid., sig. E4<sup>v</sup>: 'Per *agens nomen* [/ism fā'il/] intelligunt quod grammatici nostri dicunt *suppositum*, per *patiens* [/ism maf'ūl/], *dictionem rectam*, per *adiunctum* [/idāfa/] vero *possessionem*, ut i: 'liber Petri'...'

67 On *suppositum/appositum*, see Percival, 'The grammatical tradition', pp. 234, 237; Padley, *Grammatical Theory*, p. 51.

edition of the Pentateuch.<sup>68</sup> Only in the alphabet table does Postel include *maghribī*-style letter forms – i.e. /f/ and /q/, with single subscript and superscript diacritics respectively, and the square-shaped emphatics /ṣ/, /ḍ/, /t/, and /z/ – alongside *naskh* versions of the same letters; but neither is identified as distinctively *Punica* as opposed to *Arabica*. On the contrary the criterion used for distinguishing the different forms of /f/ and /q/ is racial rather than regional: Turks are said to employ the *naskh* version while Arabs use the *maghribī*, though a regional distinction may be implicit in that Turks were already dominant in the Arab Middle East by the time Postel travelled there.

Postel's *Introductio* was immediately followed by another such polyglot primer of middle-eastern and Slavonic languages published at Pavia the next year, 1539, under the title *Introductio in chaldaicam linguam, syriacam, atque armenicam, et decem alias linguas. Characterum differentium alphabeta, circiter quadraginta, et eorundem invicem conformatio, mystica et cabalistica quamplurima scitu digna*.<sup>69</sup> This was the work of Teseo Ambrogio degli Albonesi, whom Postel had met in 1537 during his return journey from Turkey to France. Ambrogio covered a larger number of languages than Postel had done, included many more phonetic comparisons, and moved beyond the strictly linguistic to treat of the mystical qualities in the letters of these non-European alphabets. Not that there is any evidence to suggest that Ambrogio set out deliberately to compete with Postel. He had indeed received a copy of Postel's *Introductio* in July 1537, by which time his own work was almost completed.<sup>70</sup> He did not, therefore, need to incorporate any of Postel's information on the Arabic alphabet into his own work. Neither does the grammatical analysis, which Ambrogio gives (almost as an afterthought in the peroration)<sup>71</sup> derive from Postel. It goes further back to Alcalá, whose rules Ambrogio re-presented in Latin guise as if they describe Classical Arabic.

Like Postel, Ambrogio is imprecise about the differences between *maghribī* Arabic, whether literary or colloquial, and Classical Arabic. The words *Punici* and *Arabes* are generally used interchangeably or in tandem and not in order to distinguish North Africans from Arabs of the Middle East. Thus the section

68 Thomas Erpenius, *[Tawrāt Mūsā al-nabī 'alay-hi al-salām] id est Pentateuchus Mosis arabicè* (Leiden, 1622), Note to Reader. Schnurrer, no. 327.

69 Not in Schnurrer. See Eberhard Nestle, 'Aus einem sprachwissenschaftlichen Werk von 1539', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 58 (1904), pp. 601–616. (A summary of Ambrogio's text).

70 Ambrogio, *Introductio*, fols. 184, 192<sup>v</sup>. (mentioned by Nestle, 'Aus einem sprachwissenschaftlichen Werk', pp. 613, 615.)

71 Ambrogio, *Introductio*, fol. 208<sup>r-v</sup>.

*De arabicis puniceisque consonantibus*<sup>72</sup> does not distinguish between eastern and western forms of the Arabic script but is concerned rather to demonstrate the phonetic value of its letters through comparison with Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Aramaic equivalents. The section *De Punicorum Arabumque notis, loco vocalium*,<sup>73</sup> on the other hand, while referring to vowel signs and accents in other languages, also distinguishes between the horizontal and oblique ways of writing *fatha* and *kasra*. Each is correctly assigned to North Africa or the east, but not before different terms for these signs and their grammatical inflections have been too strictly ascribed to either east or west. And the section on the six Arabic consonants that do not join subsequent letters, whether in a *maghribī* hand or in *naskh*, seems to restrict this feature to North Africa with the title *De literis duplicibus Punicorum*.<sup>74</sup> It is in this section that Ambrogio mentions his hope that some student of foreign languages might shortly produce a grammar book.

That student was Postel; and his undated *Grammatica arabica*, which was issued sometime between 1538 and 1543,<sup>75</sup> established in print the method of incorporating the information contained in Arabic grammatical tracts into western-style grammar books about Classical Arabic. In fact, to a large extent, the *Grammatica arabica* is an adaptation of the Arabic texts contained in the chapter *De lingua punica arabicave* of his *Introductio*. But instead of providing the Arabic text from wood-cut, it is printed here from movable metal type. As in the *Introductio*, Postel arranged the grammar according to the Arabic tripartite division of speech.<sup>76</sup> The nominal forms and their examples are basically the same in both works; the list of particles (*hurūf*) is the same, though here they have been rearranged into Latinate categories (pronoun, adverb, conjunction and preposition);<sup>77</sup> and the syntactic rules dispersed throughout the

72 Ibid., fols. 23<sup>v</sup>–27<sup>v</sup>.

73 Ibid., fols. 82<sup>v</sup>–85<sup>v</sup>.

74 Ibid., fol. 88<sup>v</sup>.

75 Guillaume Postel, *Grammatica arabica*. Schnurrer, no. 38.

76 Ibid., sig. D7<sup>v</sup>: 'Nunc vera est de tribus orationis partibus est agendum, scilicet verbo, nomine et dictione, sub qua voce omnia syncategoremata sive una pluribus litteris constant comprehendunt. Quas tres orationis partes more linguarum omnium orientalium satis esse et eo numero apud Graecos olim fuisse philosophus comprobatur, quum in omni disceptandi orationisve genere tribus illis contentus fuerit. /fa'ala/ *pheal* (*verbum*), /isma/ *isme* (*nomen*), /ħarfun/ *herph* (*dictionem*) appellant. Quamvis autem nomen, aut accidens aut substantia sine qua nil comprehendimus, praecedat sensu, tamen ut illos imiter verbum hic praecedat.'

77 Ibid., sig. E6<sup>v</sup>: 'Quamvis illi quod superest, una parte orationis absolvant quam /ħurūf/ appellant, nostro tamen more volo tradere de pronomine, adverbio, coniunctione [et] praepositione. Verbo enim verbum, nomine nomen et participium tradidi. Interiectio sub adverbio, iure a Graecis, intelligitur.'

*Introductio* are brought together in a separate section at the end of the *Grammatica arabica*.<sup>78</sup>

The major changes made by Postel occur in the fields of vowel terminology and verb morphology. Turkish terms for the vowel signs are rejected in favour of Arabic alone; and the syntactic terms *naṣb* and *jarr* are rejected in the section on vowel signs<sup>79</sup> as synonyms for *fatḥha* and *kasra*, being applied instead to their nunated forms alone (later in a section on syntax<sup>80</sup> they apply to nunated and unnunated vowel signs). Verbal morphology, which in the *Introductio* had only extended to a paradigm and analysis of the sound trilateral verb /naṣara/, is given much fuller treatment in the *Grammatica arabica* where there is information on imperfective vowel patterns, quadriliteral and derived forms, and weak verbs, which derives from al-Zanjānī's *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* and its condensed version, *al-Amthila al-mukhtalifa*.<sup>81</sup> There are also signs of the influence of Ambrogio's *Introductio*, whether relaying Alcalá in the case of the claim that *alif* alone could stand for the definite article<sup>82</sup> or that /anī/ is an acceptable alternative to /anā/ ('I');<sup>83</sup> or independent of Alcalá in the case of the term *illigabiles litterae*,<sup>84</sup> for the six letters that do not connect to a following letter, or of the transliteration of the term /ḍamma/ by *tzam*, which Postel included in the *Grammatica arabica* as an alternative to the *tzum* he had already used in his *Introductio*.

The *Grammatica arabica* closes with two Arabic reading passages translated to Latin: the Lord's Prayer, repeated from the reading exercise in his own *Introductio*,<sup>85</sup> and the opening chapter of the Quran, *Sūrat al-fātiḥa*. One feature of Postel's translation of the *fātiḥa* seems particularly poignant for European students of Arabic grammar, if one allows him a sense of humour. It is his version of /ihdinā al-ṣīrāṭ al-mustaḳīm ṣīrāṭ alladhīna an'amta 'alayhim... / which reads *dirige nos in punctum rectum in punctum inquam illorum in quos tibi bene complacitum est...* and has been criticised by his immediate successors as well as more recent scholars as an incorrect and anomalous rendering of 'show us the straight path'. Nestle raised the simple question as to the origin of Postel's rendering of *ṣīrāṭ* as *punctum* in a note in the *Zeitschrift der*

78 Ibid., sigs. EVIII<sup>r</sup>-EIX<sup>v</sup>.

79 Ibid., sig. D4<sup>v</sup>.

80 Ibid., sig. E8<sup>r</sup>.

81 Ibid., sigs. D7<sup>v</sup>-E3<sup>r</sup>. For a list of Postel's Latin equivalents for Arabic grammatical terms in al-Zanjānī's *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*, see below.

82 Ibid., sig. D6<sup>r</sup>. Ambrogio, *Introductio*, fol. 208<sup>v</sup>. Alcalá, *Arte* (ed. Lagarde), p. 9.

83 Postel, *Grammatica arabica*, sig. E7<sup>r</sup>. Ambrogio, *Introductio*, fol. 208<sup>v</sup>; Alcalá, *Arte*, p. 11.

84 Postel, *Grammatica arabica*, sig. D4<sup>r</sup>.

85 Postel, *Grammatica arabica*, sig. E10<sup>r</sup>-v. See Russell *De Lingua Arabica*, p. 115 on the repetition of the Lord's Prayer from Postel's *Introductio*.

*Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*,<sup>86</sup> to which A. Fischer<sup>87</sup> and C.F. Seybold<sup>88</sup> made serious replies. Having demonstrated that *punctum* did not arise from any earlier tradition, Cluniac or otherwise, and that it was not followed by others such as Kirsten and Erpenius (both of whom included Postel's version alongside their own), Fischer concluded that it could only be accounted for as a foolish error on Postel's part and that it simply confirmed Scaliger's and Kirsten's judgements of Postel as a poor linguist.<sup>89</sup> Deferring again to Scaliger and another comment he made about Postel,<sup>90</sup> and siding with Fischer in search of an error rather than a tradition, Seybold ridiculed what he regarded as Nestle's misplaced expectation of some hidden knowledge on Postel's part, and suggested that *punctum* was an error introduced by Postel or the printer for *pon-tem*. 'Bridge', as Seybold demonstrated, is an alternative meaning for *şirāt*. One explanation for the error suggested by Fischer (i.e. that Postel, for whatever reason, misread *şirāt* as *nuḡṭa* or *jīha*), Seybold considered less plausible. But in the context of a grammar book in which the term *punctum* has been

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- 86 Eb. Nestle, 'Geschichtliches zur ersten Sure', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 60 (1906), p. 244: 'Hier fällt die Wiedergabe von *şirāt* durch *punctum* auf. Woher stammt sie?'
- 87 A. Fischer, 'Miscellen', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 60 (1906), pp. 245–254, esp. pp. 249–250: 'Die von Nestle oben S. 244 dem Dunkel der Vergangenheit und Vergessenheit entrissenen Irrtümer Postel's in der Wiedergabe von Sūra 1 sind wohl als private Torheiten des Übersetzers anzusprechen und nicht, wie Nestle anzunehmen scheint, als Bestandteile einer weiter zurückreichenden festen Tradition.'
- 88 C.F. Seybold, 'Kleine Mitteilungen', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 63 (1909), pp. 625–626: 'Statt mit einem Blick die 'privaten Torheiten' Postels, wie sie A. Fischer mit Recht bezeichnet... sicher zu erkennen, scheint Nestle dem fort pauvre arabisant Postel verborgene Weisheit zugetraut zu haben.'
- 89 Fischer, 'Miscellen', loc. cit., quoting from J.M. Lang, *Dissertatio... de speciminibus, conatibus variis atque novissimis successibus doctorum quorundam virorum in edendo Alcorano arabica* (Altdorf, 1704), p. 5, quoting J.J. Scaliger: 'Est excellens philosophus, cosmographus, mathematicus, historicus stultus, linguarum non ignarus, sed nullius ad unguem peritus. Invideo illi arabicam linguam.' And quoting Kirsten on Postel's *Grammatica arabica*: 'vix primis digitis rem tetigit.' Not that Fischer, loc. cit., relaying Erpenius, regarded Kirsten highly: 'derselbe Kirsten, über dessen arabistische Leistungen sich Erpenius 1611 in einem Brief geäußert hat: 'K. nuper reliquos duos Grammaticae suae libros evulgavit; qui quales sint, vis uno verbo dicam? Non merentur legi' (Schnurrer, p. 25).
- 90 Seybold, 'Kleine Mitteilungen': 'Schon Joseph Scaliger mit seinen mäßigen arabischen Kenntnissen hat den Sachverhalt richtig durchschaut, wenn er von dem ihm befreundeten Postel doch sagen muß: 'Imperitiam arabismi potes animadvertere ex interpretatione primi capitis Alcorani, quam Matrem vocant Mussulmanni quam omnem praeter tria aut quatuor verba infeliciter reddidit.'" The debate is also discussed by Alastair Hamilton, 'The Qur'an as chrestomathy in early modern Europe' in Loop et al., eds., *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic*, pp. 213–29, esp. pp. 213–215.

consistently used to mean ‘vowel’ (not diacritical point – *nuqta*), it seems to me that the answer to Nestle’s question lies neither in a tradition nor in an error but in a deliberate and mischievous mistranslation by Postel. What more appropriate way for a Catholic missionary with a reputation for the bizarre to end an Arabic grammar book than with a rendering of Islam’s holiest prayer which reads: ‘Lead us, O Lord, to the correct vowel, to the vowel of those in whom you are well pleased and by whom you are not angered, and we will not go astray!’

We have already seen how important Postel’s manuscript collection was in providing source material for many later Arabists and how representative it was of the range of subjects that would preoccupy European scholars in the following decades. Similarly, Postel’s grammatical works exercised a powerful influence upon the European Arabic grammatical tradition. In the sixteenth century they provided an immediate source for other writers who published introductory works on Arabic in northern Europe: not until Raimondi’s *Alphabetum arabicum* (1592) and his *Liber Tasriphi* (1610), and Erpenius’s *Grammatica arabica* (1613) were their contents seriously challenged. Moreover, in the longer term, they established the three methods for presenting Arabic grammar – comparative, autochthonous, and Latinate – that we associate with succeeding centuries of publications on Arabic.

In the context of Postel’s work at Paris we should recall one of the Arabic manuscripts that belonged to Henri II and which is now preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale.<sup>91</sup> It is a composite copied at Granada in the late fifteenth century and contains a variety of texts including two grammars by Ibn Mālik (his *Tashīl al-fawā'id wa-takmil al-maqāšid* and his *Alfiyya*), two works on prosody, and a reply to Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī’s refusal to accept grammar as a science. I have not seen this manuscript and cannot judge whether it was consulted for scholarly purposes during his reign (1547–1559) or later, or whether it was no more than a trophy for display in the royal library.

## 5 Mid-Century Polyglot Handbooks

The next publication to contain information on Arabic was another polyglot study published at Zurich in 1548. This was the *De rationis communi omnium linguarum et literarum commentarius* by Theodor Bibliander, the famous editor of the Cluniac Latin Quran (Basel, 1543). Where Postel and Ambrogio had advertised on the title-pages of their ‘Introductions’ that they were treating of

<sup>91</sup> BnF, MS Arabe 1077. (Slane, pp. 1 and 213).

a dozen or so languages, Bibliander claims to be discussing all languages. The book begins with separate entries on historical aspects of each language. Arabic, which is also called *Punica*, 'is said to derive from Hebrew on account of its letters, words, and inflections.'<sup>92</sup> Information on the distribution of Arabic and on its similarity to Hebrew derives directly from Postel's introductory remarks. After rejecting the claim that the study of foreign languages leads to heresy and appealing for colleges to teach Arabic, and even colloquial Arabic, for effective missionary purposes, Bibliander turns to a thematic analysis of all the languages. Here Hebrew maintains its primacy among the different alphabets and, in a particularly interesting section entitled *De partibus orationis*, an artificial congruence between the grammars of Semitic and Indo-European languages is maintained through the reductive mould of Latinate categories.<sup>93</sup>

Such artificiality was relaxed momentarily in a work published at Paris in 1554 which treats only of Semitic languages and contains information on Arabic by way of comparison. This was Angelo Canini's *Institutiones linguae syriacae assyriacae atque thalmudicae una cum aethiopicae atque arabicae collatione*. The work is mainly a grammar of Aramaic with a few examples of Arabic and Ethiopic, including a paradigm of the Ethiopic and Arabic strong verb.<sup>94</sup> The idea of treating Arabic in a comparative way with Aramaic and Hebrew was one which appealed very much to Christmann and to Erpenius, but which was never effectively realised in print in their day.

*Mithridates* by Bibliander's pupil Conrad Gesner, published in 1555, also at Zurich, is another polyglot compendium giving a survey of known languages throughout the world but no grammatical analysis. Like his master, Gesner acknowledges Postel as a major source. One significant advance on his predecessors is that Gesner does not use *Punica* as a synonym for *Arabica*. *Punica* is

92 Bibliander, *De ratione*, pp. 4–5.

93 Ibid., p. 139: 'Sunt autem octa, quas ordine illo numeraba quem periculo facto didici aptissimum esse linguis discendis et tradendis. Pronomen, nomen, verbum, participium, praepositio, adverbium, interiectio, coniunctio. Quae quidem recepta vocabula grammaticorum et logicorum omnium minime improbo. Dummodo cogitetur, haec nomina vocum proprietati non semper respondere aliaque posse imponi fortasse non ineptiora quaeque diversis linguis congruant interpretata, neque id vertendum esse vitio et insolentiae si alia nomina imponantur vocabulis et terminis artium, quando magni authores non per omnia conveniunt in partium orationis nominibus. Utque appareat octo esse partes orationis, aut genera vocum, quibus unaquaeque lingua utitur, in singulis speciebus coniungam dictiones duarum elegantium et politarum linguarum, Graecae et Latinae, et quatuor, ut solent appellari barbararum, Ebraicae, Arabicae, Germanicae, et Sclavonicae.'

94 See R. Smitskamp, *Philologia Orientalis. A Description of Books Illustrating the Study and Printing of Oriental Languages in 16th- and 17th-Century Europe* (Leiden, 1992), p. 26, no. 13. The paradigm of Arabic and Ethiopic strong verbs is on pp. 30–34.

reserved for the ancient language of Tripolitania;<sup>95</sup> and under the entry 'Afri vel Libyes' Gesner relates that he has heard there is a distinction between the vocabulary of the Berbers and the North African Arabs – the 'Mauri nigri id est Africani' and the 'Mauros albos'.<sup>96</sup>

## 6 Jakob Christmann and Ruthger Spey

For more than a quarter of a century nothing more was published on Arabic. But immediately after Postel's death in 1581, Germany saw the publication of three introductions to Arabic each of which owed a varying degree of debt to the Frenchman. The first of these, issued at Neustadt an der Hardt in the following year, 1582, is Jakob Christmann's *Alphabetum arabicum cum Isagoge scribendi legendique arabice*.<sup>97</sup> In accordance with the title, the book is divided into two parts, the first part dealing with the written form and phonetic value of the consonants in the Arabic alphabet and the second part teaching the shape and sound of the vowel signs and ending with two vocalised reading exercises. In as much as the learner would be able to read these passages and to copy them out, he has not been misled by the title. Since, however, the book contains no grammatical analysis, any expectation he may have had of learning to read and write Arabic in its usual unvocalised form would have been disappointed. The book closes with Christmann's hope that he, or someone else with more time, will produce a grammatical analysis of Arabic vocalisation and a comparison of common features in Arabic, Hebrew and 'Chaldaica' or Aramaic.<sup>98</sup>

Christmann opens a new way towards teaching the Arabic alphabet by treating its different elements – the number and names of the consonants, their shape, their phonetic value, and their method of joining – in separate sections and under separate headings.<sup>99</sup> This is the method adopted by later grammarians such as Raimondi and Erpenius. In addition to his departure

95 Conrad Gesner, *Mithridates* (Zurich, 1555), p. 8.

96 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

97 Schnurrer, pp. 19–20, no. 39.

98 Christmann, *Alphabetum arabicum*, p. 20: 'At quae sint in tribus orationis Arabicae partibus ratione punctorum formationis ac derivationis communia cum lingua Hebraica ac Chaldaica quae item propria, Deo volente suo tempore ostendam: aut si id alii, qui maiore ocio et commoditate fruuntur, praestiterint magnam apud me et omnes bonos inibunt gratiam.'

99 Christmann divides his material as follows: De literis; De numero ac nominibus literarum; De potestate literarum; De connexionione literarum; De lectione; De punctis syllabarum distinctionibus inservientibus.

from Postel's presentation, Christmann emends certain details of his analysis of the consonants and claims to restore Postel's transliteration of the Lord's Prayer to its correct form.<sup>100</sup> Only in his analysis of the terminology for the vowel signs does he follow Postel, thereby perpetrating the misappropriation of syntactic terms not normally associated with a particular vocalisation to describe the indefinite inflections of triptote nouns.

In addition to his critical use of Postel's publications on Arabic language, Christmann had access to those Arabic manuscripts in the Palatine Library at Heidelberg that had formerly belonged to Postel. Thus he drew on a 'Medical Onamasticon' (i.e. Ibn al-Baytār's pharmacopoeia for the names of the consonants and the rearrangement of the last three letters of the alphabet so that /h/ intervenes between /w/ and /y/; one of the works of John of Damascus for a particular palaeographical flourish (a curved line under a /ḥ/); and the Arabic Epistle to the Phillipians for a reading exercise. (See pp. 16–20 above for Postel's manuscripts).

Among Christmann's manuscripts and books in Groningen University Library is a defective copy of Pedro de Alcalá's *Arte*.<sup>101</sup> Not that there is any evidence in the *Alphabetum arabicum* to show that the German incorporated any of the Spaniard's information. But Christmann's marginal notes are of interest in that they indicate how the *Arte* could be studied outside Andalusia by a scholar interested in Classical Arabic: some of the transliterated Arabic is returned to Arabic script and there are a number of Latin glosses on the Spanish text, some of which include elements of Hebrew grammar.

Further evidence for Christmann's interest in Alcalá's *Arte* exists in his remarkable attempt to produce the comparative Arabic grammar of which he spoke in the *Alphabetum arabicum*. Like several other works he prepared for publication but never saw through the press, this one survives in manuscript form in Groningen and is called *Institutiones arabicae et turcicae linguae: Ad originem Hebraeorum ac Chaldaeorum revocatae, et quamplurimis exemplis illustratae*.<sup>102</sup> The title is, perhaps, a little misleading since, although the scripts

100 For these transliterations, see below p. 254.

101 UBG, uklu 'AL F 1: The second edition of Alcalá's *Arte*, signed on the title-page by Christmann. The book lacks the introduction and chapters 1 to 8, part of chapter 10 to part of chapter 29. Chapters 30 to 38 and texts at the end are intact.

102 UBG, MS 169. Brugmans, *Catalogus*, p. 78. The text is arranged *more Arabico* as follows: fol. 5a Caput Primum: De literis (an alphabet table); fol. 6a De ordine, numero ac nominibus literarum; fol. 7b De figuris literarum; fol. 9a De potestate literarum; fol. 16b Caput Secundum: De connexione literarum; fol. 17a Caput Tertium: De lectione; fol. 17b De potestate simplicium ac compositorum punctorum annotatio; fol. 25a De punctis servilibus; fol. 26a Praxis scriptionis ac lectionis Arabicae: *sharāb al-ward* (Arabic text); fol. 26b (Hebrew transcription); fol. 27a (Latin transcription); fol. 29a Praxis scriptionis ac

of Arabic and Turkish are dealt with together, the grammars are separated and most of the comparisons with Hebrew and Aramaic are reserved for Arabic. Christmann cites a number of sources, both published and manuscript, in his text: Alcalá's *Arte*, Rhazes's *Continens* in Latin, a Hebrew version of Averroes's *Kullīyyāt*, Avicenna's medical *Canon* in Latin, Abū 'l-Fidā's *Taqwīm al-buldān*, Postel and Teseo Ambrogio's 'Introductions', and Giustiniani's polyglot Psalter. There are no references to Postel's *Grammatica arabica*. Marginal references to Christmann's own *Alphabetum arabicum* indicate that the text had been completed before publication of that work in 1582.

A year later, at Heidelberg in 1583, Christmann's hope that someone would find the time to write and publish a grammar of Arabic was realised by Ruthger Spey with his *Epistola Pauli Galatas, item sex primaria capita Christianae religionis arabice. Quibus ad finem adiunctum est Compendium grammatices arabicae*.<sup>103</sup> The 'Compendium of Arabic Grammar' contains what Christmann had omitted from his *Alphabetum arabicum* – a grammatical analysis intended to furnish the learner with sufficient information to enable him to read and write unvocalised Arabic.

Once again, Postel's Arabic manuscripts at Heidelberg provided the source for the edited Arabic texts. On this occasion, however, Spey reversed Christmann's priorities in the *Alphabetum arabicum*. Instead of using an epistle as a reading exercise at the end of an introduction to the Arabic alphabet, Spey subordinated language teaching to editing the Scripture. The *Compendium grammatices arabicae* contains the key to understanding these partially vocalised Arabic texts, yet it only appears as an appendix to the book: Schnurrer categorised Spey's work among *Biblica* rather than *Grammatica*.

Whether competitive, collaborative or independent, it is difficult to ascertain the nature of the relationship between Christmann and Spey. In the introduction to his book, Spey makes no mention of Christmann or of his publication the year before; and there is no evidence to suggest that he drew on the *Alphabetum arabicum* for specific information on the Arabic alphabet in the *Compendium*. In fact, the only reason to suppose that Spey was specifically

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lectionis Turcicae [Turkish text]; fol. 29b [Hebrew transcription]; fol. 30a [Latin transcription]; fol. 32a Synopsis trium orationis Arabicae partium: De Verbis; fol. 32b Division verborum; fol. 34a De numero coniugationum; fol. 43a De accidentibus verborum; fol. 57a Verba imperfecta; fol. 61a Verba quiescentia et duplicantia Hhajin; fol. 71b De Nominibus; fol. 77a De Particulis; fol. 84a De Syrupis. Tractatus Abu Gahfar medici. [text and parsing]; fol. 155a Synopsis grammaticae Turcicae 1. Coniugatio; fol. 110a 2. Coniugatio; fol. 112a 3. Coniugatio; fol. 113b 4. Coniugatio; fol. 117a Nomina; fol. 122a Particulae; fol. 126a Meditationes Sermonis Turcici. [text and parsing]; fol. 151a.

103 Schnurrer, pp. 339–341, no. 317.

responding to Christmann's challenge is that he gives an analysis of Arabic grammar which, on several occasions, stresses features of Arabic that are in common with Hebrew and Aramaic, but in nothing like the detail entered into by Christmann in his unpublished *Institutiones*.

From his dedication to the German princes, his lengthy introduction pleading for their patronage of Arabic studies, and the scope of his publication, it would appear that Spey had more ambitious plans for the future of Arabic studies than Christmann reveals in his primer with its parochial dedication to the rector and professors of Neustadt University. But if Spey was the greater promoter this does not mean that he was the greater Arabist. We have already referred to the other Arabic texts that Christmann prepared for publication; and we have just seen that his *Alphabetum arabicum*, though limited in scope, contains an original contribution to European knowledge of the Arabic consonants. Spey, on the other hand, left no known evidence to suggest that he sustained his interest in Arabic studies; and, in spite of certain superficial changes, his *Compendium* is based entirely on Postel's *Grammatica arabica*.

Spey did not emend or augment the substance of Postel's grammatical analysis at all; indeed, the lack of Arabic type forced him to omit certain examples and terms and there are a number of flagrant editorial mistakes which emerge in the woodcut Arabic words.<sup>104</sup> His originality lay rather in matters of didactic style. Through greater emphasis on European word-classes, some restructuring of contents, and some references to Hebrew and Aramaic, Spey disguised the forbidding appearance of the Arab grammatical element in Postel's work in order to win the confidence of would-be Arabists.

Spey recognised the importance of introducing the unknown by means of the known. Hence his references to the other more familiar Semitic languages. Not that this is a comparative grammar. There are one or two original morphemic and morphological comparisons,<sup>105</sup> but the other comparisons Spey makes are artificial in as much as they are between similar classificatory features.<sup>106</sup> The purpose is educative rather than innovative. Thus in discussing the *maṣḍar*, instead of following Postel and referring to a mysterious 'Azi' (i.e.

104 Spey, *Compendium*, sig. H4<sup>r</sup>, e.g. 'Personas tres': /kā'ib/ instead of /ghā'ib/.

105 Ibid., sig. K3<sup>r</sup>, e.g. 'De Pronomine': Arabic pronominal affixes are likened to Hebrew and Aramaic, or comparison is made between certain Arabic and Hebrew plural forms.

106 Ibid., sig. H4<sup>v</sup>. The *Accidentia* of the verb are said to be the same for Arabic, Hebrew and Aramaic. Arabic is said to have 12 servile letters in the same way that Hebrew and Aramaic do.

the then unknown ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Zanjānī),<sup>107</sup> Spey mentions a figure apparently from Hebrew grammar, ‘Rabbi Iehuda’.<sup>108</sup>

## 7 The Medicean Grammars

The year 1592 saw the publication of four tracts on the Arabic language – three from the Medici Press in Rome and the fourth from Frankfurt an der Oder. Two of the Medicean publications, the *Ājurrūmiyya*<sup>109</sup> and Ibn al-Ḥājjib’s *Kāfiya*<sup>110</sup> are printed entirely in Arabic from type and in a format that suggests the appearance of Arabic manuscripts. Some title-pages are overprinted with Latin titles and imprints.<sup>111</sup> The third, entitled *Alphabetum arabicum*, is written in Latin with Arabic words, reading exercises, and a syllabary printed from fine Arabic type.<sup>112</sup> It lacks any reference to the author, though it was later ascribed by Kirsten, Erpenius, and Sionita to Giovanni Battista Raimondi. Like Christmann’s work of the same title, the text is concerned with the sound and shape of the Arabic consonants and vowels and therefore teaches no more than the ability to read out loud or to copy a vocalised text.

The German publication of 1592, Bartholomaeus Radtmann’s *Introductio in linguam arabicam*,<sup>113</sup> covers the same subject. But the quality of its production and its contents is much inferior to that of the Medicean publication. There is no more telling example of the contrast between the successful patronage of Arabic studies and printing by Ferdinando de’ Medici at Rome and the lack of it among the German princes than in these two books. Unable to raise the funds to pay for Arabic type, Radtmann did not even use woodcuts to print

107 Postel, *Grammatica arabica*, sig. E2<sup>v</sup>. As Fück (p. 40) suggested, ‘in Azi seu prima Grammatices parte’ probably refers to the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* of ‘Izzī or ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Zanjānī. Russell, *De Lingua Arabica*, doubted this on the grounds that the division of the *maṣdar* into *mīmī* and *ghayr mīmī* is not made by ‘Izzī. Against this it can be argued that this division does exist in the *al-Amthila al-mukhtalifa*, which Postel was using, and which was distilled from the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*. Therefore, ‘Azi’ need not necessarily be discounted as a reference to ‘Izzī.

108 An unidentified figure.

109 Schnurrer, p. 23, no. 43.

110 *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23, no. 42.

111 For full but unpublished collations of the Medicean publications, see Cirillo Korolevskij, *La Typographie Médicéenne et les publications orientales à Rome à la fin du xvie siècle*. Proofs for a publication never issued preserved in the Vatican Library, *Stampe*, Res. 111. 97. Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, BM 31.794 is a photocopy of these proofs.

112 Schnurrer, pp. 21–22, no. 41.

113 *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21, no. 40. See above, pp. 54–56.

Arabic words, as Christmann and Spey had done, but had the Arabic written by hand into every single copy. Moreover, working in isolation and lacking recourse to Arabic source material, Radtmann was forced to reassess earlier European publications helped only by the Turkish prisoner-of-war, Paul Willich, who had been captured in Hungary some twenty-five years before.

Radtman believed that Paul's knowledge of Arabic was good enough to correct the errors in the European Arabic publications that were available to them. He therefore cast his *Introductio* in the form of a comparison – often with comparative tables – between the analyses of the Arabic alphabet by Postel, Bibliander, Christmann and Spey with references to Paul for confirmation or rejection of their information. Sometimes, possibly in deference to his learned predecessors, Radtmann merely included Paul's analysis as an alternative. Thus Peter Kirsten's reference, in 1608, to 'that Turk, Paul, whose quite learned *Introductio in linguam arabicam* was sent to me a few years ago by the very distinguished Bartholomaeus Radman [sic]<sup>114</sup> goes too far in seeming to ascribe the work to Paul rather than to Radtmann, whose editorial and interpretive role was of central importance. Kirsten's comment also accredits Paul, as Radtmann had done, with a degree of learning that is questionable on closer inspection. In certain respects, Paul is no more of an authority than the Europeans. His division of consonants into six phonetic classes, for instance, seems to have little basis in reality and is unlikely to derive from any traditional theoretical source. Twenty-five years had passed since Paul had been captured and not surprisingly his memory of the Arabic he knew as a child had lapsed. Radtmann even mentions that Paul had forgotten the Arabic terms for the vowel signs and gives instead the Turkish terms that Paul had told him. With its display of variations and alternatives, Radtmann's *Introductio* is far from ideal as a student's primer; and we may conclude by regarding it more as a promotional exercise for alerting the Brandenburg court to the moribund state of Arabic studies in Germany than as a serious contestant in the race to provide a definitive grammatical work.

The Medicean *Alphabetum arabicum*, on the other hand, was the product of an extravagant publishing house, well-stocked with Middle Eastern manuscripts and staffed by a team of printers, Arabic-speaking informants, and experts under the direction of Giovanni Battista Raimondi. Raimondi's editorial and translating skills are evident in the wealth of manuscript material he left behind and in the other Medicean publications; they are also unmistakably paramount in this concise and effective introduction to the Arabic alphabet.

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114 See above, p. 56, n. 36.

As his younger contemporaries had done, we may safely attribute the authorship of the *Alphabetum arabicum* to Raimondi.

In the *Alphabetum arabicum*, Raimondi exhibits a refreshing indifference to the confusing variety of rules identified by Radtmann. It is as if the slate first written on by Postel were wiped clean. The information given by Raimondi on palaeographical details and scribal practices derives from his own and his colleagues' handling of a variety of manuscripts. And for information on the phonetic value of the Arabic consonants, he makes an important and original contribution by relying exclusively on the classification and analysis of Arabic writers, first for a division of the consonants according to their fourteen points of articulation, or *loca* as he calls them (*makhārij* of the Arabs), and second for their division into eight according to more embrasive criteria each of which is accorded an Arabic classificatory term. We know that two Arabic texts containing such information and now preserved in the Laurenziana, Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān ibn Jinnī's *Sirr ṣinā'at al-i'rāb* and Muḥammad ibn al-Jazarī's *Kitāb al-Tamhīd fī 'ilm al-tajwīd*,<sup>115</sup> passed through Raimondi's hands. He also made his own copy of Zayn al-Dīn Abū Yaḥyā Zakariyya al-Anṣārī's commentary on Jazarī's text.<sup>116</sup> But the contents of these works does not precisely correspond to the analysis given in the *Alphabetum arabicum*, and although Raimondi may have adapted those texts to suit his own judgements, it may be that he was using some other Arabic work on Quranic recitation as his source.

When discussing the vowel signs, Raimondi ignored Turkish terminology and referred instead to Arabic terms. Thus he describes the three vowels as *ḍamma*, *fatha*, and *kasra* and introduced the term *tanwīn* with an explanation of its etymology.<sup>117</sup> But having avoided the mistake, first made by Postel in his *Grammatica arabica* and subsequently followed by Christmann and Spey, of regarding the Arabic syntactic terms – *rafʿ*, *naṣb*, *jarr* – as specific to the three nunated endings, nonetheless he made the surprising claim (surprising, that is, in one who that same year was also responsible for editing the two printed grammatical tracts) that 'grammarians', by which he meant Arab grammarians, associate those three case terms with specific unnnunated vowels.<sup>118</sup> In both the

115 Assemani, nos. 360 and 420.

116 Buonazia Luopo, *Catalogo dei codici arabi della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze* (Florence, 1886), p. 262, no. 11.

117 Raimondi, *Alphabetum arabicum*, pp. 16–19: De Motionibus.

118 *Ibid.*, p. 17. See this page in Isaac Casaubon's copy of the *Alphabetum arabicum* (BL 622.h.2.(2)), for an example of how it could be read in conjunction with the other two grammatical publications from the Medici Press in 1592. Casaubon glossed the term *jarr* with the note 'In gramm. Giarumia vocatur /khafḍ/ vide p. 2 et p. 3.'

*Ājurrūmiyya* and *Kāfiya* a word said to be *manṣūb* or *marfūʿ* does not necessarily inflect with *fathā* and with *ḍamma* alone.

One area in which Raimondi appears unconvincing is in his description of the phonetic value of the vowels, particularly of *fathā*, and in his system of transliteration. According to Gabriel Sionita writing twenty years later, transliterating *fathā* as *e* in the way that Raimondi and Erpenius had done suggested a pronunciation that was too Turkish.<sup>119</sup> Leaving the case of Erpenius aside for the moment, does this mean that Raimondi's knowledge of Arabic was coloured by a greater familiarity with spoken Turkish? Certainly Raimondi knew Turkish well and used Turkish lexicons and grammars of Persian in order to learn Persian. Moreover, he had the assistance of Paolo Orsini, the captured Turk from Istanbul. But he also had easy access to Arabic-speakers from the Levant and North Africa. In fact, Sionita should have noticed that first, Raimondi's transliteration of *fathā* as *e* is merely a convention devised by Raimondi to distinguish /a/ from /ā/ (which he transcribed as a); and that second, his analysis of *fathā* describes its sound not as *e* alone but as mid-way between Latin *a* and *e*.<sup>120</sup>

Where Raimondi might be criticised with greater justification (and Postel and his successors for that matter) is for neglecting to alert readers to the circumstances in which timbre variation (*imāla* or the lack of it) should be expected. According to the Arab grammarians, the usual inclination, or *imāla*, of *fathā* towards the sound of *kasra* is inhibited in the context of certain emphatic consonants; and at the outset of the century, Pedro de Alcalá had included this rule for Andalusian Arabic (even though, as we have seen, it is not born out in practice in that dialect). But Raimondi made no allusion to this feature. Furthermore, he was at fault in claiming that *fathā* should be pronounced long not only before *alif* but also above *alif* (he should have specified *madda*), after *tashdīd*, and in the final syllable of words. To claim that *fathā* is pronounced short at the beginning and in the middle of words but long at the end seems to confuse length with stress.

119 G. Sionita and J. Hesronita, *Grammatica arabica Maronitarum* (Paris, 1616). Schnurrer, p. 29, no. 50.

120 Raimondi, *Alphabetum arabicum*, pp. 16–19: 'vocatur Phthho [sic] id est apertio, quod aperiantur ad prolotionem eius labia. Valet autem ut plurimum sonum vocalis e, seu medium inter a et e dum super primas, vel medias dictionum literas est. Valet autem a clarum dum praecipuè super ultimas posita est literas et super Aliph, et super literam quam Aliph immediate sequitur, et super literam signo Tescdid gravatam et locis etiam quibusdam quae omnia usus melius quam regula ostendet. e.g. /kalāma/ Kelama. /'alāmata/ Elamata. /Allāhumma/ Allahomma.'

The *Alphabetum arabicum* only teaches the beginner how to read out loud or to copy a vocalised text: it does not contain sufficient information to enable him to read let alone understand other unvocalised texts. For information on vocalisation and inflection, Raimondi referred the reader, as others before him had done, to the Arab grammatical tradition and, again like others before, declared his intention to produce the necessary grammars and dictionaries for European consumption. Were the *Ājurrūmiyya* and the *Kāfiyya* part of this plan? They appeared in the same year as the *Alphabetum arabicum*; and glancing at the bibliographies it would be quite possible to conclude that all three books were issued in the same year in order to complement one another.

But at Leiden in 1595, Franciscus Raphelengius complained that Raimondi had not yet fulfilled his promise and that, instead of serving fellow Europeans, the Medicean publications were directed exclusively towards the Christian Orient.<sup>121</sup> Clearly such a statement neglects the obvious purpose of the *Alphabetum arabicum*, which could only have a Latin-schooled European readership and which Raphelengius incorporated into his own attempt at a grammar of Arabic.<sup>122</sup> Could it therefore be true for the other Medicean publications? The question of their purpose and the markets to which they were directed is not straightforward. On the one hand, like the other secular Arabic publications of the Medici Press, the *Ājurrūmiyya* and the *Kāfiyya* were published in an unvocalised form, with many features reminiscent of the design of Arabic manuscripts, and without any Latin introduction, translation, or notes to explain their meaning to Europeans. In this form the books seem to have been destined for the Christian Orient and also for the Ottoman world. On the other hand, some copies include Latin titles and imprints overprinted on the Arabic title-pages as a gesture towards a home market.

<sup>121</sup> Franciscus Raphelengius, *Specimen characterum Arabicorum* (Leiden, 1595), pp. 2–3: ‘In his itaque conatibus, quorum fama indies increbrescebat cum animus conquiesceret, cum spe fore ut ex instructissima officina prodirent quae explerent desiderium studiosorum; ecce evulgantur opera arabice excusa, insignia quidem ac magni momenti, cum tanta elegantia ut ad maiorem ornatum nihil addi posse audeam affirmare: sed quae sitim Europaeis nostris adhuc rudibus non explere plerique conquererentur. Nam quoniam colligere licet eos nihil aliud spectasse quam ut Arabibus, praesertim Christianis, suis laboribus inservirent, maximum quaestum ex libris quos excuderent, percipiendi spe adductos; eorum institutum etsi laudabile sit, magis probaretur si nostrorum hominum utilitati [p. 3] etiam consuluisse, edendo videlicet Institutiones Grammaticas inductis convenientes, ex lexicon; qua a principio promiserunt. Quae certe ratio me movit, ut ad illorum imitationem curarem sculpi characteres, eo fine ut Occidentales eodem beneficio quo videbam ab Italis Orientales esse affectos, aliquando fruerentur.’

<sup>122</sup> For information on copies of the *Alphabetum arabicum* among Raphelengius’s grammatical notes, see below pp. 142–143, n. 168.

In the fifteenth century, the first printed grammars of Greek by Manuel Chrysoloras, Constantin Lascaris, Theodore Gaza and other Byzantine emigrés had been produced in monolingual Greek editions for the benefit of Italian humanists (and presumably the Greek community in exile). Some works were also published with parallel Latin translations, but during the sixteenth century, grammars of Greek in Greek were replaced by western style analyses such as Clenardus's very popular work.<sup>123</sup>

Similarly, these two Arabic grammatical texts in their original form were accessible to a few isolated Arabists in Italy and abroad and to eastern Christians and renegade Muslims under instruction in the classrooms of the Maronite and Neophyte colleges in Rome. But they do not constitute a genre like the monolingual Greek grammars. No other monolingual Arabic grammars were produced in Europe; and like Clenardus with his Greek grammar (and no doubt his Arabic grammar), other Arabists such as Postel and Erpenius preferred to devise their own grammars of Arabic (or else to supply Arabic grammatical texts with translations).

In Florence, archival material relating to the Medici Press records the distribution of these grammar books East and West;<sup>124</sup> and in northern European libraries, annotations in extant copies testify to the interest these books aroused among a few scholars. At a time when Arabic manuscripts were in short supply, the Medicean Arabic publications provided raw material for specialists to draw on, either when preparing wordlists or making translations. These books also provided a textual basis for reeditions, though here the editors were cautious. It was said that the original editions were flawed by errors. Sionita, Kirsten, and Erpenius each based their translations of the *Ājurrūmiyya* on the Medicean *editio princeps*. We do not know to what extent Sionita was able to make up for the deficiencies of the edition in his version; but Kirsten got into print with his translation, notes, and a reedition of the text which he claims to have corrected with recourse to only one defective manuscript copy of the text.<sup>125</sup> Erpenius was more critical and better provided with alternatives. In the introduction to his own edition of the *Ājurrūmiyya*, he referred to the favourable typographical quality of the Medicean edition but was critical of its

123 Percival, *Grammatical Tradition*, pp. 245–247.

124 Robert Jones, 'The Medici Oriental Press', pp. 88–108.

125 Kirsten, *Liber tertius*. Schnurrer, pp. 24–25, no. 45. For a list of the Arabic grammatical terms in the *Ājurrūmiyya* and of the Latin equivalents given by Kirsten, Erpenius, and Obicini (1631), see Gérard Troupeau, 'Trois traductions latines de la «Muqaddima» d'Ibn Āgurrūm' in *Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire d'E. Lévi-Provençal* vol. 1 (Paris, 1962), pp. 359–365.

mistakes and lacunae saying that his own text was based on four manuscript copies.<sup>126</sup>

Is the criticism of the Medicean *Ājurrūmiyya* justified, and if so are these mistakes typographical and therefore editorial or do they reflect deficiencies in the manuscript text available to Raimondi? The *Ājurrūmiyya* was available in Rome in a number of manuscript copies. Some are now preserved in the Vatican Library,<sup>127</sup> several, including the original printer's copy for this edition, are in the Laurenziana at Florence.<sup>128</sup> The text, written on fourteen folios in a regular *naskh* hand, is fully vocalised. Chapter headings and some words are rubricated (as they are in the printed edition). At the head of the text a Jesuit confirms that he has seen the text and that it contains nothing but grammatical instructions, and the *imprimatur* has been given.<sup>129</sup> As with many Islamic manuscripts collected or copied for the Medici Press, the blessing after the author's name – an innocuous /raḥimahu Allāh ta'ālā/ – has been crossed through: it does not appear in the published version (though it should be noted that the *Bismillāh* did not cause concern and appears at the head of the other secular publications). Comparison between the manuscript copy and the printed edition shows that, while the textual *lacunae* may be traced to omissions made by the original copyist, spelling mistakes and the loss or inept inclusion of diacritical points were the fault of the type-setter and editor.<sup>130</sup>

From a variety of inventories of the oriental manuscripts supplied to the Medici Press by Ignazio Ni'matallah, the Vecchiotti brothers and other collectors (and passing into Raimondi's ownership between 1596 and 1610), and from Stefano Evodio Assemani's eighteenth-century catalogue of oriental manuscripts in the Laurenziana (as well as my own study of some of those manuscripts), it is possible positively to identify some of the Arabic grammatical texts that were available to Raimondi and to glimpse something of the direction of his studies.

Thus we learn that, apart from the standard didactic texts, Raimondi was also supplied with more theoretical works in the form of learned commentaries on those texts by Muslim scholars, including important commentaries on

126 Thomas Erpenius, *Grammatica arabica dicta Giarumia, et libellus centum Regentium...* (Leiden, 1617). Schnurrer, pp. 31–32, no. 53; Troupeau, *Trois traductions*.

127 E.g. BAV, MS Arabo 141, fols. 134–142: a *karshūnī* copy by Bishop Moses of Şūr; BV MS Arabo 301 containing Khālid al-Azhari's commentary on the *Ājurrūmiyya* and probably once belonging to Leonardo Abel. Cf. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, pp. 214, 241.

128 BML, MS Or. 119, no. 375, fols. 1a–14a.

129 *Ibid.*, fol. 1a: 'Io Gio Bapa [Ro?] della Compa. di Jesu ho veduto la punte grammatica, et afirmo, che non contiene altro che pura istruttione grammaticale.' 'Imprimatur [?J.V.bonard R.Mag.sac.Pal.]'

130 For textual lacunae in the printed edition of the *Ājurrūmiyya*, see below.

the two grammatical tracts he had published in 1592. Two of these commentaries were relatively recent works from the fifteenth century: al-Azhari<sup>131</sup> on the *Ājurrūmiyya* and Mullā Jāmi<sup>132</sup> on the *Kāfiya*; two others on the *Kāfiya* by al-Ghujduwānī<sup>133</sup> and Raḍī al-Dīn al-Astarabādī<sup>134</sup> were earlier. It would be gratifying to learn that Raimondi actually employed some of these texts in preparing the editions of 1592; but there is no evidence to suggest this in those books, which, as we have already seen, cannot be described as critical editions. Their genius lies in the attempt to provide plausible successors to the manuscript traditions of the East rather than in their scholarly contribution to the West.

For evidence in print of Raimondi's critical approach to grammatical texts we have to wait another twenty years until the publication of his edition and translations of al-Zanjānī's *Kitāb al-Taṣrif* – the *Liber Tasriphi*, published at Rome in 1610.<sup>135</sup> It is clear from the publication itself that this edition was carefully prepared for a western readership. The text is fully vocalised; it is divided into 108 numbered paragraphs, each of which is followed by a literal and a free Latin version; there are additional explanatory notes on particular features, and a short list of *errata* is appended to the book. Looking beyond the publication for evidence of its production, we find proof pages pulled as early as 1608 and corrected by Raimondi.<sup>136</sup> We also find that, as with the *Ājurrūmiyya* and

131 Assemani, no. 369. Now BML, MS Or. 108, fols. 1a-56b. The manuscript is dated 1595 and on fols. 1b-2a there are the beginnings of an interlinear Latin version in Raimondi's hand. The Arabic text may also be in Raimondi's hand. For a preliminary identification in Assemani's catalogue of some of Raimondi's grammatical MSS as listed by him in BNCF, MS II.III.13, (no.1), fols. 44<sup>v</sup>-45<sup>v</sup>, see below Part 2, Appendix 6. Present locations and further information on the manuscripts themselves is given following a visit to Florence in September 1981.

132 Ibid., no. 388 (2). Now BML, MS Or. 131, fols. 1a-433b. Fol. 1a bears the inscription by Raimondi: 'expositio tractatus Caffia /sharḥ al-Kāfiya li-Mullā Jāmi/. Del illmo. signor. Cardinale San Giorgio fù del P.fra Thomaso'.

133 Assemani, no. 362. Now BML, MS Or. 103, fols. 139, copied in 744 AH. Inside the top cover Raimondi has written: 'Dal Vescovo di Sidonia expo. super Grammaticam caphiam Gelaldin'. (i.e. this manuscript came from Leonardo Abel).

134 Assemani, no. 383. Now BML, Or.228, fols. 202, undated, with a change of script at fol. 101b-102a. Inside the top cover Raimondi has written: 'Dal Vescovo di Sidonia'. (i.e. this MS came from Leonardo Abel).

135 [Al-Zanjānī] /Kitāb al-Taṣrif ta'lif al-shaykh al-imām/ *Liber Tasriphi compositio est Senis Alemami*, ed. and tr. G.B. Raimondi (Rome, 1610). Schnurrer, pp. 25-27, no. 47. For a list of the Arabic grammatical terms contained in the *Kitāb al-Taṣrif* and of Raimondi's Latin equivalents see Gérard Troupeau, 'Deux traités grammaticaux arabes traduits en latin', *Arabica* 10 (1963), pp. 225-236.

136 BML, MS Or. 459, fols. 465a-475a containing the following pages from the edition: 87, 86, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 2, title-page (dated 1608), 1. Fols. 480a-487b also contain

the *Kāfiya*, a number of manuscript copies<sup>137</sup> and a commentary – that of al-Taftāzānī<sup>138</sup> – were available to Raimondi. On this occasion, however, it is clear that he made meticulous use of them.

The *Liber Tasriphi* was not only a well researched and produced grammar book; it was also, from the scholarly angle, the finest publication of the Medici Press and reveals how, in proper circumstances and with adequate support, Raimondi was capable of producing material of the highest standard and suitable for Europeans. After the trials and tribulations of the early days of the press in the 1580s and early 90s, and the unproductive years from 1596 when Raimondi shouldered the impossible financial burden of owning the enterprise, Cosimo de' Medici had relinquished Raimondi from his debt in 1609 and they could look forward to a new period of publishing.<sup>139</sup>

In a note to the reader mid-way through the *Liber Tasriphi*, Raimondi mentions his wish to publish al-Fīrūzābādī's *Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* and al-Jurjānī's grammatical tract on rection, *Kitāb Mi'at 'āmil*.<sup>140</sup> In a handwritten list of texts to be

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pp. 1, 4, 5, 8; 2, 3, 6, 7. Raimondi's corrections are to pp. 87, 86, 83, 82 (i.e. fols. 465a, 466b, 471a, 472b). This manuscript is not in Assemani.

137 Assemani, no. 366. Now BML, MS Or. 96, fols. 1b-21a, an undated copy which starts in a neat hand but deteriorates. Marginal notes giving additions, corrections, and variant readings by Raimondi. E.g., fol. 2a, text: /bi-faṭḥ al-'ayn/; marginal comment: in alio exempl./maftūḥ al-'ayn/. Fol.6b, text: /hamra/ (carelessly written); marginal correction: /hamza/. NB The text is in the same hand as fols. 25-32, (the *Ājurrūmiyya*), which has a colophon stating that it was copied by Domenico Sirleto. BNCF, Magl. III, 63, contains Raimondi's final copy for the printer of the *Liber Tasriphi*, without the preface, but dated at the end: 13 August 1610. BNCF, MS II, III, 14, fol. 161r: 'Termini Grammaticales' is a list by Raimondi of Arabic terms from the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* with Latin equivalents as given in his edition. BNCF, Magl. III, 76, fols. 9<sup>v</sup>-8<sup>r</sup>, contain (crossed-out) notes by Raimondi for pp. 78-81 of the *Liber Tasriphi*.

138 Assemani, no. 416, BML, MS Or. 350, no. 416, fols. 1b-46a, dated Miṣr, Jānbeḡ Madrasah, 835 AH. The division of the text in the printed edition into 108 sections is given in the margin to this commentary. Inside the top cover Raimondi has written: 'Di Gio Batta Raimondo donatoli da Monsig. Concino expositio super Tasriph'. BML, MS Or. 128, fols. 1-83, contains a copy of the same commentary by al-Taftāzānī and is also divided in the margin into 108 sections. Comparison of this manuscript with the *Liber Tasriphi* shows that where Raimondi went beyond al-Zanjānī's text he was relying on al-Taftāzānī's commentary. Compare, for example, Raimondi (p. 13) and al-Taftāzānī (fol. 12b) on /faṣḥ fī amthilat taṣrīf hādhihi al-af'āl/. Raimondi (p. 21) and al-Taftāzānī (fol. 20b) on the negative particles /lā/ and /mā/. [Though no single passage in al-Taftāzānī accounts for Raimondi's comments on the negative (p. 22)]. Raimondi (p. 50) and al-Taftāzānī (fol. 43a) on the seven types of weak verb. Raimondi (p. 62) and al-Taftāzānī (fol. 51a) on the morphology of the imperfective hollow verb. Raimondi (p. 97: *Scholium ex arabico expositore*) and al-Taftāzānī (fol. 71b).

139 Saltini, pp. 284-287, VII, 'Il Raimondi si compone col granduca Cosimo II'.

140 Raimondi, ed., *Liber Tasriphi*, pp. 68-71. *Kitāb Mi'at 'āmil* also known as *Kitāb al-'Awāmil al-mi'a*. GAL, vol. 1, pp. 114, 287; Suppl. I, p. 503.

published,<sup>141</sup> Raimondi repeated his plan to print the al-Jurjānī (*Liber centum actionum*, as he calls it) as well as the anonymous verb paradigm, *al-Amthila al-mukhtalifa* (*Liber exemplorum*, as Raimondi called it and to which Postel had referred in his grammars), with the Latin versions he has given them. He also intended to publish al-Zamakhsharī's *Kitāb al-Unmūdḥaj* with a commentary (*Liber Elamudag*), and with a Latin version which remained to be done.

Other works available to Raimondi at different periods in his study include some well-known didactic tracts on Arabic grammar, including Ibn Mas'ūd's *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ*,<sup>142</sup> al-Ḥarīrī's *Mulḥat al-i'rāb*,<sup>143</sup> and al-Muṭarrizī's *al-Miṣbāḥ fi 'l-naḥw* (with a commentary)<sup>144</sup> (the very texts that, as we shall see, were also collected by Erpenius). Apart from some interlinear glosses on the first two pages of the al-Ḥarīrī, however, Raimondi's Arabic grammatical manuscripts do not contain the *marginalia* to be found in other texts that he worked on – particularly the Persian grammar books and lexicons and Arabic lexicons. Nonetheless there is some interesting evidence to show that he read and compared some of these texts rather carefully, probably at an early stage in his work for the Medici Press.

Among the administrative records of the press, now preserved in the Archivio di Stato at Florence, is part of a grammar book written on twelve leaves by Raimondi in which he treats of vowel signs and verb morphology.<sup>145</sup> Some of the information coincides with information given in the *Alphabetum arabicum* (in some cases word for word) and in the *Liber Tasriphi*. But some uncertainties on several points and divergencies from the printed texts in translation and transliteration suggest that these few pages may represent an early attempt by Raimondi in the 1580s to produce a comprehensive grammar book. One indication of the immaturity of this work may be the considerable reference to Hebrew and Greek equivalents – a feature which Raimondi kept to a minimum in the *Alphabetum arabicum* and which never occurs in the *Liber Tasriphi*. Another sign of inexperience with the Arabic grammatical tradition is the too sweeping statement that while *ṣarf* is concerned with the verb, *naḥw* deals with the noun. But what is particularly interesting in this document is that one page, inserted between folios 3 and 4, reveals a careful consideration

141 ASF, *Stamperia Orientale*, Filza 3, doc. 49.

142 Assemani, nos. 390 (now Or. 244, fols.1–49), 435.

143 Assemani, nos. 334, 438. Now BML, MS Or. 393, fols. 1–36. Inside the lower cover Raimondi has written: 'Da Monsig. Pat.ca' (i.e. Ignazio Ni'matallah). Fol. 1a contains information on the contents of the manuscript (possibly in the Patriarch's hand).

144 Assemani, no. 379. Now BML, MS Or. 219, fols. 1–142. (A commentary on the *Miṣbāḥ fi 'l-naḥw*.) On the initial end-paper, Raimondi has written: 'Dal signor. Vecchietto'.

145 ASF, *Stamperia Orientale*, Filza 4, Insert 1.

of three different definitions of the verb by al-Ḥarīrī, al-Jurjānī, and Jār Allāh al-ʿAllāma (possibly Ibn al-Ḥājjib) – the text itself giving the definition by al-Zanjānī in the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*.

## 8 The Medicean Grammarians in Europe

Around the year 1600, scholars in Northern Europe had much greater difficulty finding copies of important texts in oriental languages than did their counterparts in Italy. The situation is reminiscent of that for Greek studies a hundred and fifty years before; and, as was the case then, the South provided many of the texts – as manuscripts or even in a printed form – that scholars in the North required. Both Scaliger and Erpenius acquired oriental manuscripts via Italy; and like other scholars in the North, they exploited the Medicean publications for their own purposes, including their grammatical studies.

Jakob Christmann owned interleaved copies of the Medicean *Ājurrūmiyya* and the *Kāfiya* which are now in Groningen.<sup>146</sup> A few cross-references he made

146 UBG, *alpha.f.17*, Christmann's interleaved copies of the Medicean editions of the *Ājurrūmiyya* and the *Kāfiya* (Rome, 1592), Arabic only title-pages, bound together and paginated continuously by Christmann with Indian numerals (1–119). Christmann must have had access to other copies with the bilingual title-pages since he supplied the Latin titles and imprints in his own hand. The *Ājurrūmiyya* has been vocalised by Christmann in brown ink and chapter headings (1–25) have been added in the margin. Examples of Christmann's annotations in the *Ājurrūmiyya* are as follows: p. 2. 'Tenvin dicuntur puncta duplicata, ut sunt /an/ an, /tin/ tin, /tun/ tun. Habent locum in fine nominum tantum, in quibus non est praefixus articulus /al/ al, quem Arabes appellant Alelif ve allam, h.e.Elif et Lam...' p. 4. 'Gemhu altechsir, pluralis abbreviatus, ut ex /nāširūn/ fit /nusārūn/, /nuṣarrūn/ [sic], /nuṣaratūn/, /jam' maksūra/ gemiah macsuret, pluralia abbreviata, ut ex /nāširātūn/ fit /nawāšir/. Sic ex /manšūrūn/ fit /munāširūn/ [sic]. Exemplia alia habes pagina 87.' [i.e. in the *Kāfiya*]. p. 9. In a list of particles, Christmann replaces /wa-innānī/ with /wayy/ (as in UBG, MS 461, see following note). p. 10. /wa-ḍarabī/ added in margin with paradigm of /ḍaraba/ in the perfective on the interleaved page opposite. p. 12. 'Pronomina primitiva sunt duodecim', on interleaved page. p. 14. 'Nomen personale ut /anā/ ego... Nomen proprium ut /Zayd/, /Makka/.' (On interleaved page). p. 18. Margin: 'Confer ea quae habentur pagina 71.' [i.e. in the *Kāfiya*]. The interleaved page gives a translation of the Arabic text: 'Affixa sunt duodecim ut /ḍarabānī/ percussit me, /ḍarabānā/ percussit nos...' 'Duodecim sunt affixa ad particulam /iyyā/, ḥ vel ecce.' p. 21. Christmann vocalises /lā rajula fi 'l-dār wa lā imrāta/ and repeats this instead of giving the alternative (as in MS 461, see next note) i.e./rajulūn/ and /imrātūn/. The lacuna in the description of the nominal sentence is not corrected (as it might have been from MS 461). The *Kāfiya* is not annotated to the same extent. p. 75. 'Persona tres. Prima singularis dicitur /nafs al-mutakallim/ nefs mutchellem id est anima loquens. Secunda dicitur /mukhāṭib/ muchateb alloquens, vel enunciator. Tertia dicitur /ghā'ib/, absens.' p. 78. 'Pluralis numerus abbreviatus is est, qui non habet communem terminationem /īn/ vel /ūn/, sed

to the longer work indicate his interest in extending his knowledge of the shorter work. Moreover, his vocalisation of the *Ājurrūmiyya* and his other annotations indicate that he made a rough comparison of the edition with a manuscript copy from the Maghrib which is also kept in Groningen.<sup>147</sup> One annotation deriving from Postel's *Grammatica arabica*, demonstrates Christmann's indebtedness to that work in his understanding of the text.

Copies of these same editions were acquired in 1602 by Matthew Slade, the rector of the Latin school in Amsterdam and manager of the city library (to which he donated these books in 1612), and they are now in the University Library there.<sup>148</sup> A very few glosses as well as the inclusion of pagination and line numbers show how they were consulted by Jan Theunisz., the Amsterdam liquor seller who, as already mentioned, spent a probationary year at Leiden in 1612 as lecturer in Arabic. Isaac Casaubon's copy of the Medicean *Ājurrūmiyya* with his occasional annotations is preserved in the British Library.<sup>149</sup>

In October 1613, one of Franciscus Raphelengius's two younger sons, Joost, made copies of the Medicean editions of the *Ājurrūmiyya* and of the *Liber Tashriphi*, apparently in order to republish them with Latin versions which their father had made many years before. These copies, now in Leiden, are bound in

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formatur admiculo literarum quiescentium /y/ /w/ /alif/: vel abijcit unum ex literis /y/ /w/ /alif/ quae in singulari numero occurrunt ut /faras/, faras equus, /afrās/ afras, equi; /fa'al/ fahal, opus, /af'al/ afhal opera... [This is not a translation of the Arabic text]. p. 88. "Nomen agens id est participium activum." p. 89. "Nomen patiens id est participium passivum." p. 96. /Al-mu'allal/ "Muhatel, id est verbum mutilum dicitur, quod unam habe ex duabus literis /y/ /w/. Quod vero habet Elif radicale, vel cum eo parvum Elif, dicitur verbum /mahmūz/ hoc est, hamzatum... Exempla sunt /waratha/ haereditatem adire, /kāla/ fricare, continere, /ghadhā/ alere, /rawā/ coniectare, /qā/ vomere, /ākhadha/ [sic] capere, sā'ala [sic] petere." [Text and examples taken from Postel's *Grammatica arabica*].

147 UBG, MS 461. Brugmans, *Catalogus*, p. 250. A *maghribī* copy of the *Ājurrūmiyya* copied in 918 AH, annotated by Christmann and with his chapter numbers (1–25) in the margin. Christmann notes that the form of the author's name differs from that of the *Editio romana*. fol. 2<sup>r</sup>. re./khafḍ/ 'ab aliis appellari /jarr/' (the same observation Casaubon had made in his copy of the *Alphabetum arabicum*).

148 Amsterdam University Library, 301.D.23. The Medicean editions of the *Kāfiya* and *Ājurrūmiyya* bound together. Theunisz.'s annotations consist of a few glosses: *Kāfiya*: p. 9. /dūn/ propter. p. 30 /qaṭa'a/ scidit; /taṣilu/ adiunxit; /kharaja/ exivit; /qadara/ comprehendit; /illā/ id circo. p. 63. /amr/ impertativum; /nahī/ prohibitiva; /nafi/ negativa; /al-ḥurūf al-āṭifa/ dictiones copulativae. *Ājurrūmiyya*: p. 2. /i'rāb/ puncta; /ākhir al-kalam/. p. 11. /bāb al-awāmil al-dākhila 'alā 'l-mubtada' wa-'l-khabar/ i.e. partes sive membra quae accedunt ad nomen suppositum et adiunctum. p. 19. /ṣāhibu-hā/ comitans; /tamyiz/ distinctio. p. 20. /kalām mūjibun/ oratio affirmativa; /kalām manfiyyun/ oratio negativa; /kalām nāqiṣun/ oratio deficiens. p. 21. /munādī/ vocativum; /min ajli-hi/ propter quem.

149 BL, 14593.b.31.

a manuscript containing a number of documents relating to the elder Raphaelengius's Arabic grammatical studies.<sup>150</sup> Copying the *Ājurrūmiyya* took a couple of days on 9 and 10 October 1613; and although one or two obvious misprints were corrected, there is no evidence of a critical approach to the text, even though the vocalisation was to have been included. Copying Zanjānī's Arabic text from the *Liber Tasriphi* took four days, from 10 to 14 October; Raimondi's literal version was copied by 27 October and his free version by 4th November 1613. These translations were copied opposite the Arabic text, and it was intended that the elder Raphaelengius's version would be supplied interlinearly with the Arabic text, as it would be in the *Ājurrūmiyya*.<sup>151</sup>

On 6th March 1613, Jean-Baptiste Duval recorded his early study of Arabic in the preface to an Arabic-Latin dictionary he had compiled in manuscript. He never published this work, but some of the information he gives is similar to that which he gave in the preface to his Latin-Arabic dictionary, published in 1632. According to both sources, he had begun his study of Arabic in Paris under Hubert in 1600 and eight years later, in 1608, he travelled to Rome and met Raimondi, whom he considered the greatest European scholar of Arabic. Here the manuscript account differs from that given in the published dictionary. From the manuscript we learn that, after Rome, Duval went on to Venice. There he found plenty of Arabic-speakers (as Erpenius did too in 1612), but few who could read the language. However, he met a Syrian called Angelus Seraphinus, who if not learned was very fluent, and with his help Duval set about translating the Medicean *Ājurrūmiyya* and *Kāfiya* first to Italian and thence to Latin.<sup>152</sup> The present location of these translations is not known.

At Paris in 1612 Jacques-Auguste de Thou, having seen the Medicean *Ājurrūmiyya*, asked Gabriel Sionita and Victor Scialac to translate it for him.

150 UBL, Cod. Or. 3041 (Ar. 2401). A manuscript containing an assortment of documents relating to Franciscus Raphaelengius's Arabic grammatical studies. For a description of its contents, see below p. 142, n. 168. Alastair Hamilton, "Nam tirones sumus", p. 567, n. 37 attributes the unsigned transcription of the *Ājurrūmiyya* and *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*, dated in the autumn of 1613, to Joost Raphaelengius. He also claims that Joost's copies are of his father's 'transcription, translation, and elucidation' of those works.

151 UBL, Cod. Or. 3041 (Ar. 2401), doc. 2. The title given to Raphaelengius's son's copy of the Medicean *Ājurrūmiyya* reads: 'Arabicè cum punctis vocalibus ex versione Francisci Raphaelengii inter lineas notata'. The misprint /ghulām raydin/ is corrected to /ghulām zaydin/. Otherwise, the mistakes and lacunae of the *editio princeps* are repeated. Ibid., doc. 3: The title given to Raphaelengius's son's copy of the Medicean *Liber Tasriphi* reads: 'Liber Tasrif seu Coniugationum Arabicarum compendiosa descriptio, arabice, cum versione Latina interlineari Francisci Raphaelengii punctis vocalitur ubique annotatis'.

152 Abouassouan, ed., *Le livre et le Liban*, p. 204, exhibit 75: Duval's manuscript copy of his dictionary, discussed in a note by Gérard Duverdier.

Savary de Brèves wrote to de Thou on 25th June 1612 saying, with his usual candour, that they did not think this would help him to learn the language, 'car à vous dire le vrai tout ce qui est fait à Rome n'est pas grand chose'. Nonetheless he was able to say that the Maronites were working on the translation and that he would have it printed.<sup>153</sup> This was never done, though they were responsible for writing their own grammar book which was published in 1616 and to which we shall return below.

One man who got his translation of the Medicean *Ājurrūmiyya* into print with an emended edition of the text was Peter Kirsten. His three part grammar of Arabic, published with his own type at Breslau in 1608 (book one) and 1610 (books two and three),<sup>154</sup> is highly derivative of other European publications, with references to Postel, Radtmann, and Radtmann's informant Paul, for whom he showed an unjustified degree of appreciation. In Erpenius's view, the fact that Kirsten had never read the Quran and gave a faulty paradigm for the verb /našara/, rendered the grammar unreadable.<sup>155</sup> Schnurrer, Fück and others have maintained this view of Kirsten's abilities.<sup>156</sup>

In his first book on the alphabet, called *Orthographia et prosodia arabica*, Kirsten relied heavily on the Medicean *Alphabetum arabicum*, and often quotes from it *verbatim*; but he was also critical of it as for example where he rejects Raimondi's analysis of the pronunciation of *fatha*, incorporating instead the rules for *imāla*, as given by Alcalá, and emending them.<sup>157</sup> It is this emended form of Alcalá's rule that Erpenius adopted, without acknowledgement, for his own grammar of Arabic. Kirsten's second book, called *Etymologia arabica*, is concerned with the division of the language into word classes, subdivisions within those categories, and morphology; and here the influence of Postel is dominant. The third book, called *Syntaxis arabica*, contains Kirsten's reedition and translation of the *Ājurrūmiyya*. In the notes he shows precisely where he has added or substituted passages from his own manuscript copy of the text in order to improve upon the Medicean edition. Many points are clarified, but a number of omissions in the *editio princeps* remain obscure. There is also a hypercorrection in the deletion of the final *wāw* from the name 'Amr in two

153 Ibid., p. 202, exhibit 71: A copy of the Medicean *Ājurrūmiyya*, discussed in a note by Gérard Duverdier.

154 Schnurrer, pp. 24–25, no. 45.

155 Casaubon, *Epistolae*, pp. 662 and 356.

156 Schnurrer, loc. cit.; Fück, *Die Arabischen Studien*, pp. 57–59.

157 Kirsten, *Grammatices arabicae liber I* (Breslau, 1608), p. 81f. Kirsten excludes /j/ from those consonants said by Alcalá to inhibit *imāla*.

examples.<sup>158</sup> Kirsten admitted that the manuscript he was working from was a poor copy and hoped, therefore, that someone else with access to better copies might be able to improve upon his work.

That man was Thomas Erpenius. In 1617 he published his own edition of the *Ājurrūmiyya*, which was quite independent of the two printed editions and was based, instead, on four manuscript copies – one of which was fully vocalised while the other three were accompanied by commentaries.<sup>159</sup> In this publication, Erpenius also included the first edition and printed translation of al-Jurjānī's work on rection, *Mī'at āmil*, which Raimondi had promised in the *Liber Tasriphi*. The edition was based on a single, incomplete manuscript of the text in Erpenius's possession.<sup>160</sup>

## 9 Joseph Justus Scaliger and Franciscus Raphelengius

The Arabic publications of the Medici Press that belonged to Joseph Justus Scaliger are kept in Leiden; and as might be expected, the annotations he made in these books are unrivalled in their critical power. His copy of the *Alphabetum Arabicum* contains improvements on both the Latin and the Arabic and comparisons with Greek and Hebrew.<sup>161</sup> Furthermore, among the Arabic man-

158 Ibid., Liber 3: /Bāb al-fā'il/. 'Romanum Exemplar in locis hisce duobus ad calcem huius vocabuli adjicit literam /w/ vau quae tamen vix videtur necessaria.'

159 [Thomas Erpenius, ed. and tr.] /Kitāb al-jarūmiyya [sic] wa-mī'at al-āmil/ *Grammatica arabica dicta Gjarumia et libellus centum regentium...* (Leiden, 1617), Preface, sig. A2<sup>v</sup>: 'Excusus aliquando hic libellus Romae fuit in Typographia Medicaea elegantissimo caractere, sed admodum mendose omissis passim et corruptis non vocibus tantum sed et integris sententiis... non ex vitiosa illa editione Romana, sed ex quatuor correctissimis codicibus manuscriptis quorum unus solum habet contextum accurate vocalium figuris insignitum, reliqua tria doctos etiam additos commentarios.' See Troupeau, *Trois traductions* and *Deux traités* for lists of the Arabic technical terms in both texts and Erpenius's Latin versions of those terms.

160 It is difficult to determine the present location for the manuscripts used by Erpenius in the preparation of this edition. See, for example, Staats und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, MS Or. 145: Erpenius's own, fully vocalised copies of the *Ājurrūmiyya* (containing a few mistakes but not those of the Medicean edition) and of the *Mī'at āmil* (complete). CUL, MS Ll.6.22: a complete copy of *Mī'at āmil*. CUL, MS Ll.6.9.(3): an untidy, defective copy of *Mī'at āmil* written in a number of hands.

161 UBL, 877.D.12: Scaliger's copy of the Medicean *Alphabetum arabicum*. I am grateful to Professor H.J. de Jonge for assisting my reading of Scaliger's annotation. Here are some edited examples: pp. 13, 14: (disputing Raimondi's use of Arabic phonetic analysis of the consonants) among the 'gutturals' (*ḥalqīyya*), /gh/ and /kh/ are likened to Hebrew equivalents and excluded; on 'balbutientes' (*naṭīyya*), 'plane haec sunt nugalia. Nam /t/, /d/, /t/ eiusdem instrumentis pronunciantur quibus /th/, /dh/, /t/'; on 'gingivales'

uscripts in Leiden that have traditionally been assigned to Scaliger's Legacy, there are a number of Arabic grammatical works. Of these, two have now been identified by Alastair Hamilton as having belonged to Raphelengius rather than Scaliger and are discussed below.

In the absence of any other evidence, however, the following composite grammatical manuscripts may still be called Scaliger's. First is one containing a commentary on al-Jurjānī's *Mī'at 'āmil*, a criticism of the opening of Ibn al-Ḥājib's *Kāfiya*, and an unidentified text copied in an indistinct *nasta'liq*, entitled *Kitāb al-Naḥw li-'l-faqīr Ilyās ibn 'Umar al-Ṣarrāf al-ustādh al-ḥakīm*.<sup>162</sup> Another contains a *nasta'liq* copy of Ibn Mas'ūd's *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ* dated AH 956, Zanjānī's *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*, and the anonymous *al-Maqṣūd fī al-Taṣrīf*.<sup>163</sup> Neither of these manuscripts has any European marginalia, but a third one does. This contains the well-known verb paradigm to which Postel referred in his grammars, *al-Amthila al-mukhtalifa*, with Latin terms, translation, and transliteration; and another copy of *al-Maqṣūd fī al-Taṣrīf*, lacking more than a third of the text at the end but containing copious marginal notes in Italian and a romanised Turkish version. Prefixed to the manuscript are some Arabic notes on *taṣrīf*.<sup>164</sup>

It has been convincingly demonstrated by Alastair Hamilton that the two grammatical manuscripts assigned to Raphelengius's ownership, not Scaliger's, were passed on to him via Postel. One is a rare copy of al-Afzārī's commentary on Zanjānī's *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*, copied in a neat *naskh* hand at Mecca, probably in the sixteenth century.<sup>165</sup> The other contains the *Ājurrūmiyya* and *al-Muqaddima al-kāfiya al-muḥsiba fī 'l-naḥw* by Ibn Bābāshādh, copied for Egidio of Viterbo in a European-looking *maghribī* hand, and dated according to the

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(*lithwīyya* i.e./th/, /dh/, /t/) 'sunt haec quoque nugatoria. Nam /t/ et /d/ eandem habent prononciationem, adeo ut alia pro alia commutator'. p. 16, Attention to the mistake in *Alhharakaton*; pp. 16, 18; Hebrew terms are given to describe the vowel signs; p. 20. /jazm/ translated *abscissio*; p. 21; Correction to Raimondi's rendering of grammatical terms deriving from Form II of the verb: *Fortitudo* for /al-tashdīd/ corrected to *fortificatio*; *Gravitas* for /al-tathqīl/ corrected to *gravatio*; *Levitas* for /al-takhfīf/ corrected in Greek: 'the act of making lighter rather than the result of that act'; p. 25. *Orabo* for /urattilu/ corrected to *psallam*; p. 26. /*min sibli-him*/ corrected to /*subuli-him*/, /*allāhumma kuntu*/ corrected to /*kunta*/; p. 29. *lilrabbī* corrected to *lirrabī*; p. 63. Raimondi's edition of Psalm 113 in Arabic with a Latin version; *Ab ortu solis usque ad occasum eius* for /*min mashāriq al-shams ilā maghāribī-hā*/ corrected to *ortibus* and *occasus*. Some missing vocalisation is included. /*ḥaqun al-rabbī*/ and /*badwun injilī*/ are corrected.

162 UBL, Cod. Or. 248.

163 UBL, Cod. Or. 40.

164 UBL, Cod. Or. 254.

165 UBL, Cod. Or. 246.

Christian era, 12 December 1518 and 30 January 1519 respectively.<sup>166</sup> Among the few marginal notes in this manuscript, some may be in Erpenius's hand. Perhaps he consulted the work back in Leiden after his four years of initial Arabic studies abroad. The Meccan manuscript, on the other hand, contains no European marginalia, though there is one significant element in the text (concerning the derived forms of the verb) which could just be linked with an innovation of Erpenius's in his *Grammatica arabica*.

Of course it is true that the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* gave a far better analysis of Arabic verb morphology than any of the few grammars by European Arabists (i.e. Postel's and his successors') that were available to Raphelengius; and that it was to his credit that he decided to produce a Latin version of that text.<sup>167</sup> Moreover, that version shows signs of originality and precision. At the same time it should be said that there is evidence in that translation and from what remains of his own attempt to produce a comprehensive grammar of Arabic that Raphelengius was heir to Postel's grammatical studies.<sup>168</sup>

166 UBL, Cod. Or. 235.

167 Hamilton, "Nam tirones sumus", p. 561.

168 UBL, Cod. Or. 3041 (Ar. 2401). The nine documents relating to Raphelengius's grammatical studies contained in this manuscript require further study with palaeographical comparisons before they can be fully catalogued. As the result of my initial reading, the contents may be summarised as follows: I. i. *Grammaticae arabicae libri II*. A copy made by one of the younger Raphelengii on 18 March 1613 of a grammar of Arabic copied by Hugo Grotius and sent to Franciscus Raphelengius the Younger on 23 March 1605. Book 1, 'De Literis et Syllabis' consists of Grotius's own copy of extracts from the Medicean *Alphabetum arabicum*, in 7 chapters. Book 2, 'autore Fr. Raphelengio', is Grotius's copy of the elder Raphelengius's incomplete work on the verb, in 4 chapters, breaking off after the analysis of 3 of the 7 types of weak verb. Franciscus Raphelengius the Younger notes that he could find nothing more on the verb and nothing at all on the noun among his father's papers. He goes on to explain that this grammar was based on some tables he compiled twenty years before (as he said in the preface to the lexicon) and, specifically, the grammar and commentary sent by Postel to his father (i.e. al-Afzārī's commentary on al-Zanjānī's *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*): 'Videtur autem concinnatus esse hic liber partim de Tabulis (quas...) septem aut octo, quas ante annos viginti conscripsit parens, et partim ex Grammatica illa quam habuit a Postello, accuratissime descripta, et commentariis illustrata; quam et in Latinum convertit.' Comparison of this grammar with the tables (see below) and the manuscript (Cod. Or. 246) will be needed to confirm this. It is possible at this stage to say that Raphelengius certainly worked from Zanjānī's text; that some of the Latin equivalents he gives for the Arabic terminology are similar to Postel's, others not; and that his use of Postel's *Grammatica arabica* is demonstrated by his reference to Postel's mnemonic for vocalisation of the imperfective. At the end, a copy of a letter from Hugo Grotius to Franciscus Raphelengius the Younger, dated 23 March 1605, apologising for the odd shape of the letters and explaining that he had copied the text at the outset of his Arabic studies. (Cf. Hamilton, "Nam tirones sumus", pp. 567–568, n. 37). I ii. A copy possibly made by Joost Raphelengius of the Medicean *Ājurrūmiyya* on 9 and 10 October

According to the preface to his Arabic-Latin lexicon,<sup>169</sup> Raphelengius had intended to supplement the lexicon with a grammar explaining the structure and function of the great variety of word-patterns he had omitted from his dictionary. To this end, he had translated a number of Arabic grammatical tracts to Latin (including the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* and the *Ājurrūmiyya*); and some twenty years before his sons published the lexicon in 1613, in the early to mid-1590s, he had produced a grammar in eight tables. Only death had prevented him from completing a serviceable grammar.

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1613. Interleaved, awaiting Franciscus Raphelengius the Elder's vocalisation and interlinear translation. i iii. A copy possibly made by Joost Raphelengius of the Medicean *Liber Tasriphi*. The Arabic text was copied between 10 and 14 October, the literal translation was copied by 27 October, the free translation by 4 November 1613. The two translations are set opposite the text, awaiting Franciscus Raphelengius the Elder's interlinear translation. II. A Latin version of the *Ājurrūmiyya* possibly by Franciscus Raphelengius the Elder and possibly annotated by Thomas Erpenius. III. 9 tables condensing Postel's *Grammatica arabica* possibly by Franciscus Raphelengius the Elder and annotated on the *versos* possibly by Thomas Erpenius. IV. One damaged leaf with the Arabic alphabet taken from the *Alphabetum arabicum*. V. Information on the verb deriving from Postel's grammar. 4 leaves. VI. *Alphabetum arabicum*. 6 leaves. (Cf. IX v below). An alphabetical table. Under *Potestas* there are references to Saadia Gaon's Pentateuch and the Granadan dictionary; Hebrew equivalents are given for all letters; the names of the letters derive from the Medicean *Alphabetum arabicum* (which is referred to a number of times). Fol. 1<sup>v</sup>: 'Quod autem in Romano Alphabeto inter /w/ et /y/ interscritur /lā/ lam aliph: id puto factum ob frequente eius usum'. Some passages are repeated and rewritten on different pages. There is a reference to Avicenna's *tractata De Simplicium* for the *abjad* alphabetical order. VII. *Isagoge in grammaticam arabicam*. 12 leaves. i. *Alphabetum arabicum* deriving from Postel, Saadia Gaon, Alcalá. ii. *De tribus partibus orationis* i.e. a condensed Latin version of the *Ājurrūmiyya*. iii. *De Syntaxis* deriving from Postel. VIII. 37 leaves beginning 'Scias quod...' A translation to Latin of al-Zanjānī's *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* possibly by Franciscus Raphelengius the Elder. (Cf. I i). The translation does not relate to the Medicean *Liber Tasriphi* but there are some similarities with the Latin equivalents in Postel's *Grammatica arabica* as well as references to him. IX i. *Alphabetum arabicum* deriving from Postel's grammar. IX ii. A Latin version of the *Ājurrūmiyya* (in a hand that resembles Erpenius's writing). E.g. *Indicia /i'rāb/*: 'Ipsam Rapha habet quatuor indicia: Tsam, raf, Eliph Num et dam'. Concluding with an introductory passage on the use of grammar, translated from the Arabic. IX iii. *Grammatica linguae vulgaris arabicae, qua hodie utitur vulgus Mauritanensium*, i.e. a Latin version of Pedro de Alcalá's *Arte*. (Again, the hand resembles Erpenius's). IX iv. 7 leaves giving references to pp. 39–79 of a work. Notes on the weak verb and deverbal nouns from an Arabic work on the verb (Erpenius-like hand). 5 leaves on the verb: vocalisation of the imperfective and derived forms, 34 *maṣḍars* from trilateral roots. IX v. *De signis et notis quibus praeter consonantes literas in arabica utuntur*. Deriving from the *Alphabetum arabicum*. IX vi. 2 tables on Hebrew orthography. IX vii. *Alphabetum arabicum*. 6 leaves.

169 Raphelengius, *Lexicon arabicum*, Leiden 1613, sig. \*\*2<sup>r</sup>, quoted by Hamilton, "Nam tirones sumus", pp. 567–568, n. 37.

## 10 Thomas Erpenius

In January 1609, Erpenius had returned from England to the continent, to Paris, where he spent much of that year in the circle of Isaac Casaubon. It was then that he received instruction in Arabic from the Egyptian Copt, Yūsuf ibn Abū Daqan (Abudacnus or Barbatus). But, as he told Bedwell in the well-known letter written in Arabic on 14 September 1609, Yūsuf could only instruct him in colloquial not classical Arabic.<sup>170</sup>

Erpenius's quest for a thorough knowledge of the classical language was to be a solitary task. In December 1609 he left Paris and made his way down the Loire to the Huguenot theological college at Saumur. There he remained for a year. From his correspondence with Isaac Casaubon, who was first at Paris and then moved to London, we learn that Erpenius devoted considerable time and energy to establishing the grammatical rules of Arabic, in particular its morphology. In doing so he was continually motivated by the desire not only to systematize the language for his own benefit but also to serve his intellectual mentor and friend and to provide future students of Arabic with a reliable and comprehensive introduction.

For his part, Casaubon, who was preoccupied by other academic concerns and distracted by the demanding political situation in Paris (especially after the murder of Henri IV), was pleased that this elementary but essential labour should be passed on to the young Dutchman. This task had already been begun for Casaubon five or six years earlier by another of Scaliger's protégés from Leiden, Adriaan Willemsz. of Flushing. But death had tragically intervened before Adriaan Willemsz. had achieved any concrete results;<sup>171</sup> and it was left to Erpenius to tackle the same task his fellow countryman had only just begun.

Even before arriving in Saumur, Erpenius had prepared some verb paradigms; and in February 1610 he was able to send some of them through to Casaubon.<sup>172</sup> At this time a major source Erpenius used for verbal morphology was that copy of the Quran which was lent, and later given to him, by Casaubon. In April 1610 Erpenius spoke of his desire to write a work on the affinity of Arabic,

170 Houtsma, *Oostersche correspondentie*, pp. 6–12, letter 1. For Erpenius see Arnoud Vrolijk and Richard van Leeuwen, *Arabic Studies in the Netherlands*, pp. 31–40.

171 Hamilton and Vrolijk, 'Hadrianus Guilielmi Flessingensis', pp. 8–12.

172 Casaubon, *Epistolae*, pp. 341–2. Casaubon to Erpenius dated Paris, 13 February 1610. For Erpenius and Casaubon see Alastair Hamilton, 'Isaac Casaubon the Arabist: 'Video longum esse iter'', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 72 (2009), pp. 143–168, esp. pp. 150–151, 158–159, 160–166; id., 'The long apprenticeship: Casaubon and Arabic' in: Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg, *I have always loved the Holy Tongue: Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship* (Cambridge, Mass., 2011), pp. 293–306, esp. pp. 300–305.

Hebrew and Aramaic.<sup>173</sup> But he kept to his original intention of providing the Republic of Letters with its first reliable guide to the rudiments of Arabic; and that same month Casaubon wrote back encouraging him in this endeavor.<sup>174</sup> By July 1610 Erpenius claimed to have composed an entire grammar book which was only in need of slight improvements. His intention was clearly to publish; and in September he wrote of his annoyance with the Parisian printer Guillaume (II) Le Bé, who had not replied to him about the publication of his grammar.<sup>175</sup> Casaubon had told him about a grammar book being published in Rome (i.e. Raimondi's *Liber Tasriphi*) and Erpenius was concerned that his own efforts would be rendered futile by this competition.

Le Bé's lack of response was, however, a blessing in disguise for Erpenius. Judging from a grammatical compendium Le Bé himself had rather carelessly compiled in manuscript form in 1602, he would not have been able to offer the same expertise in Arabic that the eventual publisher of Erpenius's *Grammatica arabica*, Franciscus Raphelengius the younger, clearly could. Le Bé's *Compendium linguae arabicae*<sup>176</sup> consists in the first place of information on orthography derived from the Medicean *Alphabetum arabicum*, then of grammatical material deriving from Postel and Spey, and even from Alcalá and Teseo Ambrogio for his analysis of nominal declension. At the end he added the customary reading exercise from scripture, on this occasion Psalms 78 and 19, very incorrectly vocalised. Another undated grammatical text by Le Bé<sup>177</sup> holds more strictly to Postel. Indeed, had this got into print we would have something akin to a second edition of Postel's *Grammatica arabica*, more than half a century after its original publication in that same city.

In 1611, Erpenius returned from Saumur to Paris and then spent several months in the late summer in the country to the southeast of Paris at Conflans.

173 Casaubon, *Epistolae*, pp. 343–6. Erpenius to Casaubon, dated Saumur 1 April 1610.

174 Ibid., p. 346. Casaubon to Erpenius, dated Paris 8 April 1610.

175 BL, MS Burney 364, fol. 23<sup>r-v</sup>. Erpenius to Casaubon, dated Saumur 20 August 1610: 'Scripseram ad Lebeum de Grammaticae meae et proverbiorum impressione, ac irascor quod nihil adhuc responderit. Si id verum est quod scribis propediem grammaticam Roma [fol. 23<sup>v</sup>] afferendam, credo de meae impressione nihil futurum...'

176 BnF, MS Arabe 4221. Title page: /Qīṣūr lisan 'arabiyyatan/ [sic] Hoc est Compendium linguae Arabicae et Grammatica Arabica Gullielmus Le Bé Par. digessit et scripsit Anno salutis MDCII. Alphabetical table, *De motionibus sive vocalibus Arabum*, and *Syllabarum Arabicum* (1 page only) all taken from the Medicean *Alphabetum arabicum* (1592). *De partibus orationis apud Arabes* may derive more from Spey's *Compendium* rather than Postel's *Grammatica arabica* (NB *ghā'ib* is written *kā'ib* as in Spey). *De nomine* (fol. 13<sup>r</sup>) contains *Exemplum declinationis* based on the word /rajul/ in six different cases, singular and plural, but not once correctly vocalised. Reading exercises: Psalm 78 (fol. 20<sup>v</sup>) and Psalm 19 (fol. 21<sup>r-v</sup>).

177 BnF, MS Arabe 4222.

In a letter, dated Paris 28 September, he told Casaubon in London what he had been doing and, of course, of his meeting with Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī. ‘His [Aḥmad’s] language is not very pure’, Erpenius had told Casaubon, ‘and frequently he does not observe the rules of grammar, mixing colloquialisms with the classical.’ Moreover, it was Aḥmad who acknowledged Erpenius as a master of grammar. Even so, there is evidence in the first book of Erpenius’s grammar for Aḥmad’s collaboration.

At Conflans Erpenius had read the Quran four times, combing it each time for some new grammatical point. Again he claims that his grammatical rules for Arabic were ready on different sheets of paper and merely required some editing to make up a single work. But Erpenius also recognised that there was no point in seeking perfection with this grammar book: he knew very well that there would still be room for adjustment even after another ten years of grammatical study. Unfortunately the distraction of friends had prevented him from sending Casaubon the completed text; but he was able to send him an Arabic work on Arabic orthography including a chapter on the rules for the changing orthography of *alif*, *wāw*, and *yā*’ (*badl*) – an area which Erpenius claimed had not been treated by European grammarians.<sup>178</sup> The following month, on 23 October 1611, Erpenius sent Casaubon the draft sheets for the last parts of his Arabic grammar on the noun, particles, and syntax; a *sūra* from the Quran with a Latin translation and notes (possibly *Sūrat Yūsuf*, which Erpenius published at his own press in 1617); and a supplement on the orthography of *alif*, *wāw*, and *yā*’, presumably distilled from the Arabic text he had already sent to Casaubon.

Like Postel, and under the more immediate influence of Scaliger, Erpenius recognised that a proper understanding of Arabic required the scholar to be fully conversant with the morphology and grammar of the Quran as well as the texts of the Arab grammarians. In addition to Casaubon’s Quran, Erpenius was able to borrow his grammatical texts, and, like Willemsz., he also had access to Arabic grammars belonging to Etienne Hubert. Furthermore, William Bedwell, his first teacher, had lent him some of his grammatical and lexical annotations; and these Erpenius studiously and critically commented on, to the admiration of their owner.

In the preface to his *Grammatica arabica*, the published version of his studies, Erpenius recalled the motivations behind his composition of the grammar and acknowledged those who had lent him source material:

<sup>178</sup> Casaubon, *Epistolae*, pp. 660–662. Erpenius to Casaubon, dated Paris, 28 September iv Kalends October 1611, p. 661: ‘...caput vero decimum, quod non pauca speculatione mihi constitit, aureum plane est et fundamentum totius Arabismi ita quidem ut iis, quae illic traduntur, ignoratis neminem solidam arabicae linguae cognitionem adipisci posse audacter praedicem, de quibus tamen Grammatici nostri vix ullam mentionem faciunt.’

As I know it is practically impossible to learn this language without a grammatical text, and none, capable of satisfying the needs of Arabophiles, having yet been published by Christians (for the Arabs themselves have many, very precise ones), it seemed to me a good idea to publish some outline of the grammatical rules. It was written in France four years ago with the encouragement of Isaac Casaubon, who is most studious and expert in that language, amassed partly from my own observations, and partly from those grammatical writings of the Arabs themselves which I had from Etienne Hubert, William Bedwell, and Isaac Casaubon.<sup>179</sup>

One of the grammatical manuscripts borrowed from Hubert is presently located in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.<sup>180</sup> It contains a *maghribī* copy of al-Ḥasanī's commentary on the *Ājurrūmiyya* entitled *al-Durra 'l-naḥwīyya* dated the month of *dhu 'l-ḥijja* 1005 AH (1597 AD). On the remaining half page after the Arabic colophon and the stamp of the French Royal Library, Erpenius has added his own description of the manuscript in his bold Latin hand. (See Plate 10). The note, which is signed and dated Paris 1611, advertises Erpenius's precocious talent:

This book contains the Arabic grammar which is called the *Ājurrūmiyya* (and which was published some years ago at Rome in a rather faulty edition as can be shown from a collation with this one) together with the very learned commentary of Rabbi Mosis ben Achmed [this name has been underlined and a marginal note in another hand tells the reader to beware], a man who is very well versed in grammatical matters and well read. And he pronounces on this work, citing many poets and other writers and more or less thirty grammarians. He does not just explain the author's text but also explains unusual features from grammar as a whole. His additions to the text can be seen wherever he puts in the word /faṣl/ and often also where he puts in /i'lam/, in an elegant enough hand but often carelessly transcribed. I think I have marked most of the errors or added a note in the margin.<sup>181</sup>

179 Erpenius, *Grammatica arabica*, sigs. \*3<sup>v</sup>.\*4<sup>r</sup>.

180 BnF, MS Arabe 4127. (See Plates 10 and 11). *Ibid.*, fol. 36<sup>v</sup>.

181 A note by Erpenius: 'Liber iste continet Grammaticam Arabicam quae Giarrumia appellatur (et Romae ante aliquot annos Arabice excusus est sed vitiose admodum ut ex huius cum illa collatione manifestum esse potest.) cum Doctissimis commentariis Rabbi Mosis ben [underlined and annotated in the margin in a different hand: cave lector] Achmed viri in re grammatica versatissimi et multae lectionis ut opus hoc declarat in quo praeter plurimos poetas et alios auctores citat triginta plus minus grammaticos. Non

In the letter Erpenius wrote to Casaubon telling him about Conflans and his meeting with Aḥmad ibn Qāsim, Erpenius mentions that he was still working on the grammar books Casaubon had left him; and no doubt he meant this one too, though this manuscript seems to have belonged to Hubert. Hubert's name appears on the initial leaf and there are a few annotations in his hand. Marginal annotations by Erpenius are evident throughout the manuscript, comparing the text with the Medicean edition of the *Ājurrūmiyya* and even correcting the copyist's errors (as he said in the note on the final page). Erpenius also comments on some notes in another faint and small hand. These notes are by Adriaan Willemsz.<sup>182</sup> This manuscript must therefore be one of the *maghribī* grammatical manuscripts referred to in the letter Casaubon wrote to Scaliger on Willemsz.'s death. What amazed Casaubon was that Willemsz. knew how to translate these grammars *ex tempore* to Latin despite the difficult *maghribī* script.<sup>183</sup> Perhaps Casaubon's enthusiasm should be tempered, however, in the light of Erpenius's corrections to his countryman's annotations. (See Plate 11).

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autem solum explicat textum auctoris verum egregias in super ex tota grammatica quaestiones explicat et ad textus explicationem adiungit, ut passim videre potes ubi ponit hanc vocem /faʃl/ et saepe etiam ubi ponit /i'lam/ stylo utitur eleganti satis negligentius subinde descriptus est; sed ego pleraque errata puto me sustulisse, aut in margine annotasse. Th. Erpenius Hollandus anno 1611 Parisiis.'

- 182 Ibid. The manuscript consists of 36 foliated leaves of text and one additional leaf. Pagination, 1–72, has been included by Erpenius. Some examples of Erpenius's corrections to the text and comparisons with the Medicean edition are as follows: fol. 3a /al-mu'annath/ corrected to /al-mudhakkar/. fol. 4b /ṣḥḥ/ in the margin is explained as 'corrige'. fol. 8b (on *alif* as a sign of *rafʿ*). 'haec de /alif/ in editione Romana errore typog. omitta sunt'. fol. 9a (on *alif* as a sign of *naṣb*) the Medicean edition is used to make an addition. fol. 11a (on indeclinable nouns) 'futilis subtilitas'. fol. 11a (on 9 reasons that prevent full /inṣirāf/) 'horum explicationem vide in /kāfiya/ pag. 4 et seque unde haec desumpta sunt.' fol. 13b (on a dispute between Arab grammarians on *rafʿ*) 'futilis disputatio'. fol. 14a (on *nawāṣib*) 'Rom editio pro hoc habet /idhan/.. Pro hoc edit. Romana et alter ms. habet /wa-lām kay/'. fol. 22b /zanantu zayd munṭaliqan/ corrected to /zaydan/. fol. 32b (on exception) '+ hic omisum /siwan/ vide lin. 21... Adriaan Willemsz.'s notes are often prefaced by the word 'leg.' Examples of Erpenius's corrections to Adriaan Willemsz.'s notes: fols. 13b, 14a, 32a.
- 183 Casaubon, *Epistolae*, pp. 213–215. Casaubon to Scaliger, dated Paris 19 July 1604. On Adriaan Willemsz.'s ability to understand Arabic grammar, p. 214: 'Sed quod maxima sum admiratus, praeceptiones grammaticae eius linguae eximie callebat. Nactus erat mea, aut amicorum meorum, Huberti et Florentii, virorum eruditissimorum, ope quatuor aut quinque Arabum Grammaticas manu exaratas; in his ille se anno exercuerat, ut exceptis oppido paucis, caetera omnia posset ex tempore in Latinum sermonem vertere. Quod cum sit per se difficile, et dignum admiratione, magis tamen mirareris, si scires quam difficili, characterem africano, quam corrupte scripti sint illi libri, unde hanc tantam eius artis notitiam hauserat.'

72  
 واطرافه العقل الى ما هو بعينه تا بطل العزم واجله فالواو وانما كانت هن  
 محسنة من جهة ان حق الشيء ان يضاهى الى غير كنهها خفيفة من حيث انهم  
 لم يوردوا فيها الا نطقا والله اعلم وهو حسنا ومع الوكيل ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله  
 العلم العظيم **جزء من العلم** وحسن عونه على ان كان الله عبيد الله واصح حبيبه  
 الحبيب الربيل الضعيف عابن موسى بن علي الرضا تقي المنصور لصور موسى  
 علم الله له ولوالديه وللجميع المسلمين والمسلمات والبرصير والمومنات  
 و امير و كان الفراع مفا يوم الثلاثة صخرة ليلة خمسة مضت فخرت في الجنة  
 عام تحفة و انك جعل الفخرية تقية لا خيه في الله سيوم انهم بن علي المعفور  
 ولتر شاء الله بعرضه وعلم الله على سبيلنا بحمد عود ما ذكره انرا كبر  
 واعتل عن كوال القامير



Liber iste continet grammaticam Arabicam qua Giarrumia  
 appellatur (et Rome ante aliquot annos Arabice excusa est  
 sed vixitiose admodum ut ex hujus cum illa collatione manifestum  
 esse potest) cum Doctissimis commentarijs Rabbi Moysis ben  
 Achmed viri in re grammatica versatissimi et multa lectionis  
 ut opus hoc declarat in quo prator plurimos poetas et alios  
 auctores citat triginta plus minus grammaticos. Non autem  
 solum explicat textum auctoris sed etiam egregias insuper  
 ex tota grammatica questiones explicat et ad textus explica-  
 tionem adjungit, ut passim videre potes ubi ponit hanc vo-  
 com فص et saepe etiam ubi ponit del stylo utitur eleganti  
 satis. negligentius subinde descriptus est; sed ego pleraz  
 ta puto me sustulisse, aut in margine annotasse.

case lectin

H. Erpenius Hollandus  
 anno 1611. Parisys.

PLATE 10 Bibliothèque nationale de France Paris, MS Arabe 4127, fol. 36v. Inscription by Thomas Erpenius, dated Paris 1611, at the end of al-Hasani's al-Durra l-naḥwiyya.



PLATE 11 Bibliothèque nationale de France Paris, MS Arabe 4127, fol. 32<sup>f</sup>. A detail from al-Ḥasanī's *al-Durra 'l-naḥwiyya*, with marginal annotations by Adriaan Willemsz. (signed ADR.) and by Thomas Erpenius.

In the summer of 1612, Erpenius returned from Venice to the Netherlands with a collection of oriental manuscripts and a knowledge of Arabic and Turkish unrivalled by any other northern European. Naturally, he cherished the hope of employment as professor of Arabic in his old university at Leiden. But that post was already filled, for a probationary period at any rate, by Jan Theunisz.; and it was not until February 1613 that Erpenius was appointed in preference to Theunisz. in circumstances which, as we have seen, have provoked a defence of the loser's abilities.

Whatever Erpenius had to say about Theunisz. to Casaubon – and it is likely that this reached the Curators of the University and may have influenced their decision on the appointment – there survives a published and manuscript record of Theunisz.'s output which deserves reassessment. There are his vocabulary lists in Amsterdam, his annotations to the Medicean grammar books of 1592, and the edition of Paul's Epistle to Titus which he published as a reading exercise for his students through the Raphelengius Press in 1612. One further piece of evidence is also worth considering since it provides precise information on both Theunisz.'s and Erpenius's knowledge of Arabic verb morphology.

Schnurrer refers to a work by Theunisz., which he had not seen, but which Lelong listed as *Methodica descriptio coniugationum arabicarum perfectarum*, dated Leiden, 1613;<sup>184</sup> and thanks to the survival of what is very likely a unique copy, preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, we now know that this work consists of a sheet printed in Arabic and Latin.<sup>185</sup> At the foot of the sheet Theunisz. added a valedictory note to Arabophiles. It is dated Leiden, 1 March 1613.<sup>186</sup>

In this final gesture to his students, Theunisz. explains that when the Curators of the University had allowed him to teach Arabic, he had lectured on Paul's letter to Titus and on Arabic grammar as analysed by him in accordance with the method adopted by Petrus Martinius in his Hebrew grammar and

184 Schnurrer, p. 28. (Not a numbered entry).

185 ÖNB, Vienna, 73.S.95(4).

186 Ibid. At the foot of Theunisz.'s verb paradigm: 'Cum iam, optimi Philarabi, permissu Amplissimorum Academiae Curatorum linguam arabicam aliquamdiu Leydae fuerim professus, ac inter alia D. Pauli ad Titum Epistolam, et Grammaticam ARABICAM a me secundum methodum Hebraicae Martinianae ex assidua Alcorani lectione collectam, et in ordinem redactam, Tyronibus publice praelegerim, ac dictaverim: Atque etiam ut partem primae Azoarae cum interpretatione mea Latina quibusdam amicis, sic et hanc tabulam coniugationum perfectarum manu mea non semel descriptam nonnullis ex auditoribus meis lubens merito communicaverim: Eandem ut ne nunc quidem mutata rerum mearum conditione, gratificari studiosis desinam, Typis Raphelengianis descriptam publico non invidemus. Valet. Lugduni. Batavorum Anno 1613 Kal. Martii. Iohannes Antonides Alcmarianus Hollandus.'

METHODICA DESCRIP

## CONIUGATIONVM ARABICAR

à IOHANNE ANTONII in ordinem redactarum, & ad trutinam Alcorani analogicè examinatarum,

3		2		1 FORMÆ GRAVES		4		3	
vel Hispacl.		vel Tapiel.		vel Piet.		vel Hisstaphil.		vel Hispacl.	
Passiv. Sing.	Activ. Sing.	Passiv. Sing.	Activ. Sing.	Passiv. Sing.	Activ. Sing.	Passiv. Sing.	Activ. Sing.	Passiv. Sing.	Activ. Sing.
أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ	تَصْرَبُ تصوَرَبُ	تَصْرَبُ تصارَبُ	ضْرَبُ ضوَرَبُ	ضْرَبُ ضارَبُ	أَسْتَصْرَبُ	أَسْتَصْرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ
Caret.	أَصْطَرَبُ	Caret.	تَصْرَبُ	Caret.	ضْرَبُ	Caret.	أَسْتَصْرَبُ	Caret.	أَصْطَرَبُ
أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ	أَسْتَصْرَبُ	أَسْتَصْرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ
أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْرَبُ	أَصْرَبُ	أَسْتَصْرَبُ	أَسْتَصْرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ
أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْرَبُ	أَصْرَبُ	أَسْتَصْرَبُ	أَسْتَصْرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ	أَصْطَرَبُ
مُصْطَرَبُ	مُصْطَرَبُ	مُتَصْرَبُ	مُتَصْرَبُ	مُضْرَبُ	مُضْرَبُ	مُسْتَصْرَبُ	مُسْتَصْرَبُ	مُصْطَرَبُ	مُصْطَرَبُ
Caret.	أَصْطَرَبُ	Caret.	أَصْرَبُ	Caret.	أَصْرَبُ	Caret.	أَسْتَصْرَبُ	Caret.	أَصْطَرَبُ

CVM sum, optimi Philarabi, permisso Amplissimorum Academiæ Curatorum Linguam ARABICAM aliquandiu Leyda fuerim profectus, ac inter alia D. Pauli ad carum lectione collectam, & in ordinem redactam, Tyronibus publicè prelegerim, ac distulerim: Et que etiam ex partem primæ A. S. caræ cum interpretatione mea Latina quibus bus metis labens merito communicaverim: Eandem ut ne nunc quidem mutata rerum mearum conditione, gratificari si deusci definam, Typis Reipublicæ hanc descriptionem publicè

PLATE 12     Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, shelf-mark 73.S.95(4), Jan Theunisz. (Johannes Antonides), *Methodica descriptio coniugationum arabicarum perfectarum*. Leiden, 1613. With annotations in the hand of Thomas Erpenius.

10  
**V M PERFECTARVM,**  
 ad quas & reliquæ omnes coniugationum formæ redigi possunt.

vel Hiphil.		I FORMÆ LEVES				
Passiv. Sing.	Activ. Sing.	vel Niphal. Passiv. Sing.	Plur.	Dual.	Sing.	Præteritum verberavit ille
أُضْرِبُ	أُضْرِبُ	ضْرِبُ	ضْرِبُوا	ضْرِبَانِ	ضْرِبُ	ille
			ضْرِبِينَ	ضْرِبَانِ	ضْرِبَيْتِ	illa
			ضْرِبْتُمْ	ضْرِبْتُمَا	ضْرِبْتِ	tu
			ضْرِبْتُمْ	ضْرِبْتُمَا	ضْرِبْتِ	tu fec.
			ضْرِبْتُمْ	ضْرِبْتُمَا	ضْرِبْتِ	ego
Caret.	أُضْرِبُ	Caret.	أُضْرِبُوا	أُضْرِبَانِ	أُضْرِبُ	Futurum I. tu
			أُضْرِبِينَ	أُضْرِبَانِ	أُضْرِبَيْتِ	tu fec.
أُضْرِبُ	أُضْرِبُ	أُضْرِبُ	تُضْرِبُ	تُضْرِبَانِ	أُضْرِبُ	Futurum II. ego
			تُضْرِبُونَ	تُضْرِبَانِ	تُضْرِبُ	ille
			تُضْرِبْتُمْ	تُضْرِبْتُمَا	تُضْرِبْتِ	tu
			تُضْرِبْتُمْ	تُضْرِبْتُمَا	تُضْرِبْتِ	illa
			تُضْرِبْتُمْ	تُضْرِبْتُمَا	تُضْرِبْتِ	tu fec.
أُضْرِبُ	أُضْرِبُ	أُضْرِبُ	تُضْرِبُ	تُضْرِبَانِ	أُضْرِبُ	Futurum II. phatbatum ego
			تُضْرِبُونَ	تُضْرِبَانِ	تُضْرِبُ	ille
			تُضْرِبْتُمْ	تُضْرِبْتُمَا	تُضْرِبْتِ	tu
			تُضْرِبْتُمْ	تُضْرِبْتُمَا	تُضْرِبْتِ	illa
			تُضْرِبْتُمْ	تُضْرِبْتُمَا	تُضْرِبْتِ	tu fec.
أُضْرِبُ	أُضْرِبُ	أُضْرِبُ	تُضْرِبُ	تُضْرِبَانِ	أُضْرِبُ	Futurum II. dhamma- ego
			تُضْرِبُونَ	تُضْرِبَانِ	تُضْرِبُ	ille
			تُضْرِبْتُمْ	تُضْرِبْتُمَا	تُضْرِبْتِ	tu
			تُضْرِبْتُمْ	تُضْرِبْتُمَا	تُضْرِبْتِ	illa
			تُضْرِبْتُمْ	تُضْرِبْتُمَا	تُضْرِبْتِ	tu fec.
مُضْرِبٌ	مُضْرِبٌ	مُضْرِبٌ	ضَارِبُونَ	ضَارِبَانِ	ضَارِبٌ	Participium ille
			ضَارِبَاتٌ	ضَارِبَاتَانِ	ضَارِبَةٌ	illa.
Caret.	أُضْرِبَانِ	Caret.	ضْرِبَانِ			Infinitivum verberare. verberado.

maled in qid  
 ppatga pro ad

Titum Epistolam, & Grammaticam Arabicam à me secundum methodum Hebraicæ Martinianæ ex assidua Al-  
 lani amicis, sic & hanc tabulam coniugationum perfectarum manu meâ non semel descriptam nonnullis ex auditori-  
 bus non invidemus. Valete. Lugduni Batavorum Anno 1613. Kal. Martii.  
 Iohannes Antonides Alcmarianus Hollandus.

from assiduous reading of the Quran.<sup>187</sup> To show there were no hard feelings in spite of his change of circumstances, part of the first *sūra* with his Latin version, and this table of derived verb forms, which he had willingly written out on several occasions for students, were issued with the Raphelengius type.

The 'Methodical Description' consists of a tabular analysis of the verb /ḍaraba/, arranged across the page with six derived forms: forms I, IV, VIII, and X (described as *Formae Leves*) and forms II, V and an anomalous form /aḍṭaraba/ [sic] (described as *Formae Graves*). The vertical axis is used for the tenses, moods, participles and verbal nouns. What makes the Vienna copy so interesting is not only that it seems to be unique but also that it belonged to Erpenius who had annotated it and sent it to Sebastian Tengnagel. Erpenius corrects three wrong vocalisations; gives the missing forms II and VI; notes that the anomalous form is unknown to him and to the Arab grammarians and that he does not know where the author found it; and corrects the second form infinitive from /ḍarraban/ to /taḍrīban/.

Erpenius's *Grammatica arabica*, first published at Leiden by the Raphelengius Press in the summer of 1613, represents a watershed in the history of the European Arabic grammatical tradition. It was more accurate and better presented than all previous attempts at describing the grammar of standard Arabic; it also became the single most influential European guide to the rudiments of Arabic down to the present. Certain contemporary publications, such as Raimondi's *Liber Tasriphi* or Erpenius's own edition of the *Ājurrūmiyya* cover certain topics in greater detail; but as an epitome of the whole of Arabic grammar – and this is how Erpenius styled his work – there is little else that could challenge the accuracy and concision of the *Grammatica arabica*. No European publication on Arabic grammar saw so many reprints, translations, and adaptations. Only with the development of modern linguistics have Arabists broken away from the formulae established by Erpenius and looked at the language again. Such durability seems all the more remarkable when we realise that Erpenius had already completed his first draft of the work by October 1611, that is to say within three years of commencing his own, often solitary, study of Arabic.

We have already seen how Erpenius prepared his analysis of Arabic grammar in a piecemeal way; and in the *Grammatica arabica* the same divisions were observed. Five 'Books' deal with the alphabet, the verb, the noun, participles, and syntax; and an appendix to book one contains his analysis of the changes that the semiconsonants and *hamza* may undergo. Erpenius's recourse to the Arab grammarians is quite evident in the three central books and

187 On Petrus Martinius, see Smitskamp, *Philologia Orientalis*, pp. 262–263.

in the appendix to book one; the first and final books, however, rely more exclusively on his own observations.

The first book on the graphic form and phonetic value of the letters of the alphabet contains a number of refinements to earlier works which Erpenius must have read. Not that Erpenius refers to his predecessors by name in order then to correct them: his only mention of an Arabist comes in his discussion of punctuation when he extends his own experience of Arabic manuscripts by taking on trust Teseo Ambrogio's statement about the significance of different configurations of dots.<sup>188</sup> Nor does Erpenius make any reference to his Muslim friend from Morocco, Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajārī. Yet there are indications that Aḥmad exercised some influence over the information that Erpenius included in this first book. The lack of any reference to Erpenius's other informant, the Egyptian Yūsuf ibn Abū Daqan, is hardly surprising given Erpenius's claim that Yūsuf was almost completely ignorant of the classical language; and ultimately, as we shall see, it was Yūsuf who benefited from Erpenius when writing an Arabic grammar rather than *vice-versa*.

Erpenius's inclusion of the *maghribī* alphabetical and *abjad* orders, alongside the familiar *mashriqī* orders, may have been influenced by his acquaintance with Hubert who had travelled to the Maghrib. It would also have been prompted by his association and friendship with Aḥmad ibn Qāsim. As political representative of the sultan Mawlay Zaydān and promoter of the Morisco cause, Aḥmad inevitably brought western Arab culture and education with him. We have already seen precise documentary evidence for the interest stimulated by Aḥmad in this very detail: a manuscript now preserved in Paris contains a note by one of the Hubert brothers attributing the *maghribī* alphabetical order to him.<sup>189</sup> Not that the alphabetical order of the western Arab World was unknown to Europeans: Pedro de Alcalá had already published it in his grammar of Andalusian Arabic. Subsequent publications, however, had only ever given the *mashriqī* orders, while the *maghribī abjad* order had never before been published.<sup>190</sup>

Even though Arabic manuscripts were still scarce in northern Europe, their number was gradually increasing; and students of Arabic were as likely to consult manuscripts as they were to read the few printed Arabic books that existed. Thus Erpenius chose to devote considerable attention to the hand-written form of the language. Like Cardinal Palma Cayet in his *Paradigmata* of 1596

188 Erpenius, *Grammatica arabica*, p. 8: *De figuris litterarum*.

189 BnF, MS Arabe 4213, fol. 27b.

190 On the use of the two orders by European Arabists see Alastair Hamilton, 'Isaac Casaubon the Arabist', pp. 154–155.

(where the *fātiḥa* is parsed in accordance with the rules of Postel's *Grammatica arabica*),<sup>191</sup> Erpenius described the seven standard calligraphic styles, adding the *maghribī* form as an eighth. Both men were working in Paris so they may even have had access to the same specimen of the *ḥaḥt aqlām*. But, whatever their sources, Erpenius's descriptions of the forms and uses of the different scripts is far superior to Palma Cayet's fanciful explanations and reflects experience of a range of different manuscripts and documents in Persian and Turkish as well as Arabic.<sup>192</sup> This experience with manuscripts is also evident in his descriptions of particular scribal practices, though some of the points he raised could equally have been found in existing publications: Raimondi's *Alphabetum arabicum* or in the first book of Kirsten's grammar. Where Erpenius differs is in drawing attention to one or two regional palaeographic variations; and, once again, the influence of Aḥmad ibn Qāsim and access to *maghribī* manuscripts is felt, Erpenius's awareness of Arabic manuscripts written in Judaeo-Arabic or *karshūnī* scripts is also attested by his succinct but detailed treatment of the adaptations required for writing Arabic with the Hebrew and Syriac alphabets – the first such published description.

In view of the evident importance of the Maghrib on Erpenius's early studies and his lack of experience of eastern Arabic dialects, it would be reasonable to expect the intrusion of western Arabic dialectal features into his own phonetic analysis of the consonants and vowels of Classical Arabic. Certainly, Lagarde expected to find this in the analysis of tonic stress which Erpenius included in his second emended edition of the grammar (the *Rudimenta* of 1620), to which we shall return. But such is not the case. In the opening alphabet table he gives equivalent letters from the Latin alphabet and, for a few letters (/ā/, /j/, /ḥ/, /kh/, /sh/, /ʿ/, /w/, and /y/), he adopts a comparative approach by referring to Hebrew, Greek, French, German, Flemish, or English pronunciation. Later, in a section *de potestate figurarum*, the reader is offered minimal advice when told to take *viva-voce* instruction for difficult letters, especially

191 Pierre-Victor Palma Cayet, *Paradigmata de quatuor linguis orientalibus praecipuis arabica, armena, syra, aethiopica* (Paris, 1596), pp. 21f. For other examples of Palma Cayet's fanciful explanations see Alastair Hamilton, *The Copts and the West 1439–1822. The European Discovery of the Egyptian Church* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 198–200.

192 On *dīvānī*, for example, compare: Palma Cayet, *Paradigmata*, p. 22: 'divané quasi mattescam vel stultulam diceresi quia eius est usus, in Poëmatiis Eroticis et aliis rhythmis eiusmodi. Illam etiam impendunt forensibus causis: ut sit veluti quam solemus literam practicae nuncupare.' Erpenius, *Grammatica*, p. 4: 'diwani, quod in forensibus et quotidianis negotiis Turcae usurpant; maxime cum turcice scribunt: habetque se ad nischī, ut masket Hebraeorum ad scripturam assyriacam. Ad huius scripturae elegantiam pertinere videtur, quod lineae in progressu ascendunt, maxime versus finem: raro enim quid hac scriptura expressum videas, in quo id non contingat.'

/ḥ/, /ḏ/, and /ʿ/. In the same section, however, new ground is broken where Erpenius draws on the Arab grammarians to give details of the circumstances that occasion phonetic change in /n/: /n/ before /b/ changes to [m] with the example of *ʿanbar*; and /n/ – particularly in the word *min* – before /l/, /w/, /m/, /y/, or /r/ changes to the following consonant. A third point on /n/ becoming /ng/, especially before /q/ and /k/, may reflect Erpenius’s conversations with Turks in Venice: such intense nasalization would not be expected in the speech of one whose mother-tongue is Arabic, nor is it called for by the Arab grammarians. Finally, in a section *de divisionibus litterarum*, the consonants are grouped by their points of articulation. But, unlike Raimondi in his *Alphabetum Arabicum* or Kirsten (following Raimondi) in the first part of his grammar, Erpenius did not base this categorisation on the *makhārij* of the Arabic texts on grammar and *tajwīd*. Instead, he favoured a return to the the five classical *loca* as used by Ambrogio and Postel and his followers.

Information on other orthographic signs – *tashdīd*, *hamza*, *madda*, and *waṣla* – may derive from Arabic grammatical texts as much as from Erpenius’s experience; but the presentation is latinate. Erpenius suggests some familiar divisions for the consonants, giving, for the first time, a correct division of the radical and servile letters; but also dividing the consonants, again for the first time, into those that may or may not be found juxtaposed within the trilateral root and listing the *litterae incompatibiles*. There are scattered references to this phenomenon in the writings of Arab grammarians and lexicographers; and such lists of incompatible consonants are found in a few instances, for example in the *Muzhir* of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ṣuyūṭī and in the *Khaṣāʾiṣ*, II, of Ibn Jinnī.<sup>193</sup> But the precise manuscript source for Erpenius’s list has not been identified. His explanation as to the importance of such a division spells out the link between philology and textual criticism:

This is useful for a better reading of the consonants when they do not have dots, in order that corruptions may be restored, ambiguities determined, and Arabic words discerned from barbarous ones.<sup>194</sup>

193 Joseph H. Greenberg, ‘The patterning of root morphemes in Semitic’, *Word*, 6 (1950), pp. 162–181. See especially p. 163, n. 2. Greenberg was unable to trace Erpenius’s source but noted that De Sacy followed him closely.

194 Erpenius, *Grammatica*, p. 14 (*De divisionibus litterarum*): ‘Huius observationis usus est ad ea scripta, quae punctis essentialibus consonantium destituuntur, melius legenda, corrupta restituenda, ambigua determinanda, et denique vocabula arabica a barbaris discernenda.’

This last point is one which Erpenius may have come across in one of the Arabic lexicons where loan words are sometimes identified by this phenomenon.

Erpenius believed that a solid grasp of Arabic could only be acquired through a precise knowledge of the circumstances governing the transformation or rejection of *hamza* and the semi-consonants /w/ and /y/. ‘Without this knowledge,’ he told Casaubon in his letter of September 1611, ‘nobody can gain a good knowledge of Arabic; yet our grammarians scarcely mention it.’<sup>195</sup> It is true that Postel’s treatment of this feature consists of a few very general remarks, some faulty paradigms of hamzated and weak verbs, and the promise only that the subject will be fully treated when he publishes his Latin versions of three Arabic grammar books.<sup>196</sup> But if Erpenius had seen a copy of Raimondi’s *Liber Tasriphi* – and he speaks of it in this same letter as if he had not –, he might have modified his statement since that work contains al-Zanjānī’s detailed analysis of the seven types of unsound verb, and the changes that occur to those weak letters, translated literally and freely to Latin for a European readership. Erpenius’s contribution was to have formulated his own analysis of those changes on the basis of a very close reading of the Quran backed up by familiarity with the Arab grammarians’ rules on *naql* and *qalb*.

Erpenius’s familiarity with the works of the Arab grammarians is particularly evident in his books two and three, on the verb and noun. Like Postel it is clear that Erpenius referred to a text, or texts, on *ṣarf*, no doubt including al-Zanjānī’s, in order to draw up paradigmatic tables and also for the subdivision of the wordclasses. (See Appendix 2). But here the similarity ends. Erpenius’s transmission of this information is much more accurate and more fully illustrated with examples. Compare, for example, both authors’ treatment of imperfective vocalisation: where Postel offers a mnemonic, Erpenius gives examples and exceptions and therefore a more practical demonstration of the Classical norm.<sup>197</sup> Furthermore, the Arabic sources have been more subtly incorporated: Arabic terminology is kept to a minimum, and the dominance of formal criteria is reduced. Where Postel, following a work on *naḥw* such as the *Ājurrūmiyya*, (and followed by Spey), had listed the servile letters with an

195 See above p. 146, n. 178.

196 Postel, *Grammatica arabica*, sig. D11<sup>v</sup>.

197 Ibid., sig. D10<sup>r</sup>: Postel’s mnemonic for deriving imperfective vocalisation from the perfective verb: ‘Baruc, David, Natan, Ishac, tuum, dixit’. Erpenius, *Grammatica arabica*, bk.11, *De Futuro*, gives the following examples for imperfective vocalisation: /qabuḥa/→/yaqbiḥu/; /fariḥa/→/yafraḥu/ (except /na’ima/, /ḥasiba/, /ya’isa/, /yabisa/, ‘et secundum doctissimos grammaticos etiam’ /faḍila/, /qaniṭa/, /‘ariḍa/; /kataba/→/yaktubu/; /ḍaraba/→/yaḍribu/; etc.

analysis of each one's varied functions in any wordclass including the verb,<sup>198</sup> Erpenius entirely dispensed with this practice.

In Book Two, on the verb, Erpenius follows the Arab grammarians in giving a five-fold division: preterite, future, imperative, participle, and infinitive.<sup>199</sup> But he further subdivides this analysis according to certain semantic and morphological criteria that he himself devised.<sup>200</sup> Thus, like Postel and following the Arab grammarians, Erpenius accepts the formal analysis whereby particles are said to determine certain inflectional endings; but he adds a further dimension by introducing the idea that particles also determine the tense and mood of the verb. Another innovation by Erpenius in this second book on the verb was in his analysis of the morphology of the derived forms of the verb. Instead of grouping these forms according to the total number of letters, as Postel and most Arab grammarians had done, Erpenius divided these forms into three according to the number of affixed phonemes – the method employed by al-Afzarī, author of the commentary on the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* which Raphelengius had received from Postel.<sup>201</sup> Moreover, he discusses the modifications in meaning to the root that are associated with a particular form.<sup>202</sup>

In his third book, on the noun, Erpenius makes a clear distinction between deverbal and denominal nouns. Further classification accords with that given by the Arab grammarians. His treatment of 22 broken plural patterns and his analysis of the declensions as triptote or diptote provide the first accurate analysis of these features for Europeans.

In his fourth book, on the particle, Erpenius contrasts single letter prefixes with separate particles. Like Postel, he tells the learner that he has adopted the European method for treating the particles. Thus, they are divided according to their function as adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, and interjections (unlike Postel, Erpenius does not include pronouns which he had already dealt with in the book on the noun). They are not divided according to the formal

198 Postel, *Grammatica arabica*, sig. D6<sup>r</sup>–D7<sup>r</sup>.

199 Erpenius, *Grammatica*, p. 32: 'In coniugatione quinque sunt partes, quae tempora et modi vulgo dicuntur, praeteritum, 2. futurum, 3. imperativus, 4. participium, 5. infinitivus.'

200 Ibid., p. 32, 'In quibus omnibus tria consideranda sunt. 1. significatio, 2. litterae serviles, 3. vocales litterarum radicalium.'

201 M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, 'The system of verbal stems in classical Semitic languages' in *Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies* (Jerusalem, 1969), pp. 70–91. Goshen-Gottstein refers to Erpenius's tabulation of derived forms according to the number of 'affixed phonemes' added to the root and notes that this classification was still valid for Sacy in his *Grammaire arabe*. He also registers his interest in early European Semitic studies 'since traditional attitudes and views often turn out to be rooted in that history'.

202 A.J. Drewes, *Erpenius over werkwoorden* (Leiden, 1969).

criteria of rection as devised by the Arab grammarians. In the fifth and final book of the grammar, syntax receives cursory analysis, with special attention paid to agreement, use of the definite article, the genitive construction, and Subject-Verb-Object word order.

In Paris, Erpenius had been able to borrow manuscripts belonging to Casaubon, Hubert and Rivault; but he also made his own collection of grammatical texts in manuscript. Among his oriental manuscript collection, now mostly in Cambridge University Library, six manuscripts contain several grammatical texts. They are the *Kitāb al-Bināʾ* (an anonymous tract on *ṣarf*) with another unidentified grammatical tract and a lexical tract by a pupil of Sibawaihi, Quṭrub's *Kitāb al-Muthallath*;<sup>203</sup> a tract on Quranic recitation containing information on *tanwīn*, *tashdīd*, *waqf*, *madda*, and *mīm*, and copied in 955–957 AH;<sup>204</sup> a copy of al-Jurjānī's *Mīʾat ʿāmil*, copied in various inelegant hands, and (as Erpenius notes) defective at the end;<sup>205</sup> al-Zanjānī's *Kitāb al-Taṣrif* and Ibn Masʿūd's *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ* with a Latin index of the contents compiled by Erpenius, together with the complete text of al-Jurjānī's *Mīʾat ʿāmil* all copied in a European hand (possibly by Erpenius);<sup>206</sup> a commentary on al-Ḥarīrī's *Mulḥat al-īrāb* (as yet unidentified) with a work by al-Muṭarrizī, copied on 12 Rabīʿ 1 847, called *al-Muqaddima al-muṭarrizīyya* – listed by al-Suyūṭī but of which Brockelmann had found no copies;<sup>207</sup> and an undated *maghribī* copy of an unidentified commentary on Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*, which can now be attributed to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAlī al-Makūdī (d. Fes 807 AH), defective at the end and (as Erpenius notes) lacking certain leaves including the first.<sup>208</sup>

Al-Makūdī's commentary on the *Alfiyya* (of which an even less complete copy is preserved in the British Library)<sup>209</sup> was of great interest to Erpenius, who added copious annotations by the text and on the blank pages which are interleaved throughout the manuscript. A note written by Erpenius on the opening blank page explains the significance of the text through reference to information given more than seventy years before by his great predecessor, Nicolaus Clenardus.

This book contains a most learned commentary on an Arabic grammar written by /Muḥammad ibn Mālik/, who was born in Spain in the city of

203 CUL, MS Ff.5.11.

204 CUL, MS Ll.68.

205 CUL, MS Ll.6.9.

206 CUL, MS Ll.6.22.

207 CUL, MS Mm.6.2.

208 CUL, MS Mm.6.23.

209 BL, MS IO Bijapur 6 (Loth, p. 266.)

/Ḥā'in/, and called /al-Alfiyya/ because it comprises a thousand rhyming couplets. Clenardus, in his last letter to Latomus written on 9 April 1541 (page 63 in the Hannover edition), had this to say about it: 'After this they proceed to Grammar; and they have an author called Ibn Malik who composed a thousand couplets from the whole of grammar. They commit that rather difficult chiliad to memory from its tables and everyday they go home to read glosses on the portion; for nothing can compare with this book for commentaries. They dwell on this book for almost two years or even for four.' This does not contain the entire text, but I looked at it with Aḥmad ibn Qāsim, my friend, the Spanish Muslim, who is now in Amsterdam.

Leiden, 1613, in the month of September. Th. Erpenius.<sup>210</sup>

In the margin of the first page of the text, Erpenius records a later date of 20 December, 1619; and his second reading of the text is certainly discernible from a second set of more neatly written marginal notes. As with other Arabic manuscripts, Erpenius annotated the text with Arabic technical terms in order to draw attention to the subject-matter of different sections; and at the end he gives an index of these key terms with page references that relate to his pagination in the manuscript and with cross references to certain pages in Ibn al-Ḥājib's *Kāfiyya* (i.e. either the Medicean edition or a manuscript commentary he had).<sup>211</sup> Evidently, certain sections of the text attracted Erpenius's detailed interest much more than others: the formation of verbal nouns, broken plurals, *imāla*, *taṣrīf*, and *ibdāl*, all receive close attention. Not that this means that Erpenius used this text as a source for the analysis of these features he gave in his

210 CUL, MS Mm.6.23, Erpenius's note on initial end-paper: 'Continet hic liber doctissimum Commentarium in grammaticam Arabicam conscriptum a /Muḥammad ibn Mālik/ nato in Hispania in urbe /ḥā'in/ et vocatam /al-alfiyya/ propterea quod mille comprehendit disticha. Huius meminit Clenardus in Epistola prolixissima ad Latomum scripta 1x April anno 1541 pagina 63 editionis Hannoviensis hisce verbis hinc iam pergunt ad Grammaticam estque apud eos receptus Auctor IBUN MELIC qui chiliade versuum id est mille distichis complexus e universam grammaticam. Hanc chiliadem difficilem admodum e tabulis suis commendant memoriae, et quotidie apud praeceptorem pensum reddunt domi interim lectitantes glossemata nam in scholis nullus comparet liber in hanc graramatica ferme biennio versantur aut quadriennio etiam quidam... Textus autem integer hic non inseritur sed enim vidi apud /Aḥmad ibn Qāsim/Muselmanum Hispanum amicum meum qui nunc est Amstelrodami. Leidae anno 1613 mense Septembri. Th. Erpenius. primum folium desideratur.'

211 CUL, MS Dd.4.8.(8), a Turkish commentary on the *Kāfiyya*. It is not listed in the *Handlist* by E.G. Browne among Erpenius's manuscripts. Nonetheless, it is considered to have been in his collection according to a handwritten list kept by the librarians of Cambridge University Library. I am grateful to them for showing me the list.

printed grammars. Even though it is possible he resorted to this manuscript prior to September 1613, the information contained in the *Grammatica arabica* would have been present in the other grammatical texts available to him in Paris and Saumur. On the other hand, his *Rudimenta linguae arabicae* of 1620 contains certain additions to the *Grammatica arabica* which could have been derived from this text.

Generally, however, the information contained in this commentary on the *Alfiyya* is subtler and more detailed than that given by Erpenius in his published grammars. Perhaps he intended to display what he learnt in this manuscript in his *Commentarius in linguam arabicam* – the more elaborate work on the Arabic language of which he spoke on several occasions.

With the *Grammatica arabica* Erpenius had provided the European Republic of Letters with an introduction to Arabic which adapted Arabic sources to the requirements of those schooled in Latin. But he also recognised the value of publishing the Arabic sources in Arabic. A year after the *Grammatica arabica* had been issued, he wrote to Casaubon to say he had completed a Latin translation of the *Ājurrūmiyya* and compared the Medicean edition of 1592 with several manuscript copies.<sup>212</sup> The problem was that the Raphelengius Press was no longer in a position to print Arabic books; and this had been the only press equipped to print Arabic in the Low Countries. The compositor had died and Joost Raphelengius had sent his Arabic type to William Bedwell.<sup>213</sup>

With great resourcefulness Erpenius then added to his work load of teaching and research at the university by establishing his own printing press complete with Arabic type; and in 1615 he published the first book from his own press – his edition of the Fables of Luqman with a hundred Arabic proverbs.<sup>214</sup> In the following year, 1616, he produced his edition of the Arabic version of the New Testament, based on a manuscript copy which belonged to Scaliger.<sup>215</sup>

That same year in Paris, Savary de Brèves published the last work from his press – Book One of a five part grammar book by the two Maronite scholars, Gabriel Sionita and Johannes Hesronita, entitled *Grammatica arabica*

212 BL, MS Burney 364, fol. 27. Erpenius to Casaubon, dated Leiden 28 May 1614: 'Explicans autem publice Giarrumiam, eam cum pluribus manuscriptis exemplaribus Romano illo edito longe perfectioribus diligenter contuli, in Latinum fideliter transtuli, et succincto commentariolo illustravi.'

213 Alastair Hamilton, 'The Victims of Progress: The Raphelengius Arabic type and Bedwell's Arabic Lexicon' in Francine de Nave, ed., *Liber Amicorum Leon Voet* (Antwerp, 1985), pp. 97–107.

214 Thomas Erpenius (ed. and tr.), *Locmani Sapientis fabulae et selecta quaedam Arabum adagia...* (Leiden, 1615). Schnurrer, no. 219.

215 Thomas Erpenius, ed., *Novum D.N. Jesu Christi Testamentum arabice, ex bibliotheca Leidensi...* (Leiden, 1616). Schnurrer, no. 326.

*Maronitarum*.<sup>216</sup> Like the first book of Erpenius's *Grammatica arabica*, this first book by the Maronites treats of writing and pronunciation. Phonetic analysis of the consonants is categorised according to European and Arab points of articulation, though other, broader, Arabic divisions are given. In two instances Raimondi's *Alphabetum arabicum* is corrected through approving references to Erpenius:<sup>217</sup> /t/ may be a servile as well as a radical; /l/ is a sun letter. But both authors are refuted at length for their analysis of *fatḥa*. The use of *e* as a transliteration of *fatḥa* is said to represent the Turkish rather than the Arab manner of reading. Furthermore, if *e* is also used for *kasra*, it may lead to confusion between the active and passive participles.<sup>218</sup> There is no discussion of *imāla*, though detailed attention is paid to *hamzat al-waṣl* and the assimilation of certain consonants. References to Ibn al-Ḥāḥib's work on *ṣarf*, *al-Shāfiya*, as well as his *Kāfiya*, extend the range of texts employed for writing grammar books in Europe.

It was not until 1617 that Erpenius was able to publish his annotated editions and translations of the *Ājurrūmiyya* and of al-Jurjani's *Mīat ʿāmil*. The same year he published *Sūrat Yūsuf* with his own Latin version and notes, and the medieval version extracted from Bibliander's edition of 1543. Erpenius's interest in publishing the Quran was dominated by philological considerations; and this chapter is prefaced by an introduction to the Arabic alphabet containing similar material to that given in the first book of the *Grammatica arabica*.<sup>219</sup>

In publishing the *Ājurrūmiyya* and *Mīat ʿāmil*, Erpenius once again displayed his keen awareness of the scholarly efforts and interests of his predecessors and his contemporaries, and his determination to improve upon them or to fulfill their intentions; and there is no doubt that his edition was very

216 Gabriel Sionita and Johannes Hesronita, *Grammatica arabica Maronitarum, in libros quinque divisa...* (Paris, 1616). Schnurrer, no. 50.

217 Sionita and Hesronita, *Grammatica*, p. 12: 'Ioannes Baptista Raymundus vir quidem multis scientiarum atque virtutum generibus ornatissimus et de lingua Arabica inter Europaeos omnes optime meritus, numeravit literam /t/ inter essentialia sed ut bene advertit Thomas Erpenius, qui et ipse satis laudabilem edidit huius linguae Grammaticam, inter serviles est omnino recensenda.' p. 13: 'Ioannes Baptista Raymundus exclusit e literis solaribus literam /l/ referens eam inter lunares sed immerito: quoniam idem prorsus officium praestat quod reliquae solares... Quod optime advertit Erpenius.'

218 Ibid., p. 17: 'Quod autem ad vocalium potestatem spectat, Ioannes Baptista Raymundus et Thomas Erpenius sentiunt vocalem /al-fatḥh/ alphathha multis in locis pronunciandam ut, e, Latinum, sicuti apparet ex eorum scriptis, in quibus eandem vocalem alfathha frequenter reddunt Latine e. Sed ille modus legendi est familiaris Turchis, non Arabibus...'

219 Thomas Erpenius (ed. and tr.), *Historia Josephi patriarchae, ex Alcorano, arabice, cum triplici versione latina... cuius et alphabetum arabicum praemittitur* (Leiden, 1617). Schnurrer, no. 368.

carefully prepared and, from the editorial point of view, represents a considerable improvement on the *Editio Princeps* from Rome.

With new generations of students, more copies of text books were required, and Erpenius had the means to produce them. In 1618, he reissued the rules for *hamza* and the semi-consonants;<sup>220</sup> and in 1620 he published an emended version of his *Grammatica arabica* under the title of *Rudimenta linguae arabicae*.<sup>221</sup> In the *Rudimenta*, Erpenius made certain changes to the presentation he had employed in the *Grammatica arabica*; he also made a few substantial omissions and additions. Thus, for the sake of clarity, Arabic examples are considerably cut down and Arabic terminology is almost entirely removed; comparisons with features in other languages, though few in the *Grammatica arabica*, are excluded from the *Rudimenta*; tabular arrangement is preferred to text; and the divisions between different features are more strongly delineated through headings.

Among specific changes to be found in the *Rudimenta* are the following. In book one, emphasis on scribal practice is reduced with the omission of the description of the seven scripts and of the different examples of *scriptio defectiva*; and the rules for the weak letters are removed to an appendix. In book two, /našara/ is used in place of /fa'ala/ in all paradigms; apocopating particles are presented in tabular form; and no table of *mašdars* is given. In book three, broken plurals are given in tabular form; a long section on the assimilation of the definite article to preceding consonants is omitted, as is a section entitled *De declinatione*.

Among new rules propounded by Erpenius in the *Rudimenta* are the following: tonic stress (in eastern Arabic speech and borrowed from the Maronites' grammar of 1616);<sup>222</sup> the *muḏāri'* as a participle (e.g. /jā'ū yabkūna/ for *venerunt flentes*) formation of singular from collective nouns; 'plurals of paucity'; an expanded definition of the diptote; insertion of prepositional phrases between /inna/ and the noun it governs; allowance for /y/ to be maintained in final weak words with pronominal suffixes; and removal of the definite article in proper names such as /baytu 'l-muqaddasu/ and /bābu 'l-ṣaghīru/. Furthermore, the transcription of vowel terminology is improved from *dscham*, *kesre*, *phatha* to

220 Thomas Erpenius, *Canones de literaum /y/ /w/ /alif/ apud Arabes natura et permutatione* (Leiden, 1618). Schnurrer, no. 54.

221 Thomas Erpenius, *Rudimenta linguae arabicae...* (Leiden, 1620). Schnurrer, no. 55.

222 Mayer Lambert, 'De l'accent en arabe', *Journal Asiatique*, 10 (1897), pp. 402–413. Lambert recognised that the accepted stress in Classical Arabic derived from Erpenius, who had adopted it from the Maronite grammar of 1616. See also J. Blau, 'Middle and Old Arabic material for the history of stress in Arabic', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 35 (1972), pp. 476–484.

*damma, kesra, fatha*; and terms *similis, concavum, defectivum* are introduced for the different weak verbs.

There are very many reeditions of Erpenius's *Grammatica arabica* or *Rudimenta* throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,<sup>223</sup> and many other works on Arabic grammar which, though not acknowledging their debt to Erpenius, clearly derive from the formulation first arrived at by him.<sup>224</sup> Even Silvestre de Sacy, whose *Grammaire arabe*, published in 1810 and regarded by Fück,<sup>225</sup> A. J. Drewes<sup>226</sup> and others as a fundamental advance on Erpenius's grammar, was much more indebted to the Dutchman's work than he cared to admit or is commonly recognised. Certainly, he refers to Erpenius in order to correct certain mistakes.<sup>227</sup> But his unacknowledged reliance on Erpenius, both for the structure and much of the substance of volume one of the *Grammaire arabe*, has largely gone unremarked.<sup>228</sup> Furthermore, since Sacy's *Grammaire arabe* provided the source for Caspari's and ultimately William Wright's grammar of Arabic, an unbroken tradition may be traced from Erpenius to Wright. That grammar book has been described as a grammar of the Arabic available in a variety of nineteenth-century publications, part classical and part colloquial.<sup>229</sup> It should also be regarded as fundamentally indebted to Erpenius's *Grammatica arabica*.

223 See the editions listed by Schnurrer.

224 For example: Matthias Wasmuth, *Grammatica arabica...* (Amsterdam, 1654), (Schnurrer, no. 80), is an unacknowledged shortened version of Erpenius's *Grammatica arabica*. Edmund Castell, *Lexicon heptaglotton* (London, 1669), cols. 1–44, contains a grammar of Arabic which draws exclusively on Erpenius's. John Henley, 'A grammar of the Arabic tongue', no.7 in *The Compleat Linguist. Or, an Universal Grammar of all the Considerable Tongues in Being...* (London, 1722), is an English version of Erpenius's grammar. Claude Etienne Savary, *Grammaire de la langue arabe vulgaire et littéraire* (Paris, 1813), follows Erpenius closely in everything except syntax, despite the title and despite the author's claim on p. 18: 'Les règles qu'Erpenius, Meninski, Guadagnoli, ont prescrites à ce sujet sont ou fausses ou insuffisantes...' There are many other examples of unattributed translations and reeditions of Erpenius's grammar.

225 Fück, *Die Arabischen Studien*, pp. 148–149.

226 A.J. Drewes, *Erpenius over Werkwoorden*, p. 8.

227 A. Silvestre de Sacy, *Grammaire arabe* (Paris, 1810), §28, 143, 210, 211, 735, 930.

228 Hartwig Derenbourg, *Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838)* (Paris, 1895), p. 43, refers to Sacy and Fleischer as the last of the Baṣran school. He could equally have called them the last of Erpenius's school.

229 Tawfik Borg, 'Bemerkungen zu William Wright's Grammatik', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* Supplement III, 1 (1977), pp. 654–660.

## 11 1620–1624

The year 1620 also saw the publication of another grammar book from Rome: Francesco Martellotto's *Institutiones linguae arabicae*.<sup>230</sup> Where Erpenius's *Rudimenta* contains a remarkable distillation of the essence of Arabic grammar, Martellotto's *Institutiones* represents the more detailed type of reference grammar, such as Erpenius might have envisaged with his *Commentarius in linguam arabicam*. In the *Institutiones*, Martellotto devotes considerable efforts to Arabic definitions of the wordclasses and to the interpretation of Arabic terminology in order that the learner may more easily read the original Arabic grammars. For the alphabet he relied on Raimondi<sup>231</sup> and Erpenius,<sup>232</sup> and book two of Avicenna's medical *Canon* for the numerical value of its letters, but not on the Maronites. Elsewhere his main source is al-Taftāzānī's commentary on al-Zanjānī's *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*,<sup>233</sup> (the text which Raimondi had used to clarify one or two points in his *Liber Tasriphi*), though he also turned to al-Jurjānī for the rules of rection. What is particularly striking, however, is Martellotto's precise identification of some of the difficulties met with when relying on the Arab grammarians, i.e.: their analysis has to be rearranged to suit a readership schooled in Latin grammar;<sup>234</sup> they only give 'essential' divisions for the

230 Francesco Martellotto, *Institutiones linguae arabicae tribus libris distributae...* (Rome, 1620). Schnurrer, no. 56. See also Aurélien Girard, 'Les manuels de langue arabe en usage en France à la fin de l'Ancien Régime' in Sylvette Larzul and Alain Messaoudi, eds., *Manuels d'arabe d'hier et d'aujourd'hui. France et Maghreb, XIX<sup>e</sup>-XXI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 2013), pp. 12–26, esp. pp. 20–22, 26, and, above all, id., 'Des manuels de langue entre mission et érudition orientaliste au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle : Les grammaires de l'arabe des *Caracciolini*' in Irene Fosi and Giovanni Pizzorusso (eds.), *L'Ordine dei Chierici Regolari Minori (Caracciolini) : religione e cultura in età postridentina* (Marano, 2010), pp. 279–295.

231 Martellotto, *Institutiones*, p. 1: 'Quoniam vero de Arabicis litteris elegantissime scripsit Ioannes Baptista Raymundus, qui ut prima iecit latentis huius idiomatis fundamenta, sic nostri temporis lumen splendentissimum extitit, summa ipsius tum caeterarum linguarum, tum disciplinarum, omniumque fere scientiarum peritia. Idcirco nos praeter ea, quae apponenda noviter, vel ulterius explicanda censuimus, nonnulla ipsius, ut iacent ad verbum huc inseremus.'

232 Ibid., Book One, Erpenius is not mentioned by name but a number of features are clear borrowings from his work.

233 Ibid., *passim*, 'Tephtazanius' is cited on a number of occasions. (His name is never given in Raimondi's *Liber Tasriphi*).

234 Ibid., pp. 37–8: 'Scripsit autem eleganter [p. 38] admodum de dictionibus hisce, quemadmodum et de litteris eruditissimus Orientalium linguarum in Leidensi Academia professor Thomas Erpenius cuius magnam levasset quoque nobis huius secundi libri laboris partem, si quod nuper hac de re in lucem edidit opus non tam fero ad nos iam in tertio nostrorum texendo libro laborantes pervenisset; ingentem tamen nobis attulit voluptatem ubi omisso Arabicorum Grammaticorum ordine Latinis admodum dissono,

wordclasses ('accidental' Latinate subdivisions must be superimposed);<sup>235</sup> and their treatment of syntax is fragmentary.<sup>236</sup>

Schnurrer, relying on Lelong, listed another grammatical publication for 1620 under the title of *Compendium grammaticae arabicae*.<sup>237</sup> Authorship is ascribed to Joseph Barbatus, i.e. Yūsuf ibn Abū Daqan, Erpenius's Egyptian teacher. But no Arabic grammar book by Yūsuf has survived in print. If such a work had ever been put through the press, and if we are to believe Erpenius's assessment of Yūsuf, it would be reasonable for the bibliographer to be looking for a grammar which betrays a familiarity with the colloquial language and an ignorance of the classical language.

Once again, Erpenius's judgement has prevailed; and the reputation he gave to Yūsuf as an inadequate classicist has been maintained in recent accounts of Arabic studies in the Netherlands.<sup>238</sup> Clearly, some evidence to confirm this reputation may be found in the language of two Arabic letters which he wrote to Erpenius from London on 8 July, 1611, and from Antwerp in October 1613, and which were critically edited by Houtsma;<sup>239</sup> and, on his own admission in a letter to Scaliger dated 1608, Yūsuf confided that of all the languages he knew, the only one he knew well was the spoken language of Egypt.<sup>240</sup>

In fact, Lelong was not entirely mistaken in ascribing a 'grammatical compendium' to Yūsuf. But, as in the case of Raimondi's *Rudimenta linguae persicae*, which Lelong (following other bibliographers) wrongly listed as a printed

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in rebus pluribus nobiscum quoad methodum convenisse comperimus. Caeterum quamvis a praedicta Arabum methodo deflectentes nostro nos ordine Latinis magis consono procedamus, omnino tamen Arabum terminis, sive grammaticalibus vocibus ubique utemur, eorumque ordines, ac procedendi rationes, divisiones, ac series enucleabimus, ut facilius cunctis ad eosdem perlegendos autores pateat aditus.'

235 Ibid., p. 47: '(De Accidentibus Nominis in communi) Quae praeter essentiam, definitiones, ac proprietates tradunt de nomine arabes, non explicant expresse, ac proprie hoc formali nomine Accidentium; nec particulares accidentium differentias, ad superiores, communioresve rationes quasdam, tanquam ad certa capita revocant. Nos tamen Latinorum semitas, ac veluti naturalem ordinem prosequentes, distinctiones item, ac facilitatis gratia, ad septem revocamus capita, Accidentiaque vocamus quaecunque de nomina utilia scitu, necessarique censuimus: Materia sive Quantitas, Qualitas, Forma, Genus, Numerus, Species, Casus sive dispositio.'

236 Ibid., p. 35: '(De Oratione eiusque Natura, Divisione, et Constitutione) Quae precise ad orationem attinent non sic facile apud Authores reperiuntur seorsim tradita, sed saepe nonnulla ad eius texturam, atque naturam spectantia, variis in locis, ubi de partibus eius edifferunt iuxta cuiusque opportunitatem, cum sese praebet occasio explicant.'

237 Schnurrer, pp. 33–34.

238 Juynboll, *Beoefenaars*, p. 67; Brugman, *Arabic Studies*, p. 6; Hamilton, *William Bedwell*, p. 34.

239 Houtsma, *Correspondentie*, pp. 13–19.

240 UBL, Cod. Or. 1365, doc. 4.

book when in reality it only exists as a manuscript in Venice,<sup>241</sup> Yūsuf's *Grammaticae arabicae compendium*, though never published, does nevertheless exist in manuscript form. Indeed, two manuscript copies of this text are now preserved in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.<sup>242</sup> One of these displays a serious intention to publish. It is the printer's copy in Yūsuf's hand and bears the imprimatur of the censor of Antwerp, L. Beijlinck.<sup>243</sup> Inevitably, lack of Arabic type was a major obstacle to publication. There was no Arabic type in Antwerp, even at the Moretus Press where Yūsuf was known;<sup>244</sup> and wood-cut or hand-written Arabic, as employed in earlier works, would not have been an appealing alternative to the fine Arabic type available in Leiden or Rome, for example. Nor was there Arabic type in Vienna, Yūsuf's next port of call. Perhaps, too, printers feared that Yūsuf's grammar would have difficulty competing with Erpenius's, reissued in its revised form as the *Rudimenta* that same year, 1620.

In his letter of October 1613 written in Arabic from Antwerp, Yūsuf commended Erpenius for his recently produced grammar book:

...with it you have adorned the whole of Europe and benefited all students of the Arabic language and all eastern languages in this and other countries. For my part, I thank your excellency very much for providing me with the means to benefit the majority of those who study Arabic in these parts, though they be very few.<sup>245</sup>

241 A.M. Piemontese, 'La «Grammatica persiana» di G.B. Raimondi', *Rivista degli studi orientali* 53 (1979), pp. 141–150 [and 2 plates]. Raimondi's Persian grammar is now at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, MS Or. 53 (27).

242 ÖNB, Cod. 15161. *Grammaticae arabicae Compendium*, autore Iosepho Barbato Memphitico, Linguae Sanctae, ceterarumque Orientalium in Alma Lovaniensi Academia professore. MDCXX. Fols. 85<sup>v</sup>-53<sup>v</sup> for the autograph copy by Yūsuf ibn Abū Daqan, paginated 1–57, complete with Arabic examples and a reading exercise at the end – Psalm 118. Fols. 100<sup>v</sup>-88<sup>v</sup>, for the copy in another hand, paginated 3–26, lacking most Arabic examples and breaking off at the beginning of chapter 7 on verbs with initial *hamza*. I am grateful to the librarians in Vienna for identifying the present location of this manuscript for me and to Alastair Hamilton for alerting me to its existence via the article on Yūsuf in G. Graf, *Geschichte der Christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, vol. 4, pp. 131–133. See also Lucian Scherman, 'Abudacnus (Barbatus), ein koptischer Orientalist aus dem siebzehnten Jahrhundert, und seine Beziehungen zu München', *Jahrbuch für Münchener Geschichte* 2 (1888), p. 346 and n. 19 and Hamilton, 'An Egyptian traveller', pp. 134–135.

243 Ibid., fol. 85<sup>v</sup>. (repeated on fol. 100<sup>r</sup>).

244 Houtsma, *Oostersche correspondentie*, p. 18. (October 1613) Yūsuf asked Erpenius to contact him via the Moretus bookshop if he needed him.

245 Ibid., p. 18.

Ultimately, Erpenius benefited Yūsuf not only in his teaching but also in his grammatical writing. The *Compendium* is highly derivative of the *Grammatica arabica*, which Yūsuf occasionally challenges with his own observations or through reference to the published grammar books of Kirsten and of the Medici Press.<sup>246</sup> The result is not a convincing substitute for Erpenius's work. Not that Yūsuf's work lapses from classical into colloquial. Contrary to Erpenius, Yūsuf places the study of Arabic firmly in the context of Hebrew studies;<sup>247</sup> his analysis of hollow verbs strays into verbs with medial *hamza*;<sup>248</sup> he questions whether the 22 broken plural forms given by Erpenius are all in use;<sup>249</sup> and he posits 15 verbal forms (some of which are completely anomalous), as opposed to the 16 given at Rome by Guglielmo Africano,<sup>250</sup> 'almost as many' by Kirsten, and the 13 given by Erpenius.

The last grammar of Arabic published in the period under review, appeared at Rome in the year of Erpenius's death, 1624. This was the *Institutiones linguae arabicae*<sup>251</sup> written by a Jesuit, Pietro Metoscita, and printed by Stefano Paolini on the orders of Pope Urban VIII and the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, founded two years before in 1622. The work is in four parts, dealing with the alphabet and three wordclasses. In his dedication to Cardinal Barberini, Paolini – former printer for the Medici Press and of Martellotto's *Institutiones* – recommends this book as a means of fighting 'not with the hand but with the mind, not with iron but with the pen'.<sup>252</sup> According to Paolini, Metoscita was born on Cyprus of Maronite Syrian extraction and brought up speaking Greek and Arabic.<sup>253</sup> Later, at the Maronite College in Rome, he steadily improved his Arabic, gained an expertise in Aramaic and Hebrew, and taught there for many years.

246 ÖNB, Cod. 15161. See for example 'De punctis distinctivis partium orationis', fol.74<sup>v</sup> (repeated on fol. 95<sup>r</sup>).

247 Ibid., fol. 99<sup>v</sup>, 'Ad lectorem'.

248 Ibid., fol. 74<sup>r</sup>, (repeated on fol. 94<sup>v</sup>).

249 Ibid., fol. 73<sup>v</sup>, (repeated on fol. 94<sup>v</sup>).

250 Ibid., fol. 68<sup>v</sup>. (repeated on fol. 91<sup>v</sup>). The reference to Guglielmo Africano is interesting. We have already suggested in chapter 2, part 5, above, that he may have been involved with the production of *Liber Tasriphi*. Yūsuf's information seems to confirm this, though like Kirsten's reference to Paul Willich as the author of Radtmann's *Introductio* (see above), it may imply too great a role on behalf of the assistant.

251 Pietro Metoscita, *Institutiones linguae arabicae* (Rome, 1624). Schnurrer, no. 59. For Metoscita see also Girard, 'Les manuels de langue arabe', p. 22.

252 Metoscita, *Institutiones*, Stephanus Paulinus's dedication to Cardinal Barberini is on the two unsigned leaves following the title.

253 Loc. cit.: 'Autor libelli est Petrus Metoscita Societatis Iesu Sacerdos qui licet in Cypro natus, oriundus tamen e Syria non prius Graece didicit quam Arabice loqui. Atque hunc ille sermonem deinde Romae in Collegio Maronitarum (qua ex gente originem ducit) ita constanter excoluit, addita Chaldaicae, atque Hebraicae dictionis peritia ut ipsos

For his part, in his prefatory note to the reader, Metoscita displays a complete lack of propagandist spirit; instead, he regards his grammar as a first step for those wishing either to trade in the East, to read secular Arabic texts, or to gain a better understanding of Hebrew.<sup>254</sup>

Like Erpenius, Metoscita does not cavil at the rules given by other European grammarians of Arabic in their publications but relies instead on his own reading of Arabic texts. Here, however, the similarity ends. Erpenius's silence had resulted from a desire to present a fresh analysis of Arabic grammar, mindful of the errors and omissions of earlier works but uncluttered by reference to them; Metoscita's silence resulted from an apparent indifference to the efforts of his predecessors and contemporaries. More significantly, where Erpenius carefully dismantled Arabic grammatical texts and reassembled their rules for European eyes with great accuracy and through repeated sifting of the Quran for correct vocalisation, Metoscita dismantled crudely and reassembled carelessly and obscurely with occasional reference to an Arabic version of the Gospels. His first part on the alphabet contains his own phonetic analysis of the consonants, presumably based on his own speech, with reference to Hebrew equivalents. In the following chapters on the noun, verb, and particle, the lapses from the classical norm are too numerous to list in their entirety, but here are some of the most glaring: for the sound plural, only the oblique form is given and for the broken plural, only four varieties; nouns in the construct state are wrongly vocalised; the definite article is prefixed to nouns with pronominal suffixes; /ala'alla/ is said to be an optative particle meaning *utinam*, /inna/ is regarded as a conditional particle meaning *si*; /ḥasiba/-/yaḥsibu/ is given as a rule with 'alima/-/ya'lamu/ as the exception.

In the final part on syntax, Metoscita begins with the claim that: 'Whatever is said about Aramaic and Hebrew syntax, the same may quite rightly be said for Arabic.'<sup>255</sup> He proceeds, however, with four expressions from the Arab grammarians for four different constructions – noun/verb, *iḏāfa*, *mubtada' wa-khabar*, relative and antecedent. Metoscita follows this with his own rule that: 'The noun should agree with the verb in gender, number, and person' – a way of describing the relationship which leads to many exceptions and even some anomalies. For example, a singular noun may take a plural verb, a feminine noun may take a masculine verb, a singular (masculine) relative may be found

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Alumnos per annos complures instituerit et in Romano Societatis eiusdem Collegio Arabicas publice literas professus sit.'

254 Ibid., 'Ad lectorem', on the fourth unsigned leaf after the title.

255 Ibid., p. 217: 'Quae de chaldaicae ac hebraicae linguae syntaxi dicuntur, eadem de arabica dici optime possunt; sunt etenim hae linguae inter se ita affines ut solis characteribus discrepare videantur.'

with a plural noun (in the example *hādhā 'l-kalām*, Metoscita mistook *kalām* for a plural form). An interesting and innovative chapter included by Metoscita at the end concerns Arabic prosody,<sup>256</sup> a subject which had not entered printed Arabic grammars before and which had only received scholarly attention in Europe a century before, probably in Rome too, from Leo Africanus.<sup>257</sup>

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256 Ibid., p. 226.

257 A. Codazzi, 'Il trattato dell' arte metrica di Giovanni Leone Africano', in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1956), vol.1, pp. 180–198.

# Supplement

## Arabic Texts Translated in Part 1

1. Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī: *Kitāb Nāṣir al-Dīn 'alā 'l-qawm al-kāfirīn*, Casablanca, 1987, pp. 25–26. (For my English version, see above, pp. 81–82.)

قلت في نفسي: كيف الخلاص والنصارى تقتل وتحرق كل من يجدون عنده كتابا عربيا أو يعرفون أنه يقرأ بالعربية. وأما ما ذكر من المترجمين الأندلس فكانوا شيوخا، ويستعذرون بأنهم تعلموا القراءة العربية في ضغرم بقرب عهد الاسلام واما الحكيم أبو العاصي كان يقرأ لاجل جده لأنه مترجم كما قلنا، وماذا أقول أنا إذا سألتني عن من علمني؟ وفي الطريق كان يقول لي القسيس: قل للسيد العظيم: ان المترجمين ما عرفوا شيئا. قلت في نفسي: عكس هذا أقول، لأن أصحاب الدعاوي يفتضحون. ولما أن دخلنا الى حضرته فأقبل علينا وقال لي: ذكر لي القسيس مَنْصُصُ أنك تحسن القراءة العربية فقلت: ليس أنا من البالغين فيها. قال: أين تعلمت؟ قلت: أعلم أيه السيد أنني أندلسي من الحجر الأحمر، وكلامنا فيه فهو بالعربية، ثم تعلمت نقرا بالعجمية، ثم مشيت الى مذيبل بلد السلطان فوجدت فيها رجلا طيبا أندلسيا من بلاد بلنسية اسمه فلان دعمني نقرا بالعربية، وجاني سهلا لكوني عربيا في الأصل. ثم قال لي: معلمك الطيب؟ قلت: مات - رحمه الله - قبل هذا العهد بنحو السنتين أو ثلاثة، وكلما قلت له فيها سألتني عن الطيب أنه كان من بلاد بلنسية كذب، ولكن كانت القراء بالعربية لاهل بلنسية مباحة في غير دين الاسلام، وممنوعة لسائر أهل بلاد الأندلس

2. Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajarī, *op.cit.*, p. 50. (For my English version, see above, pp. 83–84.)

والتقيت في تلك المدينة برجل من علمائهم كان يقرأ بالعربية، وبعض النصارى يقرءون عليه، كان يسمى بأبرت، وقال لي: أنا أخدمك فيما تحتاجني لاكلم لك من كبراء الناس، وغير ذلك، وما نحب منك الا نقرا عليك في الكتب التي عندي بالعربية، وتبين لي فيها شيئا مما فيها، قلت له: اثنتي بها، ومن جملة الكتب جاء بالكتاب العزيز، فسألته أين اتصلت بهذا القراءن، قال: كنت بمدينة مراكش، وهناك تعلمت نقرا بالعربية، وكان جلوسي هنالك على

أمر سلطان فرنجة لنعلمه بحروف الزمر كلها نعلم أنه يقع السلطان مراکش في ديوانه و  
حركته، فتغيرت حين رأيت كتاب الله تعالى بيد كافر نجس، ثم ساق قانون ابن سينا في  
الطب، وكتاب اقليدس في الهندسة وكتبا في النحو مثل الاجرومية، والكافية، وكتاب  
بالعربية فيه مناظرات بين مسلم ونصراني وفي الاديان، وغير ذلك من الكتب. وكنا نبتدي  
بالكلام في العلم ثم تقع المنازعة بيننا على الاديان

3. Aḥmad ibn Qāsim al-Ḥajārī, *op.cit.*, p. 106. (For my English version, see above, p. 85)

ولما دخلنا مدينة أيدنا فيها مدارس لقراءة العلوم. ووجدت فيها رجلا كان يقرأ  
بالعربية، ويقري بها غيره، وياخذ راتباً على ذلك، وكنت عرفته بفرنجة، وحملني إلى داره، و  
كان يتكلم معي بالعربية، يعرب الاسماء، ويصرف الافعال. وكان له كتب كثيرة بالعربية، ومن  
جملتها القرآن العزيز، فأخذنا في الكلام، وهو يثبت قوله بالتثليث في الالهية، لانهم  
متفقون في ذلك مع الباب واتباعهم. وكان يشكر ويمدح دينه كثيراً بالمدح التام لسيدنا  
عيسى. قلت له كلما تقول فيه من خير ومدح، فنحن متفقون معكم فيه، إلا قولك أنه إله،  
أو ابن الله حقيقة. وذكر ايضا الروح القدس، قلت له: الروح القدس هو البارفليط المذكور  
في الانجيل، قال: نعم، هو قلت له: انت تعرف الالسن واللغات، ما معنى البارفليط؟ قال:  
هي كلمة ليست من لغت اللطين، إنما هي من لغة اليونان، ومعناها بالعربية شفيح. قلت  
له: هذا من اسماء نبينا محمد - صلى الله عليه وسلم -، وهذا اسم يدل على اسم شخص، قال:  
نعم قلت: ولماذا تجعلونه إلهاً، وتقولون ثلاثة وواحد معنى شيء واحد

4. UBL, MS Or. 1228, doc. 39. A letter from Thomas Erpenius to Aḥmad ibn Qāsim, Paris September 1611. (For my English version, see above, pp. 90-9.)

سلام الله و بركته على سيدى الحبيب و المكرم و يفرّجه خالقة في هذا الدنيا و الاخرة  
فرحا دايماً و ياتى له و لاهله كلما تشتهى قلوبهم من الطيبات امين. كل انسان مثل ما  
قال رئيس الحكماء ارسطو و طلس معلم ذى القرنين تشتاق الى العلم و هذه الشاقة من  
خصايصه الطبيعية لانه يولد يعدم معرفة كل شئ و مثل عقله بالابتداء كمثل لوح لا رقم فيه  
من شئ و اما اذا امتلى بالحكمة و العلم هو كمثل لوح مصور مليحاً و الذى لا يجهد ان بزين  
عقله يقتنى له علماً فايداً هو يدل على ان فيه من طبيعة الانعام التى لا فيها شاقة العلم

سبق ذكرها فيلبث [دائما كغيف فسد لبابته كجوز لا فيها لب ليس كهذا العمار الذين يسميهم لذلك قرانكم الجليل كما انت بعينك علمتى اولى الاباب] وانا عبدك لكيلا اكون كذلك درست في بعض الاوقات لاقتنى لى شئيا من العلم الجليل ومع ان معرفة الالسنه اعانت كثيرا الى اقتناؤه استهيشها جدا خصوصا الالسنه التي أكثر ضرورة اليها و هي اللاطينية واليونانية والعبرانية والعربية و بكثرة الحرص والجهد تعلمت فيها من شئ بل في العربية اقل من قليل لكثرة عسرها وعدم كثيها ومعلمينها في هذا البلد ومن اجل ذلك قششت من كا الاعراب جاوا الى هنا بعض اقوال وكلمات في لغتهم لأيزيد علمي واقنع روجي وانت ايضا يا سيدى رحمت على وعلمتى [أكثر مما استوجب ولاجل هذا اشكرك بكل نفسى وساذكرك بنى و قلب كل عمر] ولكن شهوتي مثل مرض يسمى الاستشقاء لا اشبعنى كلما أوّتى بل يزيد شاقتي ولهذا السبب ارجع الآن الى فضلك واستعينك فغسيري لى الله تعالى بالاسبابى معان هذه الكلمات قراتها فى القران المجيد فى سورة بقره و بعد ذلك أعلم الكلمة بضع التي من اجلها تلمنا امسا وجُد القران الطيف فى موضعين كما قلت لك يومايذ اعنى فى وسط سورة يوسف بقوله تعالى فلبث فى السجن بضع سنين و بالابتداء سورة الروم بقوله من بعد غلبهم سيغلبون فى بضع سنين و اذا تسال كم من السنين لبث يوسف فى السجن اجيبك لا اشار الى ذلك هذه الكلمة وانا ما اعرف ام من غير هذا الموضع يمكن عرفه انا قلت ايضا لفضلك قبل هذا اتى قرات فى الفرقان ان حرم على المسلمين من طعام غير لحم الخنزير والميتة والدم و فى ذلك لا غلظت لان فى الابتدا سورة المائدة يقال ان غير المذكور حرم عليكم طلها اكل السُبع اعنى كل انعام ياكلها الاسد الجايح اذا وجدها كما الغزال وغير ذلك الوحوش يجل لنا اكلها و حرم ايضا المنخنقة والموقوذة والمتردية والنطيحة (يوافقون فى امر المسيح) فهذا انتهى قولى فاقعد بالعقبة حتى المسلمون والنصارى واليهود كتب فى باريس فى شهر سبتمبر سنة الف و ستاية و حادى عشر لمولد عيسى المسيح ابن مريم له المجد من عند محبك و عبدك توما ابن اربن

PART 2

*The Arabic and  
Persian Studies of  
Giovanni Battista Raimondi  
(c. 1536–1614)*





# The Alphabetum Arabicum

## 1 Introduction

In 1592 Giovanni Battista Raimondi published the *Alphabetum arabicum* as a first step for students of Arabic. The aim of the book is to explain the orthography of Arabic script and the correct pronunciation of a vowelised text. There is some mention of calligraphic variations but the complexity of any grammatical rulings is carefully avoided. The work is simply a modest introduction to Arabic, tackling the most basic problems with clarity.

Two other sixteenth-century publications in Germany dealt with these initial problems, similarly avoiding further elaborations and grammatical complexity. These were Bartholomaeus Radtmann's *Introductio in linguam arabicam*, published in that same year 1592, and Jakob Christmann's *Alphabetum arabicum*, issued ten years before, in 1582. Radtmann made use of the earlier work. It is likely that the 1582 *Alphabetum arabicum* was also known to Raimondi. That the title given to the Rome publication is identical may be no coincidence, but rather a sign of rivalry in the face of the Protestant Christmann's attempt. That Raimondi mentions Christmann's name in a manuscript note is supportive of his knowing Christmann's work.<sup>1</sup> Against this, an overall similarity in the structure of the two *Alphabeta* is not necessarily indicative of Raimondi's knowledge or possession of the earlier work. The nature of the subject matter requires that similar topics are handled. If we are dealing with a work partly motivated by competitive spirit then that competition was healthy in its outcome. The improvements of the Rome publication, however, go deeper than that. There are many factors in the economic and intellectual good fortune of the Medici Oriental Press that account for these improvements. From the point of view of presentability, it is the technical virtuosity of Robert Granjon's type that makes this a neater book than its predecessors. As for contents, this chapter attempts to weigh up the relative merits of what Raimondi was able to bring to the art of teaching the rudiments of Arabic.

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<sup>1</sup> Saltini XXV i.e. BNCF, Magl. III, 81, (no. 3). On Raimondi more generally see M. Casari, 'RAIMONDI, Giovanni Battista', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 86 (2016).

Other sixteenth-century publications on Arabic were too hasty in entering into complexity. In the case of Teseo Ambrogio's *Introductio* (1539) this is due to his comparative philological approach. It may make for a more interesting book, but its lack of concision, quite apart from the lack of Arabic type, would not be a good beginner's introduction to reading Arabic. For Guillaume Postel, and subsequently the derivative Ruthger Spey and Pierre-Victor Palma Cayet, learning to read Arabic meant learning about inflection and grammar, not merely orthography and pronunciation. This is ultimately true for the correct reading of the majority of Arabic texts, as they are unvowelled and thus without inflection. To know the inflection of a word through knowledge of the grammar of Arabic is to know how to read it in an unvowelled text.

At the outset of his studies the student of Arabic will be fortunate if he is presented with a clear exposition on the script and pronunciation and, having mastered that, can then move on. Raimondi's *Alphabetum arabicum* offers just such a practical, uncomplicated first step. As will be shown, this work is instructive on Raimondi's pedagogical method. To further his knowledge the reader is urged to consult a teacher for pronunciation and grammar books for technicalities. Perhaps two of the grammars that Raimondi intended the reader to look at were his own Arabic publications of that same year, 1592, the *Ājurrūmiyya* and the *Kāfiya*. The consequences of such a leap will be looked into in the next chapter on those grammars. Ultimately, the fact that Raimondi looked to the Muslim grammarians as the natural teachers of Arabic will be evident in this chapter and throughout the dissertation.

### *Figura*

#### 2 Arabic Script in the *Alphabetum arabicum*

The twenty-eight consonants that make up the Arabic Alphabet are displayed in tabular form at the beginning of the *Alphabetum*. In accordance with the European classical division of the letters, each letter is given its shape (*figura*) in Arabic script, its name (*appellatio*) in Arabic script and in Latin transliteration, and its phonetic value or equivalence (*potestas*) in Latin script, and in Hebrew script in two cases. It is Raimondi's comments on *figura* that concern us here though the main interest of the chapter will be for *potestas*.

Although Europeans had noticed the existence of orthographic and calligraphic variations in Arabic script, Raimondi's observations are more likely to derive from his own practical experience of the mass of manuscripts that flooded into the Medici Oriental Press at the time of the voyages of negotiation

and collection. Raimondi contrasts the *maghribī*, North African, convention in the writing of *fā'* and *qāf* and the vowels *fathā* and *kasra* with the Eastern style.<sup>2</sup> *Sīn* and *shīn* are shown to lose their teeth in the more fluent hand of the Persians. Undotted letters may be differentiated more clearly from their dotted equivalents by inclusion of an inverted circumflex over the letter or a miniature version of the letter below it. But Raimondi declares that, far from being written with such care, manuscripts are usually written without any such superfluous signs and even without any vowels.

One practical advantage of Arabic's cursive script is that words may be elongated to fill out lines. As Raimondi says:

The Arabs do not divide their words when writing in the same way as the Latins, the Greeks, the Egyptians, the Armenians, the Ethiopians and most of the Indians who, when short of space, are accustomed to put one part on one line and the other part on another. In this eventuality, the Arabs prefer to lengthen the body or tail of some letters of the preceding word in order to fill out the line, thus ...<sup>3</sup>

### 3 Arabic Script in other Renaissance Arabic Grammars

At the outset of the sixteenth century Pedro de Alcalá (1505) gives the *maghribī* convention for the writing of those consonants and vowels that differ from the eastern style. That was appropriate for the local use to which that grammar was to be put. Ambrogio (1539), in his section on the 'Arabic and Punic consonants', includes all those peoples who use this same alphabet: Tartars, Persians, Turks, North Africans, Numidians, Arabs and Egyptians.<sup>4</sup> Although he does not enter into an analysis of the details of regional calligraphic or orthographic variation, some later comments reveal an awareness of just such regional variation. The passage is of interest as an example of his imaginative comparative

2 In the *maghribī* script /f/ is written with one dot below the letter and /q/ with one dot above the letter. Oriental script writes /f/ with one dot above the letter and /q/ with two dots above the letter. *Maghribī fathā* and *kasra* are horizontal as opposed to angled.

3 Raimondi, ed.. *Alphabetum arabicum*, p. 8: 'Non dividunt dictiones suas Arabes in scribendo ita ut earum partem quidem in una partem vero in altera cum id loci importunitas coegerit collocent linea veluti Latinis Graecis Aegyptiis Armenis Aethyopibus ac Indorum quam plurimis usui est sed cum illud acciderit ad lineam persiciendam praecedentis dictionis literae alicuius quae id pati possit corpus aut caudam producere malunt hoc modo ...'

4 Teseo Ambrogio, *Introductio in chaldaicam linguam syriacam atque armenicam et decem alias linguas* (Pavia, 1539), fol. 23<sup>v</sup>.

sense, brought about in this instance through his experience of many manuscripts. As he says:

The shapes of the North African or Arabic elements are even varied and different. I believe this is so clear that there is no need for any proof. I have more than thirty books both small and large and in two volumes that extend to almost five arms' lengths when laid in a row. And because the letters are written in diverse and differing shapes there is considerable difficulty in reading them. In the same way we even see in our Latin lettering that there is sometimes so much diversity that conjecture is necessary in reading them. Even someone who is very well versed in Italian letter shapes may have difficulty in reading the script of the Germans, French, Spanish and English, or, moreover the characters written by many merchants despite the fact that they may be in Latin.<sup>5</sup>

Postel (1538) paid some attention to regional variations in script, calling the North African convention 'Arab' and the eastern convention 'Turkish'. From a political standpoint those attributions were correct for the time, but in his later publication on Arabic grammar (1543) he corrected this view by associating these scripts with the Africans, on the one hand, and on the other with the Asiatics. Until Pierre-Victor Palma Cayet's *Paradigmata* (1596) no further developments were made in the explanation of the obvious range of calligraphic styles commented on by Ambrogio. Palma Cayet describes seven styles in some detail. They are *naskh*, *ta'liq*, *dīvānī*, *qirma*, *thulūth*, *riḥānī* and *yāqūtī*.<sup>6</sup> Seven years later, in Erpenius's first grammar of Arabic (1613), these same styles were described with the addition of *maghribī*, the North African style, as an eighth.<sup>7</sup> The *Alphabetum arabicum* does not include this elaboration, though it should be pointed out that Raimondi knew these same seven terms. He lists them in a

5 *Ibid.*, fol. 208<sup>v</sup>: 'Varias etiam atque differentes esse Punicorum sive Arabicorum elementorum formas, ita clarum esse suspicior, ut probatione non sit opus, sunt quippe mihi plus quam triginta librorum capita tum parva tum magna et volumina duo quae explicata ad quinque fere brachiorum longitudinem extendunt. Ita diversis atque distantibus literarum scripta figuris, ut non parva sit in legendo difficultas. Sicuti videmus etiam in Latinis nostris, in quibus tanta est aliquando differentia, ut coniectura omnino opus sit in earum lectione, qui enim in Italicis variis literarum figuris tantum versatus fuerit, non sine difficultate Germanorum, Gallorum, Hispanorumve, aut etiam Anglorum scripturam, vel etiam mercatorum multorum characteres, quamvis latini sint, legere poterit.'

6 Palma Cayet, *Paradigmata*, pp. 21 f.

7 Erpenius, *Grammatica*, pp. 5 f.

manuscript note with the comment that *dīvānī* and *qırma* are used by the Turks for official business.<sup>8</sup>

### *Potestas*

#### 4 Arabic Vocalization. *Imāla*

The main difficulty facing anyone wishing to read Arabic, or any language in Arabic script, is the lack of vocalization in most texts. Written, unvowelled Arabic is a kind of shorthand whereby the sound and meaning of the spoken word are suggested to the reader by the outline of consonants and semi-consonants.

It is the reader who must supply the necessary inflection. As he reads he must gauge the context of the word within the sentence, choose the correct sense for the whole, and apply the appropriate vowelism from his own knowledge of the Arabic language. This economy in the Arabic orthographic system is less a hindrance to the fluent reading of Arabic than might appear at first sight to the European. This is because Arabic word-forms are structured in a consistent way according to their grammatical function.<sup>9</sup> Also some hints as to vocalization are given by the occurrence of the semi-consonants *wāw*, *yā'* and *alif*. Apart from their consonantal functions they may indicate the diphthongs /au/ and /ai/ or the long vowels /ū/, /ā/ and /ī/.

Whenever the exact sense of the Arabic is crucial vowels must be included in the text by signs above and below the ductus. One such sign attached to one consonant may be enough to prompt the reader to the correct meaning of a whole word or phrase. For instance one vowel can make the difference

8 Saltini XVII, i.e. BNCF, MS II, III, 21, f. 102<sup>r</sup> (no. 5). See the entry 'Khatt', *EP*, vol. 4, p. 1125, where *dīvānī* is mentioned: 'According to the Turkish sources the script was allegedly invented for writing official documents and registers of the Dīwān-i-Humāyūn, founded by Mehmed II after the conquest of Istanbul ...' *Qırma* is also mentioned as a Turkish style. The source for Raimondi's list of these seven styles remains to be found. If some Turkish work on calligraphy could be identified among the Laurentian manuscripts, then it might also answer M. Krek's question about the reasons for the elegance of the type used by the Medici Oriental Press. See his *Typographia Arabica. The Development of Arabic Printing as Illustrated by Arabic Type Specimens. Exhibition Held at the Rapaporte Treasure Hall* (Waltham, 1971), p. 10, where he says: 'It is not known whether the general manager of the press, Giambattista Raimondi, and his staff were directly familiar with the work of Arab calligraphers such as that found, e.g., in al-Qalqashandī's *Subh al-a'shā*, which is alleged to have been known to Dürer and may have influenced his "Textur".'

9 The structure of Arabic words will be given more attention in the concluding remarks of the dissertation where the lexical material is mentioned.

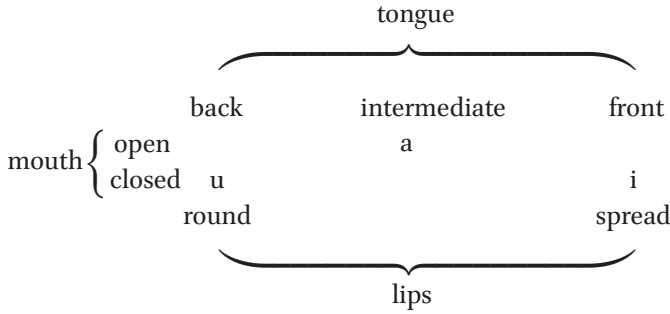
between an active or a passive participle. Through the inclusion of the vowel /i/, the word /mujaddid/ can be distinguished from /mujaddad/, 'renewer' as opposed to 'renewed'. Through the inclusion of the first vowel alone, /u/, the passive past verb may be distinguished from the active: thus the reader knows it is /ḍuriba/, 'he was hit', and not /ḍaraba/, 'he hit'. In some texts, most notably the Quran, full vowelling is included for complete precision. Every consonant bears a sign indicating its vocalization or lack of it. So the young Muslim reading the Quran combines gradual familiarity with scripture with the acquisition of reading skills.

Three vowels are indicated by the signs *ḍamma* for /u/, *fatha* for /a/ and *kasra* for /i/. In combination with the semi-consonants they may produce those diphthongs and long vowels already mentioned. In transliteration the short and long vowels should be carefully distinguished. It is usual these days to place a length-mark over the vowel that is lengthened. Theoretically there is no need for more than three vowels to be recorded orthographically in Arabic. All inflectional variation is covered by *ḍamma*, *fatha* and *kasra* alone or in combination with one of the semi-consonants. But in practice a broader range of vowel sounds exists in spoken Arabic. These shades of timbre variation were discussed by the Muslim grammarians as modifications to the three main vowels: *ḍamma*, *fatha* and *kasra*.<sup>10</sup> It was to avoid the blurring of grammatical distinctions that these timbre variations were never given independent orthographic expression. As an example of this blurring it may be that a variation in the timbre of *kasra* may coincide with a variation in the timbre of *fatha*. If this sound were written down it would be impossible to say which of the two original vowels it referred to and consequently to what inflection and grammatical function. From another angle, that of modern linguistic terminology, these shades of timbre variation may be called allophones i.e. variant members of the three basic phonemes /u/, /a/ and /i/.<sup>11</sup> If the phonemes /a/ and /i/ both have allophones [e], then when [e] is written down it is impossible to say which phoneme it originates from and therefore what inflectional function it serves. The slight difference between the active and the passive participles /mujaddid/ and /mujaddad/ has already been emphasized. If the actual pronunciation of each were written down as /mujadded/, which is a possible pronunciation for both, it would be impossible to tell if the word meant 'renewer' or 'renewed'.

10 For the major Muslim sources on phonetic analysis see the section 'La phonétique des anciens grammairiens arabes' in Henri Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, vol. 1 (Beirut, 1961), p. 201.

11 For basic information on the terms 'phoneme' and 'allophone', see R.H. Robins, *General Linguistics. An Introductory Survey*. 2nd ed. (London, 1971), pp. 121, 124.

Modern phonetic analysis broadly characterizes the three vowel phonemes as lip-rounded, /u/; open, /a/; and palatal, /i/.<sup>12</sup> They may be more tightly delineated in this way:<sup>13</sup>



Variation in timbre may be described through reference to this analysis. Some mention of variation in the timbre of *fatḥa*, /a/, will be made here as it is relevant to Raimondi's understanding of the pronunciation of /a/ and his system of transliteration.

Variations in the timbre of *fatḥa* were described by the Muslim grammarians through use of the term *imāla*.<sup>14</sup> This was the tendency (*imāla*) of the pronunciation of *fatḥa* to move towards that of *kasra* – or of *alif* towards *yā'* for the long vowels.<sup>15</sup> Today this would be called the tendency of the tongue to 'fronting and raising' in the pronunciation of Arabic /a/. The resultant allophones may be as strong as [e] or even [i], but more usually [ä] is the extent of *imāla*. For the grammarians it was thought to be a conditioned phenomenon: the vicinity of certain vowels were thought to encourage *imāla* in *fatḥa*. Such encouragement could come from a neighbouring syllable containing the semi-consonant *yā'* or the vowel *kasra*, /i/. E.g. /'ābid/, worshipper; /'ālim/, knowing; /masājīd/, mosques. But such a theory led to exceptions that had to be explained away. Modern linguists do not regard *imāla* as conditioned in this way but prefer to work from a basis of *imāla* being an unconditioned, spontaneous phenomenon. This is especially apparent in the pronunciation of /ā/, which is normally [ä]. Both grammarians and linguists agree on the theory that

<sup>12</sup> See A.F.L. Beeston, *The Arabic Language Today* (London, 1970), pp. 16–17.

<sup>13</sup> See 'Le Vocalisme' in Fleisch, *Traité*, vol. 1, pp. 63–65, and 'Le Vocalisme' in Jean Cantineau, *Études de linguistique arabe* (Paris, 1960), pp. 89–92.

<sup>14</sup> On the Muslim sources for *imāla* see Cantineau, *Études*, p. 97.

<sup>15</sup> See 'Les voyelles longues', 'Timbres', and 'Les voyelles brèves', in Cantineau, *Études*, pp. 96–102 and 110–112.

certain conditions inhibit, rather than encourage, *imāla*. A neighbouring guttural, emphatic or liquid consonant will inhibit /a/ from tending towards /i/. There is also agreement on *imāla* in /ā/ being more developed at the end of a word than at the beginning or the middle.

The timbre variation of the vowel phonemes /u/ and /i/ will not be given similar weight to that of /a/. For our purposes it suffices to say that *ḍamma* may be more accurately transliterated as [o] or [ö] when short, and *kasra* as [e] when short.

In Latin transcription, a language that is normally written in Arabic script may be given a more accurate phonetic analysis with respect to the original sound of the vowels. In other words, the five Latin vowels may provide a 'narrower transcription' than the three Arabic vowels can.<sup>16</sup> But Latin transliteration is a two-edged weapon. While providing greater accuracy as to the sound of the original vowels it may also distort and obscure their inflection and, consequently, the grammatical function of the word. Allowing for this drawback, historical documents containing Latin transliterations of Muslim languages can provide essential clues on the pronunciation of those languages in specific locations in the past. Thus European linguists of the Renaissance have left records of fourteenth-century Turkish and Persian; sixteenth-century Ottoman Turkish; and Spanish Arabic, to mention the better-known.<sup>17</sup>

## 5 Vocalization in the *Alphabetum arabicum*

In the *Alphabetum arabicum*, Raimondi carefully describes the Arabic vowels with reference to the Latin alphabet and makes use of Latin transliteration alongside any Arabic examples he may give in Arabic script. According to Raimondi the vowels, *ḥarakāt* (motions, movements), are called *motiones* because the consonants are moved by their sound or voice. He continues:

16 A broader range of vowel sounds may be more accurately recorded by a 'narrower transcription'. See Robins, *General Linguistics*, p. 119.

17 In connection with these records the following studies should be noted: A. Bodrogligeti, *The Persian Vocabulary of the Codex Cumanicus* (Budapest, 1971), on the Persian vocabulary of the *Codex Cumanicus* (this manuscript, once owned by Petrarch, is the only surviving European precursor to Raimondi for Persian studies of any depth); A. Bombaci, *La 'Regola del parlare Turcho' di Filippo Argenti* (Naples, 1938) on the Florentine Filippo Argenti's grammar of Turkish; F. Corriente, *A Grammatical Sketch*, who makes use of Pedro de Alcalá, *Arte para ligeramente saber la lengua araviga*, in an analysis of Spanish Arabic.

The Arabs have no more than two signs for the motions or vowels [i.e. one representing *damma*: and one representing *fatḥa* and *kasra*, but positioned above and below the ductus respectively], three names, and five phonetic values corresponding to the five of the Latins, a e i o u, that are positioned above or below the letters.<sup>18</sup>

The vowels' shapes, names and phonetic values are then set down in tabular form thus.<sup>19</sup>

Potestas	Nomen	Figura
e declinans ad a vel a clarum	Alphathho /al-fatḥu/ apertio	ب̣
o declinans ad u vel u clarum	Dhdhammo /aḏ-ḏammu collectio	ب̣̣
e declinans ad i vel i clarum	Alkesro /al-kasru/ fractio	ب̣̣̣

The description for the phonetic value of *fatḥa* is not in accord with the usual analysis. Indeed /e/ tending to /a/ is the opposite of the tendency given in the *imāla* theory. To confuse matters the paragraph that Raimondi then devotes to *fatḥa* completely reverses the tendency he has just described.

It is called Phthho [sic] i.e. open, because they open their lips to pronounce it. However it has the phonetic value, for the most part, of the sound of the Latins' vowel /a/ tending to the sound of the vowel /e/ or midway between /a/ and /e/ when it is above the first or middle letters of a word. But it has the phonetic value of pure /a/, especially when it is put over the last letters and above the letter *alif* and above the letter immediately followed by *alif*, and above the letter made heavy with the sign Tescdid [= the sign for doubling the consonant: *tashdīd*], and in certain places that a variety of use will display better than rules.<sup>20</sup>

18 Raimondi, *Alphabetum arabicum*, p. 16: 'Motiones seu vocales apud Arabes figura quidem quam duae non sunt plures, nomine tres, potestate autem quinque, quinque Latinorum a e i o u quasi respondententes quae supra vel infra literas collocantur.'

19 Ibid., p. 16.

20 Ibid., p. 17: 'Vocatur Phthho [sic] id est apertio, quod aperiantur ad prolationem eius labia. Valet autem ut plurimum sonum vocalis a Latinorum, declinantem ad sonum vocalis e, seu medium inter a et e dum super primas, vel medias dictionum literas est. Valet autem a clarum dum praecipue super ultimas posita est literas et super literam Aliph, et super literam quam Aliph immediate sequitur, et super literam signo Tescdid gravatam et locis etiam quibusdam quae omnia usus melius quam regula ostendet.'

He then gives these examples by way of illustration: /kalāma/ = kelama; /'alāmata/ = Elameta; /'allāhumma/ = Allahomma. It should be noted that these Latin transliterations are consistent with the rules set out above.

The fact that /a/ may tend to [e] in this description, not /e/ to [a] as given in the previous table, is in close accord with the usual analysis of *imāla*, whether traditional or modern. This reversal in his description of the tendency may be indicative of a printing error in that table rather than an inconsistency on Raimondi's part. However there is no *imāla* theory to date that accounts for some of the other points in this paragraph. *Fatḥa* followed by *alif* i.e. /ā/ need not be precluded from *imāla* as Raimondi suggests. On the contrary, as has been shown in the previous section, *imāla* in /ā/ is considered a spontaneous tendency that may best be recorded thus: [ã]. In view of this, Italian or Latin /e/ would be better than /a/ in the representation of Arabic /ā/. In the second place there is no evidence to support Raimondi's analysis of the pronunciation of *fatḥa* over a doubled consonant. It may undergo *imāla* there, as elsewhere, in accordance with the rules of the theory. Finally, *tashdīd* does not necessarily inhibit *imāla*.

This analysis was later challenged by Peter Kirsten (1608) who mentions Raimondi's appeal to use rather than rules.<sup>21</sup> Then as now that appeal tends to weaken the authority of the rules that have just been given and suggests that Raimondi was at a loss properly to explain the pronunciation of *fatḥa*.

Leaving aside the weaknesses of this phonetic analysis for the moment, the care with which the rules are consistently applied should be mentioned. But this is cold comfort. Ultimately the system does not make for ready recognition of long versus short /a/. Also *fatḥa* and *kasra* may both be written [e]. Thus the type of grammatical blurring that was described in the previous section as an undesired side-effect of narrower transcription, is a reality in the *Alphabetum arabicum*. As it has already been stated that this book was intended for no more than learning to read and pronounce vowelised Arabic, the drawback of this blurring should not be over-emphasized.

When Raimondi enters on grammatical territory in the *Alphabetum arabicum* it is not with any success. The Arabic terms for the inflections of nouns and verbs are dealt with in a brief, but distorting way. The three terms *naṣb*, *rafʿ* and *jarr* are mentioned. These are the terms that occur in the *Kāfiya*, one of the two Arabic grammars he published in 1592. *Naṣb* and *rafʿ* also occur in the other grammar of the same year, the *Ājurrūmiyya*. These terms refer to the inflectional endings of both nouns and verbs. They do not refer to specific

21 Kirsten, *Grammatices arabicae liber 1*, p. 82.

vowels, but to case and mood. Thus, *naṣb* refers to the accusative and the subjunctive. The accusative case of the singular, dual, and feminine sound plural of a noun cannot be represented by a single vowel. Similarly the subjunctive mood of the dual, second person feminine singular and third person plural of a verb cannot be represented by one single vowel.

Raimondi's mistake was to associate each of the three terms with a single vowel. Thus *naṣb* is /a/, *rafʿ* is /u/ and *jarr* is /i/ at the end of a word.<sup>22</sup> This does not suggest he read those Arabic grammars of 1592 very carefully. But it may suggest that he was aware of earlier European pronouncements on these terms. Ambrogio, and then Postel in both his works, associated these terms of mood and case with the same specific vowels. In the later works of Christmann and Spey the matter was confused further in that these terms for the inflections were associated with the indefinite endings of the nouns, while the usual vowel terms were held to stand for the endings of the definite noun.

Gabriel Sionita (1616), a native speaker of Arabic, was critical of Raimondi's description of *fathā* in this way:

From the point of view of the phonetic value of the vowels, Raimondi and Erpenius think that the vowel *fathā* should be pronounced in many places like Latin /e/. So it appears from their writings in which they frequently render the vowel *fathā* as Latin /e/. But that is the way of reading common to the Turks, not the Arabs. They [The Arabs] always pronounce the vowel *fathā* as clear /a/.<sup>23</sup>

That Sionita, whose mother tongue was Arabic, should deny *imāla* in *fathā* is surprising. But his criticism of the frequent use of Latin /e/ for *fathā*, as being more appropriate to Turkish pronunciation than to Arabic, deserves some attention. In very general terms Turkish may be characterised as a palatal language, as opposed to Arabic which is guttural. Turkish pronunciation of Arabic can result in a more frequent 'fronting and raising' of *fathā*. In view of Raimondi's difficulty over the description of the pronunciation of *fathā*, Sionita's criticism seems an attractive solution to the problem. When he was in Rome,

<sup>22</sup> Raimondi, *Alphabetum arabicum*, pp. 18–19.

<sup>23</sup> Sionita and Hesronita, *Grammatica*, p. 17: 'Quod autem ad vocalium potestatem spectat, Ioannes Baptista Raymundus et Thomas Erpenius sentiunt vocalem /al-fathā/ alphaththa multis in locis pronunciadam ut, e, Latinum, sicuti apparet ex eorum scriptis, in quibus eandem vocalem alfaththa frequenter reddunt Latine e. Sed ille modus legendi est familiaris Turchis, non Arabibus; hi enim vocalem phaththa semper pronunciant ut a clarum.' *Clarus*, 'clear', probably also means 'open'.

Sionita must have known Raimondi. Although he praises Raimondi's knowledge of Arabic, he may have been aware of the circumstances in which the *Alphabetum arabicum* was composed. Perhaps this criticism is more like an informed description of those circumstances, made in the knowledge that Raimondi worked with a Turkish speaker, or else that he had a deeper experience of spoken Turkish than Arabic. To support the idea of Sionita's criticism having these inferences two questions should be asked, and answered. First, can it be said that frequent use of /e/ is necessarily indicative of Turkish pronunciation of *fathā*? And second, is there any other evidence for Raimondi's application of Turkish through collaboration or through his own experience?

In answer to the first question it may be said that in Arabic pronunciation, as has been shown, /e/ is not a bad transliteration for *fathā* in certain circumstances. Raimondi did not get these circumstances quite right, but at least he made an attempt to describe timbre variation in Arabic, which is more than can be said for Sionita. That Arabic *fathā* undergoing *imāla* can be successfully and consistently transliterated as /e/ can be seen from Alcalá's grammar and vocabulary (1505). The Arabic of Granada that they describe is far from any Turkish influence, yet the 'fronting and raising' of *fathā* is a feature that is apparent in both an indirect and a direct way. Indirectly, from the Latin transliteration that is used throughout, *imāla* is identifiable in its medium form [e] and in its strong form [i], for example: *mubtede* = /mubtadā'/, inchoative; *xems* = /shams/, sun; *énte* = /anta/, you; *ani* = /anā/, I; *tich* = /tāj/, crown. Directly, Alcalá gives rules on those guttural, emphatic and liquid consonants that inhibit *imāla* in *fathā*. This appears in Chapter 37. 'On the way the vowels *fathā* and *ḍamma* are pronounced'.

This is because though the letters are known by their names and even the above mentioned vowels, there is much difficulty in reading or speaking Arabic because one and the same sign can sound different with different letters. Therefore it should be known that that vowel the Arabs call *fathā* placed above the, following letters i.e. *alif*, *ḥā*, *khā*, *rā*, *ṭā*, *zā*, *ṣād*, *ḍād*, *ʿayn*, *ghayn*, *qāf*, sounds more or less as if an /a/ was put with them. Put with all the other letters of the ABC it sounds as if it were an /e/ with them, except when one such letter is followed by one of the eleven letters mentioned above, e.g. *yaznáu*, they work, *filardi*, in the earth.<sup>24</sup>

24 Alcalá, *Arte*, ed. Lagarde, p. 30: 'Capitulo xxxvii Dela manera en que pronuncian las xuclas [i.e. /shakla/ = vowel] minibé y minibú. E porque conocidas las letras por sus nombres y aun las xúclas suso dichas, ay mucha dificultad en leer y hablar Aravigo, a causa que una y essa mesma señal puesta con diversas letras suena en diversa manera, por ende es de saber que esta xucla que los Aravigos llaman minibe.—. puesta encima delas letras siguientes, conviene saber, *alif*, /ḥ/, /kh/, /r/, /ṭ/, /z/, /ṣ/, /ḍ/, /ʿ/, /gh/, /q/, suena

Alcalá goes on to explain the pronunciation of *ḍamma* as /o/ when placed above those same eleven consonants and /u/ when placed above any others not followed by any of the eleven. Again the transliteration of the Arabic words reflects this pronunciation. This is a more regulated analysis of *imāla* and of the pronunciation of *ḍamma* than any other sixteenth-century attempt. For an example of this frequent use of /e/ for *fathā* in the transliteration of Spanish Arabic, Appendix 2 below should be consulted. But all this is no proof that Raimondi was not pronouncing Arabic *fathā* in a Turkish way. This brings us to the second question on Raimondi's collaboration or knowledge. In answer to this, it may be instructive to investigate other works of which it is known that collaboration with a Turkish speaker took place.

Postel learnt Arabic from a Turkish teacher. His grammar of 1538 describes *fathā* in very similar terms to Raimondi's (if we allow for that misprint). Postel's description of *fathā* is *a declinans [ad] e*. The later work (1543) alters this description a little, saying that it is a sound mid-way between /a/ and /e/ and midway between Greek alpha and eta.<sup>25</sup> His transliteration of Arabic shows at least as great a use of /e/ as Raimondi's, if not greater. Turning to Radtmann's introductory work to Arabic (1592), his collaboration with Paul, the Turkish captive is evident. Paul vindicates Sionita by saying that *fathā* should only be pronounced /e/.<sup>26</sup> He also gives the names of the letters of the Arabic alphabet according to their Turkish names i.e. 'Eliph, Be, Te, Tse, Dschim, Ha, Chi, Dal, Sel, Ri, Se, Sin, Schin, Sad, Saad, Thii, Sii, Ain, Ghain, Phe, Kaph, Ceph, Lam, Mim, Nun, Wau, He, Lam Eliph, Ie.'<sup>27</sup> He also refers to the vowels by their Turkish terms: *üstün*, *esre*, and *ötürü*.<sup>28</sup> Radtmann was not the first to publish the names of the consonants and vowels in their Turkish form. Postel and followers had done so previously.

It is Raimondi's use of these Turkish names for some of the consonants that clinches the evidence for a Turkish influence in his writing of the *Alphabetum arabicum*. Arabic /bā' / he calls *be*; /tā' / is *te* /thā' / is *the* /rā' / is *re*; /hā' / is *he*; /yā' / is *ye*.<sup>29</sup> This is a complete break with Raimondi's rule as it was given above: /ā/ was to be transliterated /a/. In our criticism of that rule we said that *imāla* in /ā/ i.e. [ā] could have been transliterated by Raimondi as /e/. This is not to say

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assi como si con ellas fuesse puesta una a, salvo si despues de alguna delas tales letras se siguiesse alguna delas onze letras suso dichas. Exemplo: yaznáu obran, filárdi enla tierra.'

25 For Postel's descriptions of the vowels see his *Linguarum duodecim characteribus differentium alphabetum introductio et legendi modus*, sig. D<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup>; and *Grammatica arabica*, sig. D<sub>4</sub><sup>v</sup>.

26 Radtmann, *Introductio*, p. 26.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

28 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

29 Raimondi, *Alphabetum arabicum*, pp. 2, 3, 4.

that he was suddenly aware of this *imāla* when writing the names of the letters. Clearly a Turkish influence is at work in the *Alphabetum arabicum*. Its precise source is difficult to pin down: Raimondi's greater knowledge of Turkish than of other oriental languages; collaboration with a Turkish speaker; conscious exploitation of Christmann's *Alphabetum* of 1582; conscious exploitation of Postel's grammars. Each of these possible sources for the Turkish element could be used to back up other suppositions made in this dissertation: Raimondi arrived at his knowledge of Persian through Turkish; Paolo Orsini, the Turk turned Christian who knew Arabic, helped Raimondi in his interlinear translating of many manuscripts; Raimondi not only knew of Christmann but owned and exploited his work; Raimondi owned and exploited Postel's works for both the *Alphabetum arabicum* and the *Liber Tasriphi* and indeed based his whole enterprise on a conscious fulfilment of Postel's wishes.

In the seventeenth century both Kirsten and Sionita were critical of Raimondi's phonetic analysis and Latin transliteration of Arabic. Kirsten even looked back to Alcalá for a better description of *imāla* in *fathā* – not that Kirsten understood or used the term *imāla*. Today a similar conclusion must be reached. It cannot be claimed that Raimondi made any significant advances in the description or transliteration of the Arabic vowels.

## 6 Arabic Consonants in the *Alphabetum arabicum*

The pronunciation of several consonants can be difficult for the non-Arabic speaker. These problem consonants are four of the gutturals: /ħ/, /ʕ/, /kh/ and /gh/; and the four emphatics, particularly /ḍ/. Indeed the strangeness of that letter's sound gave Arabs the alternative title of 'utterers of the *ḍāḍ*'.<sup>30</sup> In transliteration Arabic consonants need to be differentiated by a carefully amended Latin script. If the transliteration does not clearly distinguish some associated Arabic consonants, the root meaning of the original Arabic words may be lost. For instance /ħ/ and /h/ must be distinguished, as must /ṣ/ and /s/; /ḍ/, /d/ and /dh/; /ṭ/, /t/ and /th/ among others.

Raimondi was aware of these two difficulties and in the opening pages of the *Alphabetum arabicum* he exposed the limitations of his book. He could give some sense of the original consonants through transliteration and he could explain their pronunciation through technical reference to the speech organs. But ultimately the reader would have to seek out a teacher to receive instruction viva-voce. As Raimondi frankly admits:

<sup>30</sup> See Cantineau, *Études*, p. 54, for a discussion of the letter *ḍāḍ*.

Thus, in the first place, it should be pointed out that the Arabs have some letters to which no letters of any other language can correspond phonetically. For, in the Arabic language, their letters are formed in many speech-organs and it would be impossible to find one or more like that in another language. Nevertheless, against individual Arabic letters of the alphabet we have placed Latin letters corresponding to a certain sound. For others we have placed Hebrew letters since these correspond to their sound better than the others. Then, in the second place, it should be said that if we present the different points of articulation and speech organs from which they are articulated or in which they are formed that will be all that this work of ours will be able to present to the reader. When these have been thoroughly looked through and carefully considered, we next advise the reader, who is eager for perfect pronunciation and good expression, to go to the living voice of a teacher. If we had rejected this I do not think any of us, who are supposed to be the experts, would have been able to speak Arabic or to understand a man speaking Arabic.<sup>31</sup>

Raimondi's system of transliteration for the vowels has already been mentioned as problematic despite its consistency of application. Difficulties arise in the transliteration of the consonants too. Ordinary /s/ and emphatic /ṣ/ are not differentiated; nor are /t/ and /ṭ/, /dh/ and /ḍ/. In practice *alif* and *ʿayn* are not represented by their Hebrew equivalents as they appear in the alphabet list but by the vowels alone. Obviously these matters could obscure meaning if carried outside the confines of the book and relied on for pronunciation. Raimondi, however, had a much more sophisticated means of describing pronunciation.

Arabic grammar as explained by the Muslim grammarians had been a source for Postel and other Arabists who derived their information from him

<sup>31</sup> Raimondi, *Alphabetum arabicum*, pp. 10–11: 'De prima igitur hoc unum tantum hic monendum, esse literas quasdam apud Arabes, quibus linguae alterius literae nullae potestate responderere possunt. Ea enim est in Arabica lingua, quibus literae eius formantur instrumentorum multitudo, ut in lingua alia una, aut pluribus simul eadem inveniri impossibile sit quo circa Latinae vel alterius quae nobis sit familiaris linguae potestate eae seu valore conferri minime poterunt. In Alphabeto tamen e regione literis Arabicis singulis Latinam unam aut plures sono quodammodo respondententes collocavimus, aliquibus etiam Hebraicas, quippe quae earum sonum prae caeteris imitantur melius apposuimus. De altera autem dicendum, si e quibus ipsae exeunt seu in quibus formantur locorum et instrumentorum differentias afferamus, id erit totum, quod hic opera nostra lectori prestari poterit, quibus recte perspectis et accurate consideratis mox voces Arabicas perfecte pronuntiandi beneque exprimendi cupidum lectorem vivam Praeceptoris vocem adire monemus, qua spreta nec Arabice loqui, ne Arabice loquentem hominem intelligere quemquam posse nobis, qui id experti sumus credendum puto.'

throughout the sixteenth century. But it was in the Rome *Alphabetum arabicum* that the Muslim grammarians' phonetic analysis of the Arabic consonants was first presented for European consumption. This innovation immediately put the pronunciation of Arabic consonants on a more scientific footing for Europeans. It represents a considerable advance on all the previous and many subsequent attempts to explain the pronunciation of Arabic consonants.

Raimondi shows the consonants divided into fourteen groups according to the fourteen points of articulation (*loca*) in which the sounds are formed. The *loca* are listed in order from the bottom of the throat to the tip of the lips.

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/ʔ/,/ʕ/,/h/,/ħ/:	In the deepest part of the throat from the larynx.
/gh/,/kh/:	In the beginning of the throat with the help of the part that is directly above it.
/q/:	In the root of the tongue and meeting that part of the throat that is above it.
/k/:	In the point of articulation that is near to the root of the tongue and touching that part of the throat that is against it above.
/j/,/sh/,/y/:	In the middle of the tongue and that part of the throat that is against it above.
/l/:	In the sides of the tongue and the bases of the side teeth and front upper teeth that are opposite the tongue.
/n/:	In the tip of the tongue and the bases of the front teeth.
/r/:	In the tip of the tongue and that part that is slightly below the bases of the front teeth.
/t/,/d/,/ṭ/:	In the beat of the back of the tongue and the bases of the front teeth.
/ṣ/,/s/,/ḍ/:	In the tip of the tongue, between the top and bottom front teeth and with the emission of a whistling breath.
/z/,/z/:	
/dh/,/th/:	In the tip of the tongue between the upper and lower front teeth, without an emission of breath.
/f/:	In the inside part of the lower lip and the crowns of the front teeth.
/b/,/m/:	In the contact of the two lips.
/w/:	In the rounding of the lips with their raising. <sup>a</sup>

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a Raimondi, *Alphabetum arabicum*, pp. 11–12: ‘/ʔ/, /ʕ/, /h/, /ħ/ cum motionibus suis omnibus id est vocalibus de quibus dicitur inferius, in profunda gutturis parte de larynge formantur. /gh/, /kh/ in principio gutturis cum eius partis, quae e regione supra ipsum est, adminiculo. /q/ in trunco linguae et ea gutturis parte, quae supra ipsum est, concurrente. /k/ in loco qui proximus est trunco linguae et parte gutturis ea, quae superius contra illud est, cooperante. /j/, /sh/, /y/ in medio linguae et ea gutturis parte, quae contra illam desuper est. /l/ in lateribus linguae et dentium lateralium truncis et anterioribus insuper dentibus qui linguae oppositi sunt. /n/ in extremitate linguae et dentium anteriorum truncis. /r/ in extremitate linguae et parte ea quae

est parva infra truncos dentium anteriorum. /t/, /d/, /ṭ/ in pulsu dorsi linguae et truncis dentium interiorum. /ṣ/, /s/, /ḍ/, /z/, /z/ in extremitate linguae inter superiores et inferiores dentes anteriores et cum sibilantis spiritus emissione. /dh/, /dh/ in extremitate linguae inter superiores et inferiores dentes anteriores, absque tamen flatus emissione. /f/ in interiore parte labii inferioris et capitibus dentium anteriorum. /b/, /m/ in contactu duorum labiorum. /w/ in circuitu labiorum cum eorundem elevatione.<sup>7</sup>

The consonants are then further characterized by these groupings:

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/ʾ/,/h/,/ʿ/,/h/,/gh/,/kh/	/ḥalqīyatun/ Hhalchiiiaton i.e. gutturales
/q/,/k/	/lahwīyatun/ lahviiiaton i.e. uuales
/j/,/sh/,/ḍ/	/shajrīyatun/ sciagriiiiaton i.e. palatinae
/z/,/s/,/ṣ/	/aslīyatun/ alsiiiaton [sic] i.e. sibilantes
/t/,/d/,/ṭ/	/naṭʿīyatun/ natiiiiaton i.e. balbutientes
/th/,/dh/,/z/	/lithwīyatun/ lethviiiaton i.e. gingivales
/r/,/l/,/n/	/dhalqīyatun/ dhalchiiiaton i.e. flexae
/b/,/f/,/m/	/shafahīyatun/ sciaphiiiaton i.e. labiales
/y/,/w/	/līniyatun/ liniiiiaton i.e. molles. <sup>a</sup>

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a Ibid., pp. 13–14. A similar division of the consonants is given by Fleisch, *Traité*, vol. 1, pp. 212–214, ‘Groupement des ḥuruf d’après les maḥārij.’ However, /w/ and /y/ are not given as a separate group as they are by Raimondi.

The nine Arabic terms with their transliterations are obviously taken from an Arabic grammatical work. That the fourteen *loca* are also from a traditional Muslim work is born out by comparison with two of Sibawaihi’s definitions. As the founder of the Arabic grammatical tradition his phonetic analysis had a lasting impact. So,

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/j/,/sh/,/y/ :	In the middle of the tongue and the palate above.
/f/ :	In the interior of the lower lip and the tips of the upper front teeth. <sup>a</sup>

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a See Fleisch, *Traité*, vol. 1, pp. 209–212, Les *maḥārij* ‘points d’articulation’, where Sibawaihi’s categories are given.

The question is: which Muslim text did Raimondi work from? Sibawaihi actually divided the consonants into sixteen *loca*, or *maḥārij* as they are called in Arabic. Sibawaihi therefore cannot be the immediate source. In any case, as far as is known from Raimondi’s manuscript list (Appendix 6, p. 280 below), he did not possess a copy of the *Kitāb*. But two works on the list that are

identifiable in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana are both concerned with phonetic analysis in a detailed way. First, ‘The Secret of the Art of Arabic’, *Sirr šināʿat al-iʿrāb*, by Ibn Jinnī (Appendix 6, p. 280 below), which is now well known for its sophistication. Second, ‘The Book of Introduction to the Science of Quranic recitation’, *Kitāb al-Tamhīd fī ʿilm al-tajwīd* by Muḥammad ibn al-Jazarī (Appendix 6, p. 285 below), which is now considered the classic for this science and useful as a source on Arabic phonetic analysis.

Investigation of these works shows that neither of them provided the text for Raimondi’s *loca*. Like Sībawaihi’s, the definitions look suitable but the division of the consonants is different. Ibn Jinnī follows Sībawaihi’s sixteen-part division. In contrast to Raimondi’s fourteen-part division, Ibn Jinnī locates the point of articulation for /ʿ/ and /ḥ/ in a separate medial position between the other gutturals; /ḍ/ is given a separate point between the side of the tongue and the molars; /z/ is located with /dh/ and /th/; /w/ is located with /b/ and /m/; a sixteenth *makhraj* is the nasal cavity that produces a light /n/. Al-Jazarī’s work is interesting for its mention of several different divisions for the consonants according to different grammarians. Seventeen *makhārij* of al-Khalīl are mentioned and then their reduction to sixteen under Sībawaihi. A division of the consonants into fourteen *makhārij* is also mentioned. This is the division of al-Farrā’ and followers. But they do not coincide with Raimondi’s fourteen and the source for his information must remain unknown. Several manuscripts as described by Assemani, and therefore probably once in Raimondi’s hands, might well contain phonetic analyses.

The *Alphabetum arabicum* makes two more categorizations of the Arabic consonants. They may be solar or lunar; or they may be root or servile. The solar/lunar division of the consonants is the first clear explanation of this in Europe. It is important for the correct pronunciation of the definite article, /al/. A solar consonant at the beginning of a noun causes the /l/ of the definite article to assimilate to it.

The root/servile division is described by Raimondi thus:

The root letters are those that perennially exist for the essence of the word in which they are found. They have no other function in it than that. The serviles are those that, while they may be the same as the root letters, have the function of supplying for that word some support in indicating prepositions, adverbs, pronouns, articles, gender and number and case, persons and relations, and time and, in addition, various conjugation meanings and others of this type.<sup>32</sup>

32 Raimondi, *Alphabetum arabicum*, p. 15: ‘... et truncales quidem sunt quae perpetuo de eius in qua inveniuntur, dictionis essentia existunt, et in ea, praeter hoc, aliud operantur nihil. Servientes vero sunt quae et ipsae cum truncales quidem esse possint quando

This statement on the root structure is important for Raimondi's understanding of the structure of Arabic. It is important for his lexical arrangement and will be mentioned again in that context at the end of this dissertation. At this point, this is all Raimondi has to say about the Arabic root and he is careful to avoid any discussion of the function of those servile letters. This should be dealt with in grammar books. This work, he stresses, is simply for the writing and reading of Arabic.

## 7 Arabic Consonants in other Renaissance Arabic Grammars

Latin transliteration of Arabic was used by all of Raimondi's forerunners. In Alcalá's grammar at the outset of the century, three Latin consonants were specially adapted to cater for three Arabic consonants that could not be accommodated by single Latin equivalents. Thus /h/, /d/ and /c/ stand for the Arabic /kh/, /dh/ and /th/. *Hamza* was included in its original Arabic forms above the vowels that it would normally bear, e.g. /à/; and *ʿayn* is signified in its initial Arabic form over the Latin vowels. However, there is not a straight-forward one-to-one relationship between the remainder of the Arabic and Latin consonants in Alcalá's system. One Latin consonant may stand for more than one Arabic consonant. And vice-versa, one Arabic consonant may be represented by more than one Latin consonant. This is because the transliteration is intended to be read as a Spanish text would be read: certain Spanish consonants change their sound according to their succeeding vowel. As a result /c/ before /e/ may stand for Arabic /s/ e.g. *cemeguét* = /samawāt/, 'heavens'; but /c/ before /u/ may stand for Arabic /q/ or /k/ e.g. *cuđúçun* = /quddūsun/, 'hallowed' (the circumflex softens the second /c/ followed by /u/) or *melecútuq* = /malakūtuka/, 'Thy Kingdom' (Arabic /k/ is also represented by /q/ as the final letter). This system of transliteration was quite suitable for the purpose of the grammar. For the conversion of Muslims the Spanish priest does not need to be able to read an Arabic text, but he does need to be able to preach aloud in Arabic.

Later, in the rest of Europe, the advent of Arabic type led the grammarians to produce systems of transliteration appropriate to the reading of Arabic. This development was in keeping with the wider purposes of those grammars. They were not simply intended as hand-books for missionaries. Interest in Arabic science; in the recovery of lost classical texts in their Arabic form; in Muslim

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tamen in officio sunt adminiculum aliquod ad praepositiones scilicet ostendendas et adverbia et pronomina et articulos et genera et numeros et casus et personas et relationes et tempora et varias insuper coniugationum significationes et alia similiter huiusmodi dictionibus subministrant.'

theology in its original form; all these motivations for learning Arabic required a reading knowledge of Arabic. Part of the preparation for this was in reading exercises that made use of dual texts: an Arabic passage, usually the Lord's Prayer, in Arabic script; and a Latin transliteration of that text, tailored to illuminate the Arabic script.

In these transliterations two or more Latin consonants could represent one unusual-sounding Arabic consonant. In Postel's alphabet list the phonetic value, *potestas*, of the Arabic consonants was carefully shown through single Latin letters or through combinations. Even so /h/ and /h/ remain indistinguishable. In a transliterated passage such as the Lord's Prayer these Latin equivalents are not rigorously applied and the result is of restricted benefit as a guide to the original pronunciation of the Arabic.

Later in the century, Jakob Christmann (1582) prided himself on the improvement of Postel's system through adaptations to the Latin script in Gothic form. His application of this system to the Arabic Lord's Prayer as it appears in Postel's *Linguarum duodecim*, however, is over-literal. Where Postel allowed for 'euphony', as he calls it, between the /l/ of the definite article /al/ and the first letter of the following noun when it is not a guttural (i.e. what Raimondi calls the solar letters), Christmann went back on this. Christmann's transliteration is to the letter of the Arabic text as it appears in Postel's work. This means that the sun letter assimilation is lost. (The orthography of this elision in Arabic does not remove the /l/ of the definite article but simply doubles the first letter of the following noun through the inclusion of the sign *tashdīd*). For example Postel's *phis-samai* = /fi 's-samā'i/, 'in the heaven', is *phi alfemai* in Christmann's version.

## 8 Conclusion

Was the *Alphabetum arabicum* an improvement on earlier attempts to teach the reading and writing of Arabic? The assessment of this work should take into account its modest aims. It was not intended as anything more than a primer in the correct reading of vowelised Arabic. The exposition of the shape (*figura*) of the Arabic letters is successful thanks to the superior quality of Robert Granjon's Arabic type. Calligraphy is not discussed in any depth. More interesting accounts of variation in style may be found in Ambrogio, Palma Cayet and Erpenius. The description of the phonetic value of the Arabic vowels is mediocre. It does not represent any advance over earlier attempts and is probably coloured by direct or indirect knowledge of Turkish. The blurring of short and long /a/ in transliteration was brought back into focus by Kirsten's use of

double /a/ for /ā/. Then the whole system was challenged by Sionita (1616). But at least the teaching of the Rome *Alphabetum arabicum* is kept simple. Postel's insistence that reading Arabic means knowing its grammar is more realistic in terms of the majority of Arabic texts. The disadvantage of his works is their complexity. Indeed Postel was so beset by the problem of correct vocalization that he ended his *Grammatica arabica* with a prayer. It is the opening chapter of the Quran, the *fātiḥa*, though the translation subtly alters the meaning. In Postel's Latin rendering that most sacred prayer of Islam reads as a personal petition for divine assistance in the reading of unvowelled Arabic. After the muddles of the grammar such assistance is the only solution.

Substitute 'path' for Postel's 'vowel' and the translation reads as a tolerable version of the *fātiḥa*:

In the name of God, the merciful, the pious. Praise be to God, king of the ages, the merciful, the pious, king of the day of judgement. Oh all you, let us serve him and surely we will be helped. Direct us, o Lord, to the correct vowel, to the vowel of those in whom you are well pleased and without anger towards them and we will not go astray. Amen.<sup>33</sup>

Raimondi's technical descriptions of the consonants is an important departure. It is typical of his insistence on Muslim grammarians providing the best

33 Postel's translation, *Grammatica arabica*, sig. E10<sup>v</sup>, is compared with Arthur J. Arberry's modern interpretation of the opening chapter of the Quran, *The Koran Interpreted* (London, 1964), p. 1.

Postel:	Arberry
In nomine dei misericordis pii laus deo regi saeculorum misericordi et pio regi diei iudicii. O vos omnes illi serviamus certe adiuvabimur. Dirige nos domine in punctum rectum, in punctum in quam illorum in quos tibi bene complacitum est sine ira adversus eos et non errabimus. Amen	In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praise belongs to God, The Lord of all Being [literally: 'worlds'], the All-merciful, the All-compassionate, the Master [or 'King'] of the Day of Doom. Thee only we serve: to Thee alone we pray for succour [literally: 'seek help']. Guide us in the straight path, the path of those whom Thou hast blessed, not of those against whom Thou art wrathful, nor of those who are astray.

François Secret, 'Guillaume Postel et les études arabes', pp. 21–36, esp. p. 27, mentions Scaliger's judgment of this translation as unsuccessful except in three or four words. Whether or not Postel was conscious of the real meaning of /širāṭ/ i.e. 'path', *punctum* must be a deliberate pun in view of his use of that word to mean 'vowel' throughout the whole work. See also above, pp. 118–120, for a longer discussion.

inside information on their languages and should be contrasted with the teaching of his compatriot Ambrogio, who, earlier in the century, approached the problem from the outside. Ambrogio's comparative approach refers the reader to the Hebrew grammars for information on the pronunciation of Arabic consonants and their speech organs. For Hebrew the reader should consult Reuchlin, for Latin there is Martianus Capella and Priscian.<sup>34</sup>

The *Alphabetum arabicum* is an anonymous book. Yet it has been discussed here as Raimondi's work. That the author's name is not mentioned may be indicative of the collaboration that took place. But in any case, given the organisation of the Medici Oriental Press, Raimondi's involvement with this publication must have been predominant. Within twenty years of publication it is attributed to Raimondi by Kirsten, Sionita and Erpenius. The fact that later linguists read and commented on the book, that it was an important part of the European Arabic grammatical tradition, is no proof of its success for the purpose that was intended. The *Alphabetum arabicum* was first and foremost a tool for missionaries. The opening page, with its medallion containing a hand sowing seed from heaven and the caption 'In exultatione metent', leaves the reader in no doubt as to the book's purpose as a teach-yourself introduction for minds motivated by missionary zeal. Whether it was successfully used in this way for the ten or twenty years before it became a philologist's curiosity is a question that remains to be answered.

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34 Ambrogio, *Introductio*, fols. 85<sup>v</sup>-87<sup>r</sup>: *De Instrumentis quibus literae proferuntur ...*

## The Grammars of 1592

### 1 The *Ājurrūmiyya* within the Islamic Grammatical Tradition

There were three important reasons why Muslim grammarians of the 2nd/8th century began their analysis of Arabic. First, the sacred language of the Quran was rather different from the other spoken forms of Arabic and required special understanding. Second, the Quran and the *Ḥadīth* were the basis of Canon Law and had to be accurately and correctly interpreted. Third, the non-Arabic speaking converts to Islam needed guidance in their acquisition of the sacred language. And so the responsibility of the grammarians for the maintenance of the integrity of Islam was onerous.

The first extant work, ‘The Book’, *al-Kitāb*, by the Persian grammarian Sībawaihi (2nd AH/8th AD century) is the foundation of the entire tradition. In its unwieldy way it represents a compilation of most of the rulings of what was later to be called the *Baṣran* school. In the 4th AH/10th AD century a story of rivalry between this school and another school at *Kūfa* was fabricated. But this polemical opposition was the reality of the next two centuries and not the correct depiction of the preceding two centuries since the advent of ‘The Book’. In fact the *Baṣran* and *Kūfan* schools were two different approaches to grammar that grew up in those two Iraqi towns independently and not competitively. The *Baṣran* school was the predominant approach. This approach may be characterized as analogical, in other words language was accepted or rejected on the basis of analogy (*qiyās*) with the grammatical rules that were laid down. The *Kūfan* school may be characterized as analytical, or making use of new linguistic material. Ultimately this approach would be inimical to the conservative nature of Islam. It is the refinement of the *Baṣran* school’s material that constitutes most of the later history of the tradition.

Where analogy is an essential trick of the trade for the Islamic lawyer – he may compare an unprecedented action with a similar act that was pronounced on by the Prophet and make his judgement accordingly – for the analysis or development of the living Arabic language it was a stultifying process. The tradition may also be criticised for analysing the surface form of words rather than penetrating their function. This point will be raised again.<sup>1</sup>

1 This synopsis of the Islamic Arabic grammatical analysis is made on the basis of Fleisch, *Traité*, vol. 1, pp. 1–49, who made use of G. Weil, *Die Grammatischen Schulen von Kufa und Basra*

Turning to Morocco at the end of the 7th AH/13th AD century, we are told that a student from Fes called Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Dāʿūd al-Ṣanhājī set out on a journey to Cairo.<sup>2</sup> There he studied under a grammarian from Granada<sup>3</sup> before making the pilgrimage on to Mecca. While al-Ṣanhājī, also known as Ibn Ājurrūm, son of the pauper or dervish, was at the holy city he composed a grammatical tract. It is a revision and distillation of a work called ‘The Book of the Sentences’, *Kitāb al-Jumal* by al-Zajjājī.<sup>4</sup> It had been written in turn on the basis of Sibawaihi’s *Kitāb*. Al-Ṣanhājī’s Meccan synopsis was called ‘The Beggarly Introduction’, *al-Muqaddima al-ājurrūmiyya*, and, according to tradition, the pious author composed it with his face turned towards the *Kaʿaba*, the central shrine of Islam. His reverence resulted in a lasting work: the *Ājurrūmiyya* is rated as the classic primer for students of classical Arabic inflection and syntax, *naḥw*. Together with Ibn Mālik’s thousand-verse grammar, the *Alfiyya*, it is still widely used throughout the Arab world, seven hundred years after it was written.<sup>5</sup>

The *Ājurrūmiyya* is not consulted by the beginner without difficulty. Indeed the extreme conciseness of the work, by which it lives up to its name, has prompted as many as sixty commentaries for the purposes of expanding and explaining the laconic rules packed into its few pages – rules that are little more than the mention of essential grammatical terms, often without illustration or adequate definition.

The twenty-six chapters of the *Ājurrūmiyya* are concerned with the inflection and syntactical relations of the Arabic parts of speech, *kalām*. This aspect of Arabic grammar, known as *naḥw*, is complimented by the other aspect *ṣarf*. *Ṣarf*, or morphology of the verb, is not dealt with by al-Ṣanhājī, but it will be discussed further at the end of this chapter and in the next chapter. *Kalām* is divided into three parts: noun, *ism*; verb, *fiʿl*; and particle, *ḥarf*. The noun may be recognised through the genitive inflection, the indefinite ending or the definite article; the verb may be recognised by the particles indicating past or

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(Leiden, 1913). Scholarship in this field has greatly advanced since I first conducted this research and since Blanc wrote in 1975 that Fleisch and Weil has not been superseded (‘Linguistics among the Arabs’, pp. 1265–1283). Yet, for the purposes of this book, it has not been thought necessary to modify their authority.

2 For details of his name see the revised version of Raimondi’s manuscript list in Appendix 6, entry number 28. For general biographical material see Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya ʿl-wuʿā fi ṭabaqāt ʿl-lughawiyyīn wa-ʿl-nuḥā* (Cairo, 1908), p. 102; Muhammad ben Cheneb, ‘Ibn Ādjurrūm’ in *EP*, vol. 2, pp. 381–382; G. Troupeau, ‘Ibn Ādjurrūm’ in *EP*, vol. 3, p. 697; *GAL*, vol. 2, pp. 308–310.

3 Abu Hayyān Muhammad ibn Yusuf of Granada d. Cairo 745/1345. See *EP*, loc. cit.

4 Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Ishāq al-Zajjājī was born at Nahavand, studied in Baghdad and taught in Damascus, Aila and Tabariyya, d. 377/949. See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya ʿl-wuʿā*, p. 297; *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 112.

5 See A.G. Chejne, *The Arabic Language: its Role in History* (Minneapolis, 1969), p. 46.

future and by the quiescent /t/ of the third person, feminine, singular in the past tense. Thus, from the outset of this work, form is the key as opposed to function. Inflection is brought about through governing words, *'awāmil*. Thus syntax, in the shape of rection, and inflection are linked. There are four types of inflection: *rafʿ*, the nominative case and indicative mood; *naṣb*, the accusative case and subjunctive mood; *khafḍ*, the oblique case; and *jazm* is the apocopate form of the verb. Again, function is signified at the end of a noun or verb by one of the three vowels or a consonant. The three vowels are termed *ḍamma*, *fatha* and *kasra*. No single vowel or consonant is necessarily associated with a particular inflection. Accordingly the opening chapters of the *Ājurrūmiyya* discuss each inflection with their signs, whether consonants or vowels. It is in the interests of this classification by form that the beginner is hurried through a maze of grammatical functions. Inflections of the noun in the singular, dual and various plurals are mingled with the inflections of the verb, whether past, *māḍī*; aorist, *muḍāriʿ*; or imperative, *amr*.

A clear picture of either noun or verb is lost to eyes that are used to the tabular arrangements of modern grammars. Perhaps one should be wary of being too dismissive of this work, or indeed the Arabic grammatical tradition, as incapable of penetrating and presenting function. It may be that such a web of information spun from the outer form of words is the more effective introduction for the rote-learner.

The *Ājurrūmiyya* continues with a chapter on the verb in so far as it is apocopated through the agency of eighteen different particles. These particles are known as *jawāzim* since they are said to govern *jazm*, the apocopate, in the aorist. Thereafter succeeding chapters are given over to a closer examination of *ism* (Noun has a wider sense in this work than usual. It applies to adjectives, participles and verbal nouns, as well as ordinary nouns). Again the classification is according to inflection, whether *rafʿ*, *naṣb* or *khafḍ*. There are seven types of nominative noun: the agent, *fāʿil*, whose action is previously mentioned, i.e. the subject of an active verbal sentence; the patient, *mafʿūl*, whose agent is unknown i.e. the subject of a passive verbal sentence; both elements in the nominal sentence, i.e. the inchoative, *al-mubtadāʿ* and the annunciative, *al-khabr*; the subject of the sentence with the verb to be; the object of the sentence beginning with the particle *anna*, verily/indeed, and similar particles; words in apposition. There are fifteen types of accusative noun: the object of a transitive verb; the verbal noun, *maṣdar* which occupies the third place in the *taṣrīf* (conjugation) of the verb, i.e. /ḍaraba/, /yaḍribu/, /ḍarban/; adverbial usages such as *ḥāl* and *tamyīz*, circumstance and specification (Arabic has no adverbs as such but uses accusative constructions); exception; negation; the vocative; and nouns in the accusative that explain purpose, *min ajlihi* or *lahu*,

or that describe accompaniment, *ma'ahu*. There are three types of genitive noun: those governed by a particle; those in the *iqāfa* construction, i.e. the second element in a possessive or partitive phrase; and those in apposition.

Finally, several important notions in the Arabic grammatical analysis occur in this work. The root, *aṣl*, of a verb stem may be prefixed and suffixed by other letters to indicate number and person. These are termed *zawā'id*. The backbone of syntactical relationship is said to be *'amal*, rection. Through government another word in the sentence is forced to take a certain inflection. The idea of dependence, *isnād*, is the counterpart of *'amal*. In accordance with the concept of *qiyās*, analogy, words may conform expressly, *lafẓī*, to a grammatical norm; or they may conform notionally, *bi-taqdīr*, to the norm; or the removal, *ḥadhf*, of part of a sentence or word may be posited in the interests of conformity.

## 2 The *Ājurrūmiyya* within the European Grammatical Tradition

In 1530 the German orientalist Johann Albrecht von Widmanstetter was in Bologna for the coronation by Clement VII of the emperor Charles V. In his dedicatory preface to his edition of the Syriac New Testament, 1555, he recalls how he was introduced to the *Ājurrūmiyya* on that visit to Bologna twenty-five years before. Apparently the *Jaromum*, as he calls it, with a commentary by a certain Muḥammad 'Alinssari' was passed on to him by Jacobus Lopes Stunica. Widmanstetter was also provided with a teacher to explain the work.<sup>6</sup>

In the same year, 1530, Spain was the source for another copy of the *Ājurrūmiyya* for the instruction of another Northern European. When at Louvain, Nicolaus Clenardus had made use of Agostino Giustiniani's polyglot Psalter (1516) in the construction of a mute lexicon from the unvowelled Arabic text. But this was quite insufficient for his needs and in order to learn the language properly he set off for Salamanca in the hope of finding a teacher. It must have been generally known that some sort of instruction in Arabic was available there. As Raimondi later pointed out in a manuscript note, Salamanca was really the only university that had fulfilled the wishes of the Council of Vienne,

6 J.A. von Widmanstetter, ed., *Liber Sacrosancti Evangelii ...* (Vienna, 1555), fol. 6<sup>v</sup>: 'Jacobus Lopes Stunica ex equestri ordine doctissimus theologus ... mihi se apud Inachum Mendozam Burgensem antistitem in Mahomedis Alinssarii commentariis quos in Jaromum grammaticum Arabem olim scripsit, explicandis doctorem praebeuit.' *GAL*, vol. 2, pp. 308–310 gives no commentator of this name. See M. Müller, *Johann Albrecht v. Widmanstetter* for more information on Widmanstetter's Arabic studies. See above pp. 109–110 for a further discussion.

1311, over the establishment of chairs of Oriental languages. But Clenardus soon found that Salamanca did not live up to its name for Arabic studies very proudly. He met the professor of Hebrew and Arabic there, Hernán Núñez. But his reception was not promising. Núñez thought Clenardus would be better off with Greek and Latin and wondered why he should want to learn such a barbarous language as Arabic. Despite this, he said he would show Clenardus some manuscripts that he had in his library. These included the Gospels in Arabic and a work by a certain 'Albucasim' as well as a copy of the *Ājurrūmiyya*. In a letter written later from Fes, al-Ṣanhājī's home town, Clenardus recorded his mixed feelings towards his introduction to the *Ājurrūmiyya* by Núñez:

Moreover he brought out another manuscript which he said contained something on grammar. And in fact that little *Gurremia*, as the book is called, could be read in the front. When he saw how excited I was he arranged for me to visit him every day at appointed times. Then he would recollect his former studies and interpret the *Gurremia* for me. But I was unhappy about it from the very first reading. This was because I did not think it a good introduction and I was unable to challenge the opinion of the teacher. I pretended to be compliant for four or five days. This was not because I gleaned much advantage from the reading but so that we could make friends in the course of a few days. Then with any luck I would obtain the other manuscript that I was hesitant to press for, lest he should think the authority of his advice to have no effect. So at the prescribed hours I was a pupil of the *Gurremianus*, while at home I practised the theory of that learning by working on the Gospels. First, I noticed what the Arabs have added to the rules of the Hebrews and Chaldaeans in that even the nouns vary for the particular cases by changing the vowels of the last consonant ... Núñez himself was not enthusiastic about the *Gurremia* without reason. It was his grammar when he had no Arabs. They also reckon that little book suitable for pupils at the outset in both Granada and Africa.<sup>7</sup>

7 Clenardus, *Epistolae*, p. 238: 'Ostendit praeterea codicem alterum in quo dicebat contineri quicquid esset Grammaticae rerum in primis legendum esse illum exiguum Gurremiam, id libro nomen est. Quare quando me sic animatum conspiceret, iussit ut quotidie stans horis ad ipsum commearum se in mei gratiam revocaturum priora studia in memoriam et Gurremiam interpretarum. Statim prima lectione res displicuit nec inde auspiciandum putabam ne tamen praeceptoris indicio refragarer obsequentem me praeberi quatuor aut quinque diebus, non quod fructum magnum e lectione reportarem, sed ut redditus in dies familiarior alterum illum nanciscerer codicem, quem verebar flagitare ne censeret momentis auctoritatem nihili facere. Quare discipulum praescriptis horis agebam Gurremianus, domi vero tractandis Evangeliiis vere discendi rationem meditabar. Ac

Clenardus left Salamanca with the Gospels and with the 'Albucasim'. This, it has been plausibly suggested, was probably a copy of al-Zamakhsharī's *al-Unmūdhaj fī 'l-naḥw*, an abridged version of his didactic grammar of Arabic, the *Mufaṣṣal*, and as such would have furnished Clenardus with a great deal more information than the *Ājurrūmiyya* could.<sup>8</sup> Again from Fes, he wrote to Jacobus Latomus of the local use of the thousand-verse grammar by Ibn Mālik, the *Alfiyya*.<sup>9</sup> Alas that on his return journey to Northern Europe, Clenardus was robbed of all he had collected in North Africa and died at Granada in 1542 as he was returning to Muslim shores for a second visit.

It is by the Latinised title of *Giarrumia* that the work was published for the first time at Rome in 1592.<sup>10</sup> This was the same year that saw the publication of the other Arabic grammar *Kāfiya* and the introductory *Alphabetum arabicum*.

Eighteen years after the appearance of the Rome edition of the *Ājurrūmiyya* it was republished in northern Europe by the Avicennist doctor Peter Kirsten (1610) with a translation and notes.<sup>11</sup> Then a revised edition with translation, drawing on four manuscripts, was published in 1617 by the Dutch orientalist Thomas Erpenius. A fourth edition of the work appeared in 1631 by Tommaso Obicini who made a fresh translation at the request of the *Congregatio de*

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primum illud observavi hoc Arabes adiecisse legibus Hebraeorum et Chaldaeorum ut etiam nomina certis variarent casibus commutandis vocalibus postremae consonantis ... Erat ipse Nunius non immerito praedicator Gurremiae, tum quod ei primus obiectus fuit dum Arabi caretur, tum etiam quod et Garnatae et in Africa quoque ferme hoc libellum initio tradendum arbitrarentur discipulis.'

- 8 See Martínez de Castilla Muñoz, 'The teaching and learning of Arabic in Salamanca', pp. 185–186 (see also above p. 112, n. 52). This is a correction of Bataillon, 'L'arabe à Salamanque', p. 10, where the manuscript consulted by Clenardus is identified with the *Mufaṣṣal*. Although the *Mufaṣṣal* is concerned with both inflection/syntax and morphology of the verb, Clenardus's description of the work he had a copy of does not seem to describe the *Mufaṣṣal*. See Clenardus, *Epistolae*, p. 238, 'neither dealing with the declension of the noun nor the conjugation of the verb, everything in it is on Syntax' ('Albucasim neque Nominum declinationes neque verborum tradit conjugationes sed omnis res est in eo de Syntaxi ...'). But in describing the work in this way, is Clenardus perhaps voicing the same criticism of the Muslim grammarians as H. Fleisch's present-day criticism; i.e. form is emphasized at the expense of function?
- 9 Nicolaus Clenardus, *Peregrinationum ac de rebus Machometicis epistolae* (Louvain, 1550), fol. 31<sup>r</sup>, from a letter written on 9 April 1541.
- 10 See J.P.C. Auchterlonie, 'Arabic grammars' in D. Grimwood-Jones, D. Hopwood and J.D. Pearson, eds., *Arab Islamic Bibliography* (Brighton, 1977), pp. 70–77, esp. p. 71, where the Rome edition of 1592 is said to have been published by J. Casaubon [sic]. This aberration may be due to the British Library catalogue entry for one of the copies of this work 14593.b.31 where it is correctly stated that there are *marginal notes* by Isaac Casaubon.
- 11 Kirsten, *Liber tertius*, p. 9, gives an ingenious etymology for the title of *Ājurrūmiyya*, which he calls *Compendium* or *Corpora*. The name derives from the root *jarm*, according to Kirsten, and that has the meaning of body (*corpus*).

*propaganda fide* in Rome. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries have seen numerous editions and some more translations.<sup>12</sup>

### 3 The Rome Edition of 1592<sup>13</sup>

Possibly through lacunae in the original manuscripts and certainly through type-setting errors, the Rome edition is defective on some salient points. Both Kirsten and Erpenius were well aware of this. Kirsten claimed to have reedited the Rome edition correcting any errors or omissions through his own ingenuity. On the other hand Erpenius could tap other sources of the text and arrive at a more accurate edition and translation in the knowledge of what had preceded him.<sup>14</sup>

The Rome edition consists of twenty-four unnumbered pages in quarto. The Arabic type is by Robert Granjon. It is bold and clear, but without vowels. Each chapter has an initial word or two in red. Otherwise there are no distinctive breaks in the text. Kirsten in 1610 divided the work into his own series of numbered sections, *membra*. The text is set opposite his literal translation on each page. Every word of both text and translation is numbered for ease of

12 Among the modern editions and translations may be mentioned: 1. L. Vaucelle, *L'Adjrumieh* (Paris, 1833). Based on the Būlāq edition (1824) and MS 1282 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. 2. M. Bresnier, *Djaroumiya* (Algiers, 1846). 3. E. Trumpp, *Einleitung in das Studium der Arabischen Grammatiker, Die Ajrumiyah* etc. (Munich, 1876). This is based on the Būlāq edition and makes use of the commentary by al-Azharī. 4. J.J.S. Perowne, *Al-Adjrumieh* (Cambridge, 1852), is a fully vowelled and accurate edition though Perowne does not state his sources. This is the edition that has been used here for comparison with the Rome edition of 1592.

13 See the Appendix 6, pp. 280–286, for Raimondi's manuscript list. Apart from those manuscripts that can be identified as Raimondi's probable sources, Leonardo Abel had a copy in both *karshūnī* and Arabic scripts made by the Syrian bishop Moses of Şūr. See Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, p. 214, concerning MS Vat. Ar. 141, fols. 134–142.

14 Thomas Erpenius, *Grammatica arabica dicta Gjarumia et libellus centum Regentium* (Leiden, 1617), Preface, sig. A.2<sup>v</sup>: 'Excusus aliquando hic libellus Romae fuit in Typographia Medicaea elegantissimo caractere, sed admodum mendose omissis passim et corruptis non vocibus tantum sed et integris sentiis ... non ex vitiosa illa editione Romana, sed ex quatuor correctissimis codicibus manuscriptis quorum unus solum habet contextum accurate vocalium figuris insignitum, reliqua tria doctos etiam additos commentarios.' (This little book was published one day at Rome at the Medici Press with very elegant lettering, but quite incorrectly, with omissions here and there and mistakes, not so much of [individual] words but entire sentences ... [Our edition] is not from that defective Rome edition but from four of the most correct manuscripts, one of which has the text alone, accurately marked with the signs of the vowels, while the other three have additional learned commentaries).

identification of the equivalents. There are notes at the end of each *membrum* where, in addition to explanations of the text, there are criticisms of the Rome edition. For this reason, Kirsten is a useful companion in the assessment of the quality of that first edition.

In the chapter on the 'Knowledge of the Signs of Inflection' the Rome edition omits the rule on the use of *alif* as a sign of *raf*<sup>ʿ</sup> in dual nouns.<sup>15</sup> Kirsten enters a definition of his own.<sup>16</sup> Also *kasra* and *yā'* are confused as signs of *naṣb*. The lacuna is rectified by Kirsten.<sup>17</sup> The most crucial error in the Rome edition occurs at the beginning of the chapter on the 'Inchoative and Annunciative', i.e. Nominal Sentence. As a result the theoretical relationship between the two elements of this basic Arabic construction is obscured. The rule should read:

The inchoative is the noun in *raf*<sup>ʿ</sup> (nominative), uninfluenced by any expressly governing word. The annunciative is the noun in *raf*<sup>ʿ</sup> that is dependent on the inchoative, as when you say, Zaid (is) standing.

The Rome edition reads:

The inchoative is the noun in *raf*<sup>ʿ</sup> that is dependent on it, as when you say, Zaid (is) standing.<sup>18</sup>

Kirsten was unable to amend this passage and it remained obscure for him, as indeed it must have for many others until Erpenius's edition. But he was able to correct the less important typographical errors that occur throughout the work. These are usually due to the omission or inept inclusion of a diacritical

15 *Ājurrūmiyya* (Rome, 1592), fol. 2<sup>v</sup>: /dhū mālin .../ should continue /wa ammā l-'alifu fatakūnu 'alāmatan li r-raf'i fi tathniyati l-asmā'i khāṣṣatan/. (But Alif is a sign of the nominative in the dual of the noun specifically). Perowne, p. 4.

16 Kirsten, *Liber tertius*, p. 15: /wa ammā l-'alifu fatakūnu 'alāmatan li r-raf'i khuṣūṣan fi l-'ismi t-tathniyati [sic]/. (But alif is a sign of the nominative specifically in the dual noun).

17 *Ājurrūmiyya*, fol. 3<sup>r</sup>. (The square-bracketed insertions are from Kirsten, *Grammatices*, vol. 3, p. 16): /wa ammā l-kasratu [fatakūnu 'alāmatan li n-naṣbi fi jam'i l-mu'annathi wa ammā l-yā'u] fatakūnu 'alāmatan li n-naṣbi fi t-tathniyati wa l-jam'i/. (But as for kasra; [it is a sign of the accusative in the feminine plural. And as for yā',] it is a sign of the accusative in the dual and the plural). 'The feminine plural' should read 'the feminine sound (as-sālim) plural'. (Perowne, *Al-Adjrumiieh*, p. 4.)

18 *Ājurrūmiyya*, fol. 6<sup>r</sup>:- /al-mubtadā'u huwa l-'ismu l-marfū'u l-musnadu 'ilaihi nahwa qaulika zaidun qā'imun/. Should read: /al-mubtadā'u huwa l-'ismu l-marfū'u l-'ārī 'ani l-'awāmili l-lafziyati wa l-khabru huwa l-'ismu l-marfū'u l-musnadu 'ilaihi nahwa qaulika zaidun qā'imun/. (Perowne, *Al-Adjrumiieh*, p. 7.)

point. So /t/ appears instead of /th/<sup>19</sup>, /r/ instead of /z/<sup>20</sup>, /z/ for /r/<sup>21</sup>, and /q/ instead of /f/.<sup>22</sup> In one instance a third person verb is given where a first person is called for: /ḍaraba/ in place of /ḍarabtu/.<sup>23</sup>

Some other errors are left unheeded by Kirsten. One of the four types of compound annunciatives is obscured through the omission of *jārr* (i.e. preposition in that context) in the term *al-jārr wa l-majrūr* (the preposition and its governed word).<sup>24</sup> The rule that the accusative noun of specification, *tamyīz*, should come at the end of the sentence is omitted.<sup>25</sup> An example of *illā*, except, taking the permutative, *badl*, in a negative sentence is omitted.<sup>26</sup> In the same chapter on 'Exception' the rule for a deficient, *nāqis*, exceptive sentence being different from a complete, *tāmm*, sentence is obscured through the omission of the word *tāmm*. The rule that when *lā* (not) does not immediately precede the indefinite then it may be followed by the nominative and indefinite vowel-ling is not borne out by the example which gives *lā* preceding the indefinite word.<sup>27</sup> Also the rule that when *lā* is repeated the immediately succeeding governed word may take either the accusative without indefinite vowel-ling or the nominative with indefinite vowel-ling is obscured by both the omission of the first half of the sentence and the use of only one example.<sup>28</sup> Because the example is unvowelled it has to stand for both possible vocalizations. In

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- 19 *Ājurrūmiyya*, fol. 4<sup>r</sup> (Section on inflections): /jam'ū l-muannat/ should read: /jam'ū l-muannath/ (feminine plural). Kirsten, *Liber tertius*, p. 19, shows that he based his corrections on comparison with other occurrences of the word. '... in huius dictionis litera ultima ... Romani exemplaris duo tantum puncta sive secundum punctum essentialia supra ponit, non tria, vel tertium essentialia seu in praecedentibus saepissime factum est.'
- 20 *Ājurrūmiyya*, fol. 8<sup>r</sup>: /bi-akhzihi/ should read /bi-akhirihi/ (at its end). Corrected by Kirsten, *Liber tertius*, p. 19.
- 21 *Ājurrūmiyya*, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>. (Chapter on nouns that take the oblique case ending): /ghulām raidin/ should read /ghulām zaidin/ (the servant of Zaid).
- 22 *Ibid.*, fol. 10<sup>v</sup> (Chapter on circumstance): /illā ma'rifatan/ should read /illā ma'rifatan/ (unless known). Corrected by Kirsten, *Liber tertius*, p. 33. This was also corrected by I. Casaubon in his copy of the Rome edition. See p. 204, n. 10.
- 23 *Ibid.*, fol. 5<sup>v</sup> (Chapter on the Subject). Corrected by Kirsten, *Liber tertius*, p. 22.
- 24 *Ājurrūmiyya*, fol. 6<sup>v</sup> (Chapter on the inchoative and annunciative).
- 25 *Ibid.*, fol. 10<sup>v</sup> (Chapter on specification): /wa lā yakūnu 'illā ba'ada tamāmi l-kalāmi/ is omitted (and it is only after all the words). Perowne, *Al-Adjrumiieh*, p. 11.
- 26 *Ājurrūmiyya*, fol. 10<sup>r</sup> (Chapter on exception): /mā qāma aḥadun 'illā zaidan/ should also read /zaidun/ (no one stood except Zaid). Perowne, *Al-Adjrumiieh*, p. 11.
- 27 *Ājurrūmiyya*, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>, line 4 (Chapter on negation): /lā rajulun fi d-dāri wa lā 'imratun/ should read: /lā fi d-dāri rajulun wa lā 'imratun/ (there was not a man in the house nor a woman).
- 28 *Ibid.*, fol. 11<sup>v</sup> (Chapter on negation): /wa in shīta qulta la rajula fi d-dāri wa lā 'imrata/ should read: /wa in takarrarat jāza i'mālu-hā wa ilghā'u-hā naḥwa lā rajula fi d-dāri wa lā 'imrāta wa in shī'ta qulta lā rajulun fi d-dāri wa lā 'imrātun/.

the chapter on the purposive accusative the example of this construction is obscured through incorrect spacing between the words and an unnecessary break within one word.<sup>29</sup> As for layout in general, it is neat and clear. The only problem is the tendency for long words to be cut off at the ends of lines and then to be continued on the next lines. Kirsten objected to this when he said ‘Incidentally, it is worth noting that the men in Rome, when they fill up the lines, do not extend the letters, as the more elegant Arabs do, but as with the Greeks, Latins etc. the words are split up as has been done in this place.’<sup>30</sup> As has been seen in the *Alphabetum arabicum*, this habit was specifically mentioned as contrary to the practice of Arabic, Persian and Turkish calligraphy.

#### 4 The *Kāfiya*

Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Uthmān ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646 AH/1249 AD) was a lawyer and grammarian from Cairo. His father was a Kurdish courtier to the Fatimids of Egypt. In his lifetime Ibn al-Ḥājib, ‘son of the Chamberlain’, travelled to Damascus and taught in the Great Mosque there. But dispute led to his dismissal and return to Cairo. He is now better known for his grammatical works the *Kāfiya*, or ‘Sufficiency’, and the *Shāfiya*, or ‘Cure’.<sup>31</sup>

The *Kāfiya* is concerned with *naḥw*, i.e. inflection and syntax; the *Shāfiya* is concerned with *ṣarf*, i.e. the morphology of the verb. Together they are a condensed review of al-Zamakhsharī’s comprehensive classic the *Mufaṣṣal*.<sup>32</sup> Al-Zamakhsharī’s achievement had been to compile a manageable didactic grammar from the wealth of theoretical material contained in the *Kitāb* of Sibawaihi. In that the *Kāfiya* and the *Ājurrūmiyya* spring from the same source and their subject matter is the same, i.e. inflection and syntax, there is accord between the two works on most matters. However, the *Kāfiya* has the merit of being more expansive in its descriptions and illustrations and therefore is less

29 Corrected by Casaubon in his copy.

30 Kirsten, *Liber tertius*, p. 21: ‘obiter etiam hoc notandum est, Romanos interdum ut lineas explerent, non usos esse extensione literarum ut Arabes elegantiores facere solent sed ut Graeci Latini etc. vocabula, divisisse ut hoc loco factum est.’

31 For details of the copies of Ibn al-Ḥājib’s works owned by Raimondi, see his manuscript list in Appendix 6. For general biographical material see al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya l-wu‘ā*, p. 323; H. Fleisch, ‘Ibn al-Ḥādijib’, in *EP*, vol. 3, p. 367.

32 See Fleisch, *Traité*, vol. 1, p. 40, where he points out that the division of grammar into *naḥw* and *ṣarf* had been made by al-Māzinī and Ibn Jinnī in the 3rd AH/9th AD century and 4th AH/10th AD century. Al-Zamakhsharī followed Sibawaihi’s original comprehensiveness but Ibn al-Ḥājib redivides al-Zamakhsharī’s *Mufaṣṣal* into the two parts.

cryptic than the later *Ājurrūmiyya*. There are three slight differences between the works as to terminology and ruling that should be noted.

In his commentary on the *Ājurrūmiyya*, Shaikh Khālid al-Azhārī said there were three instances of *Kūfan* influence.<sup>33</sup> The term for the oblique case is *khafḍ*. The particle, meaning 'however' or 'howsoever', /kaifamā/, is classed among those that govern an apocopated verb, i.e. it is one of the *jawāzim*. And the final quiescent consonant of the imperative is said to be inflected, *mu'rab*. According to Mullā Jāmī, in his commentary on the *Kāfiya*, Ibn al-Ḥajīb follows mainstream *Baṣran* ruling on these points.<sup>34</sup> So, the term for the oblique case is *jarr*. The particle /kaifamā/ is regarded as an anomalous governor of the apocopated verb. The imperative is said to be apocopated.

The Rome edition of the *Kāfiya* is four times the length of its slender companion the *Ājurrūmiyya*. It amounts to ninety-four unnumbered pages and a title page in the identical format and type. Both Erpenius<sup>35</sup> and Obicini<sup>36</sup> mention their individual interest in reediting the work with translations as they had done for the *Ājurrūmiyya*. But their intentions were never fulfilled and the Rome edition remained the only printed version of the text throughout the seventeenth century and for most of the eighteenth. In view of the lack of contemporary feedback, the edition is not analysed in detail here, though a glance at its pages shows the presence of similar defects to those found in the *Ājurrūmiyya*.

33 Muḥammad al-Anbābī, *Hāshīya al-'allāma Abī al-Najā 'alā sharḥ al-Shaikh Khālid al-Azhārī li-l-Ājurrūmiyya* (Cairo, 1938), pp. 15, 56, 69.

34 The edition of Mullā Jāmī used here was undated and without any indication of place of publication.

35 Erpenius, *Grammatica arabica dicta Gjarumia*, Preface, sigs. A4<sup>r</sup> and A4<sup>v</sup>: 'Facile adducar, ut Cafiam, quoque de universa re Grammatica opus compendiosum quidem sed vere aureum et nobiles aliquot alios id genus libros eodem vobis modo exhibeam'. ('I may easily be prompted to produce for you in the same way the Caphia, another short work on every matter in grammar but really precious, and some other excellent books of that type').

36 Tommaso Obicini, *Grammatica arabica Agrumia appellata* (Rome, 1631), p. 286: '... speramus tamen, vita comite, illam vere /kāfiya/ scilicet sufficientem, completamque Grammaticum in gratiam Philoarabum peculiari commentario illustrare'. ('However we hope, while in the land of the living, to illustrate that /kāfiya/, i.e. the sufficiency, and the entire grammar, for the sake of Arabophiles, with its own commentary.')

## 5 Conclusion

The main motive for the publication of secular Arabic works by the Medici Oriental Press has already been mentioned. In a commercial venture, the book markets of the East looked promising. Also, as part of the propagation of Catholicism, these books could gain confidence among their oriental buyers and pave the way for the introduction of Bibles and doctrinal tracts. There is no reason why the *Ājurrūmiyya* and the *Kāfiya* should not have been part of this plan. As has been seen, Clenardus had already stressed the popularity of the *Ājurrūmiyya* in North Africa and Granada earlier in the century. So both publications may be easily imagined as an attractive proposition for an oriental book-merchant. In support of this purpose, neither publication has any dedicatory preface or introduction as one would expect in such books if they were intended for European consumption. Indeed all their predecessors and successors in this field are prefaced by general comments on the state of Arabic studies in Europe. The other Arabic publications of the Medici Oriental Press between 1590 and 1595 are also without prefaces. In some cases they are without Latin title pages. The fact that the *firman* agreeing to the sale of oriental publications in Turkey is appended to the last page of the Arabic edition of Euclid's *Elements* (1594) is still further proof for their foreign destiny. The obvious exception to this eastern commercial venture is the *Alphabetum arabicum*. Alongside the later *Liber Tasriphi* they can have no other purpose than for the edification of Europeans. Could there have been an incidental motive behind the publication of the Arabic grammars of 1592 that intended them to be used by Europeans as well as Orientals?

In fact both grammars had been printed as early as 1588.<sup>37</sup> According to Saltini the delay in their release for sale may have been engineered to allow pride of place to the Arabic Gospels of 1590 and 1591 as the first publications of the Press. Could it be that they were also withheld in order to allow time for the composition and publication of the introductory *Alphabetum arabicum*? In that work Raimondi refers the reader to the grammars and teachers for further information. In that the *Ājurrūmiyya* and the *Kāfiya* are unvowelled Arabic texts of considerable complexity he could not have expected the average missionary, who had just become acquainted with vowelled Arabic, to make

37 According to a deed of 29 September 1588 by which Cardinal Ferdinando increased the annual allowance of the Press's employees, both the grammars and al-Idrisi's *Geography* had been printed. See Saltini, p. 272, n. 3. But according to an inventory written by Raimondi a month later, 28 October 1588, not only were there three works completed but parts of the Gospels, Avicenna and Euclid had also been printed. See Bertolotti, 'Le Tipografie Orientali', p. 237.

profitable use of these texts on his own. Besides having no idea of how these texts should be vowelled – the key to correct vowelling and inflection being locked up within them – there were no dictionaries and lexicons that could explain the technical terms with which they abound. Perhaps both grammars could have been partially understood in conjunction with Postel's or, say, Spey's grammars. For Postel had made use of an Arabic tract on *naḥw* in the writing of his grammars. Thus inflection and syntax are discussed there in the traditional way of the Muslim grammarian but in Latin translation. Reading the Arabic grammars of 1592 with Postel's grammars could be of some value for the lone learner. But Raimondi also believed Arabic should be learnt from teachers not just from grammar books. Perhaps, therefore, he thought the *Ājurrūmiyya* and the *Kāfiya* could be used under instruction from a teacher. Both Widmanstetter and Clenardus had read the *Ājurrūmiyya* in this way. But then the poor quality of those publications in some areas of importance, such as the definition of the nominal sentence, make these books dubious guides. A further disadvantage of these grammars for the European beginner is that they reinforce each other and leave *ṣarf*, the morphology of the verb, untouched. Thus the beginner of 1592 would only have half of Arabic grammar at his disposal from the three publications of that year. It was not to be for another eighteen years and the publication of the *Liber Tasriphi* that this other aspect of Arabic grammar would be available in Arabic as well as Latin.

In retrospect, the real importance of the Rome editions of the *Ājurrūmiyya* and the *Kāfiya* was as touchstones for later Arabists. While sales to the Orient may have been unsuccessful and their usefulness for beginners seems dubious, both publications were of great interest to seasoned linguists. The detailed attention given to those books by Casaubon, Kirsten and Erpenius is a mark of their deep understanding of Arabic. Casaubon shows great care in his reading of these works as can be seen in his marginal notes. Kirsten's translation of the *Ājurrūmiyya* and his criticisms of the Rome edition are similarly impressive. And Erpenius's comments on the *Kūfan* and *Başran* terminology for the oblique case is indicative of his understanding of the Arabic grammatical tradition.

Could Raimondi have known and understood these two grammars as well as other scholars did? The manuscripts he worked from remain to be inspected for signs of flaws in their texts. If these cannot be blamed for the mistakes and lacunae of the published editions, then poor type-setting and proof-reading are responsible. This in turn may have been due to a failure to comprehend the texts adequately. None of Raimondi's manuscript notes show any evidence of work on these grammars. The only other grammatical work dealing with syntax and inflection with which he was actively engaged is the *Kitāb Mi'at āmil*,

which will be analysed in Chapter 7, pp. 229–235, below. Perhaps it should be pointed out in this context that, in his interlinear translation of that text, Raimondi associated the terms for the cases and moods with specific vowels. This is an error that he also made in the *Alphabetum arabicum*, as has been shown above. This does not indicate a very considered reading of these published grammars of 1592 where that association is denied. In view of this, would Raimondi have been conscious of the three minor technical differences between the two published works? It is unlikely that this would have amounted to anything more than a recognition that *khafd* and *jarr* were synonyms. As for the origins of these discrepancies in the different schools of the Muslim Arabic grammatical tradition, there is no evidence for Raimondi's active discussion of this question. Nevertheless, the material revealing this disparity was available to Raimondi. Both al-Azharī's and Mullā Jāmī's commentaries are mentioned in his manuscript list, reproduced in Appendix 6.<sup>38</sup> If he had read these commentaries Raimondi would have been aware of the discrepancies within the Islamic grammatical tradition in the specific way that it relates to these works. However, there are instances in his translating of al-Tha'ālabī's lexicon and in the *Liber Tasriphi* where there is mention of many points of view. Some sense of the tradition must thus have existed in Raimondi's mind.

<sup>38</sup> Apart from the texts and commentaries referred to in the manuscript list (Appendix 6, below), Raimondi may have had access to the manuscripts owned by Leonardo Abel. Vat. Sir. 36, fol. 33 ff., contains a copy of the *Kāfiya* in *karshūni* script; Ar. 333 contains Mullā Jāmī's commentary; Ar. 348 contains Rukn al-Dīn al-Astarabādhī's commentary. See Levi della Vida, *Ricerche*, pp. 209, 221, 232.

# The Liber Tasriphi

## 1 Introduction

The *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*, ‘Book of Alteration or Conjugation’, was written in the 7th AH/13th AD century in Baghdad by ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Zanjānī.<sup>1</sup> The author is also known by the name of al-‘Izzī. The subject of the work is the morphology of the verb, *ṣarf*, the other aspect of Arabic grammar to that of *naḥw*, syntax. In the previous chapter it has already been seen that *naḥw* dealt with the verb to some extent. There its inflection and prefixes for number and person are mentioned together with the descriptions of nominal inflection. Also, tenses and moods are touched on. The apocopated verb is discussed in the context of those words that govern that quiescence, i.e. the *jawāzim*. However, these are less complex matters than are dealt with in a work on *ṣarf*. Where Arabic has few tenses – there are basically a completed and an uncompleted tense – it is rich in derived forms. These forms extend and modify the meaning of the basic trilateral root of the verb. The main complexity of *ṣarf*, however, is in the analysis of the weak verbs: the smooth running of the morphology of the regular verb is upset when one or more of the three radical consonants is one of the semi-consonants /w/ or /y/.

The *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* was published under the Latin title of *Liber Tasriphi* at Rome in 1610.<sup>2</sup> Its appearance coincides with more fortunate circumstances than Raimondi had experienced for the previous fifteen years. He had just been released from the oppressive contract of 1596, through which he had been made the debt-encumbered owner of the Medici Oriental Press. There must also have been papal support for the book as the title page mentions that it was published ‘thanks to the liberality of Paul v’. Al-Zanjānī’s name is not mentioned. Rather, the authorship is attributed to a certain Aged Alemani.<sup>3</sup> Evidently this Arabic honorific, meaning the elder leader /al-Shaikh

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- 1 For details of his name, his work and commentaries on it, see the revised version of Raimondi’s manuscript list in Appendix 6, pp. 284–285. For general biographical material see al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya ’l-wu’ā*, p. 318; *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 336.
  - 2 The text consists of 116 pages in quarto. The divisions of the text made by Raimondi for the convenience of the translations total 108.
  - 3 On the opening page of the text the name is given as Elamami. This is also the vowelising of /imām/ that occurs on the opening page of the text in BML, MS Oriental 96.

al-Imām[ī]/, was mistaken for the author's real name, or else inserted for want of a name.<sup>4</sup>

Then the literal Latin translation and free interpretation (*duplex versio Latina ad verbum altera et altera ad sensum*) are advertised on the title page, as are the essential explanations (*cum non nullis non minus brevibus quam necessariis declarationibus*). It is true that Raimondi keeps his asides to a minimum. The six-page dedication to the Pope is of interest for the history of the Medici Oriental Press and Raimondi's attempts to publish a ten-language polyglot Bible. Then the work opens with a foliate arabesque pattern and an ornate *Bismillah*, the ubiquitous Muslim blessing, translated as *In nomine Dei misericordis miseratoris*.

It is the twin translations that will mostly concern us in this chapter. Both *ad verbum* translation and *ad sensum* interpretation follow on short sections of the Arabic text. The text is frequently vowelled; the translation is in Roman type and the interpretation in Italics. Illustrative material in the text is repeated in Arabic type in the translations. The layout is clear and precise. The use of a dual translation, one of which is *ad verbum* and the other *ad sensum*, is an effective way of explaining the Arabic text. Each word can be precisely identified with a Latin equivalent. Then the concision of that literal translation can be expanded into a more readable form in the interpretation. In some cases the interpretation may be a hindrance to the correct understanding of the original text. This is because a Latin grammatical term may be applied in order to expand a compact Arabic original. As both languages are differently structured, and as the terminologies of both grammatical traditions are different, the imposition of familiar terms may be distorting to the foreign terms. In that case the literal translation is more helpful. In some cases the original Arabic term is maintained in both translation and interpretation and the problem of distortion is overcome, only to be replaced by the possible problem of obscurity. After the examination of these three types of translation for the Arabic terms, i.e. the original term, literal translation, and interpretation or imposition, it may be instructive to see how Postel translated these terms earlier in the century.

As an initial example of these three types of translation the work's opening definition of *taṣrīf* will serve:

4 BML, MS Oriental 19 fols. 191<sup>r</sup>-207<sup>v</sup>. This is Raimondi's interlinear translation of the work on syntax by al-Jurjānī where this same honorific is recognised as such and translated as *senex clarus*. This suggests that Raimondi would have used the same Alemami in the *Liber Tasriphi* as an honorific.

Arabic text:<sup>5</sup>

/i'lām anna t-taṣrīfa fī l-lughati t-taghyīru wa fī ṣ-ṣinā'ati taḥwīlu l-'aṣli l-wāḥidi 'ilā 'amthilatin mukhtalifatin li-ma'ānin maqṣūdatin lā taḥṣulu illā bihā/

(Know that *taṣrīf* in the [Arabic] language is 'change' and in the art [of grammar] is the conversion of the single root into different exempla for deliberate meanings that only exist by them).

---

*ad verbum*

Scias quod Tasriph in idiomate est mutatio et in arte est revolutio trunci unius in exempla variata pro significatis obiectis quae non proveniunt nisi cum illis.

*ad sensum*

Scias dictionem Tasriph, secundum quidem idioma Arabicum esse mutatio-nem secundum autem Grammaticae esse revolutionem thematis unius in exempla variata pro significatis nobis occurrentibus quae sine illis consequi minime possumus.

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*Tasriph* is an example of the preservation of the original Arabic term. The literal translation is accurate. The interpretation is a considerable expansion of the literal version. But it does not necessarily lead to greater clarification. *Thema* as an interpretation of *truncus* is a needless alteration that detracts from the important original term *aṣl*, and its connotation for the consonantal root system. However, the addition of certain words (*secundum, dictio, Grammaticae*) and the use of Latin construction (the accusative and infinitive) are beneficial in our understanding of the meaning of the Arabic text.

## 2 Arabic Terms Preserved

Raimondi does not translate any of the Arabic terms for the vowels and inflections. Thus they are incorporated in the translations and interpretations in a number of ways:

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<sup>5</sup> Raimondi, ed., *Liber Tasriphi* (Rome, 1610), p. 1.

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ḍamma	/u/	dhammo
ḍamma	it made /u/	dhamma dedit
ḍumma	it was made /u/	madhmumatus fuit, dhamma habuit
maḍmūm	made /u/	madhmumatus

---

Similarly *fatha*, /a/, is *phatho* and is incorporated in Latin phrases; *kasra*, /i/, is *kesro* and is used in the same way. The inflections, discussed in the previous chapters, are maintained in their original form, so *rafʿ* is *rapheo*; *naṣb* is *nasbo*; *jarr* is *giaro* (*khafḍ* does not occur); and *jazm* is *giazmo*, though this becomes *gezmi* in the interpretations, i.e. the term used in the *Alphabetum arabicum*. The glottal stop *hamza* is called *hamzat* and *mahmūz*, made *hamza*, is kept as *mahmuzo*. On one occasion the literal sense of *fatha* is given.<sup>6</sup> /wa fataḥū hamzata/ is translated as *Et aperuerunt Hamzat*. Now the literal sense of the vowels was given before in the *Alphabetum arabicum* and the explanation for *fatha*, meaning *apertio*, was that the mouth is opened in the pronunciation of /a/. However, on this occasion, the return to the use of the original term in the interpretation is a sensible move: *affecerunt vocali phatha*, ‘they endow [*hamza*] with the vowel *fatha*’. It is sensible because there is no particular advantage in this context in the knowledge that the root meaning of *fataḥa* is ‘to open’.

Obviously, once the reader is familiar with the explanation for these terms as given in the *Alphabetum arabicum*, then their preservation in their original form is a useful shorthand for terms that need considerable expansion in the Latin context. There are no single, simple Latin terms that can stand for the Arabic vowels or inflections.

In certain other cases, where the exact sense of the original term could be difficult to render precisely into Latin, then the Arabic term is maintained. So *jāzim*, ‘one that governs the apocopate’, is *giazemo*; its plural *jawāzim* is *Cia-vazimi*; and a verb that is apocopated, *majzūm* is *magzumatus*. *Muḍāriʿ*, the incompleted action tense, is *modhareum* with the explanation on two occasions that it is *commune Praesenti et Futuro*.<sup>7</sup> *Ḍamīr*, independent or suffixed/prefixed pronoun, is maintained as *dhamir*, though a concession to *pronomem* is made in one instance.<sup>8</sup>

*Maṣḍar*, the verbal noun, is *masdaro* throughout the *Liber Tasriphi*. However, the implications of this term are commented on in a digression on *taṣrif*

6 Ibid., p. 28.

7 Ibid., pp. 3, 13.

8 Ibid., p. 38.

that occurs after the opening definition. This is an example of what Raimondi called a *declaratio* in his title page:

*Tasriph* has two meanings in the Arabic language, one of which is idiomatic, imposed by the teacher of Arabic with the meaning of change; the other is a technical sense given by the expert in grammar and signifies the turning of a theme into various exempla. In the opinion of this author the theme is the verbal noun, called *maṣḍar*. The exempla are deductions and formations that are derived from that theme such as the conjugations and their modes and tenses and the negations and prohibitions of their tenses; also there is number, person and gender; and most of all there are the nouns: active and passive, reciprocal, frequentative, comparative, elative or superlative, diminutive, instrumental and many others.<sup>9</sup>

Thus the important implications for *maṣḍar*, 'source', as the root word from which much else is derived are fully explained. The preservation of *masdaro* in the translations must cause the reader to pause with the recollection of those implications. Incidentally, the possibilities for derivation from the *maṣḍar* are a little exaggerated by Raimondi. Al-Zanjānī, the Muslim grammarians and modern linguists do not regard the comparative and superlative and the diminutive noun as derived from the verbal noun (*maṣḍar*).<sup>10</sup>

### 3 Translations *ad verbum* and *ad sensum*

The reciprocal benefits of literalness and free interpretation are evident whenever the three persons of the verb are mentioned. Through this method of twin translation the original Arabic terms may be revealed in their own right and

9 Ibid., p. 2: 'Tasriph duo habet in lingua Arabica significata, quorum alterum quidem est idiomatis, quod videlicet illi imposuit institutor linguae Arabicae et illud significat mutationem, alterum vero artificiosum, et est quod illi imposuit professor artis Grammaticae, et hoc significat revolutionem thematis unius quod, iuxta opinionem huius authoris, est nomen verbale, masdar dictum, in exempla variata. Exempla sunt deductiones et formationes quae ab ipso themate derivantur ut conuigationes et ipsarum modis et tempora, ipsorumque temporum negationes et prohibitiones; in super numeri personae et genera; amplius nomina activa, passiva, reciproca, frequentativa, comparativa, excellentia sive superlativa, diminutiva, instrumentalia et alia quam plurima.'

10 See Fleisch, *Traité*, vol. 1, p. 267: 'Tableau du développement morphologique en arabe.'

then explained by familiar terms. For example, the section on prepositional prefixes of the incomplete tense, *muḍāriʿ*, contains this passage:<sup>11</sup>

Arabic text:

/fa l-hamzatu li l-mutakallimi waḥdahu wa n-nūnu lahu idhā kāna maʾahu ghairuhu wa t-tāʾu li l-mukhāṭibi mufradan au muthannan au majmūʿan mudhakkaran kāna au muʾannathan wa li l-ghāʾibati l-mufradati wa li muthannāhā wa l-yāʾu li l-ghāʾibi l-mudhakkari mufradan au muthannan au majmūʿan wa l-jamʿu l-muʾannathatu l-ghāʾibatu/

(So *hamza* is for the speaker alone; and /n/ is for him when there is another with him; and /t/ is for the singular addresser, either dual or plural, whether masculine or feminine and for the singular feminine absentee and for its dual; and /y/ is for the masculine absentee, singular or dual or plural and for the plural of the feminine absentee.)

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*ad verbum*

Et alhamzato quidem est loquente pro se ipso solo et Nun pro eodem cum quo fuerit alius et Te pro adsente singulari et duali et plurali masculinae sint aut foemininae et pro absente foeminino singulari et duali et Ia pro absente masculino singulari et duali et plurali et pro plurali foeminino absente.

*ad sensum*

Aliph quidem est formativa primae personae singularis communis et Te formativa secundae personae singularis et dualis et pluralis (sive masculinae sint personae sive foemininae) et est etiam formativa tertiae personae singularis et dualis foemininae et Ie est formativa tertiae personae singularis masculinae et dualis et pluralis et adhuc formativa est tertiae personae pluralis foemininae.

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The effectiveness of the twin translation is seldom more apparent than in this case. Although the Arabic terminology is different – and the literal translation gives this as it is – there is no difference between the Arabic and Latin persons. Similarly, the number and gender is a straightforward translation of the original terms; but in that translation the terms are quite evident and, coinciding with Latin, feminine, masculine, singular and plural need no elaboration. Dual is novel for Latin grammar, but the literal translation of the Arabic term is also in no need of elaboration. How successful is Raimondi in translating more

<sup>11</sup> Raimondi, ed., *Liber Tasriphi*, pp. 16–17.

complex passages in the text where peculiarly Arabic morphology is described in obscure terminology?

As an example of a more difficult passage this description of the doubled verb is given.<sup>12</sup> A doubled verb is a verb in which the third radical is the same as the second. As a result they are written as one consonant with a doubling sign over it when they are in the third person singular past. They do not then follow the usual conjugation of the trilateral verb.

Arabic text:

/wa l-muḍā'afu yalḥaquhu l-iddighāmu wa huwa an tuskina l-auwalu wa tudraja fī th-thānī wa yusammā l-auwalu mudghaman wa th-thānī mudghaman fīhi wa dhālika wājibun fī naḥw madda yamuddu/

(And the doubled verb: it is affected by assimilation which means that the first [of the doubled consonants] is quiescent and is included in the second. The first is termed the assimilated; the second [is termed] the assimilated into it. It is requisite in /madda/ and /yamuddu/, for example).

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*ad verbum*

Et duplicatum, advenit illi immissio et est ut quiescat prima et ascendat in secundam et vocatur prima immissa et secunda immissa in eam et haec necessaria est in exempliset gradiatur in secundam/madda yamuddu/ ...

*ad sensum*

Advenit autem verbo duplicato immissio unius literae in alteram et sane est ut quiescat prima ex duabus literis suis eiusdem generis in qua abscondatur, et prima quidem vocatur litera immissa secunda vero vocatur litera in quam immissa est altera et haec est necessaria in exemplis /madda yamuddu/ ...

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In this case, while /iddaghama/ may have the sense of *immittere*, to insert, the sense of 'assimilation' or 'contraction' would have been happier. The doubled verb is not a question of insertion but of assimilation. Perhaps the interpretation approaches the original more faithfully with the expression 'the insertion of one letter into another'. Also, while *ascendere*, to rise in rank, and *gradior*, to step, are possible meanings for the first form of the verb /daraja/, the derived

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

form IV, /*adraja*/, with its meaning ‘to include’, could have been made clearer. There should then have been no need for the interpretation’s inclusion of ‘concealment’ in the form of *abscondatur*.

Occasional extracts cannot give a fair picture of the overall quality of Raimondi’s translations, though they may to some extent illustrate his dual approach. However, to give a broader impression of the effectiveness of these translations, some of the key terms in the Muslim grammarians’ conception of language are considered here with their Latin counterparts; and in the next section of this chapter a table of terms that were translated by both Raimondi and Postel will be given as a comparative guide to the appropriateness of those translations.

In the previous chapter some of these key concepts were mentioned in view of their occurrence in the *Ājurrūmiyya*. Here are some of those same terms and some others with their Latin equivalents, both literal and free, as given by Raimondi in the *Liber Tasriphi*:

Arabic term	ad verbum	ad sensum
<i>qiyās</i> : analogy	<i>adaequatio</i> : equalling, matching	<i>applicatio</i> : applying
<i>ṣīgha</i> : shape, paradigm	<i>formatio</i> : shape	<i>formatio</i> : shape
<i>wazn</i> : weight, measure, pattern, form	<i>pondus</i> : weight	<i>mensura</i> : measure
<i>lafẓ</i> : expression	<i>dictio</i> : expression	<i>prolatio</i> : citing
<i>taqdīr</i> : estimation	<i>potestas</i> : power	<i>potestas</i> : power
<i>ḥadhf</i> : removal	<i>reiectio</i> : rejection	<i>reiectio</i> : rejection
<i>jārin</i> : flowing, equal	<i>currens</i> : flowing	<i>simile</i> : likeness
<i>naql</i> : translation, transfer	<i>translatio</i> : transfer	<i>translatio</i> : transfer
<i>qalab</i> : metathesis, transposition	<i>versio</i> translation	<i>versio</i> : translation

From these few important terms it is clear that Raimondi’s translations are accurate. In certain cases he does not expand the literal translation, since that is sufficient. The cases of *wazn* and *jārin* are particularly satisfactory in giving the literal and correct figurative sense. The exception is *taqdīr*, which is not satisfactorily translated. *Potestas* misses the second derived form of /*qadara*/, to have power, which is /*qaddara*/, meaning ‘to estimate, presume, suppose, think’. *Potestas* remains an incomplete explanation, based on the first form meaning of the verb.

#### 4 Postel and the Morphology of the Verb

Internal evidence from Postel's *Grammatica arabica* (1543) suggests that al-Zanjānī's *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* may have been the basis for his section on the verb. Terminology, arrangement and examples all indicate Postel's reworking of al-Zanjānī for European eyes. There may even be a reference to al-Zanjānī's other name in the section on *maṣdar*, *infinitivus*, since it begins with mention of 'Azi'.<sup>13</sup> This may stand for al-'Izzī. But the division Postel then makes between infinitives beginning with /m/ and those without, is not explicitly made by al-Zanjānī. However, it does occur in the Turkish tabular reworking of the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* that belonged to Raimondi, and it may have been such a work that Postel consulted with his Turkish teacher.

From the handful of important terms given in the table below, Postel's versions of the Arabic terms do not seem so different from Raimondi's. In certain cases both translations are exactly the same and show literalness or useful elaboration. However, in other cases Raimondi's translation is clearly superior to Postel's. Raimondi's preservation of *muḍāri'* with *modhareum* has already been mentioned as useful in view of the comprehensive nature of the tense it describes, i.e. that of incompleted action, present or future. Postel's *futurum* is distorting. Postel's *infinitivus* for *maṣdar* suggests a function that *maṣdar* does not have, i.e. that of *to do, make, be etc.*, the infinitive of European languages. His *mazdar* and *scaturigines*, 'source' or 'spring', are useful.


The main difference between the two translators is in their treatment of transitivity. Al-Zanjānī's explanation of transitivity is through the duality of the terms for transitive and intransitive. This is precisely followed by Raimondi through the words *transitivum* and *intransitivum*. The other synonyms are translated literally.

As in western languages Arabic verbs may be transitive or intransitive; transitive verbs may be active or passive. There is no such disparity between form and function as with the Latin deponent verb. Muslim grammarians deal with the transitive/intransitive and active/passive dualities in separate contexts. Both these dualities may be dealt with in works on *naḥw*, but, again, as independent issues. Postel's treatment of transitivity, while claiming to present the Muslim grammarians' terms, distorts their approach through the imposition of European terminology and theory. In his analysis, transitive verbs are called 'active' and intransitive verbs 'neutral'. The 'active' verbs may also be 'passive'.

<sup>13</sup> Postel, *Grammatica*, sig. E2<sup>v</sup>. See Fück, *Die Arabischen Studien*, p. 40, where this identification was suggested.

	al-Zanjānī	Raimondi		Postel (1543)
<i>grammatical term</i>		<i>ad verbum</i>	<i>ad sensum</i>	
Regular verb	sālim: sound	servatum	servatum	perfectum
Weak verb	ghair sālim: unsound	non servatum	non servatum	imperfectum
Strong verb	ṣaḥīḥ: sound	sanum	sanum	sanum
Weak verb	mu'tall: infirm	aegrotans	infirmus	debilis, mutilum
Hollow verb	'ajwaf: hollow	vacuum	vacuum	pertusum
Final weak verb	nāqiṣ: deficient	deficiens	deficiens	defectivum
Medial and final	al-lafif al-maqrūn:	aggregata	aggregata	coniuncta
weak verb	linked group	coniuncta	coniuncta	
Initial and final	al-lafif al-mafrūq:	aggregata	aggregata	separata
weak verb	separated group	separata	separata	
Doubled verb	muḍā'af: double	duplicatus	duplicatus	attenuatum, debilis, duplicatus
First form verb	mujarrad: stripped	purum	purum	purum
Derived form verb	mazīd fihi: increased in it	additum in se	additum in se	additamentum in se
Trilateral root	thulāthī: tripartite	ternarium	trium literarum	trium literarum
Quadrilateral root	rubā'ī: quadripartite	quaternarium	quatuor literarum	quatuor literarum
Completed action tense	māḍī: past	praeteritum	praeteritum	praeteritum
Incompleted action tense	muḍārī': aorist	modhareum	modhareum	futurum
Transitive	muta'addin: transitive	transitivum	transitivum	activum
Transitive	wāqi': falling	cadens	cadens	–
Transitive	majāwiz: passing	pertransiens	pertransiens	–
Intransitive	ghair muta'addin: intransitive	intransitivum	intransitivum	–
Intransitive	lāzim: necessary	permanens	permanens	neutrum mazdar
Verbal noun	maṣdar: source	masdaro	masdara	infinitivus scaturigines
Agent	'ism al-fā'il: active noun	nomen agentis	participium activum	agens
Patient	'ism al-maf'ūl: passive noun	nomen patientis	participium passivum	patiens
First person	mutakallim: speaking	pro se loquens	prima persona	pro se loquens
Second person	mukhātab: addressed	adsens	secunda persona	praesens
Third person	ghā'ib: absentee	absens	tertia persona	absens
Passive verb	majhūl: unknown	–	–	passivum

In schematic form these grammarians' treatment of transitivity would look so:

Al-Zanjānī / Raimondi	Postel
transitive ↔ intransitive	active ↔ neutral
	↕
active ↔ passive	passive

As mentioned above, one of the concerns of *ṣarf* is the morphology of the derived forms of the verb. Those forms extend or modify the basic meaning of the trilateral root. Each form is associated with a particular modification to that original meaning. For instance, the second form of the verb is brought about through the doubling of the second radical of the original trilateral root; the fourth form of the verb is brought about through prefixing the original trilateral root with the syllable /a/. Both these forms have the same effect in their modification of the root meaning. They make intransitive verbs transitive and transitive verbs causative. Although the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* discusses the morphology of the derived forms in detail – ten such forms are commonly used – it does not discuss the semantic modifications that they may bring about. So, while the third form of the verb is shown to insert /ā/ after the first radical of the original trilateral root, the semantic modification associated with the third form is neglected. The only occasion for discussion of meaning patterns in the derived forms occurs in the section on transitivity. It may be useful to show Raimondi's *ad sensum* interpretation against Postel's description of the same thing.

Arabic text:

/wa ta'diyatuhu fi th-thulāthīyi l-mujarradi bi-taḍ'ifi l-ʿaini wa bi l-hamzati ka-qaulika farraḥtu zaidan wa-jlastuhu wa bi-ḥarfi l-jarri fi l-kulli naḥwa dhahabtu bi-zaidin wa-nṭalaqtu bihi/

(It [the intransitive verb] is made transitive in the trilateral first form by doubling *ʿayn* [the second radical] and by *hamza* [i.e. prefix /a/] as when you say: I made Zaid rejoice and I made him sit; and by the preposition, generally, as I went off with Zaid and I departed with him.)

Raimondi	Postel
<p>Et verbum trium literarum purum intransitivum sit transitivum per reduplicationem secundae literae truncalis ut /farraḥtu zaidan/, gaudio affeci Zaidum; vel per additionem literae <i>Hamzat</i> ante primam truncalem ut /ajlastuhu/, sedere feci eum. Universaliter autem omnia verba tam trium literarum quam quatuor literarum sive pura sit sive addita in se ipsis quae intransitiva sunt fiunt per literam <i>Giarri</i> verbi gratia /dhabtu bi-Zaidin/, abire feci Zaidum, /wa-nṭalaqtu bihi/ et abire feci eum.<sup>a</sup></p>	<p>Verba autem Neutra fieri possunt activa si illis accedat aut <i>eliph</i> in capite aut dictio recta, vel recta per <i>herph ger</i> aut <i>tesdid</i> in medio, scilicet <i>ain</i>, ut /kharaja/, progredi, /akhraja/, educere, /kharraja/, educere.<sup>b</sup></p>

a *Liber Tasriphi*, p. 12.

b Postel, *Grammatia*, sig. D8<sup>v</sup>.

Both passages are dealing with the same grammatical phenomenon: the ways in which the intransitive verb may be made transitive, i.e. by means of the second or fourth derived forms of the verb or through the use of a preposition before the object. It is clear that Postel made use of Arabic texts in his writing of the *Grammatica arabica*. He may even have used the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* in his discussion of the verb, although this instance does not support that theory as the examples he cites are not taken from that work. Also, the prefix of the fourth form is said to be *alif* not *hamza* and the doubled consonant of the second form is described through reference to the doubling sign, *tashdid*, which is not the analysis of the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*. Despite his exploitation of Muslim sources Postel's analysis of transitivity in the Arabic verb is moulded to conform to European grammatical terminology and theory. The problems inherent in such an approach will be given more attention below, in the Concluding Remarks of Part 2 of this book, when reference will be made to Postel's earlier examination of Arabic grammar in the 'Introduction to twelve languages' of 1538. In the meantime this illustration of their analyses of transitivity is telling as to the high quality of the *Liber Tasriphi*.

## 5 Conclusion

One of the manuscripts of the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* is evidence for the care with which Raimondi prepared the publication of 1610. There are some variants to

the text marked in the margin.<sup>14</sup> Other manuscript notes show this same care in the preparation of the translations. There is a draft for pages 78–81 of the book and two separate lists of grammatical terms from the *Liber Tasriphi* that were presumably used as an aid to consistency.<sup>15</sup> The final manuscript copy for the *Liber Tasriphi* is also extant. It is dated 13 August 1610, possibly the date on which the translation was finished.<sup>16</sup> The publication itself is the lasting culmination of Raimondi's work on oriental grammar. It is carefully made, any errata being listed at the end. It is vocalised in most places. The literal translations are a helpful guide to the original text and the interpretations are, in the main, an asset.

On a few occasions Raimondi went beyond the text. These *declarationes*, as he called them on the title page, contain useful additional information. The opening digression on *taṣrīf* has already been discussed and, though he may have been over enthusiastic on the possibilities for derivation from the *maṣdar*, at least the term can be left untranslated, its broad function as the source from which other words derive basically defined. The other digressions include a preface to the section on the examples of conjugation of the verb;<sup>17</sup> the analysis of the four negative particles<sup>18</sup>; the introduction to the seven types of weak verb;<sup>19</sup> the extra note on the hollow verb in the 'aorist';<sup>20</sup> and the inclusion of remarks by Muslim commentators on the triply weak verb.<sup>21</sup> This *Scholium ex arabico expositore* may have been taken from one of the commentaries mentioned by Raimondi in his manuscript list. Further investigation of those manuscripts now located in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence, may reveal the source for this digression. In the *Scholium* the seven types of weak verb are extended to nine through the addition of triply weak verbs. Reference is made to 'Chalil' (possibly al-Khalīl, d.175 AH) and 'Achphasc' (possibly al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ, d. 215 AH), two grammarians of Arabic. Elsewhere in the work there are references to 'Banutamim' (i.e. the tribe of the name) and 'Sibawaihi' (i.e. Sibawaihi of the *Kitāb*). Even though Raimondi passes no comment on the history of the native Arabic grammatical tradition those references initiate some sense of the diversity of opinions in that tradition in print.

14 Assemani, no. 366; now BML, MS Oriental 96. ff.1–21<sup>r</sup>.

15 See Appendix 3: Saltini X, (no. 4, iv); Saltini XXIV (no. 2).

16 See Appendix 3: Saltini XXI.

17 Raimondi, ed., *Liber Tasriphi*, p. 13.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 22.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 97.

Raimondi gives no explanation for his decision to publish this work on the morphology of the verb. In view of the grammars of 1592 that deal with the other aspect of Arabic grammar, inflection and syntax, it must be assumed that he intended the *Liber Tasriphi* as a balance to their information. Could Raimondi have known about the earlier attempts to present *ṣarf* (*taṣrīf*) to Europeans? Postel's grammar is the most influential of the grammars that came before Raimondi. Only Spey (1583) covers the same ground and his is a reworking of Postel's *Grammatica arabica*. It is true that some of the translated terms of the *Liber Tasriphi* are strikingly similar to Postel's. Also the tabular layout for the conjugations of verbs (singular, dual, plural, from right to left; and third, second, first persons from top to bottom) are the same in both works. This surpasses the linear approach of the Arabic text where examples are kept in succession. Perhaps Raimondi was making use of Postel's earlier arrangement; or both were following Turkish tabular arrangements of the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*; or possibly both were following the European tradition over the presentation of grammatical material. Support for Raimondi's knowledge of Postel's work has already been found in the *Alphabetum arabicum*. The pronunciation of *fathā* described as *a declinans ad e* seemed to follow Postel as did the association of each inflection term with a particular vowel. Against this, a passage such as that on transitivity cited above, shows no trace of Postel's influence at all. The lack of any manuscript note on Postel, when Raimondi mentions other well known and lesser known Orientalists, is again unresponsive. The evidence for Raimondi's knowledge of Postel's work is flimsy. Finally, even if Raimondi was not working with the help of the *Grammatica arabica* as a guide to the Arabic text of the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*, could his publication have been the conscious, though tacit, realization of Postel's unfulfilled wishes as expressed in his grammars?

In view of Postel's dubious position within the Roman Church Raimondi's silence on his most important predecessor may have been an act of prudence rather than ignorance. Postel had written that he would have had plenty to say about the morphology of the weak verb were it not for the brevity of his compendium. He continued by saying that such a development would have to await the publication of the three comprehensive Arabic grammars that he had translated into Latin.<sup>22</sup> Whether conscious or not, Raimondi's *Liber Tasriphi* is the fulfillment of that wish to present Arabic grammar in its original form with translations.

22 Postel, *Grammatica*, sig. D11<sup>v</sup>: 'De verbis defectivis hic ample dicerent si pateretur compendii brevitatis. Id vero fieri quum tres grammaticae arabicae libri a nobis conversi latine prodierint ubi ars absolute traditur'.

## Arabic Grammar Translated in Manuscript

### 1 A Note on the Derived Forms of the Verb

In the previous chapter the derived forms of the verb were mentioned in relation to the *Kitāb al-Taṣrif*. In that work their morphology is fully discussed. However their meaning patterns are only mentioned in the context of a discussion of transitivity. It is explained that the second and fourth forms of the verb may cause an originally intransitive verb to become transitive. However, in an undated manuscript note Raimondi gives some more information on the meaning patterns that may be associated with various of the derived forms of the verb.<sup>1</sup> That Raimondi knew something of the way in which those derived forms work is an important factor in assessing his knowledge of Arabic. After all a knowledge of the meaning patterns can open up a vast store of vocabulary. To know that the tenth form of the verb has an estimative sense, for instance, means that /istaḥṣana/, the tenth form of /ḥasuna/, ‘to be beautiful’, takes on the meaning of ‘to think beautiful, to consider desirable, to admire’. To know that the third form of the verb gives a sense of relationship to the original verb is to know that /jālasa/ from /jalasa/, ‘to sit’, means ‘to sit with’; /kātaba/ from /kataba/, ‘to write’, means ‘to write to’. The system that Raimondi uses to describe the morphology of the derived form is the standard Arabic one whereby /f/, /‘/, and /l/ stand for the three radicals of the original verb, with the infixes and prefixes of the derived form included as necessary.

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[Form II] Quando in secunda litera ponitur tesdid [tashdīd] in verbis si verbum est transitivum eum facit frequentativum ut /ḍaraba/ percussit fit /ḍarraba/ percussit plures et /fariḥa/ laetatus est quod est intransitivum sit transitivum /fariḥa/ [sic] fecit laetari aliud scilicet.  
(When the second radical of verbs is doubled if the verb is transitive it makes it frequentative as in /ḍaraba/ he hit, which makes /ḍarraba/ he hit many. And /fariḥa/ he rejoiced, which is intransitive, may become transitive fariḥa [should read /farraḥa/] he made someone else, of course, glad.)

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1 BML, MS Oriental 136, fols. 112–113<sup>f</sup>.

The mistake over /farraḥa/ would be surprising for Raimondi if this had been written at a time close to the translation and publication of the *Liber Tasriphi*, where, as we have seen, this very same verb is given as an example of an intransitive verb made transitive. The frequentative sense of this form of the verb is additional to the information given in that 1610 publication.

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- [Form v] /tafa‘ala/ e.g. /tafattaha/: si è aperto da per se in più parti (It opened of its own accord in more places [i.e. the reflexive nature of this form’s meaning pattern is emphasized]).
- [Form vi] /tafā‘ala/ e.g. /taḍāraba/: percussit et percussus est plures est frequentativum verbi /ḍāraba/: percussit et percussus est. (He hit and he has hit many is the frequentative of the verb /ḍāraba/ [form III] he hit and has hit [i.e. a frequentative sense emphasized, but surprisingly, no mention of reciprocity the hallmark of these two forms]).
- [Form viii] ‘afta‘ala [sic]: operatus est multa et significat etiam è stato adoprato et di agente noto. (It was done much and it even means it has been used and by a known agent).  
/ajtalasa/ [sic]  
/aḍṭaraba/ [sic]: percussus fuit ab agente noto. (He was hit by a known agent).  
Cf. /ḍuriba/ [passive Form I] percussus fuit sed non ab agente noto. [i.e. the quasi-passive sense of the Form viii is contrasted with the normal passive of the Form I where the agent is unknown, /majhūl/. N.B. Form viii begins with /i/ not /a/.]
- [Form x] /‘istaf‘ala/ e.g. /‘istakhraja/: ha fatto uscire con molti modi. (He ejected [him] in many ways). [The causative sense is emphasized, though the estimative and desiderative senses are neglected]).
- [Form xii] /af‘au‘ala/ e.g. /‘ushbun/ herba est cuiuscunque generis quae sua propria natura absque cultura nascitur inde /‘ashaba/ verbum quod significat herbescere intransitivum est inde verbum huius coniugationis proprium /a‘shaushaba/ quod significat pululare herbescere in maxima quantitate. (/‘Ushbun/ is a grass of some kind whose nature is to grow without cultivation, whence the verb /‘ashaba/ which means to grow into blades and it is intransitive, whence the peculiar verb /a‘shaushaba/ that means to sprout, to grow into blades in great quantity. [This rare form is completely understood]),<sup>a</sup>

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a See M.S. Howell, *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language* (Allahabad, 1880–1911), vol. 2, p. 278: ‘produced much green fodder’.

These analyses of the derived forms do not show the type of understanding of their significance that would be frequently fruitful in the expansion of the vocabulary available to Raimondi. But the association of meaning patterns with the derived forms is an important step towards acquiring that expansion. Apart from the *Liber Tasriphi* passage and these notes, there is no indication of Raimondi's application of these rules in the interpretation of Arabic. Nor is there any sign that Raimondi wished to impart this knowledge to others, though set out explicitly, this would be a most important tool for beginners.

## 2 *Kitāb Miʿat ʿāmil*

The only other evidence of Raimondi's active interest in Arabic grammars of the Muslim tradition is in a partial interlinear translation *ad verbum* of a short work that deals with syntax and, in particular, government or rection (*ʿamal*).<sup>2</sup> This is the *Kitāb Miʿat ʿāmil*, 'The Book of One Hundred Regents', written by ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī in the 5th AH/11th AD century.<sup>3</sup> The view of this work by a nineteenth century British colonial in India suggests one of the reasons why Raimondi may have chosen to work on this very concise tract: lack of theoretical complexity.

It contains in something less than five quarto pages, the most important department of Arabic Syntax, and is almost entirely free from those little verbal quibbles and philological fopperies, which tend more or less to disgrace almost every work on Arabic grammar.<sup>4</sup>

One hundred regents control the inflection of other words in the sentence. These regents, *ʿawāmil*, are categorised in this way: those that are express, *lafzīya*, (i.e. the regent is apparent); and those that are semantic, *maʿnawīya* (i.e. the regent is not express). The *lafzīya* are divided into those regents that are sanctioned by usage, *samāʿīya* (literally: based on hearing) and those regents that are sanctioned by analogy *qiyāsīya*. Thirteen types of usage-sanctioned regents account for ninety-one of the one hundred regents. A further

2 Assemani, no. 331. Now BML, MS Oriental 19, fols. 191<sup>r</sup>-207<sup>v</sup> for the Arabic text. Raimondi's interlinear translation is as far as fol. 198<sup>r</sup>.

3 For details of his name and his work, see the revised version of Raimondi's manuscript list in Appendix 6, entry number 26. For general biographical material see al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya ʿl-wuʿā*, p. 310; *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 341.

4 Abraham Lockett, tr., *The Mi, ut Amil (by Abd Al Kadir) and Shurḥoo Mi, ut Amil* (Calcutta, 1814), Preface, p. ii.

seven are accounted for by the analogy-sanctioned regents. The final two regents are the semantic, i.e. there is no express regent but it is simply a question of the meaning of the sentence. So, in the nominal sentence, 'inchoation' is the regent; and in the aorist verb, where there is no obvious regent, then its position in place of the noun, is the regent. Thus the bare bones of syntax and inflection are set forth with even greater concision than the *Ājurrūmiyya*.

From a statement that Raimondi made mid-way through the *Liber Tasriphi* it is clear that he also intended to publish the *Mī'at ʿāmil*, presumably with a translation. Obviously a translation of a work on rection would be a suitable counterpart to his publication on the morphology of the verb. Also, a translation would be of much greater benefit to the European than the locked doors of those unvocalized Arabic grammars of 1592. According to Raimondi, 'the little book entitled on one hundred operants, a very slender work, would provide the greatest convenience for those interested in Arabic grammar.'<sup>5</sup>

Erpenius also mentions Raimondi's intention to publish that work in the preface to his reedition and translation of the *Ājurrūmiyya* of 1617. Indeed, Erpenius fulfilled Raimondi's aim by publishing the *Mī'at ʿāmil* with Latin translation in the same volume as the *Ājurrūmiyya*. Erpenius's remarks in that preface deserve some consideration.

For the greater elucidation of the *Ājurrūmiyya* and on account of its similar subject matter, we have added another little work. Although it is anonymous, it is entitled 'On the hundred Regents' and has a translation and commentary similar to that of the *Ājurrūmiyya*. Now we do not wish you to be unaware that I only had one manuscript version. Thus, if you find anything omitted or incorrectly positioned you need not be surprised. At the end there are a few things that certainly look as though they are missing. Perhaps we will be informed as to whether this is so or not in the course of time. In his /*taṣrīf*/ published at Rome, the very learned Giovanni Battista Raimondi promised this little work. However, prevented by death, he did not publish it. If he had published it, no doubt it would have displayed his thoroughness.<sup>6</sup>

5 Raimondi, ed., *Liber Tasriphi*, p. 70: 'Necnon libellum de centum operantibus inscriptum, exiguum sane opus, sed quod Grammaticae arabicae studiosis, maximum sit allaturum commodum.'

6 Erpenius, *Grammatica arabica dicta Gjarumia*, Preface: 'Subjuximus ad majorem huius lucem et ob subjecti similitudinem insigne opusculum aliud, sine nomine Auctoris, De centum regentibus inscriptum, eodem modo versum et explicatum. Caeterum hoc ignorare vos nolo unum tantum huius me habuisse exemplar ne miremini si fortassis in eo omissum quid aut perperam positum inveniatis. Certe in fine pauca quaedam deesse videri possunt, quod an

Erpenius' admiration for Raimondi is obviously based on his reading of the *Liber Tasriphi*. He does not allow the poor editorial quality of the Rome *Ājur-rūmīyya* of 1592 to colour that judgement of Raimondi, even though he had just dismissed that edition a few lines before as corrupt. Presumably, Raimondi's interlinear translation of the *Mīat ʿāmil* is the evidence for his intended publication. Through a comparison between Raimondi's translation and Erpenius's, it may be possible to judge the quality of the work that Erpenius expected to display thoroughness. Through comparison with other terms used at other times by Raimondi, it may be possible to date his work. In this table, then, Raimondi's manuscript and Erpenius's publication will be compared, as well as those terms that coincide with the *Liber Tasriphi* translations. Obviously the difference in subject matter between *ṣarf* and *naḥw* means that coincidence is not frequent. (See Table below, p. 232–234).

In the first place, is there any indication to suggest that Raimondi could have been working on his interlinear translation of the manuscript at the time of the publication of the *Liber Tasriphi* in 1610? There is no such striking equivalence between Raimondi's translations of the same Arabic term that cause us to unite their composition in time. If anything, the use of *regulativa* and *ordinativa* for *qiyāsī* (analogous), and *praesens* for *mukhāṭab* (addressee), hark back to the translations of those terms made by Raimondi in the mid 1580s. However, at that time he correctly understood the meaning of *ʿistithnā*, (exception) and his use of *duplicatio* is an aberration here. Also, the manuscript translation consistently translates the Arabic passive verb in the completed tense as a Latin verb in the present passive; the *Liber Tasriphi* translations of these same Arabic verbs are in the Latin past passive. That death intervened to prevent the publication of Raimondi's translation, as Erpenius says, is perfectly true. But it seems likely that Raimondi's work on the manuscript had already been shelved in its unfinished form for some time.

In the second place, would Raimondi's translation have lived up to Erpenius's expectations if he had been able to see it? A comparison between their two translations shows that Raimondi had a better feel for the original Arabic than Erpenius in 1617. Raimondi's terms for *ḥulūl* are more literal than Erpenius's as is his treatment of *dukhūl*. *Praepositio* for *ṣarf* is nearer than Erpenius's *comprehensio*. This is because the context for the term clearly requires it to be rendered 'preposition'. That context is the use of the preposition *bi* in an adverbial expression of place with the example: /jalastu bi-l-masjidi/, *sedi in*

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ita sit, nec ne, tempore fortassis reddemur certiores. Promisit aliquando hoc opusculum in suo /taṣrīf/ Romae excuso, Doctissimus Io. Baptista Raimundus, sed morte praeventus non dedit. Si dedisset, opera procul dubio eius scrupulum hunc nobis exemisset.'

*oratorio*. Raimondi's *redemptio* for the Arabic *tafdiya* is better than *liberatio*. In the context, the preposition *bi* means 'as a ransom'. *Mufrad* is better as Raimondi's singular than as separate. His *permutatio*, exchange, for the Arabic *muqābala* is better than *oppositio*. The context discusses the use of *bi* meaning 'exchange', 'barter', not 'opposition' as Erpenius thought. The example for this sense is in the phrase /bi'tu hādhā bi-hādhā/, *vendidi hoc per hoc*. Raimondi's *notum* and *ignotum* for *ma'rifa* and *nakira*, the definite and indefinite, are more literal than Erpenius's *restricto* and *non restrictus*.

Arabic term	Erpenius: 1617	Raimondi MS	Raimondi: 1610
<i>ibtidā'</i> : beginning	initium	inceptio, principium	principium
	principium	nomen	
<i>mubtada'</i> : inchoative	inchoatus	incoativum	–
		substantivum	
<i>buḍ'</i> : distance	discessus	distantia	–
<i>ta'biḍ'</i> : division into parts	partis designatio	particularizatio	–
		denotatio partis	
<i>tabyīn</i> : demonstration/ explanation	declaratio	manifestatio	–
<i>istithnā'</i> : exception	exceptio	duplicatio	–
<i>jumla</i> : sum	summa	summa	–
<i>majāz (an)</i> : metaphor (ically)	metaphor	metaphorice	( <i>mujāwiz</i> ) pertransiens
<i>mujāwaza</i> : crossing	transitus	transitio	–
<i>tajāwaza</i> : crossed	transiit	transiit litera	–
<i>ḥarf</i> : particle, letter	litera, particula	consignificativa, dictio	litera
<i>taḥqīq</i> : verification	verificatio	firmitudo, veritas	–
<i>ḥulūl</i> : descending	existentia	descensio, mansio	–
<i>ḥāl</i> : present	praesens	praesens	praesens, dispositio
<i>khabar</i> : annunciative	socius	novum, adiunctum	–
		adiectivum	
<i>takhṣīṣ</i> : particularization	proprietas	proprietas	–
<i>ikhtaṣṣa</i> : to be peculiar	proprius fuit	appropriatur	proprius fuit appropriatus est
<i>mukhāṭab</i> : addressee	adsens	presens	adsens secunda persona
<i>dukhūl</i> : entry	praepositio	introitus	( <i>dakhāla</i> ) intravit

Arabic term	Erpenius: 1617	Raimondi MS	Raimondi: 1610
<i>istidrāk</i> : rectification	consecutio	apprehensio comprehensio	–
<i>tarajjī</i> : hope	spes	spes	–
<i>rafā'a</i> : to vocalize with /u/	rafavit	terminat in vocalem Rapha id est /ō/	( <i>raf'</i> ) rapheo
<i>zā'id</i> : extra	redundans	additus	additus
<i>sama'ī</i> : audible	auscultator	auditiva	–
<i>summīya</i> : it is called	vocatus est	vocatur	vocatus est nominatus est
<i>tashbīh</i> : similarity	similitudo	similitudo	assimilatio
<i>mushabbah</i> : compared	similis	assimilatus	–
<i>mushabaha</i> : similarity	similitudo	assotietas	–
<i>ṣadr</i> : beginning	initium	principium	–
<i>ẓarf</i> : adverb of place	comprehensio	praepositio	–
<i>ta'dīya</i> : transitive	transitus	transitio	transitio
<i>ma'rifa</i> : definite	restrictio notitia	notum, nomen cum articulo Aliph Lam	–
<i>ta'līl</i> : motivation	causalitas	causa	–
<i>āmil</i> : governing word	operans, regens	operans	–
<i>ma'nawī</i> : semantic	significativus	significativus	( <i>ma'nā</i> ) significatio
<i>isti'āna</i> : use	auxilium	auxilium, adminiculatio	–
<i>mutaghāyir</i> : different	differens	diversus, differens	–
<i>tafdīya</i> : redemption	liberatio	redemptio	–
<i>mufrad</i> : singular	separatus	singularis	–
<i>maf'ūl</i> : passive, patient	patiens	passivus	passivus/patiens
<i>muqābala</i> : in exchange for	oppositio	permutatio	–
<i>qism</i> : part	species	pars	pars
<i>qasam</i> : oath	iuramentum	iuramentum	–
<i>inqasama</i> : It was divided	divisus est	dividitur	–
<i>taqlīl</i> : rarity, paucity	raritas	paucitas	–
<i>qiyāsī</i> : analogous	normalis	regulativa ordinativa	( <i>qiyās</i> ) applicatio adaequatio
<i>kalām</i> : speech	oratio	oratio	–
<i>iltaṣāqa</i> : it adhered	junctus est	adhaesit	–

Arabic term	Erpenius: 1617	Raimondi MS	Raimondi: 1610
<i>iltiṣāq</i> : adhesion	adhaesio	adhaesio	–
<i>lafẓī</i> : expressive	enuntiativus	pronuntiativus	( <i>lafāza</i> ) pronuntiavit
<i>māḍī</i> : preterite	praeteritus	praeteritus	praeteritus
<i>mumkin</i> : possible	possibilis	possibilis	–
<i>tamlīk</i> : possession	possessio	possessio	–
<i>mumtani</i> : impossible, prohibited	impossibilis	impossibilis	prohibitus
<i>tamannī</i> : request	optatio	petitio	–
<i>naḥw</i> : grammar (syntax)	grammatica	grammatica	–
<i>naṣaba</i> : to vocalize with /a/	nasabavit	terminat in vocalem Nasba i.e. /a/	( <i>naṣb</i> ) nasbo
<i>naḥī</i> : negation	negatio	negatio	( <i>nāfi</i> ) negativus
<i>nakira</i> : indefinite	non restrictus	ignotum, sine articulo Aliph Lam	–
<i>intihā</i> : end	finis	finis	–
<i>nau</i> : type	species	species	species
<i>tanauiwa'a</i> : it was diverse	divisus est	specificatur	–
<i>tawassaṭa</i> : it mediated	medius fuit	mediat	–
<i>waḍ</i> : position	positio	positio	( <i>waḍa'a</i> ) posuit
<i>mauḍī</i> : place	locus	locus	locus

Raimondi's manuscript translation may be criticised in two areas: his description of the inflections; and his translation of the terms for both elements in the nominal sentence. As already discussed, the association of one Arabic inflectional term with one particular vowel is distorting. *Raf*<sup>c</sup>, the nominative or indicative inflection does not necessarily have to be /o/ as Raimondi suggests. Similarly, *naṣb*, the accusative or subjunctive inflection does not necessarily have to be /a/ as Raimondi suggests. Different nouns in the nominative may end in different vowels. The same applies to the accusative and to the endings of the moods of the verb. Raimondi's understanding of the nominal sentence is borne out by his translation of the terms for the two elements: *incoativum* and *novum* are usefully literal. Erpenius also kept to a literal translation that helps to elucidate this unusual construction. However, Raimondi then gives

looser translations for the terms. The inchoative is also *nomen* and *substantivum*; the annunciative is *adiunctum* and *adiectivum*. To turn the two elements of the nominal sentence into a substantive and an adjective is to restrict the construction to its simplest form, i.e. ‘the man [is] good’; ‘the house [is] big’. The nominal sentence can actually make use of more than a substantive and an adjective for the inchoative and the annunciative. The annunciative may be a prepositional or verbal phrase and not merely an adjective. It has already been seen that this construction was obscured in the 1592 edition of the *Ājurrūmiyya*. These quibbles aside, this fragmentary manuscript translation suggests that Raimondi’s publication of the *Mīat āmil* would have lived up to Erpenius’s expectations if it had come about. Indeed, it would have embodied an appropriateness in translation that could have taught the great Dutch orientalist something of his own business.

# Grammars of Persian Translated in Manuscript

## 1 Introduction

Persian is an Indo-European language. It is quite different in structure from Arabic. However, because of the Arab invasion of Persia in the 1st AH/7th AD century and the rise of Islam there, a large Arabic vocabulary was incorporated into Persian. The Arabic script was also adopted. It was modified in certain respects to accommodate the Persian consonants /p/, /ch/, /zh/, /g/. Because Persian does not pronounce certain Arabic consonants, loan words may lose their original Arabic pronunciation in Persian. In the early days of Islam there was not the same urgent need for grammatical analysis of Persian as there was of Arabic. Grammars of Persian are therefore a later development. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a tradition of Persian grammar arose in Ottoman Turkey.<sup>1</sup> It is this source of information, written in Turkish, that Raimondi tapped in his quest for knowledge of Persian.

Before Raimondi's detailed study of Persian there is little evidence for any European interest in the technicalities of this language. There is nothing to rival Arabic studies during the sixteenth century and no publications that deal specifically with Persian. Bibliander and Gesner briefly mention Persian but they are not clear on how it is different from Turkish. Gesner even quotes Bartholomaeus Georgevitz on Persian but the example given is a transliteration of some Turkish.<sup>2</sup> In the seventeenth century, Persian studies were developed in the Netherlands. This development began with comparative studies highlighting the similarities between Persian and the vernacular in respect of lexical material. But no independent study of Persian appeared until the publication of Ludovicus de Dieu's *Rudimenta linguae persicae* at Leiden in 1639. This is a remarkably mature work for a first publication and compares more with

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- 1 P. de Lagarde, 'Persische Studien', *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 31 (1884), pp. 3–139; C. Salemann, 'Chronologisches Verzeichnis der Farhange', *Mélanges asiatiques tirés du Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg* 9 (1880–1888), pp. 505–594; and, more recently, for Persian studies in the Low Countries, J.T.P. de Bruijn, *De ontdekking van het Perzisch* (Leiden, 1990); for Persian studies in Italy A.M. Piemontese, 'The emergence of Persian grammar and lexicography in Rome', *Rivista degli studi orientali* N.S. 83 (2010), pp. 399–415; and for Persian studies in France Francis Richard's chapter in Hamilton and Richard, *André Du Ryer*, pp. 73–88.
- 2 Gesner, *Mithridates*, fol. 63<sup>r</sup>: *De persica lingua sive turcica*.

Erpenius's *Rudimenta linguae arabicae* of 1620 than with any of the early attempts to explain Arabic that appeared in the sixteenth century. De Dieu's account of Persian is straightforward. It avoids both Muslim terminology and the temptation to compare, except in a few instances where Hebrew, Arabic or Flemish are mentioned in passing.

Two dated manuscript Persian grammars span almost the whole period of Raimondi's active involvement with the Medici Oriental Press. One is from 1585 and the other from 1610. The amount of material he covered in the intervening twenty-five years rivals the material he covered on Arabic grammar and vocabulary in the same period. Yet no publication ensued and these studies must be regarded as an isolated effort on his part.

## 2 *Qawānīn al-furs*

The key work in Raimondi's study was the 'Rules of Persian', *Qawānīn al-furs*, by Sayyid Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā, known as Le'ālī.<sup>3</sup> It was written in Ottoman Turkish towards the end of the first half of the sixteenth century. Le'ālī died in the 1560s. The introduction extols the perfection of Persian and then mentions those works on which the author drew in his compiling of the *Qawānīn*. His sources were *Miftāḥ al-luġha*, 'The Key of the Language'; *Tuḥfa al-hadīya*, 'The Guiding Gift'; *Munya al-mubtadi*, 'The Beginner's Wish'; *Ṣiḥāḥ 'ajamī*, 'The Persian Truths'; *Wasīla al-maqāṣid*, 'The Way of the Destinations'; and *Baḥr al-gharā'ib*, 'The Sea of Marvels'. Le'ālī stresses his special indebtedness to this last work. He also mentions the importance to him of the rules of Arabic grammar in writing the work.

The reader is soon aware of the importance of this admission. All the technical terms, chapter headings and section headings, even the title of the work, are in Arabic. Of the four chapters the final three are primarily lexical in content. The first chapter deals with the morphology of the Persian verb, taking the verb /kardan/, 'to do', as the paradigm. The exempla are then arranged in tables. The second chapter is on deverbal *nomina (asmā')*. These include active and passive *nomina*; the infinitive/verbal noun (*maṣḍar*), with one thousand four hundred and sixty-five examples of infinitives alphabetically arranged and giving the present stems in each case. These are termed *muḍāri'*, the in-completed action tense of Arabic grammar. The third chapter is on particles

3 Le'ālī was a *qāḍī* in various places and wrote on a number of subjects. He died 971/1563–4, or possibly later as one work says he was still alive in 976/1568–9.

(*adawāt*), with an introductory section on the amendments necessary in the adaptation of the Arabic alphabet to the requirements of Persian. The final chapter is a list of nouns, not derived from the verb, given in alphabetical order with their Turkish definitions.

Four extant manuscripts show Raimondi's interest in the *Qawānīn al-furs*: two Latin translations of the text, one in Rome<sup>4</sup> and one in Venice;<sup>5</sup> an interlinear Latin translation *ad verbum* in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence,<sup>6</sup> and a free Italian translation in the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Florence, dated on the first page 'from 10 November 1585'.<sup>7</sup> Work on all four manuscripts probably dates from about 1585 when the recent foundation of the Press would have promised the swift publication of the translation within half a century of its original composition by the Ottoman judge and grammarian, Le'ālī. Two separate references have been made to a published grammar of Persian by Raimondi: a *Rudimenta* of 1601<sup>8</sup> and a *Rudimenta* of 1614.<sup>9</sup> But no such work appeared, even though the intention may well have been to publish the Italian or Latin translation of the *Qawānīn*. Persian type had been cut between February 1593 and February 1594;<sup>10</sup> there were also occasions when the promotion of Persian was discussed. For instance a letter to Raimondi of 3 March 1611 from the Medici Court mentions Raimondi's application for support in the introduction of Persian at the Press.<sup>11</sup> But the *Liber Tassiphī* was to be the final publication by the Medici Oriental Press under Raimondi's directorship.

4 MS Vat. Pers. 24. See Ettore Rossi, *Elenco dei manoscritti persiani della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City, 1948), p. 52, who mentions that this version of the *Qawānīn* was reworked by Flaminio Clementino Amerino, who had received it from Raimondi.

5 Ibid., and Simone Assemani, *Catalogo de' codici ms. orientali della Biblioteca Naniana* (Padua, 1787–92), pp. 2–3.

6 See Appendix 3, Saltini I; i.e. BNCF, MS II, III, 1.

7 Assemani, no. 355. Now BML, MS Oriental 163.

8 See De Gubernatis, *Matériaux*, p. 306: 'Raimondi publiait en 1601 à Rome ses *Rudimenta linguae persicae*. Nous ne connaissons pas de grammaire européenne de la langue persane plus ancienne que celle-ci.'

9 Friedrich A. Ebert, 'Raymundus J. Bt.', *Allgemeines Bibliographisches Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1821 and 1830), vol. 2, col. 588, number 18681: 'Raymundus J. Bt. *Rudimenta grammatices persicae...* (Romae, 1614)'. This information was culled from Bernhard von Jenisch, *De fatis linguarum orientalium arabicae nimirum persicae et turcicae commentatio* (Vienna, 1780), p. 96.

10 See Appendix 3: Saltini x, i.e. BNCF, MS II, III, 14 (no. 6), ff. 182<sup>r</sup>-184<sup>v</sup>: 'Carattere persiano maggiore fatto da maestro Giovanni Caviglione Francese, et incominciato a 15 di febraro 1593'. Finished on 8 February 1594.

11 See Saltini, p. 288.

The manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence is instructive as a guide to Raimondi's working method and to his attempts to translate consistently and accurately. It seems most likely that this literal *ad verbum* translation would have been made first. Perhaps this was done with the collaboration of a Turkish speaker such as Paolo Orsini. Then Raimondi could settle down to the construction of the free translations in Latin and Italian.

For Raimondi the grammar was not the work of Le'ālī but of 'Domini Ahmed Filii Mostapha noni, clari per suo nomen Ali'.<sup>12</sup> One would expect a Turkish speaker to be aware of the orthographical error and give the correct form of the name. There is some further hesitancy over the correct rendering of some of the terms in the Introduction. For instance, *istiqbāl* is rendered as 'present tense', not as 'future', as it should be. There is some uncertainty as to the correct case endings for the Latin *ad verbum* equivalents, possibly indicative of uncertainty as to the sense of the original. But as the translation progresses so its confidence increases. For instance the phrase /'alā khilāf al-qiyās/, 'contrary to the model', moves from the literal *super contrarietatem opinionis*, through *iuxta contrarietatem opinionis/regulae* to the correct *secundum contrarietatem regulae*. *Qiyāsī*, 'analogous', moves from *imaginata* to *regulatus*; *maşdar*, 'verbal noun/infinite', remains as *nomen verbalis*; *şīgha*, 'word-pattern', moves from *declinatio* to *forma/regula*; *damīr*, 'pronoun', is *relativum*; the persons of the verb are literally translated as *absens*, *praesens*, *loquens*. Certain words are maintained in their Arabic form: the particle, *ḥarf* remains *hharph*, or in the plural the other term for particle is used: *advata* for *adawāt*. The vowels are applied to consonants that are then referred to as either *madhmomatum*, made /u/; *maphtuhatum*, made /a/, or *maksuratatum*, made /i/. Much of this presages the approach of the final publication of 1610, the *Liber Tasriphi*, in which Arabic terms were literally translated, left as they were, or distorted through interpretation. Nothing can confirm or deny the collaboration of a Turkish speaker in the making of this translation, yet there is evidence of a subtle knowledge of Turkish. This evidence appears in the marginal notes that recur throughout the manuscript. For instance, in the Introduction, the word /dīvān/ is explained as 'a gathering of great men sitting in an arranged order; hence, metaphorically, the poet's verses are called that since they are arranged in an order'.<sup>13</sup>

12 /ash-shahīru bi-Le'ālī/, 'well-known as Le'ālī', could be mistaken for well-known as 'Alī' if the aliph of a definite article were presumed missing and 'Alī were spelt with *madda* not 'ayn, thus: /bi(')l-ālī).

13 Saltini I. BNCF, MS II, III, 1, p. 1: 'Est concilium magnorum virorum in sedendo secundum ordinem dispositorum inde metaphorice dicuntur versus poetarum quia secundum ordinem dispositi sunt.'

The free Italian translation of 1585 gives the Latin terms in vernacular guise: *nome verbale* and *masdario harph* and *advati*; *madhmomato*, *maphtuhato*, *maksurato*, as well as *con la vocale o*, *con la vocale a*, *con la vocale e*; *absente*, *presente* and *parlante solo ragionante con un altro* as well as *terza*, *seconda*, and *prima persona*; *relativo* and *damir*; *misura* for *ṣiḡha*. This is the grounding for the same use of these terms twenty-five years later in the *Liber Tasriphi*. However in this translation there is not the distinction between literal and elaborate brought about through a two-tier system. Nor is the original text there in full. But, the inclusion of Persian examples and Arabic terms in the body of the text make this an agreeable introduction to Persian.

Obviously the consistency between the terminologies of the grammars of Persian and the Arabic grammars is an asset to Raimondi in his efforts to translate these texts, and by the time of the *Liber Tasriphi*, his familiarity with these terms must have contributed to the quality of that translation. Arabic terminology is, however, not necessarily helpful in the description of the very differently structured Persian. As a single example of this discrepancy – the problem needs much more investigation – the division of the tenses is considered. *Māḍī*, completed action tense, and *muḍāriʿ*, incompleted action tense, may be appropriate terms for the restricted temporal palette of the Arabic language that they were designed to describe. However, this duality is not suitable in the description of the richer range of tenses available in Persian. In Raimondi's translation this false comparison is further confused through a failure to distinguish *muḍāriʿ* and *ḥāl*.

Et ancora si come nel'idioma Arabico il presente [*muḍāriʿ*] è commune al presente [*ḥāl*] et al futuro [*istiqbāl*] cossi nel idioma Persiano il presente [*muḍāriʿ*] è commune al presente et al futuro.<sup>14</sup>

Arabic constructs the future through the use of a particle prefixed to the verb of incompleted action. But Persian has different ways of making the verb future, one of which is to use the auxiliary verb 'to wish/will'. Such a blanket comparison between the languages' tenses is a hindrance.

The *Qawānīn al-furs* is quite different from the other Arabic grammars that Raimondi worked on in one important feature: that is, citation. Le'ālī, and others in the tradition, make use of frequent citation from poetry, both as illustrative of grammatical rules, and of exception made to them for the sake of metre or rhyme. Raimondi's free vernacular versions of these verses are unusual evidence for scholarly interest in Persian poetry by Europeans of this date. It is

14 BML, MS Oriental 163, p. 20.

true that he did not spend any time on the discussion of these few extracts from the masters of that art, but the mere fact of translating them must have been a contributory factor to his appreciation and love of the language. Here are some examples of those translations, with the mention of the grammatical structures they illustrate.

From Asadī:

Insieme come esser puo amore et odio nel tempo del combattere; scansa il vetro come viene con la pietra.

[an example of the use of *alif* to indicate caution].<sup>15</sup>

Infirmity et repentance che la briglia mia andò della mano; la mano mia non arriva de pigli la briglia del' amico.

[an example of suffixed *alif* indicating sorrow]<sup>16</sup>.

From Ḥāfez:

Poi che è Re che qualche volta fa carezze; La tristezza della fortuna non mostra viene da lui per la perdonanza.

[an example of the loss of *be* of the imperative for the sake of the metre]<sup>17</sup>.

From Sa'adī:

Hai inteso mai (disse) che il savio e magro et che con l'ignorantia alcuna volta sta la grassezza? Et che il cavallo corritore ancorchè sia debole a quella guisa è migliore dell' asino che sta alla magnatora.

[an example of the particle *farbeh*]<sup>18</sup>.

Le'ālī gives advice on the orthography and pronunciation of Persian. In this way Raimondi is made aware to some extent of how Persian differs from Arabic and how it has been influenced. Eight letters of the Arabic alphabet that do not exist in Persian are said to have been 'transported' (*manqūl/transportata*) into the Persian language. It is through people's misuse that pre-Islamic Persian words from the 'Pahlavi' language have become spelt with these non-Persian consonants. Thus Le'ālī, followed by Raimondi, gives the example of the

15 Ibid., pp. 225–6.

16 Ibid., p. 227.

17 Ibid., p. 229.

18 Ibid., p. 285.

Persian word for a hundred /šad/ which is quite unnecessarily spelt with Arabic /š/. The rule on the appearance of quiescent /v/ after /kh/, vocalised with /a/ or /i/, is made clear in Raimondi's translation:

Sappi che nel' Idioma Persiano in alcuni luoghi dopo il Cha maphtuthato [sic] [i.e. with *fatḥa*] et Cha maksurato [i.e. with *kasra*] vi scriveno il vau ma non con pronuntiano come /khuāb/, chab, et /istukhuān/ [sic], istuchan, /khuīsh/ chisc et /khuīshstan/, chiscten.<sup>19</sup>

There is evidence in the manuscript material that Raimondi applied this rule in his transliteration of Persian. The pronunciation of the specially Persian consonants is discussed with reference to Arabic pronunciation. Thus /zh/ is said to be mid-way between Arabic /r/ and /j/; /g/ is mid-way between Arabic /k/ and /q/. The Persian pronunciation of /d/ and /dh/ is said to be indistinguishable. Therefore the diacritical point of the letter /dh/ is not written in Persian.

### 3 Other Grammars of Persian

Several of the works that Le'ālī mentions in his preface were available to Raimondi. *Wasīla al-maqāšid* is a lexicon that he worked on. *Tuḥfa al-hādīya* by Muḥammad ibn al-Hājjī Ilyās is a short work in ten sections of verb conjugation tables.<sup>20</sup> Raimondi made an interrupted translation. But the translation in Latin is not of the Persian verbs, but of their Turkish equivalents and of the Arabic section headings. The main observation to be made on Raimondi's translation of this work is that there is a perfect consistency with the translations he gave in the *Liber Tasriphi* for the same terms. The same consistency could be said for much of the Italian translation of 1585 for Le'ālī so there is no infallible proof for the dating of the *Tuḥfa* to the later period. One term that does not occur in the publication of 1610, but does occur in this manuscript is *majhūl* 'unknown', referring to the passive voice. The reason for this term being appropriate to the passive is given in the margin: it is because the agent in a

19 Ibid., p. 235: 'Know that in the Persian language in some places after *khe* with *fathe* and *khe* with *kasre* they write there a *vav* but without pronunciation like etc.'

20 See below, Appendix 6, the revision of Raimondi's manuscript list, entry No.8, where this work is listed and can be positively identified. It is now BML, MS Oriental 19, fols. 143<sup>v</sup>-188<sup>v</sup>. (Pagination: 1–92). Cf. Lagarde, 'Persische Studien', p. 32.

passive verb is almost always unknown.<sup>21</sup> The information is offered voluntarily by Raimondi and is indicative of his thoughtful approach to his work.

Another work referred to by Le'ālī as the *Şihāh 'ajamī* may be one of several different works. Three may be cited with similar titles: *Şihāh al-'ajamī*, *al-Şihāh al-'ajamī*, and *al-Şihāh al-'ajamīya*.<sup>22</sup> Raimondi worked on a copy of this last.<sup>23</sup> This work is written in Arabic. Its subject is the morphology of the Persian verb and of its deverbal nouns: the active and passive nomina; nouns of time and of place; nouns of instrument. The comparative and superlative are also considered. Raimondi's translation is interlinear. Occasionally the Persian verbs are given Turkish equivalents from which the Latin translation is made. On some points Raimondi made free translations later in the manuscript. There he expanded on the Arabic text's economical information on deverbal and independent nouns with his own comments. The division of nouns into those that are derived from the verb and those that are not, is said to be similar for both Arabic and Persian. Nouns that are not derived from verbs can be made agentive through the addition of certain suffixes. Thus *zar*, meaning 'gold', can be made 'goldsmith', *zargar*, through the addition of *gar*. The pronunciation of the word *ast*, meaning 'is', receives attention. Analysis of the interlinear translation dates Raimondi's work to the time of his translation of the Arabic grammar on a hundred regents, *Kitāb Mi'at 'amil*. Thus the vowels are referred to as *vocalis o*, *vocalis a* and *vocalis e*; the second person is *praesens* as opposed to *adsens* of the *Liber Tasriphi*; *qiyāsi* is *regulatus* or *ordinus* (terms that are early rather than late). However the agent as *agens nomen* and also *participium agens* looks forward to the two-tier system of the publication of 1610, the *Liber Tatsriphi*.

A lexical work called *Kitāb Şihāh al-furs al-muntakhab min tarjuma al-Qāmūs* seems to have been obtained by one of the Vecchiotti brothers.<sup>24</sup> Raimondi proceeded to give an interlinear translation in Latin. Two main sections give Persian verbs and nouns with Turkish definitions. Interpolated between those sections is a passage of Persian on Persian grammar. Of the thirteen pages of this passage, Raimondi only made an interlinear translation of three

21 Ibid., p. 36: 'Sic dictum quia fere semper persona agens ignota est in coniugatione passiva verborum'.

22 See Lagarde, 'Persische Studien,' p. 44; and Salemann, 'Chronologisches Verzeichnis,' pp. 510, 529; I. Pizzi, *Catalogo dei codici persiani della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana* (Florence, 1886), no. 19, mentions *al-Şihāh al-'ajamī* (Assemani, no. 347.).

23 BML, MS Oriental 136, fols. 108<sup>r</sup>-120<sup>v</sup>. This bears the same title as that of the entry in Salemann (1880-88), p. 529, where the work is attributed to Maulānā Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Pīr 'Alī, known as al-Birkawī (Birgiwī, Birgili) (d. 981/1573).

24 BML, MS Oriental 240, pp. 1-205.

pages. Otherwise the Turkish definitions of the Persian verbs and nouns in the other sections are almost entirely translated. Given the date at the head of the manuscript of 17 May 1610 for the commencement of the translation, there is a clear consistency between the terms that appear in the Persian grammatical section and those of the *Liber Tasriphi*: *ḥarf* is *litera* (not *hharph*), *ṣaḥīḥ* is *sana*; *sākin* is *quiescens*. Some of the unchanged terms are not quite the same as their equivalents in the *Liber Trasriphi*. Thus *hamza* of that publication is *hemze*; *maphthatum* is *mepthatum*. This sudden use of /e/ in these terms, seems to give them a more Persian pronunciation. The points covered in those three pages of Persian grammar had also been covered in the translation of Le'ālī he had made twenty-five years before: how to know /d/ from /dh/ in a Persian text that does not differentiate between them; the animate and inanimate plural; the use of a cautionary prefixed *alif*. In this case the illustrative example is the same extract of Asadī as used by Le'ālī. The same is true for the example illustrating the use of suffixed *alif* with a penitence sense. On this occasion Raimondi's translation loses the literal sense of 'inān, 'bridle'; that he had given twenty-five years before, and substitutes *voluntas*. The fact that the translation of this Persian grammar in Persian stops abruptly is not necessarily evidence for Raimondi's lack of knowledge. As has been said the same information had been gleaned from his translation of Le'ālī in the mid-1580s. This translation of the *Qāmūs*, as it is called, was much more important to him for its lexical content.

Another anonymous work, in the main lexical, is prefaced by twenty-five pages of grammatical rules on Persian.<sup>25</sup> The work is in Turkish and contains an inter-linear literal Latin translation by Raimondi. Both palaeographic considerations and the internal evidence of the translated terms date Raimondi's work to the time of his translation of the *Şihāḥ al-furs*, i.e. 1610. Again the vowel terms are preserved in a Persian pronounced form: *fetha*, *chesre*, *zamme* and *hemze*. In the *Alphabetum arabicum* Raimondi had insisted on Latin /a/ to stand for Arabic /a/ at the end of a word. His use of /e/ in this case suggests a conscious attempt at the Persian pronunciation of these terms. Again, as in other grammars of Persian using Arabic terminology, the temptation to liken the structures of the two languages can be distorting. Thus, the fact that verbs and nouns are derived from the *maşdar*, 'source', in the Muslim tradition of Arabic grammar, is passed on to this Ottoman Turkish analysis of the Persian infinitive, *maşdar*. It too is the source, trunk, from which the measures, *auzān*,

25 BML, MS Oriental 337, pp. 1–250.

and exempla, *amthāl*, of the verb derive.<sup>26</sup> In view of the anomalous way in which Persian present stems derive from their infinitives, the definition of this process given by the author of the *Şihāḥ al-‘ajamīya* mentioned above, is more realistic. As that work puts it:

/wa laisa ishtiḳāqu l-muḍāri‘ fi l-fārisi mina l-maṣḍari qiyāsīyan bal samā‘īyan/

(In Persian the derivation of the incompleted action tense from the verbal noun [i.e. the present stem from the infinitive] is not by analogy but by usage.)

Raimondi:

Hoc est in lingua persica tempus praesens vel futurum non formatur a nomine /maṣḍar/ id est a nomine verbali, quod apud aliquos Grammaticos est radix ... verbi, sed habet alias regulas.<sup>27</sup>

26 Ibid., p. 2. Raimondi explains the meaning of /auzān/ (measures or weights) in a marginal note: ‘Verba ponderata secundum masdares scilicet’. We know that this idea was familiar to Raimondi from his translation of this term in the *Liber Tasriphi*.

27 BML, MS Oriental 136, fol. 111<sup>v</sup>.

## Concluding Remarks

Three matters that have not been discussed in any detail in Part 2 of this book are illustrated by the edited manuscript extracts and the manuscript descriptions given in the Appendices. They are Raimondi's lexical material; his translations; and his general views on oriental languages.

The manuscripts at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence are littered with attempts to produce vocabulary lists in Latin from A-V or A-Z, with Arabic equivalents; and in Arabic from *alif* to *yā'*, with Latin or Italian equivalents. In the main these Arabic lists place the Arabic words in alphabetical order according to their initial radical letters. We know that Raimondi was aware of the distinction between the radical letters of a word and its servile letters. In the *Alphabetum arabicum* he explains that the servile letters indicate person, number and gender, whereas the radicals are essential to the root meaning of the word. A glance at the manuscript lists, however, shows that Raimondi did not always enter a word under its first radical but in certain cases under its first servile. Because many plurals begin with *alif*, and because participles and nouns of place or time begin with /m/, the entering of these types of word under those letters disproportionately swells those pages and disperses words of the same initial radical that ought otherwise to be entered under the same letter.

An arrangement of Arabic vocabulary according to the initial radical of a word was not necessarily the system that was favoured by Muslim lexicographers for the presentation of material. Classification according to final radicals or by subject matter was more common than the modern arrangement of Arabic dictionaries, where the words are in alphabetical order according to their trilateral roots. Raimondi's work on al-Tha'ālabī's *Fiqh al-lughā* regroups the vocabulary of that lexicon according to the initial radicals of the words, not according to subject matter as is the case in the original text. Raimondi is careful, through the use of different coloured inks, to distinguish between the words that al-Tha'ālabī was defining and those that he used to define. The lexicon is full of subtly different terms and the precision of the Arabic definitions is carried over into Raimondi's Latin or Italian equivalents. In view of the peculiarity of much of this vocabulary (much of it is of a technical nature that may be useful for catching hares in the desert but not for winning converts to Christendom) the translation of this work is inconceivable without the collaboration of a native speaker.

The same applies to Raimondi's Persian lexical material where the Latin or Italian definitions are very detailed. The entry to this Persian material is via

works in Turkish. The participation of a Turkish speaker in their translation seems likely. If these translations are Raimondi's own unaided work, one would expect him to have spent a good deal of time in an Arabic- or Turkish-speaking environment in the way that Andrea Alpago had in the previous century. But the evidence for such experience in Raimondi's life is insubstantial. The fact that committees were established for the production of anti-Islamic propaganda and for the editing and translating of the *Canon* is surer evidence for team-work on the lexical lists concerned with those matters. The translation of the *Canon* was further assisted by the Latin medieval translation by Gerard of Cremona with its fifteenth-century amendments by Andrea Alpago as they appeared in the sixteenth-century editions of the *Canon*.

A section of the Arabic *Canon*, as it was translated by Raimondi is given in Appendix 5. This very literal Latin translation was obviously made with a copy of the Latin *Canon* to hand. This method of translating, where the Arabic word order is followed precisely, results in a peculiar Latin. But in the context that Raimondi's translation was made – i.e. medical vocabulary lists – this literalness is a useful guide to the original Arabic text. It cannot be said that Raimondi is making any advance over Alpago. He is merely applying Alpago's knowledge to the analysis of the Arabic text. This literal approach to the translation of Arabic is evident in Antonio Sionita's interlinear translation of the Arabic Gospels (1591). It is likely that such an approach was encouraged by Raimondi as the most useful guide to the original text. It was to this end that the *ad verbum* translation in the *Liber Tasriphi* was made. In that instance there is some evidence to suggest that Raimondi may have been using Postel's *Grammatica arabica* as a guide to his translation, in the same way that he had called in Gerard of Cremona and Andrea Alpago to help him with the *Canon*. But on the other hand the superiority of the *Liber Tasriphi* over the *Grammatica arabica* in many of the terms that are translated suggests that Raimondi himself possessed much learning. Indeed his knowledge of the Muslim grammarians' terminology stretches back for twenty-five years to the 1580s. There is no reason to doubt that Raimondi was familiar in his own mind with that technical terminology.

Appendix 4 is the presentation of Raimondi's views on Arabic and Persian and other languages. For that period there is nothing unusual in his belief that Hebrew is the mother of all languages. Similarly his comments on Arabic as a threat to civilization reflect the fears of that time in Europe in the face of the Muslim world. But Arabic was not merely disruptive through the aggressive displacement of languages that were used by Christians – Syriac and Coptic in particular – or of languages of peoples that were approved of by Christians. Arabic was also the bearer of Greek texts that had been lost in Europe (Raimondi's hopes for the benefits of Arabic were later born out when one of the

Press's manuscripts was translated into Latin and published in 1661. This was the lost books of Apollonius's *Conics*, brought to light by the Maronite bishop, Abraham Ecchellensis). In addition to the comments that are made in these manuscript extracts, Raimondi emphasized the importance of Arabic as a key language in a passage of encouragement to his readers that appears mid-way through the *Liber Tasriphi* (pp. 69 f.). As for Persian, Raimondi's admiration for its beauty is striking. The evidence for his active interest in the language is not merely restricted to his translations of those grammars in Turkish, but is apparent in his translations of works on mathematics and the calendar, and of the introduction and opening story of Sa'adi's *Gulistān*. No doubt the few translations he made of the Persian poetry that appears in the grammars, supported his view that Persian was given to Man by God for 'the poetic expression of concepts'. Beyond these comments there is some interesting evidence among his lexical material for Raimondi's understanding of the interrelationship of these languages. Some Greek words are displayed in Arabic guise; Arabic words in Persian are singled out; the resemblance between certain words and expressions in Arabic and Italian results in a list. But there is nothing to suggest that Raimondi's understanding went beyond the conventional philological views of that time. Neither is there any evidence to suggest that Raimondi recognised a similarity between Persian and European lexical material. This was a theme that was promoted by Abraham Mylius in the Netherlands (1612) in aid of the enhancement of his own vernacular.

Turning to the European Arabic grammatical tradition, it has been shown in the preceding chapters that Raimondi's work – or rather his team's work – holds a pivotal position between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At the outset of the sixteenth century, Alcalá's short grammar of Spanish Arabic was distorting in a number of areas. This distortion was due to the Latin grammatical mould into which the Arabic was forced. Thus an unnecessary number of cases was posited; the dual number was lost between the Latin singular and plural, and so on. Postel, the most influential of the Arabic grammarians, made use of the Muslim tradition. But again he distorted the language by bending the Arabic terminology to suit Latin terminology. This has already been touched on in the discussion of the terminology of transitivity. It is even more apparent in his earlier grammar of 1538. In that work, Postel referred to the 'agent' and 'patient' (/ismu l-fā'il/ and ismu l-maf'ūl/) as *suppositum* and *dictio recta*. Now *suppositum* and *dictio recta* are formal terms referring to nouns that are the subject of the verb and the word governed by the verb respectively. Yet the Arabic terms are semantic terms for nouns that can be used on either side of the verb, so to speak. For example, in the sentence /ḍaraba l-masjūnu l-kātiba/ –

the imprisoned man (patient) hit the writer (agent) – the ‘patient’ is the subject of the sentence and the ‘agent’ is the governed word.

Elsewhere in Postel’s work the fit is imperfect. In describing the genitive construction, *iḏāfa*, its function is restricted to that of possession: Postel describes it as *possessio*. But this neglects the partitive sense of this construction. Elsewhere Postel calls the Arabic adverbial accusative (e.g. by day, /*nahāran*/; by night, /*lailan*/) an ‘ablative absolute’.

The availability of a massive store of information in the manuscripts recovered from the East for the Medici Oriental Press; and the availability of native Arabic and Turkish speakers was a liberation for Raimondi from the distortions of the existing European Arabic grammatical tradition. Despite some suggestion that Raimondi may have known some of the works of his European predecessors, the overriding importance of his work is the tackling of Arabic grammar afresh. His work on Persian grammars in Turkish is quite new.

This high regard for the Muslim grammarians should not be taken as the slightest hint on Raimondi’s part of sympathy for Islam. Indeed there is consistent evidence for his attempts to avoid what might be called ‘spiritual contamination’. Any invocations or blessings on the Prophet of Islam and his people that appear in the manuscripts are carefully crossed out by Raimondi’s fastidious hand. Any passage of Arabic that is doctrinally suspect is commented upon.

By working on the grammatical writings of the Muslim tradition Raimondi was pursuing the same course as Postel. It was the best available material for the European’s understanding of those languages at that time. Publications engendered considerable interest in Northern Europe. Kirsten’s grammars (1608–10), in particular, are indebted to the Rome publications. Sionita (1616) and Erpenius (1613 and 1617) are also indebted to those publications as well as to the Muslim grammatical tradition. It is only with Erpenius’s *Rudimenta linguae arabicae* (1620) and then De Dieu’s *Rudimenta linguae persicae* (1639) that a new threshold is crossed and the reliance on the Muslim grammarians is less keenly felt.



## The Identification of a copy of Bartholomaeus Radtmann's *Introductio in linguam arabicam*, Frankfurt a.d. Oder, 1592, now in the British Library

622.h.2. is the British Library shelf-mark for a volume containing four sixteenth-century tracts on the Arabic alphabet. They were published in different parts of Europe within a period of thirteen years between 1582 and 1595. All the tracts are independently listed in the library's general catalogue. Two are entered under the names of their authors: J. Christmannus, *Alphabetum arabicum cum isagoge scribendi legendique arabice* (Neustadt a.d. Hardt, 1582) (622.h.2.(4)); and F. Raphelengius, *Specimen characterum Arabicorum* (Leiden, 1595) (622.h.2.(3)). The anonymous *Alphabetum arabicum (in Typographia Medicea)* (Rome, 1592), is entered under Arabic Alphabet (622.h.2.(2)) (the authorship of this work is attributed to G.B. Raimondi by other early seventeenth-century writers on Arabic). Bound between Raimondi's and Raphelengius's works is the fourth tract. For want of a title or author the tract is entered in the printed catalogue under *Litterae*, thus:

Begin. De literis. In literis potissimum quinque considerata sunt, etc. [Instructions for writing Arabic characters] pp. 34. [1600?] 4<sup>o</sup>.622.h.2.(2\*). *Wanting all before p. 3. The Arabic characters are supplied in ms.*

The description of this tract may be extended in this way: it is a small quarto volume 21×15 cms. (type area, surrounded by an ornamental rule, 15×10.5 cms), paginated, collation A<sup>1-2</sup>; B<sup>1-E4</sup>, wanting the first gathering, comprising title-page and preface. The text is in Latin. Where German words occur they are printed in Gothic type. There are three main sections: *De literis* (pp. 3–23); *De vocalis* pp. 23–32 and *De syllabis* (pp. 33–34). The rudiments of Arabic orthography and pronunciation are displayed through reference to the rulings and opinions of Postel, Bibliander, Christmann, and Spey. All of these scholars had published works about Arabic. In addition to this derivative information, original observations are included. These are attributed to a certain 'Paolo nostro'. The author, or editor – for so he may be called as the work is more a comparative compilation – refers to Paul as having been away from his homeland for so many years that he has forgotten the significance of the *abjad* order of Arabic letters (pp. 4–5).<sup>1</sup>

1 Since this identification was made in the author's MPhil dissertation (Warburg Institute, 1981), the BL online catalogue lists this item under Radtmann, Bartholomaeus.

The tract can be positively identified as Radtmann's *Introductio* through recourse to what is still the standard bibliography for early, European-printed, Arabic books, Schnurrer, p. 20, no. 40. Schnurrer describes the work as a quarto, thirty-two pages in length, not counting the preface (pp. 3–34 inclusive = thirty-two pages). He gives some attention to the contents of the preface. Apart from referring to the published works that were used, it mentions the viva voce advice obtained from a Turk of Adrianople, who, as we saw above,<sup>2</sup> had been captured twenty-five years before in Hungary. He was taken to the court of Brandenburg, where he entered the service of Joachim Friedrich, converted to Christianity, and was baptised under the name Paulus Willich. Schnurrer remarks on the hand-written Arabic and refers the reader to Erpenius's entry in the catalogue of Arabic books appended to his *Rudimenta linguae arabicae* (Leiden, 1620). Erpenius calls the Arabic hand in the work 'elegant enough'.<sup>3</sup>

Attention should also be drawn to another contemporary reference to the *Introductio*. The Avicennist Peter Kirsten, in his *Grammatices arabicae liber 1*, p. 34, mentions 'that Turk, Paul, whose quite learned *Introductio in linguam arabicam* was sent to me a few years ago by the very distinguished Bartholomaeus Radman [sic].'

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<sup>2</sup> See above p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> A very few copies listed in German libraries include: Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, 4° III: 47 (with the date 1588); and the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden, where two copies, both correctly dated 1592, are listed: 3.A.6907, angeb.8, and Ling.Semit.236.

# Arabic Transliteration

## 1 The Arabic Alphabet

Arabic letter	Name of letter	Haywood	Raimondi	Postel	Christmann
ء	alif hamza	ā	Hebrew Aleph	a e i o u	‘
ب	bāʾ	b	b	b	b
ت	tāʾ	t	t	t	t
ث	thāʾ	th	th	th,d	th
ج	jīm	j	g	g	gh
ح	ḥāʾ	ḥ	hh	h	chh
خ	khāʾ	kh	ch	hh	ch
د	dāl	d	d	d	d
ذ	dhāl	dh	dh	dh	dh
ر	rāʾ	r	r	r	r
ز	zāy	z	z	z	z
س	sīn	s	s	s	B
ش	shīn	sh	sc	ss,sch	s
ص	ṣād	ṣ	s	tz,ts	tz
ض	ḍād	ḍ	dh	zd	tzh
ط	ṭāʾ	ṭ	t	t	tt
ظ	ẓāʾ	ẓ	thd	td	tth
ع	‘ayn	‘	Hebrew ‘Ayin	a e i o u	hh
غ	ghayn	gh	gh	g	g
ف	fāʾ	f	ph	ph	ph
ق	qāf	q	c	k	k
ك	kāf	k	k	ch	c
ل	lām	l	l	l	l
م	mīm	m	m	m	m
ن	nūn	n	n	n	n
ه	hāʾ	h	h	h	h
و	wāw	w	v	u	u
ي	yāʾ	y	i	i	i

## 2 The Arabic Lord's Prayer in Latin Script

Alcalá (1505), ed. Lagarde, p. 31. El Pater Noster.

Guáliduna alledí fa cemequet cudúcū ízmuq̄ tēti melecútuq. Tecúnu yrádatuq̄ filárdi q̄mé fi cemé kobzane cúlly yáumi aatinehu fi héde al yáum gua agfir line dunúbene quème nagfíru náhnu limen açá illéyna. Gua le totkílma a tajárib léquin negíne mī a xarr. Amín.

Postel (1538), sig. D4<sup>r</sup>.

Abana illadhi phis-sembleuati cadus ismeche ta ta melchuteche techunu mescheiteche chema phis-samai veala elarzi chobzna chephaphna ahthana philiaumi veahpher lana maiugibu alana chema hapharna leman ahtha alana vela tadchulnat-tegiaribu lachine negena min elseriri leine lechem meluchu veel cauathu veel megedu ila elebdi, Amin.

Christmann (1582), p. 17.

Abana aldhi phi alßemaueti' kaduðu' ißmeca tati malcuteca' tacunu' mesiteca cema phi alßemai' vehhale alartzhi chobezna cephaphna ahhtana phi aliomi' veahhphar lana ma juchibu' hhalena cema hhapharna leman ichtta elena vela tadchulna teghribu' laciné naghna min al sariri' lane' leca almalcutu' vealkutu' ve almeghedu' ale alebdi'. Amen.

Raimondi (1592), p. 61. Assalator-rabbaniiato.

Abunal-ladhi phis-samauati. leiotaqaddes esmoka letati malalakutoka letakon mascitoka kema phis samai ua alal-ardhi chobzena kephaphena aatna phil-iaumi uaaghphar lena chataiana kema naghpharo nahhno leman achtaa ilaina uala todachelnat-tagiaraba laken naggena menasc schiariri. Amin.

Kirsten (1608), pp. 103–104.

Abunallesi phissemvaati lijute qeddes aismuke litati mele kuutuke litekun meshiituke kema phissemaai vealailardshi chubzena kephaphena aaitina philiueumi vaghpher lena chathaaiaanaa kema neghpheru nehnu limen achthaa aileinaa vela tudachilnat tegaarebe leken neggina min eschscheriiri.

Modern transliteration with variations in text.

Wálidunā / abūnā lladhī fi s-samawāti quddūsun / qaddūsun / li-yataqaddas smuka li-ya'ti malakūtuka li-takun 'irādatuka/ mashī'atuka kamā fi s-samā'i wa 'alā l-'arđi khubzanā kafāfanā 'a'tinā(hu) fi l-yaumi wa-ghfir lanā dhunūbanā / mā yajibu 'alainā / khaṭāyānā kamā naghfiru naḥnu / ghafarnā liman 'asā'a / 'akhta'a 'ilainā wa lā tudkhilnā t-tajāriba lākin najjinā mina sh-sharri / sh-sharīri li'anna laka l-mulka wa l-qūwata wa l-majda ilā l-'abadi 'āmin.

## Raimondi and Saltini

The purpose of this Appendix is to extend some of the thirty manuscript descriptions given at the end of Saltini's article (1860) pp. 297–308. At that time, with the help of a professor of Indo-European languages in Florence, Fausto Lasinio, a general outline of those manuscripts was given. Some of these are grammars, some are vocabulary lists, some are general notes on languages or the Medici Oriental Press. Everything is carefully itemised by Saltini and the general descriptions given are mostly sound. In this present attempt there may be no advance on those earlier descriptions in some cases. However, in most cases, cross-referencing is included as an aid to the reconstruction of Raimondi's original working: as they now stand the manuscripts are very fragmentary. In some cases further details and quotations are given. This is not proportionately done, but serves the purpose of illustrating some points made in this book. In all cases the present-day BNCF classification is given as this has changed since Saltini's day. These reclassifications are to be found in Mazzatinti's *Inventario*, vols. 8–12. The page references to that work are given, though the descriptions in it do not improve on Saltini's. In some cases Mazzatinti refers to Buonazia's catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (1886). But Buonazia refers to Saltini for information on the thirty manuscripts.

Saltini I. Mazzatinti, IX, p. 146: MS II, III, 1.

*Qawānīn [al-]furs li Saʿyid Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā ash-shahīr bi-Leʿālī*. Persian grammar and lexicon written in Turkish with an interlinear Latin translation *ad verbum* by Raimondi. Cf. Saltini VII, XVII.

Saltini II. Mazzatinti, IX, p. 147: MS II, III, 6.

Arabic-Latin vocabulary in alphabetical order, *alif-yāʾ*. There are no verbs, only nouns with the definite article, and particles. The source is the opening pages of Avicenna's *Canon*. Their Latin equivalents are based on a comparison with the contemporary editions of Gerard of Cremona's translation. The approximate numbers of words, according to their initial letters, are as follows: a-300; b-50; t-95; th-25; j-55; ḥ-90; kh-45; d-35; dh-15; r-50; z-10; s-55; sh-35; ṣ-35; d-15; ṭ-20; z-5; ʿ-85; gh-30; f-30; q-45; k-35; l-30; m-400; n-75; h-15; w-40; y-15. Cf. Saltini X, XI, XVI.

Saltini III. Mazzatinti, IX, p. 147: MS II, III, 7.

The Latin-Arabic version of Saltini II above. Alphabetical order A-Z, but no rationalization. I.e. instead of three different Arabic words for 'body' (بدن جسم جرم) being grouped opposite one Latin entry, *corpus*, the word *corpus* is given three times.

Saltini IV. Mazzatinti, IX, p. 148: MS II, III, 8.

Arabic-Latin vocabulary in alphabetical order, *alif-yā'*, according to the first letter of the word. Desert Arab language, mostly verbal phrases. Numerical references to an original work for each entry. E.g. fol. 100, /d/ consists of ten variations on the verb /ḍaraba/. ضرب مثلاً – *invenit similem, incidit in similem*; ضرب في الأرض – *cecidit in terram*; ضرب في الماء – *natavit in aqua*; ضرب على آذنه – *dormire fecit illum super aurem suam*; ضرب بكذا – *duxit illum tali re*; ضرباً – *percutere, percussio*; مضرب – *locus percussiois ensis id est vulnus*; ضرب الفجل الناقة – *interfecit camelus camelama*; ضرباً – *interfectio, occisio*; ضرب الجرح – *resultavit vulnus*. Saltini claims this is taken from al-Jawharī's *Ṣahāḥ* but this is not yet confirmed.

Saltini VI. Mazzatinti, IX, p. 148: MS II, III, 10.

Arabic-Latin or Italian vocabulary in alphabetical order, *alif-yā'*. The source is al-Tha'ālabī's lexicon, *Fiqh al-lughā*. The Tha'ālabī-defined words are given in red ink; the Tha'ālabī-defining words are given in black ink. Numerical references to the original work for each entry. The approximate numbers of words, according to their initial letters, are as follows: a-85; b-24; t-20; th-5; j-20; ḥ-45; kh-15; d-10; dh-10; r-20; z-2; s-5; sh-20; ṣ-15; ḍ-10; ḡ-10; -40; gh-10; f-25; q-30; k-20; l-20; m-55; n-30; h-3; w-10; y-30. Cf. Saltini X, XII, XXI; MS II.1.6.; Magl. III, 120.

Saltini VII. Mazzatinti, IX, p. 148: MS II, III, 11.

1. Fols. 261–116. Latin-Turkish and Persian vocabulary in alphabetical order, A-V. The source is Le'ālī's Persian grammar (Saltini I), Section 4 (verbs), pp. 56–73. Occasionally, only a Turkish equivalent is given for the Latin entry. This is because the Turkish definitions in the original work are more extensive than the Persian verbs they define. There are about 200 equivalencies in all.
2. Fols. 113<sup>v</sup>-112<sup>r</sup>. Turkish, Arabic, Persian-Latin vocabulary in alphabetical order, *alif-yā'*. The source is a commentary on the Quran. A few entries only. Cf. Saltini XI, XIV.

Saltini VIII. Mazzatinti, IX, p. 148: MS II, III, 12.

Same as Saltini VII (no. 2) above. Approximately ten entries only.

Saltini IX. Mazzatinti, IX, p. 148: MS II, III, 13.

1. Fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-49<sup>v</sup>. Catalogue of oriental manuscripts categorised according to: *Authors* (ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>v</sup>); *Subjects*: Medicine (fol. 6<sup>v</sup>); Philosophy (fols. 8<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>); Theology (fols. 13<sup>v</sup>-14<sup>r</sup>); Poetry (fol. 15<sup>r</sup>); The Muḥammadan sect (fols. 23<sup>v</sup>-24<sup>v</sup>); Geometry (fol. 25<sup>r-v</sup>); Persian (fol. 35<sup>r-v</sup>); Various Arabic (fol. 41<sup>r-v</sup>); Grammars and Dictionaries (fols. 44<sup>v</sup>-45<sup>v</sup>). Various (fol. 48<sup>v</sup>); Turkish (fol. 49<sup>r-v</sup>).

2. Fols. 55<sup>r</sup>-96<sup>r</sup>. A mathematical tract: *fi tariq al-masā'il al-'adadiya* by al-Ḥusain ibn Ḥasan al-Samarqandī, with an Italian interlinear translation by Raimondi *ad verbum*.
3. Fols. 115<sup>r</sup>-157<sup>r</sup>. An abridged version (*mukhtaṣar*) of a work on the calendar: *Ma'rifat-i taqwīm* by Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī. This is a Persian version, not Arabic as Saltini says, in 30 sections. There is an Italian interlinear translation by Raimondi *ad verbum* (*GAL*, Suppl. vol. 1, p. 931, gives various entries for *Ma'rifa al-taqwīm* but no Persian translation).
4. Fols. 157<sup>r</sup>-159<sup>r</sup>. A work on the soul in Turkish. Initially an Italian interlinear translation by Raimondi *ad verbum*.
5. Fols. 162<sup>v</sup>-196<sup>v</sup>. Persian vocabulary from no. 3 above. The translation of the original interlinear translation is Latin, not Italian. Words of Arabic origin are written in red ink. So, for instance, in the examples below these words are asterisked. (i) Fols. 196<sup>v</sup>-176<sup>v</sup>. The vocabulary of the 30 sections but without the verbs. E.g. from section one: آن – *ille*; ترتیب\* – *ordo*; اجد\* – *numeratio*; این – *hic, iste, haec, ista, hoc, istud*; گونه – *modus*; حرف حروف\* – *litera, literae*; احد\* – *unitas*; عسرات\* – *decina*; میات\* – *centinaro*; الف\* – *miliare*; دیگر\* – *alius*; عدد\* – *numerus*; رقم\* – *illum caracterem*; ترکیب\* – *compositio*; بیشتر – *maior, maius*; فرایش – *primus, prior*; بیشتر – *minor, minus*; فرایش – *postremus, posterior*; مضاعف\* – *multiplex*; قیاس\* – *discorse*; هیچ – *nihil*; که – *qui*; صفر\* – *siphra, zero*. (ii) Fols. 175<sup>r</sup>-173<sup>v</sup>. The months in tabular form. (iii) Fols. 172<sup>v</sup>-171<sup>v</sup>. An extensive break-down of the Persian verb /*kardan*/ *facere*. Latin translation. 3rd person, imperatives and de-verbal substantives. (iv) Fols. 171<sup>r</sup>-164<sup>r</sup>. Verbs from sections 1–30. (v) Fols. 164<sup>r</sup>-162<sup>r</sup>. Prepositional phrases from sections 1–30.
6. Fols. 248<sup>r</sup>-280<sup>v</sup>. General non-technical Arabic vocabulary with interlinear Persian translation. Italian interlinear translation of the Persian by Raimondi *ad verbum*.
7. Fols. 284<sup>r</sup>-291<sup>v</sup>. Similar to 6, above. Dated by Raimondi 'a 4 di luglio 1605, venerdì'.

Satini x. Mazzatinti, IX, p. 148: MS II, III, 14.

1. Fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-97<sup>v</sup>. Syriac-Latin or Italian vocabulary.
2. Fols. 109<sup>r</sup>-126<sup>v</sup>. Short extracts, c.5 lines each, from Aristotle, in Latin. Reference is made to the sources, as: *De semine* (*De generatione*); *De corporibus in genere* (*De caelo*); *De sanguine* (*De juventute et Senectute*); *De spiritu* (*De generatione*); *De corde* (*De juventute et senectute*); *Ignis* (*De caelo*); *De concoctione* (*De juventute et senectute*); *De sensu* (*De partibus animalium*). Fol. 123<sup>v</sup> and fol. 126<sup>v</sup> have two passages from Avicenna in Arabic with Latin translation from Book I, Fenn (section) 1, Doctrine 4, Chapter 1; and Doctrine 5, Chapter 1.

3. Fols. 132<sup>r</sup>-136<sup>r</sup>. Material from the *Brevis orthodoxae fidei professio* in Arabic with Latin translation opposite. Cf. Saltini xxx.
4. Fols. 136<sup>v</sup>-161<sup>r</sup>. Arabic-Latin vocabulary. Not in alphabetical order.  
 (i) Fols. 136<sup>v</sup>. 'Termini Theologici'. 19 key terms in Christian theology possibly taken from same source as for no. 3 above. (ii) Fols. 137<sup>r</sup>-138<sup>v</sup>, 146<sup>v</sup>-145<sup>v</sup>. Vocabulary taken from Avicenna's *al-Maqāla al-ūlā min al-ṭabī'iyāt*, published at the end of the Rome 1593 edition of the *Canon*, e.g. *Scientia naturalis* – العلم الطبيعي; *ars speculativa* – صناعة نظرية; *subiectum* – موضوع; *subiecta* – الموضوعات; *ens reale existens* – موجود; *entia realia* – الموجودات; *immaginata* – الوهميات; *corpora realia* – الاجسام الموجودة; *motus* – الحركات; *quietes* – السكونات; *summa* – الجملة; *principia* – مبادئ; *principia prima* – اوائل; *propositiones* – المقدمات; *evidentia, ostensio* – بيان; *veritas propositio-num* – صحة المقدمات; *scientia universalis* – العلم الكلي; *scientia divina* – العلم الالهى; *scientia speculativa* – العلم الناظر; *ens absolutum* – الموجودات المطلق (iii) Fols. 160<sup>v</sup>-156<sup>v</sup>. Geometrical, astronomical, astrological vocabulary. (iv) Fol. 161<sup>r</sup>. 'Termini Grammaticales', taken from the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* by al-Zanjānī. The Latin equivalents are those of the *Liber Tasriphi*, 1610, cf. Saltini x, xxii.
5. Fols. 166<sup>v</sup>-165<sup>r</sup>. 'Frası arabiche correspondenti alle frasi Italiane'. The source is Avicenna's *Canon*. Examples of these correspondences are: *ويجب أن تعلم مهما قد علمت* – *et bisogna che sappi insieme con quello che gia hai saputa cioè oltre quello che gia hai saputa* *دواء واحد* – *si comanda à quelli che medicano in non firmarse / stare in una medicina*; *انسان* – *in de complexionibus aetatum*; *في الجملة* – *in somma*; *سنة* – *in vicinia*; *وهو الى قريب من ثلاثين سنة* – *e è fin vicino alli trent' anni*; *وسن الانحطاط مع ظهور الضعف في القوة* – *et è l'età della declinatione con la manifestazione della debolezza nella virtù*; *أكثر الامر* – *più delle volte*; *فيجب أن* – *et bisogna che sia nel mezzo*; *يكون في الوسط بحيث يفي باحد الامرين دون الاخر* – *et bisogna che possi in una delle due cose senza l'altra*; *أكثر الاوقات* – *piu delli momenti*. For other Avicennan material, cf. Saltini II, XI, XIII, XVI.
6. Fols. 182<sup>r</sup>-184<sup>v</sup>. Examples written by Raimondi for the large Persian type cut by Giovanni Caviglione between 15 February 1593 and 8 February 1594.
7. Fols. 194<sup>v</sup>-187<sup>v</sup>. Persian-Italian vocabulary. General, non-technical. In many cases the Persian is transliterated, e.g. *آه* – *oh, il sospiro*; *ارنج* – *aring, il cubito*; *انگست* – *angost, il doto*; *انداز* – *andaz, il buttore, iacere*; *اويختن* – *avichtan, l'appicare*; *آتش* – *atasc, il foco*; *اخته* – *achteh, eunucus*; *آنهنگر* – *anhangar, il ferraro*; *استخوان* – *astochan, l'osso*; *ايشكمبه* – *iskambeh, l'intestino dove stano le feccie*; *اسپرز* – *osporz, la milza*; *اندر* – *ander, inter*; *انجيز* – *angir, il fico*; *انگور* – *angur, l'uva*; *الش* – *alise,*

*il baratto, il cambiare la cosa per un'altra.* Words of Arabic origin are written in red ink, cf. Saltini IX.

8. Fols. 200<sup>r</sup>-254<sup>v</sup>. Arabic-Italian vocabulary in alphabetical order, *alif-yā'*. The source is al-Tha'ālābī's lexicon, *Fiqh al-lughā*. Words defined by al-Tha'ālābī are given in red ink; al-Tha'ālābī's defining words are given in black ink. References to the original five sections are given. These sections are subdivisions of the first chapter /fi al-kulliyāt/ 'on universals'. Examples of some 'red words' with their Italian translations are:

بَعَاثٌ – ogni ucello volante il quale non è di quelli che cacciano ma di quelli che sono cacciati.

حَجْرٌ – ogni cosa che si cava in terra quando non è dell'opera dell'huomini.

حِصْنٌ – ogni loco forte che non si arriva a quello che è in esso.

خَرْقٌ – ogni paese largo nel quale prevale il vento.

رَايِعٌ – ogni cosa della quale ti piace ò la bellezza ò la moltitudi.

سَبْعٌ – ogni bestia che ha li denti molari che assalta l'huomini et le bestia et le sbrana.

عَقِيلَةٌ – ogni bene delle pecore, cameli, cavalli et altri.

غَيْبٌ – ogni cosa che è assente dal'occhi et è compresa nelli cori.

غَيْبَةٌ – ogni cosa che fa ombra sopra il capo suo delle nube ò vero nebbia ò vero ombra.

مَوْطِنٌ – ogni stazione nella quale sta l'homo per qual che negotio.

مَرْتٌ – ogni terra che non produce plantifica niente.

نَبَاءٌ – ogni vento che soffia fra due venti.

نَسِيمٌ – ogni vento che non move arbori ne guasta vestigio.

وَادٌ [sic] – ogni curvato fra monti et colline che da passo al correre.

Cf. Saltini VI, XII, XXI; MS II.1.6; Magl. III, 120.

Saltini XI. Mazzatinti, IX, p. 149: MS II, III, 15.

1. Fols. 20<sup>v</sup>-1<sup>r</sup>. Arabic-Latin vocabulary. Verbs only; not in alphabetical order, but lifted from the Arabic text of the *Canon* with Latin equivalents based on contemporary editions of Gerard of Cremona's translation. Divided into sections according to the headings of the *Canon*, i.e. *De essentia humoris et divisionibus eius*; *De qualitate generationis humorum*, etc. Fols. 9<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>r</sup> is the section *De elementis* في الاركان from the opening pages of the *Canon*. The Arabic text is divided into sections with the full Latin translations beneath each section. See Appendix 5 for the text of these pages. Cf. Saltini II, X, XIII.

2. Fols. 21<sup>r</sup>-38<sup>v</sup>. Turkish-Latin vocabulary divided into two sections: (i) *Adverbia* – ظرف and (ii) *Interiectiones Coniunctiones* – عطف Section (i) is subdivided into *optandi ut, vocandi ut, interrogandi ut, qualitatis, respondendi, affirmative, confirmandi, negandi, dubitandi, hortandi, prohibendi, demonstrandi, eligendi, comparandi, congregandi, separandi, intendendi, remittendi, temporis, loci, numeri, ordinis, similitudinis, diversitatis, qualitatis, quantitatis*. Section (ii) is subdivided into *copulativae, disiunctivae, adversativae, collativae sive illative, causales, expletiva*. There are no Turkish equivalents for these terms given. The Turkish vocabulary is entirely transliterated as well as being in Arabic script.
3. Fols. 43<sup>v</sup>-50<sup>v</sup>. Arabic vocabulary, words and phrases with Persian translations. Quranic material except fol. 47<sup>r</sup>. 'Indicae voces', consisting of six words in Arabic script, transliterated and translated into Italian.  
Cf. Saltini VII, XIV.
4. Fol. 55<sup>r</sup>. Arabic-Latin vocabulary. Twenty words approximately. Lifted from Avicenna's *al-Maqāla al-ūlā min al-ṭabī'yāt*, part of the *Najāt*, published at the end of the edition of the *Canon* printed at Rome in 1593.  
Cf. Saltini X, XIII.
5. Fols. 61<sup>r</sup>-88<sup>v</sup> Latin-Persian vocabulary in alphabetical order, A-V. Sometimes very sparse: e.g., B has one entry only, D has 4, E has 2. Numerical references to a work as yet unidentified. At the top of words beginning with S, C and D, is a possible title: *في اسماء سماوى وارضى* *On heavenly and earthly names/nouns*.
6. Fols. 93<sup>r</sup>-98<sup>v</sup>. Persian-Latin, with some Turkish- Latin vocabulary for words beginning with *alif* only. Same source as for (no. 5) above, though here *On heavenly and earthly names* seems to be a chapter heading, not the title of a work. The work is concerned with 'names'.
7. Fols. 99<sup>r</sup>-136<sup>v</sup>. Turkish-Latin vocabulary in alphabetical order, *alif-yā*'. From the same source as (no. 5) and (no. 6) above.
8. Fols. 143<sup>r</sup>-210<sup>v</sup>. Turkish-Italian vocabulary in alphabetical order, *alif-yā*'. Source unknown.

Saltini XII. Mazzatinti, IX, p. 149: MS II, III, 16.

1. Fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-47<sup>r</sup>. Syriac vocabulary in alphabetical order.
2. Fols. 55<sup>r</sup>-299<sup>v</sup>. Latin-Arabic vocabulary in alphabetical order, E-T. The source is al-Tha'ālabī's *Fiqh al-lugha*. As an example of the subtlety of the list, eight entries for red under the letter R are given: (fol. 268<sup>v</sup>).  
 أَحْمَرٌ – *rubeum proprie de auro*; أَشْقَرٌ – *rubeus proprie de equo*;  
 أَقْشَرٌ – *rubeus proprie de homine*; أَشْكَلٌ – *rubeus proprie de sanguine*;  
 شَرِقٌ – *rubea proprie de carne*; مَدْمِيٌّ – *rubea proprie de veste*;

مُدَامَةٌ – *rubeum proprie de vino*; أَحْمَرٌ – *rubea metaphorice de morte*.

Cf. Saltini VI, x, XXI; MS II.1.6, Magl. III. 62.

Saltini XIII. Mazzatinti, IX, p. 149: MS II, III, 17.

1. Fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-156<sup>v</sup>. Turkish-Italian-Latin vocabulary in alphabetical order.
2. Fols. 159<sup>r</sup>-212<sup>v</sup>. Turkish-Latin vocabulary in alphabetical order.
3. Fols. 213<sup>r</sup>-275<sup>v</sup>. Arabic-Latin vocabulary in alphabetical order, *alif-yā*, according to the first letter of the word. No more than ten entries for each letter, except for M, where there are 45. The source is Avicenna's *al-Maqāla al-ūlā min al-ṭabīṣyāt*, part of the *Najāt*, published at the end of the *Canon*, Rome 1593. Cf. Saltini x, XI.
4. Fols. 280<sup>v</sup>-295<sup>v</sup>. Arabic-Latin vocabulary. Heading on fol. 290<sup>v</sup> is 'ex loqhat Arabico cum interpretatione Turcica'. Fols. 283<sup>v</sup>-286<sup>v</sup> include grammatical terms, possibly as used in the *Liber Tasriphi*, 1610. Fols. 295<sup>v</sup>-294<sup>r</sup> contain five Greek words used in Arabic: 'Aliquot verba Graeca corruptè recepta ab Arabibus.' They are: apocalypse, Aristotle, Eufrates, bishop /'usqf/.

Saltini XIV. Mazzatinti, IX, p. 149: MS II, III, 18.

1. Fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>r</sup>. Turkish-Latin/Italian vocabulary. The Turkish is given both in Arabic script and in transliteration.
2. Fols. 16<sup>v</sup>-154<sup>r</sup>. Persian and Turkish-Latin/Italian vocabulary.
  - (i) Fol. 16<sup>v</sup>. A miscellaneous Persian-Latin vocabulary. Tamburlane's name is mentioned. تیمرلنگ, *Temorlank*, *Temor Zoppo*, *il Tamorlano*, (i.e. transliteration, literal translation, Italian name).
  - (ii) Fols. 17<sup>r</sup>-44<sup>v</sup>. Turkish-Latin vocabulary in alphabetical order, *sīn – yā*. The source is Le'ālī's Persian grammar (Saltini I).
  - (iii) Fols. 49<sup>r</sup>-69<sup>r</sup>. Same as (ii) above but from *alif-dāl*.
  - (iv) Fols. 75<sup>r</sup>-130<sup>r</sup>. Persian-Latin vocabulary. Disarranged, but listed under letters of the alphabet. Evidence for some understanding of the construction of compound verbs, e.g. (fols. 107<sup>r</sup>-130<sup>r</sup>), غایب شد از من – *absens factus fuit à me*, i.e. *abfuit a me*; دوشد – *absens factus fuit, abfuit*; فرود شد آب بر زمین – *deorsum facta fuit aqua super terram*; غزل گفت زن را – *carmina dixit mulieri* i.e. *laudavit mulierem carmine*; پای دادن – *pedes dare* i.e. *fugire, perdere nella guerra*; نگاه حفظ دارد – *salvato fece*; بودن لازم – *necesse esse*. Source unknown.
  - (v) Fols. 131<sup>r</sup>-161<sup>r</sup>. Persian-Latin vocabulary in alphabetical order, *alif-hā*. Very sparse, desert language. Source unknown.
3. (i) Fols. 167<sup>v</sup>-166<sup>r</sup>. The opening pages of the Introduction to Sa'adī's *Gulistān* in Persian, with an interlinear Italian translation *ad verbum*.
  - (ii) Fols. 165<sup>v</sup>-1. Same as (i) above, but this is Chapter One. 'The Manners of Kings'. The first story is given that 'a lie told for the sake of conciliation is preferable to an upsetting truth'. دروغ مصلحت آمیز به از راست فتنه انگیز

4. Fols. 171<sup>v</sup>-215<sup>v</sup>. Disordered Arabic vocabulary. No translation. Source unknown.
5. (i) Fol. 218<sup>r</sup>. Eleven temporal expressions in Arabic (red), Persian and Latin. (ii) Fols. 220<sup>v</sup>-221<sup>r</sup>. Arabic-Latin vocabulary. Nouns only. Only c. 45 words. Source unknown. (iii) Fols. 224<sup>r</sup>-239<sup>v</sup>. Persian, Arabic (red) – Italian vocabulary from a *tafsīr*, commentary, on the Quran. At least 20 words per page. Numerical references to the original work. Some words have extensive Italian definitions. E.g. fol. 239<sup>r</sup>. *تخين* – *l'herba con la quella si tingone di rosso le mani li orientali*. (iv) Fols. 272<sup>r</sup>-292<sup>v</sup>. Similar to (iii) above. N.B. f. 282<sup>v</sup>. *در واحد ست در ذات واحد ست* *الإلهو مجراوکه احد ست در ذات واحد ست* *صفات* 'Except Him [Arabic], except Him who is one in essence and one in attributes [Persian]'. Raimondi's comment: 'Opinio Judeorum et Mahumedanorum de Deo falso'. Cf. Saltini VII, XI. (v) Fols. 301<sup>r</sup>-302<sup>v</sup>. 73 Arabic words, no translation, headed: *Bāb al-alif*. Source unknown. (vi) Fols. 305<sup>r</sup>-306<sup>v</sup>. Compound Persian verbs with Italian translation. Cf. (no. 2, iv) above. (vii) Fols. 307<sup>r</sup>-367<sup>v</sup>. Disordered Persian vocabulary, sometimes with Arabic equivalents. Subject headings include numbers, planets, tools for cloth-weavers, tools for barbers etc. Source unknown.

Saltini xv. Mazzatinti, IX, p. 149: MS II, III, 19.

A list of Arabic verbs (3rd person, past tense) culled from an unidentified source. Numerical references for each entry refer to a source of 551 pages in total length. There is no translation. The verbs are categorised in chapters according to their status as simple or derived forms. Within these chapters the verbs are further divided into sections according to whether they are strong (with three strong radicals) or weak (with doubled radical; or initial, medial or final weak radical; or a combination of these). Within these divisions the verbs are listed alphabetically in the modern way. However, the system of derived form chapter divisions breaks down. Derived form verbs and quadriliteral verbs are scattered throughout the work and not just within their respective chapters. Furthermore fifth and sixth form verbs, /tafa'ala/ and /tafā'ala/, are listed with verbs whose first radicals are /t/. Tenth form verbs, /istaf'ala/, are listed with verbs whose first radicals are either *alif* or /t/. Thus alphabetical ordering according to radical letters is disrupted by their inclusion. Whether this work is based on an Arabic lexicon or on Raimondi's application of rules he had learned remains to be answered.

Saltini xvi. Mazzatinti, IX, p. 149: MS II, III, 20.

1. Fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-84<sup>v</sup>. Arabic-Italian/Latin vocabulary in alphabetical order, *alif* – *yā*. 50–100 entries for each letter, though *alif* and *mīm* have appreciably more with c. 150 each. Source unknown. The material may be from an Eastern Christian devotional work or history.
2. Fols. 95<sup>r</sup>-112<sup>v</sup>. Turkish-Latin/Italian vocabulary.
- 3 (i) Fols. 122<sup>r</sup>-166<sup>r</sup>. Latin-Turkish vocabulary. (ii) Fols. 166<sup>r</sup>-184<sup>v</sup>. Latin vocabulary only in alphabetical order, A-V. Source unknown. Presumably a Turkish, Persian or

Arabic desert poem or story. Examples of words: *camelus, columba, calor, calamitas, coelum, derelictus, gallina, hystoria, narratio, horrere, nobilis, liberalis, pulcher, delicato, oracula, propheta, rebelles, tentorium, tempus post prandium, etc.* (iii) Fols. 196<sup>r</sup>-198<sup>r</sup>. Latin verbs under the letters C, D, S. S is headed 'ex loghat cum interpretatione Turcica', but there is no Turkish. 4. (i) Fol. 200<sup>v</sup>. Arabic-Latin names from (no. 1) above. 7 only. (ii) Fol. 205<sup>r</sup>. 'Termini Theologici'. Arabic-Latin terms from (no. 1) above. 5 only. 5. (i) Fol. 219<sup>r</sup>. Persian verse with interlinear Italian translation *ad verbum*. (ii) Fol. 220<sup>r</sup>. Arabic-Latin geographical terms. 11 only. (iii) Fol. 228<sup>r</sup>. Turkish-Latin words. 6. (i) Fol. 230<sup>r</sup>. 'Correctiones in Avicennam'. Corrections of orthographic or possibly printing errors from the Arabic text. Only for pages 5, 7, 8, 9. (ii) Fols. 230<sup>v</sup>-245<sup>r</sup>. A few notes on the opening of Genesis, light and darkness. Reference to Peter Lombard and Aristotle (*Meteorologica*). Fol. 245<sup>r</sup>: 'Nell'isola Mindanao et nell'isola Bornei habitano Mahumettani. P. Piedro Chirino nel cap. 30. della sua relazione et cap. 36.' 7. (i) Fols. 250<sup>r</sup>-252<sup>v</sup>. Arabic-Latin vocabulary. Verbs only. c.120 in all, taken from Avicenna's *Canon*. Divisions are from *De anatomia pedis* to *De anatomia humori*. (ii) Fol. 160<sup>r</sup>. Arabic nouns with Italian equivalents. Chapter and verse from Avicenna given. 9 terms only, chosen for their similarities, i.e. /ṭūfān/ = *tifone*. /sawā/ = *sive*.

Cf. especially Saltini XVII. For other material from the *Canon*, cf. Saltini II, X, XI.

Saltini XVII. Mazzatinti, XI, p. 150: MS II, III, 21.

1. Fols. 12<sup>r</sup>-24<sup>r</sup>. Turkish-Latin vocabulary.
2. Fols. 25<sup>r</sup>-53<sup>r</sup>. Arabic-Latin grammatical terms in alphabetical order *alif-yā'*. On most pages, except *alif* and *mīm*, only one entry. Probable source: Le'ālī's Persian grammar. Cf. Saltini I, VII.
3. Fols. 62<sup>r</sup>-74<sup>r</sup>. Latin-Turkish (occasionally) vocabulary.
4. Fols. 89<sup>v</sup>-91. Untranslated Arabic vocabulary.
5. Fols. 102<sup>r</sup>-109<sup>r</sup>. Turkish vocabulary listed according to grammatical category. These categories are mostly given in Latin. N.B. Fol. 102<sup>r</sup>. 'Nomina quibus vocantur species et characteres scripturarum Arabum, Persarum et Turcarum'. They are 7: *thaluth*-ثلوث; *Iaaquti*-يعقوتى; *rihhani*-ريحاني; *naschi*-نسخ; *taaliq*-تعليق; *girmah*-قائمة; *divani*-ديواني

Of these last two Raimondi says: 'Has duas usurparunt sibi Turcae in scribendis libris et literis patentibus commissori alibi et privilegii quae in curia a scribis fiunt'. The vocabulary is divided into many types of *Nomina*: *collectivum, substantivum, adiectivum, redditivum, possessivum, Patrium, regionum, gentilium, partitivum*, etc. F. 109<sup>r</sup> where the *idāfa* (genitive) construction in Turkish is described as follows: 'Nomina quae invicem habent relationem et faciunt regimen genitivi ... relatio rei possessae ad possidentem ut ... relatio loci ad locatum ut ... relatio habitus ad habentem ut ... relatio rei materialis ad rem totam cuius est materia'.

6. Fol. 110<sup>r</sup>. Latin verbs.
7. Fols. 113<sup>v</sup>-114<sup>r</sup>. Arabic words.
8. Fols. 118<sup>r</sup>-119<sup>v</sup>. Fragments from Aristotle's *Meteorologica* in Latin; 8 two-line extracts.
9. Fol. 125<sup>r</sup>. Turkish-Latin verbs.
10. Fols. 126<sup>r</sup>-128<sup>v</sup>. 'Voces comunes Arabibus et Italis et Latinis'. c. 75 Arabic-Latin, Italian words that sound alike and in Raimondi's eyes are 'common' to those three languages. E.g.: /sakkar/ – *zuccaro*; /ghurāb/ – *corvo*; /quṭn/ – *cottone*; /thaur/ – *thoro*; /gharghara l-mā'a fi ḥalqihi/ *gargarizo l'acqua nella gola*; /fundaq/ – *fundaco*; /dār ṣanā' / – *l'arsenale*; /al-simsamu/ – *simsamo*; /al-ṣandalu/ – *sandalo*; /al-'anbar/ – *l'ambra*; /al-ṭalq/ – *talco*; /nāranj/ – *narangio*; /bussā bassā/ – *alla bussā bassa i.e. praecipitanter*; /dīnār/ – *denarius, dinaro*; /al-burūdu/ – *bordato i.e. le veste vergate*; /qalam/ – *calamus*; /fustuq/ – *pistacchio*.
11. Fol. 132<sup>r</sup>. A note on Borneo: 'Burnei è un'isola delle filippine grande ha il Re proprio per esser l'isola grande, qual è Maumeltano, et è vassallo del Re di Spagna dette l'obedientia come vassallo alla corona di Castiglia essendo governatore delle filippine il Dottor Francesco de Sande.'
12. Fols. 142<sup>v</sup>-251<sup>r</sup>. Turkish-Latin vocabulary.

Saltini XXI. Mazzatinti, XII, p. 110: Magl. III, 62.

*Fiqh al-lughā wa-sirr al-'arabīya* by Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il al-Tha'ālābī, (d. 429/1038. *GAL*, vol. 1, pp. 337 and 338). Complete interlinear translation in Italian *ad verbum*. At the end of the preface, p. 23, is the note: 'A 12 di Novembre 1592 fu finita questa interpretatione di questa prefatione et sia lode a Dio'. At the end of the whole work, p. 473, is the note: 'è finita questa exp<sup>ne</sup> all'ultimo di Ottobre 1592'. Cf. Saltini VI, X, XII; MS II.1.6.; Magl. III, 120.

Saltini XXII. Mazzatinti, XII, p. 110: Magl. III, 63.

Final copy of the *Liber Tasriphi*, 1610, but without the preface. (Some odd pages are bound into this same manuscript. One of these pages contains seventeen titles of various Greek works in Arabic). At the end is the date '13 agosto 1610', presumably the date on which Raimondi finished the translation. Cf. Saltini X (no. 4, iv); XXIV (no. 2).

Saltini XXIV. Mazzatinti, XII, p. 111: Magl. III, 76.

1. Fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>v</sup>. Attempts to interpret the kufic script sent from Spain. Cf. Saltini XXVI (no. 5). See Appendix 7.
2. Fols. 9<sup>v</sup>-8<sup>r</sup>. Notes for the *Liber Tasriphi*. Cf. Saltini X, XXII (no. 4 iv)
3. Fol. 10<sup>r-v</sup>. Same as (no. 1) above.

Saltini xxv. Mazzatinti, XII, p. 112; Magl. III, 81.

1. (2 fols.) Raimondi's request for the revival of the 'Collegio Illirico' set up by Gregory XIII at the request of the bishops of Dalmatia. Headed and staffed by Jesuits, it was to provide priests for that area. Sixtus V was asked for assistance in buying the palazzo near S. Girolamo [degli Illirici]. His unexpected death prevented that. Only twelve students remained. They were transferred to the seminary in Rome on the pretext of their being taught sciences. Four cardinals should now be put in charge of those provinces with a nephew of the pope supervising. A bill should be passed to put the college on a sure footing. Not only grammar, but canon law and theology should be taught. The Dalmatian Churches need music and ecclesiastical ceremonies. Thus the students should visit S. Girolamo especially during festivals, and take part in the ceremony. Since the Mass is performed in Dalmatia not only in Latin but also for the most part in 'Illirica' some teachers at the college should teach that language and its script as well as teaching Latin: 'par necessario farli esercitare à predicare et leggere nella materna lingua particolarmente nella chiesa di S. Gerolamo della natione che dara gran riputatione alla Sede Apostolica et edificatione alle nationi esterne'.
2. (2. fols.) The reasons why a Chair of Arabic should be set up in Rome. See Appendix 4.
3. (1. fol.) Same as (no. 2). Emphasis on the Council of Vienne's request for the establishment of such chairs. This has not been carried out until now owing to lack of experts, books and type. Now there is no excuse for the pope in Rome. The king of Spain set up a chair in Salamanca. Under Gregory XIII, Cardinal Santa Severina used Andrea, a baptized Jew, to teach Arabic but there were difficulties, as can happen in great undertakings, and Andrea was not up to the task. M. Peron, on leaving Rome, promised to set up a chair in France. But when will his example be followed in Rome? Princes of heretical towns and countries are urged by their subjects to set up chairs in their universities. This is not through zeal or charity but so as to promote the poison of their heresies and rival the Roman Pontiffs. E.g., in 'Argentina' [Strasbourg], 'Elias Schadeo' [Elias Schadeus]; and in Frankfurt, 'Jacomino' [Jakob Christmann].
4. (1 fol.) Continuation of (no. 3) with emphasis on Gregory XIII's deeds. He ordered many colleges to be set up for foreign nations and languages – English, German, Hungarian, Greek, Syriac, Arabic and Hebrew – as well as strengthening those Italian seminaries that existed. The students were then to go out like 'new apostles', to reconvert and correct.
5. (3 fols.) The spread of Arabic, eventually to Europe. Why Arabic is important. The fate of Greek. See Appendix 4, pp. 272, 274 (C + E).
6. (2 fols.) Notes on the six predecessors to Gregory XIII in the field of promoting oriental studies. Francesco Ximenes. Archbishop of Toledo, and Cardinal. The Complutensian Polyglot Bible. Leo X helped the Dominican Sanctes Pagnino to work on

the Hebrew and Syriac Bibles and on the grammars and dictionaries of those languages. 'Agostino Nisibiense' [Giustiniani], bishop of Nebbio in Corsica, translated the Psalter into five languages. It is said he wanted to translate the whole Bible into Arabic. Paul III, with the help of Fra Pietro Abasino, had many holy books printed in Ethiopic. They are to be found in Rome today: the Gospels, Paul's Epistles and the Psalter. The emperor Ferdinand [I] with the help of a Cleric from Mardin in Mesopotamia called Moses [Moses of Mardin] had a New Testament printed at Vienna in Syriac [1555]. It lacks the Apocalypse. Philip II with the help of [Benito] Arias Montano had the *Biblia Regia* printed [1569–73] (*The Antwerp Polyglot*). Notes on Gregory XIII and 'Neemena' [Ignazio Ni'matallah] Patriarch of Antioch. Gregory's orders for the publishing of Arabic and Syriac Bibles, production of type, a chair of Arabic to be set up in Rome, Raimondi to produce an Arabic grammar translated to Latin. This was done not only for Arabic but also for Persian and Coptic. Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici in charge of Raimondi's work. Publication of the Arabic and Syriac works. The death of the pope and the cardinal's accession as grand duke ended the whole affair and for twenty years nothing has been done.

7. (2 fols.) Eleven reasons why Arabic studies should be promoted at Rome (i) To teach eastern schismatics Catholic dogma. (ii) To learn science – medicine and mathematics – from the Arabs. (iii) To propagate the Faith through the Gospels – peaceful not forceful conversion. (iv) In order to learn about the false doctrines of the heretics. (v) To show these that they are wrong to say we are idolatrous. (vi) To learn the exact terms used by eastern Christians so that Catholic dogma may be expressed in correct Arabic. (vii) To fulfil the decree of the Council of Vienne. (viii) To acquire all the versions of the scriptures and make them conform to the Vulgate. (ix) Because Rome is a small but cosmopolitan city. (x) So that the glory may not go to another place. (xi) To forestall the spread of heretical works to the Arabic world as has happened with Greek.

8. (1 fol.) On Gregory XIII and the Oriental Press. Raimondi's troubles with Padre G. Bruno, head of the Maronite College in Sixtus V's time. The wrong size of the Syriac type.

9. (2 fols.) Calendar note.

10. (1 fol.) Troubles caused to the cutter of Syriac type by the head of the Maronite College, P. Fierracante. This was in the time of Clement VIII.

Saltini xxvi. Mazzatinti, XI, p. 146: MS II, v, 157.

1. (6 fols., pages numbered 1–11). Notes on the 'Stamperia Vaticana' and its director Domenico Basa. Problems of expense, management and censorship.
2. (4 fols.) Reasons why a chair of Arabic should be set up in Rome. The spread of Arabic. Notes on Hebrew, Syriac and Coptic. See Appendix 4 (A + D).
3. (1 fol.) Requests for Persian books.

4. (6 fols.) Italian version of a note on Avicenna's *ʿIlm al-ilāhī*, part of the *Najāṭ*, published at the end of the Arabic edition of the *Canon* (1593). (The note was translated into Arabic and appears on the last page of that edition). According to this the work is contrary to Catholic dogma on certain points. These are to be left in the text, but marked. The passages in contention are then written out in Arabic with their Italian translations.
5. (7 fols.) Raimondi's parsing of the passage of Arabic in kufic script that had been sent to him from Spain. A letter in Spanish from Ello Hybar dated 24 January 1609. A letter from the cardinal of Granada.
6. (2 fols.) Errors noticed in the book called 'Bostan', [*Kitāb al-Bustān*, Rome, 1585].

Saltini xxvii. Mazzatinti, XII, p. 114; Magl. III, 115.

1. Fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-29<sup>v</sup>. Arabic-Latin/Italian vocabulary, alphabetical *alif-yāʿ*.
  2. Fols. 30<sup>r</sup>-57<sup>v</sup>. Arabic-Latin/Italian vocabulary, alphabetical *alif-yāʿ*. Both lists are from al-Thaʿālabī's *Fiqh al-lughā*. Approximately 180 words in all. Of interest are cross references to other works: 'Avicenna' and 'Albu casem.'
- Cf. Saltini VI, X, XII, XXI; MS 11.1.6; Magl. III, 62.

Saltini xxx. Mazzatinti, (unidentified) : Magl. xxxvii, 131.

Mostly not in Raimondi's hand except for:

1. Fols. 2<sup>r</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>. Notes on language, especially Persian. See Appendix 4 (F).
  2. Fols. 8<sup>r</sup> – 25<sup>v</sup>. *Brevis orthodoxae fidei professio* in Arabic and Latin with a note on f.25 to say that Raimondi saw this Arabic translation and it conforms to the Latin.
- Cf. Saltini x.

Saltini v, xviii, xix, xx, xxiii, xxviii do not contain grammatical or lexical material and have been excluded from this list. Two other manuscripts by Raimondi, but not described by Saltini:

Mazzatinti, viii, p. 14: 11, 1, 6.

*Fiqh al-lughā* by al-Thaʿālabī with an interlinear Latin translation *ad verbum* to p. 140, i.e. *Bāb* 13, *faṣl* 21. The preface is omitted.

Cf. Saltini VI, X, XII, XXI; Magl. III, 120.

Mazzatinti, XII, p. 115. Magl. III, 120.

Buonazia (1886) number 56.

Latin-Arabic vocabulary in alphabetical order for the letters: A, B, C, D, E, P, S, V approximately 1,500 words in all. The source is al-Tha'ālābī's *Fiqh al-lugha*. Examples from A: *Gradus albedinis augendo semper*

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يَقَّقُ	<i>deinde albus magis</i>
لَهَقَ	
وَاضَحَ	<i>deinde albus sed plus</i>
نَاصِعٌ	
اشْمَطُ	<i>albus proprie capillus vel pilus</i>
اشْمَبُ	<i>albus proprie equus, vulgo leardo</i>
اعيش	<i>albus proprie camelus</i>
قَرُّ	<i>albus proprie asinus</i>
امْلَحُ	<i>albus proprie aries</i>
آدَمُ	<i>albus proprie ذبلي dhabion animal</i>
يِقِقُ	<i>album proprie argentum</i>
خَوَارِي	<i>albus proprie panis</i>
مُلَا حِي	<i>alba proprie uva</i>
مَازِي	<i>album proprie mel</i>
صَافٌ	<i>alba proprie aqua</i>
خَالِصٌ	<i>alba, pura proprie aqua et vestis</i>
بَيْضٌ	<i>albus, et dicitur etiam metaphoricè de gratia</i>
الْقَدِيمُ	<i>antiquus</i>
قَدِيمٌ	<i>antiquum proprie de aedificio</i>
عَنِيْقٌ	<i>antiquus proprie de denario</i>
دِهْرِي	<i>antiquus proprie de homine</i>

عَدْمِيٌّ	<i>antiqua proprie de veste</i>
فَقْسِرِيٌّ	<i>antiquus proprie de sene</i>
فَقْرَشِيٌّ	<i>antiqua proprie de vetula</i>
مُتَلَدِيٌّ	<i>antiqua proprie de bonis</i>
قُدْمُوسِيٌّ	<i>antiqua proprie de nobilitate</i>
خَنْلُوسِيٌّ	<i>antiquum proprie de frumento</i>
عَاتِقِيٌّ	<i>antiquum proprie de vino</i>
عَاتِكِيٌّ	<i>antiquus proprie de arcu</i>
كَالِدِيٌّ	<i>antiquum proprie de obsequio erga principes</i>

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Cf. Saltini VI, x, XII, XXI; MS II.1.6.

## Raimondi on Arabic, Persian and other Languages

(Except for [F], which is separate, the following passages are variations and elaborations on [A]. They are undated. For their context see Appendix 3).<sup>1</sup>

Saltini XXVI (BNCF, MS II, V, 157), (no. 2).

Molte sono le ragioni per le quali chiaramente si può mostrare che, non solo utile, ma necessaria cosa è di erigere in Roma una cathedra della lingua Arabica; delle quali lassandone la magior parte per brevità, se ne diranno per hora alcune.

[A] Chiara cosa è che, essendo il Pontefice Romano capo et padrone di tutte il populo Christiano come è Vicario di Christo N.S. et successore di Pietro, non solo ha d'haver cura di governare et mantenere in essere sempre il detto populo Christiano, havendoli detto tanto efficacemente et tante volte replicato N.S.: 'Pasce oves meas', ma anco di accrescerlo, moltiplicarlo et propagarlo, si possibile fusse, con l'aiuto di Dio per tutto il mondo, introducendo in tutte le parti di quello dove ancora non è penetrata la Fede nostra santa con la cognitione del S<sup>to</sup> Evangelio e delli S<sup>ti</sup> Dogmi Cattolici; per mezzo della predicatione o della lettione al meno di Sacri libri in loco di quella. Questo non si può fare senza la cognitione delle lingue perchè: 'fides ex auditu, auditus autem per verbum Christi', dice S. Paulo. Nulla dottrina ne disciplina si può insegnare ne imparare senza presupporre prima una lingua commune a chi insegna et a chi impara. Impertinenti certamente et indiscreti ci mostreremo à quelli populi, alli quali volessemo predicare o mandare scritta la nostra S<sup>ta</sup> fede, oltre che non ci riuscirebbe mai di richiederli prima che imparassero tutti loro da noi il nostro favellare. Commoda, espediente, et necessaria cosa è dunque, volendo noi introdurre con la predicatione della voce viva, o con la lettione delli libri, in qualche natione di lingua straniera, la nostra Santa fede, di predicarghila o vero di mandarghila in scritto nella loro propria et materna lingua. *Fra tutte le lingue del mondo, delle quale fin' hora havemo cognitione, nulla ne la più atta ne la più commoda ne la più oportuna per distendere, ampliare, dilatare et propagare il S<sup>to</sup> Evangelio et nostra S<sup>ta</sup> fede si può ritrovare di questa Arabica, della quale intenderò ragionare. Imperciò che lasciando da parte di dire quanto sopra tutte l'altre questa sia la più faconda di voci, di proprietà, di locutioni, et di modi di esprimere et esplicare concetti (che questa si potrebbe mostrare a quelli solo che di questa et*

1 For the most recent treatment of this material, see Mario Casari, 'Eleven Good Reasons for Learning Arabic in Late-Renaissance Italy: a Memorial by Giovan Battista Raimondi', M. Israëls and L.A. Waldman (eds.), *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, (Florence 2013), vol. 2, pp. 545–557.

del'altre havessero cognitione); et lasciando similmente di dire quanto sopra tutte l'altre questa sia la più ricca e la più piena di auttori et inventori di qual si voglia scientia et faculta, tanto proprii, quanto à loro stranieri. Questa lingua Arabica sola è, sopra tutte l'altre lingue, la più ample et la maggiore et che più di tutte l'altre per più parti del mondo si sia ampliata, distesa, dilatata et radicata. Tutte le lingue che vive ancora sono et che, communemente fra proprii populi et proprie nationi, si parlano dentro li proprii limiti et proprii termini di populi, di Regni, di provintie ò di regioni, poco o niente alcune di quelle per altri paesi distendosi, si contengono si restringono. L'Arabica sola in diversi tempi in diversi modi et per diverse cause et occasioni di fame, di guerre, di peste, d'Imperio e di religione, non lassando mai la propria sede de [11]Arabia, provintia dell'Asia, si è distesa, dilatata, ampliata, propogata et radicata in molti altri populi, regni, provintie o regioni dell'istess' Asia et ancora delle due altre parti maggiori del mondo Africa et Europa, *principalmente dal'Arabia Felice*, Petrea et Diserta, propria sede, ma distendendosi per l'Africa verso l'occidente, di qua e di la serpendo, arrivò fin' al mare Atlantico; et occupando tutte le provintie di mezzo, l'Egitto, *la Libia propriamente detta la Marmarica*, la Cirenaica, l'Africa minore, l'una et l'altra Mauritania, Cesariense et Tingitana, tutte hoggi chiamate per nome di Barbaria, dove ora sono li regni di Tripoli, di Tunesi, di Algeri, di Buggia, di Tremison, di Fez et di Marrocco, vi si radicò in modo tale che, fin' hoggi in tutte queste [provintie, non] si parla altra lingua che l'Arabica sola. Dall'Egitto poi in Oriente et da qui nel'Occidente, declinando verso mezzo giorno, si dislatò da qui nella Getulia, nella Libia interiore et in molti altri populi et regni di Negri et da lì in Oriente, nel Ethiopia detta sotto l'Egitto, hoggi detta la Nubia, et nella regione Trogloditica et in molti altri populi appresso il mar rosso, che hoggi si chiamano mori, a giusa di cerchio, occupando quel di mezzo, si riunì et penetrò nel'Ethiopia interiore, et mettendosi insieme con la falsa et favolosa religione de'Mahumettani, occupò molti regni et populi idolatri et vi si radicò che fin'hoggi dura.

Saltini xxv (Magl. III. 81), (no. 2). [Elaboration on A 'Principalmente dal'Arabia Felice ...']

[B] Principalmente nelle tre Arabie residendo, nella Felice, nella Petrea et nella diserta si parti da quelle, senza però lasciarle mai, verso l'occidente per l'Africa cominando, scorrendo, et serpendo, et s'introdusse, et, in processo di tempo, si radicò talmente nel'Egitto, antica provintia, et famosa per le schole et le famose et ricche librerie et per li studi di Filosofia et dell'altre discipline nel'una et nel'altra lingua, Greca et Egittica, che abattendo et sotterrando et abruciando le librerie et le schole, con la sapientia loro, le due lingue ancora ne disradicò, scacciandone la Greca et estinguendoni et smorzandoni la propria Egittica intanto che mai piu che in venti o trenta persone, con gran fatiche et lunghi studii, et imperfettamente poi hoggi per celebrare li divini officii l'imparano li nostri Christiani si e potuto conservare. Inde passando, et più oltra

discorrendo, s'introdusse, estermindando et a fatto smorzando, insieme con la lingua Punica, tutte l'altre a ciascuno populo proprie che vi trovò; et occupò le grande et famose provintie o regioni che per fino al mare Atlantico si distendono, la Libia propriamente dette ... [returns to A '... detta la Marmarica ...']

Saltini xxv (Magl. III. 81) (#5). [A continuation from the end of A].

[C] Et da questi lochi di Barbaria et d'oriente, declinando verso il settentrione, entrò in molte provintie et regni et populi del'Europa, occupò la Spagna dove fin hoggi vi restano la reliquie di quattro cento milia moreschi, li quali, se ben battezzati et di nome si dicono Christiani, sono non dimeno più Mahumettani [in occulto, *deleted by Raimondi*]; et hanno più bisogno di questa predicatione et dechiaratione della verita della nostra S<sup>ta</sup> fede et falsità della sciocca et perverza setta Mahumettana di quelli che liberamente et sicuramente ne fanno professione nel Africa et nel'altri lochi dove essi dominano et dove sono signori. Occupò l'Italia insieme con la setta per grazia di Dio ne fù à fatto discacciata. Ultimanente dall'oriente, con l'occasione della forza et tiranico imperio d'Ottomani, di setta Mahumettani, entrò et occupò che fin hoggi vi dura la Grecia, Beotia, Achoria, Argia, Elia, Arcadia, Laconia et consequentemente tutto il Peloponneso; occupò l'Epiro, tutta la Macedonia, la Dalmatia, l'Illirca, la Pannonia inferiore, et gran parte della superiore, la Liburnia ò vero Croatia.

Saltini xxvi (BNCF, MS II.v.157) (no. 2). [Alternative version to A 'Fra tutte le lingue ...']

[D] Fra tutte le lingue del mondo, delle quale fin hora havemo cognitione, la più faconda, la più ricca et la più ampia è la lingua Arabica, et per lasciar da parte di dir qui quanto sopra l'altre tutte sia la più faconda di voci, di proprietà, d'idiomi et di modi di esplicar concetti (che questo si potrebbe mostrare solo à quelli che di questa et dell'altre havessero qualche cognitione); et quanto sopra l'altre questa sia ricca di scrittori et autori, proprii et stranieri, in qualsivoglia scientia et facultà (ritrovandisi hoggi in questa lingua arabica tradotti tutti li miglior et principali autori in tutte le scientie di Judi, di Persiani, di Chaldei et di Greci: delli quali Greci, in nostra confusione, ci restano solo li tituli delli libri scritti et compilati da loro) si narreva solamente che questo solo fù al proposito nostro in questa prima ragione quanto sopra l'altre sia la più ampia et la maggiore, cioè in quante parte del mondo più che l'altre si sia fin' hora dilatata et radicata non si narreranno qui, per fuggir la lunghezza, l'histoire delli tempi dell'occasioni et delli modi come dalla propria sede dall'Arabia provintia del'Asia propagandosi sia introdotta, ampliata et radicata nel'altre provintie del'istess' Asia et delle due altre parti maggiori del mondo, Africa et Europa. Primieramente la lingua hebraica, d'origine prima di tutte l'altre, se ben per la dispersione della natione hebraea è sparsa et dispersa ancor essa con loro per molti regni et provintie del mondo, non di meno, per non haver detta natione dominio alcuno sopra populo, nè suo nè straniero, non solo da quelli populi con liquali hanno praticato non è stata ricevuta mai, ma, al

riverso, essi sono stati forzati, per poter vivere, lasciar quella loro propria Hebrea et pigliar l'altre straniere, restando quella fra pochissimi di loro, quali l'imparano, come facemo noi della nostra latina; et cossi, si ben sparsa et dispersa, resta non dimeno ristretta et angustiata fra quelli pochissimi soli in quelle ristrette parti et angustiati lochi di città o castelli di detti regni et provintie dove, per il loro peccato et ostinata impenitenza, ad ubidire solo et servire ad altri sono destinati.

La lingua poi chaldaea ò aramea, che vogliam dire, chi età (insieme però con l'Arabica) prima di tutte l'altre dopo l'Hebrea, si ritrova, ancor essa ristretta et rinchiusa, in pochissimi lochi et pochissime persone, imperciò che se ben li populi Chaldei, distinti hoggi per conto di schismi in Jacopiti, Maroniti et Nestoriani, riempino, habitando la Siria, l'Assiria et la Mesopotamia qui, et nel'India orientale una gran parte del Regno di Cuilan, appresse la città di Cochin et il Regno di Coroman, del dove è la ricca et famosa città già chiamata Calamina et hora Malipur, non di meno, ancor essi havendo lasciato la propria lingua loro Chaldea per conto del tirannico dominio d'infideli, hanno ricevuto, per materna et popolare, questi in Siria l'arabica et la turchessa et quelli nel'Judia, l'Jordiane, restando intanto che si parli l'Antica et loro materna Chaldea in alcun loco solo, et che s'impari, com' è detto del'Hebrea, da poche persone.

Dopo queste per ordine bisognarebbe dire della lingua Egittica (hoggi detta Cophta) ancor essa antica, nobile et famosa nel'histoire, faconda in se stessa delle bellezze sue et ricca d'auttori et inventori delle scientie divine et humane; ma di questa non se ne dirà altro per essere già da molti infideli incominciato et ultimamente dalli Scheriphi della Mecca finito di abaterla et estirparla da tutto l'Egitto et, consequentemente, da tutto il mondo, havendo bruciato loro tutti li libri di scientie, sacri et profani, eccetto quelli della scrittura santa del Testo. Vecchio et nuovo, che per miracolo et per la bontà divina, si contentorno che li restassero nelle mani. Qualilibrì sacri in quella antica et nobile lingua Egittica havemo per la benignità di Dio hoggi qui in Roma nelle mani nostre per la cura nostra et per la diligentia delli dui fratelli Giovan Battista et Gerolamo Vecchietti (che dal'Egitto l'hanno qui trasportati), sperando, se Dio ci concederà più vita come credemo, et li Principi favoriranno li nostri studii et, se nostre fatiche di risuscitare et revivificare di novo questa nobilissima et dignissima lingua Egittica et propagarla poi insieme et unitamente con la parola di Dio, come havemo fatto et facemo tuttavia dell'Arabica et della Persiana. Con l'occasione di questi libri sacri et delle loro interpretazioni in lingua Arabica et con l'aiuto d'alcune regule di Grammatica et d'alcuni Ditionarii, se ben piccoli et ristretti, di detta lingua, fatti et compilati d'alcuni Egittii Sacerdoti servizi di Dio, per mantenere al miglior modo che si potesse detta lingua in venti o trenta persone almeno continuatamente, acciò [che] non si mancasse mai di celebrare la santa messa et l'altri divini officii in questa lingua, non essendo lor scritto di celebrarli in altra per la veneratione grande che hanno in questi libri sacri scritti in detta loro lingua antica Egittica.

Saltini xxv (Magl. III. 81) (no. 5). [Continuation of D.]

[E] La lingua Greca dopo queste antica ancor essa, mentre che li Greci fiorirno nelle ricchezze, nella nobilità, nell'arme, nella sapienza et nell'imperio, fiori ancor essa et se distese et dilatò, insieme con l'Imperio, in molti regni et molte provintie, arricchendo intanto il mondo con la sua bellezza di excellentissimi et eminentissimi auttori et inventori d'ogni genere d'arte et di scientie; ma dopo caduto l'imperio, persa le ricchezze, persa la nobilità, l'arme et anco, per consequenza, persa la sua forza et il suo valore insieme con infinito numero rispetto a quelli che restano di detti auttori et resta hoggi la misera in voce solo di pochissimi.

Saltini xxx (Magl. xxxvii, 131) (no. 1). [From a discussion on discourse.]

[F] ... ogn'homo deve cercare di favellare bene et perfettamente quanto più sia possibile per più manifestamente mostrare di essere differente, non solo dalle bestie, ma dalla moltitudine delle genti, che ordinariamente favellano male, per il che meno apparena differenti dalle bestie di quelli che bene et perfettamente parlano. Et questo bene et perfettamente parlare quanto all'homo sia possibile non si consegue con parlare perfettamente in qual si voglia lingua, ma con parlare bene et perfettamente in una lingua, la quale et la più bella, et la più gratiosa, et la più gratiosa, et la più perfetta sia di tutte le lingue delle quali hoggi si ha cognitione; et se ben pare che queste siano le tre celebrate dall'orientali et da quelli che hanno più lingue imparate, cioè: la greca, l'arabica et la persiana tutta volta da quelli che più esquisito gusto hanno havuto nelle lingue è stato guidicato il primo loco di ragione doversi alla Persiana per essere la più bella, la più legiadra et la più suporita lingua che sia nel mondo; et per essere in quella scritti libri d'ogni facultà et d'ogni scientia et, in particolare, la poesia abundantissimamente che pare propriamente essere stata data all'homo da Dio per far' esprimere li concetti di Poesia ...

## Raimondi's Latin Translation from Avicenna's Arabic Canon

The original manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, consists simply of the Arabic text interspersed with Raimondi's Latin translation. (Saltini x1, i.e. MS II, III, 15, (no. 1). See Appendix 3 for the context).

This Appendix gives an edition of that manuscript text and translation with the published text of Gerard of Cremona's Latin translation set opposite Raimondi's translation for the purposes of comparison.

The Arabic text. Raimondi's manuscript extract is identical with the same passage of the text in the Roman edition of 1593, except in one feature. In the manuscript Raimondi includes three inessential orthographic signs (*madda*, *hamza* and *tashdid*), that are omitted from the published version. This may mean he was working from another master copy and not from the 1593 edition. It may also mean he included these signs from his own knowledge of Arabic.

The Latin translation. Comparison between the two translations clearly shows that Raimondi must have used Gerard's medieval translation as the lexical basis for his own. He also used the amendments to Gerard's translation by Andrea Alpago as published in the various editions of the sixteenth century. That of 1595 came out just two years after the Roman Arabic edition. As far as syntax is concerned, Raimondi's translation slavishly follows the original Arabic word order.

Gerard's published translation is given here in the left-hand column. Raimondi's manuscript translation is given on the right. The later amendments to Gerard's translation are shown in square brackets with [B] for Andrea Alpago's version and [A] for another variant.

De Elementis في الاركان

الاركان هي اجسام ما بسيطة اجزاء اولية لبدن الانسان وغيره التي لا يمكن ان تنقسم الى اجسام مختلفة بالصورة التي تنقسم المركبات اليها ويحدث بامتزاجها الانواع المختلفة من الكاينات

Gerard of Cremona

Raimondi

Elementa sunt corpora [A: simplicia] et sunt partes primae corporis humani, et aliorum, quae in corpora diversarum formarum dividi minime possunt: ex quorum commixtione species diversae generatorum fiunt.

Elementa sunt corpora quaedam simplicia, partes primae corporis hominis et aliorum quae non possunt dividi in corpora diversa in forma in quae dividuntur composita; et eveniunt per commixtionem eorum species diversae existentium.

فليستلم الطيب من الطبيعي انها اربعة لا غير اثنان منها خفيفان واثنان ثقيلان الخفيفان  
النار والهواء والثقلان الماء والأرض

Medicus autem physico credere debet, quod sunt quatuor, et non plura: quorum duo sunt levia et duo gravia. Levia sunt ignis et aer: gravia terra et aqua	Credere autem debet medicus naturali quod illa sunt quatuor et non plura: duo ex illis sunt levia et duo gravia. Duo levia sunt ignis et aer et duo gravia sunt aqua et terra.
---	--

والارض جرم بسيط موضعه الطبيعي هو وسط الكل يكون فيه بالطبع ساكنا ويترك اليه بالطبع  
ان كان مابينها وذلك ثقله المطلق وهو بارد يابس في طبعه

Terra est corpus simplex, cuius locus naturalis in medio totius existit, in quo naturaliter manet quieta: et ad ipsum, cum ab eo separata fuerit naturaliter movetur. Et haec quidem eius naturalis gravitas existit. [B: et illud quidem est gravitas eius absoluta] Cuius quidem natura frigida est, et sicca.	Et terra est corpus simplex cuius locus naturalis est medium universi, est in eo secundum naturam manens et movetur ad illum secundum naturam si fuerit separata et illud est gravitas eius absoluta et frigida sicca in natura sua.
---	---

اي طبعه طبع اذ اخلى وما يوحبه ولم يغيره سبب من خارج ظهر عنه برد محسوس ويبس ووجوده  
في الكائنات وجود مفيد للاستمسك والثبات وحفظ الاشكال والهيئات

Ipsa enim talis existit, quod, si dimissa fuerit [B: Sicut ei requiritur] neque altera res extrinseca [A: neque causa extrinseca] eam converterit [B: alteraverit] apparebit ex ea frigiditas sensibilis et siccitas. Eius vero esse in generatis iuvamentum praestat ad retentionem faciendam et fixationem et ad conservandas figuras et formas.	Hoc est natura eius est natura si dimissa fuerit et non neque alteret ipsam causa ab extra apparebit ab ea frigiditas sensibilis et siccitas. Et esse eius in existentibus est esse iuvans retentioni faciendae et fixationi et conservationi figurarum et essentialium.
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واما الماء فهو جرم بسيط موضعه الطبيعي أن يكون شاملا للارض مشمولا للهواء اذا كانا على  
وضعيهما الطبيعيين

Aqua autem est corpus simplex cuius  
naturalis locus est, ut sit circumdans  
terram et circumdata ab aere quum in  
suis sitibus naturalibus permanserit

Aqua autem est corpus simplex et locus  
eius naturalis ut sit circumdans terram et  
circumdata ab aere quando sunt in locis  
suis naturalibus

وهو ثقله الاضافي وهو بارد رطب اى طبعه طبع اذا خلى وما يوجب ولم يعارضه سببا  
من خارج ظهر فيه برد محسوس وحالة هي رطوبة وهي كونه في جبلته بحيث يجب بادنى سبب  
الى ان يتفرق ويتحد ويقبل اى شكل كان ثم لا يحفظه

Et haec [B: illud] quidem est eius gravitas  
comparativa quae frigida est, et humida,  
scilicet eius natura talis existit, quod, si  
dimissa fuerit, sicut est, neque ulla causa  
extrinseca ei contraria fuerit. Apparebit  
ex ea frigiditas sensibilis et dispositio  
quae est humiditas. Et ipsa quidem est,  
cuius generatio in creatione sua reddit  
eau aptam ad spargendum et extenden-  
dum pro qualibet re quamvis sit pauca.  
Et recipit omnem figuram quae est, sed  
non retinet. [B: Et dispositio eius est  
humiditas et eius essentia a principio suo  
vel a natura suo est per modum vel est ita  
quod ipsa obedit cuilibet causae ad hoc  
ut fiat seperatio et fiat unio et quamlibet  
figura recipiatur quam postea non  
conservat.]

Et est gravitas eius respectiva, et est  
frigida humida, id est, natura eius est  
natura quod si dimissa fuerit ... neque  
contrarietur ei causa ab extrinseco  
apparebit in ea frigiditas sensibilis et  
dispositio eius est humiditas et est  
existentia eius in principio suo ita ut  
[quod, *deleted by Raimondi*] obedit  
cuilibet causae ut fiat separatio et  
acceptio et recipiatur quae cumque figura  
sit quam postea non conservat.

ووجوده في الكائنات لتسلسل الهيات التي يراد في اجزائها من التشكيل والتخطيط والتعديل

Cuius esse in generatis iuvementum  
praestat ad figurandas formas, quos in  
suis divisionibus [B. partibus] aliqui  
figurare volunt, et ad figurandum et ad  
lineandum et ad temperandum.

Et esse eius in rebus existentibus est ut  
adimet essentias seu formas quas quis  
voluerit in partibus suis ex figurationibus  
et lineationibus et per mutationibus.

فان الرطب وان كان سهل الترك للهيئات الشكية فهو سهل القبول لها كما ان اليابس وان كان عسر القبول للهيئات الشكية فهو عسر الترك لها

<p>Humidum enim licet cito formas figurales amittat. Cito [B: faciliter] tamen eas recipit sicut siccum licet eas duriter suscipiat, duriter tamen retinet eas. [B. duriter, seu difficiliter suscipiat, difficiliter tamen dimittat eas.]</p>	<p>Humidum enim et si sit facilis dimissionis essentiarum figurarium. Est et facilis susceptionis earum veluti siccum et si sit difficilis susceptionis essentiarum figurarium est et difficilis dimissionis earum.</p>
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ومهما يخمر اليابس بالرطب استفاد اليابس من الرطب قبولاً للتمديد والتشكيل سهلاً واستفاد الرطب من اليابس حفظاً لما حدث فيه من التقويم والعديل قوتاً واجتمع اليابس بالرطب عن تشتته واستمسك الرطب باليابس عن سيلا نه

<p>Quumque humidum et siccum se ad invicem temperaverint adipiscetur siccum ab humido ut cito [B: faciliter] suscipiat tensionem et facile figurari possit. Et acquirat humidum a sicco ut retineat firmiter, quod in eo accidit ex rectificatione et aequatione. [B: dum altachium id est de essentia constante. Alia litera, essentia non fluida et de aequatione. Alia litera, quod in eo accidit de dispositione non fluida et de aequatione etc.] Et propter humidum prohibetur siccum a sua separatione. [B: testit. i. a sua comminutione, seu pulverizatione etc.] Et propter siccum prohibetur humidum a sua fluxibilitate.</p>	<p>Et cum siccum invicem cum humido se temperaverint adipiscetur siccum ab humido susceptionem pro tensione et figuracione facili et adipiscetur humidum a sicco conservationem pro eo quod evenit in ipso de dispositione non fluida est aequatione ... siccum cum humido a comminutione seu pulverizatione et retinebitur humidum cum sicco a fluxibilitate sua.</p>
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واما الهواء فانه جرم بسيط موضعه الطبيعي فوق الماء تحت النار وهذا خفته الاضافة وطبعه حار رطب على قياس ما قلنا ووجوده في الكائنات لتدخل وتلطف وتخف وتستقل

<p>Aer autem est corpus simplex, cuius naturalis locus est, ut sit super aquam et sub igne. Haec etian est eius levitas comparativa. Ipsius vero natura calida est et humidum secundum regulam quam diximus. Cuius quidem esse in generatis ut rarificentur et allevientur et subtilientur et ad superiora eleventur.</p>	<p>Aer autem est corpus simplex, locus eius naturalis est supra aquam sub igne et haec est levitas eius comparativa et natura eius est calida humida secundum regulam quam diximus et esse eius in rebus existentibus est ut rarificentur et subtilientur et allevientur et sursum eleventur.</p>
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واما النار فهو جرم بسيط موضعه الطبيعي فوق الاجرام العنصرية كلها ومكانه الطبيعي هو السطح  
المقعر من الفلك الذي ينتهي عنده السماء وذلك خفته المطلقة

Ignis vero est corpus simplex cuius naturalis locus super omnes elementarias existit partes [B: super corpora elementaria omnia existit.] qui est concava caeli superficies ipse namque ad caelum pervenit. Et haec quidem est eius levitas absoluta. [B: ad quam terminatur versus nos generatio et corruptio et illud quidem est eius levitas absoluta. Alia litera quae terminatur ad nos et illud quidem est eius levitas etc.]

Ignis vero est corpus simplex et locus eius naturalis est supra corpora elementaria omnia et locus eius naturalis est superficies concava orbis ad quam pertingit coelum haec autem est levitas eius absoluta.

وطبعه حار يابس ووجوده في الكائنات لينضج ويلطف ويمتزج ويجري فيها بتنفيذه الجوهر  
الهوائى وليكسر من محوضة برد العنصرين الثقيلين الباردين فيرجعا عن العنصرية الى المزاجية  
والثقلان اعون في كون الاعضاء وفي سكونها والخفيفان اعون في كون الارواح وفي تحركها وتحريك  
الاعضاء وان كان المحرك هو النفس باذن بارئها

Cuius natura calida est et sicca. Et eius esse in generatis praestat iuramentum ut maturet et subtiliet et permisceat et ut eius penetratione currat per ea substantia aerea et ut diorum elementorum gravium frigidorum puram frigiditatem frangat et ut de elementaria proprietate ad complexionalitatem redeat. Duo autem gravia plus iuvant ad membrorum generationem et eorum quietem et duo levia plus iuvant ad generationem spirituum et motionem eorum et ad movenda membra. Licet motor non sit nisi anima.

Et natura eius est calidus, siccus et esse eius in existentibus est ut maturet et subtiliet et permisceat et penetret in eis invamento suo substantia aerea et ut frangat puram frigiditatem duorum elementorum gravium frigidorum et redeant ab elementaritate ad temperei [complexion, included as a variant by Raimondi] aestatem et duo gravia plus vivant ad existentia membrorum et quietem eorum et duo levia plus iuvant ad existentiam spirituum et motionem eorum et ad motionem membrorum et si fuerit motor ipsa anima.

## Raimondi's Grammar and Dictionary List

(See Appendix 3: Saltini IX, i.e. BNCF, MS II. III. 13, (no. 1), ff. 44<sup>v</sup>-45<sup>v</sup>)

Saltini, 1860, p. 300, *Codice IX*, 1: 'un catalogo dei codici orientali della tipographia Medicea, con interpretazione italiana o a fronte o interlineare. Talora è riportato il solo nome dell'autore, talora il titolo dell'opera. Dal fog. 1-49 incl.'

Mazzatinti: *Inventario*, Vol. IX, p. 148; II, III, 13: 'Raimondi, Giovan Battista. Catalogo dei codici orientali della tipographia Medicea, con la traduzione italiana interlineare (fols. 1-52).'

Libri di grammatiche et di ditionerii

1 کتاب اللغات مفسر بالترکیة وبالفارسیه  
interpretato

2 کتاب فی النحو للشیخ علی بن سینا  
d'Avicenna del vecchio

3 شرح دیباجه المصباح  
della lucerna seta della dell'espne

کتاب تبیین العوامل بالترکی  
in TorchESCO dell'actioni della demonstratione libro  
واحد اخر بالفارسی

in Persiano un'altro et

4 کتاب ملحه الاعراب بلا شرح  
espositione senza delle vocalatione del sale libro

5 کتاب شرح الکافیه  
del Kaphia dell'espositione libro

6 کتاب نصاب صبیان  
delli putti dell'educatione libro

7 کتاب تفسیر فارسی علی حرف الف ب  
l'alfabeto persiana espositione libro

- 8 كتاب دانستان تاليف خاج الياس  
Alias Chogia Composto Danistan libro
- 9 كتاب شرح التصريف  
del Tasriph del'esposizione libro
- 10 شرح التصريف بالتركي  
in Turchesco
- 11 كتاب شرح الكافيه لملا جامي  
di Melagiamio libro
- 12 كتاب مختصر الفضل في النحو  
gram.ca de del soverchio abreviatione
- 13 كتاب تفسير الاسماء بالتركيه  
in Turco nominum expo
- 14 كتاب سر الصناعات لابن جنى في النحومن الجز الاول  
parte prima Gram.ca de Ciani di Aben artium secretorum libro
- 15 الجز الثاني منه  
del'istesso 2<sup>a</sup> pars
- 16 كتاب قواعد الاعراب  
Vocalationum basium libero
- 17 كتاب الصوفي شرح المصباح  
lucernae exp. suphi liber
- 18 كتاب في اللغة بالعربية وبالفارسية  
persice arabice de dictionibus liber
- 19 كتاب التمهيد في علم التجويد لبن الخرزى  
Chazi Ben di meglioramente scientia in explanationum liber
- 20 ملحه الاعراب  
vocalationum sal
- 21 شرح الكافيه لجلال دين الغجدوانى  
Algagduano Gelaladin di caphiae exp.
- 22 كتاب الانموذجه  
del asagiare experientiae liber
- 23 كتاب الكافيه  
Caphiae liber
- 24 كتاب المراح والتصريف

- et del Tasriph habitationibus libro  
 معجم البكري 25  
 al Bakri alfabeto  
 كتاب العوامل 26  
 actionum liber  
 كتاب المحمل اللغة لمحمد بن فارس 27  
 farsi ben mahmet del logat portatoris liber  
 كتاب الجرومية بشرحها 28  
 sua con expo<sup>ne</sup>  
 في النحو 29  
 de Gram<sup>ca</sup>  
 كتاب سر العربية في اللغة تأليف ابو المنصوب 30  
 Mansub Abu composito Dictionaria de arabum secretorum liber  
 كتاب شرح التصريف 31  
 Tasriph expositionis liber  
 كتاب فوايد الايات 32  
 domorum utilitum liber  
 كتاب عصام الدين الاسفراني 33  
 Alaspharano din Asam liber  
 كتاب اللغة تفسيره بالتركيه 34  
 Turcice expo. logat de liber  
 كتاب الكافيه 35  
 Caphiae liber  
 كتاب مرقد في النحو واللغة بالفارسي والتركي 36  
 et Turcice Persice Almercad.i. che fa dormire  
 كتاب المرقاد بالفارسيه والتركيه 37  
 كتاب في اللغة الاسماء بالتركيه تفسيره 38  
 كتاب في اللغة مركب على افعال التصريف 39  
 del Tasriphi li verbi secondo ordinato  
 كتاب لغة يسمى المحلم 40  
 Mohalam vocatum  
 كتاب الكافيه 41  
 Caphiae liber

- كتاب في اللغة العربية والتركيه على حروف المعجم 42  
d'alfabeto ordine per Turco e Arabico Dittionario
- كتاب القاموس المحيط 43  
continente camus liber

### Raimondi's Grammars and Dictionaries Identified

The purpose of this section of the Appendix is to give a clearer picture of those Arabic linguistic works that were available to Raimondi according to his reckoning. Unfortunately the manuscript list is undated and it is difficult to say when it was drawn up. However, it is a guide to the wide range of material at his command and offers a background for discussion of his selection of works for publication.

Here the list is rearranged in order to group together the commentaries and copies of the works. Where Raimondi's entries were vague or scant, identification has been made through recourse to Assemani's catalogue of oriental manuscripts in the Palatine and Laurentian Libraries. At that time the oriental manuscripts of the Medici Oriental Press were in the Palatine Library, but they were later transferred to the Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana where they are to be seen today. These manuscripts have been reclassified since Assemani's day, but his catalogue is still the major published source for their location. Thus Assemani's classifications are given. Where I have seen the manuscripts I have also given the present-day reclassifications. The *GAL* titles and authors are used as modern identifications for Raimondi's and Assemani's entries. The square-bracketed numbers refer to Raimondi's original sequence.

#### *Ājurrūmiyya*

- [28] *al-Muqaddima al-Ājurrūmiyya* by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Dā'ūd al-Ṣanhāji ibn Ājurrūm, d. 723/1323.  
*GAL*, vol.2, pp. 308–10.  
Assemani, nos. 372 and 375.  
'With its commentary' may refer to the commentary by Khālid ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Azharī, d. 905/1499.  
*GAL*, vol. 2, p. 308, commentary 6.  
Assemani, no. 369.

#### *Kāfiya*

- [23,35,41] Three copies of *al-Kāfiya* by Jamāl al-Dīn abū 'Amr 'Uthmān ibn 'Umar ibn Abī Bakr ibn al-Ḥājjib, d. 646/1249. *GAL*, vol. 1, pp. 367–373.

- Assemani (three dated copies), nos. 409, (763/1361); 430(i), (950/1543); 432, 962/1554.
- [11] The commentary on the *Kāfiya* called *al-fawā'id al-dīyā'iya* by Mullā Jāmī, d. 898/1492.  
*GAL*, vol. 1, p. 369, commentary 13.  
 Assemani, no. 388 (2).
- [21] The commentary on the *Kāfiya* by Jalāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Maḥmūd al-Ghujduwānī c. 720/1320.  
*GAL*, vol. 1, p. 368, commentary 9.
- [5] 'A commentary on the *Kāfiya*' may be the commentary by Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Astarabādhī, d. 686/1287. *GAL*, 1, p. 367, commentary 5.  
 Assemani, no. 383.  
 Assemani, no. 404 is an anonymous commentary on the *Kāfiya* copied in 935/1528.

*Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*

- Raimondi does not give a separate entry for a copy of the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* by 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Khazrajī al-Zanjānī, fl. 625/1257.  
*GAL*, vol. 1, p. 336.  
 Assemani, no. 366 (Now BML, MS Oriental 96, fols. 1–21).  
 Raimondi's copy of text and translation of the *Liber Tasriphi*, 1610, is in the BNCf: Saltini XXII, Magl. III, 63. (See Appendix 3).
- [24] *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ* by Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Mas'ūd, fl. beg. 8th AH/15th AD century. *GAL*, vol. 2, p. 24.  
*Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* may be al-Zanjānī's.  
*GAL*, loc. cit., says the two works are usually paired in manuscripts.  
 Assemani, no. 390, a copy of both works. (Now BML, MS Oriental 244, ff. 1–49).  
 Assemani, no. 435, *Marāḥ* only.
- [9,31] 'Commentaries on the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*' may be the commentary by al-Shaikh Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd ibn 'Umar al-Taftāzānī, d. 792/1390. *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 336, Commentary 1.  
 Assemani, nos. 402, 416.
- [39] Tabular 'arrangement of the verbs in the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*'. Anonymous compiler.  
 Assemani, no. 400 (Now, BML, MS Oriental 211, ff. 1–15).
- [10] 'Turkish commentary on the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*'.  
 Anonymous commentator.

Assemani, no. 344 (Now BML, MS Oriental 34, pp. 1–64 and fols. 65–116, [sic].)

*Kitāb Mi'at 'āmil*

- [26] *Kitāb Mi'at 'āmil* (also known as *Kitāb al-Awāmil al-mi'a*) by Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Qāhir ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jurjānī, d. 471/1078.  
*GAL*, vol. 1, p. 341.  
 Assemani, no. 331 (Now BML, MS Oriental 19, fols. 191<sup>r</sup>-207<sup>v</sup>).

The remainder of the list were not worked on by Raimondi with a view to publication.

- [4,20] Two copies of *Mulḥat al-i'rāb* by Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥarīrī, d. 516/1122. *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 328, VII.  
 Assemani, nos. 334, 438.
- [3] 'A commentary on the *Miṣbāḥ fi al-naḥw*' by Abū al-Faṭḥ Nāṣir ibn 'Abd al-Sayyid al-Muṭarrizī, d. 610/1213. *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 350.  
 This may refer to the commentary by Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Isfarā'īnī, d. 684/1285. *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 351, commentary 11.  
 Assemani, no. 379 is text and commentary.
- [14,15] Parts I and II of *Sirr al-ṣinā'a* by Abū al-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān ibn Jinnī al-Mauṣilī, d. 392/1002.  
*GAL*, vol. 1, p. 131.  
 Assemani, no. 360.
- [19] *al-Tamhīd fi 'ilm al-tajwīd* by Shams al-Dīn abū al-Khair Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Jazarī al-Qurashī al-Dimashqī al-Shīrāzī, d. 833/1429.  
*GAL*, vol. 2, p. 259, 9.  
 Assemani, no. 420.
- [33] A work by 'Iṣām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Arabshāh al-Isfarā'īnī, d. 944/1537.  
*GAL*, vol. 2, p. 540.  
 This may be al-Isfarā'īnī's *Mīzān al-adab fi al-'ulūm al-thalātha al-ṣarf wa-'l-naḥw wa-'l-balāgha*.  
 Assemani, no. 408. (The entry is for a four-part grammar as opposed to the three-part grammar described by *GAL*, loc. cit.).
- [43] *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīt* by Abū al-Ṭāhir Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Majd al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī al-Fīrūzābādī al-Shīrāzī, d. 817/1415.  
*GAL*, vol. 2, p. 231.  
 Assemani, no. 330 (copied in 972/1564).  
 Another copy is in the BNCF, MSS: II, III, 4 and II, III, 5.

The following works present some difficulty in identification.

- [17] 'al-Šūfī's commentary on the *Miṣbāḥ*'. Cf. [3] above.  
*GAL*, vol. 1, p. 350, does not give a commentator of this name.
- [22] *Kitāb al-Ummūdhaj* by Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn 'Umar al-Zamakhsharī, d. 538/1144.  
*GAL*, vol. 1, p. 347, III.  
 Assemani, no. 380. '*Al-Nemudegi*' by 'Mahomete filio Ali filii Mahometis Al-Ganio Ardebilenio, d. 555/1160'.  
 Cf. *GAL*, loc. cit., commentary 1, by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Ardabīlī, d. 1036/1636. This later death date would make it unlikely that Raimondi possessed that work.
- [27] *al-Maḥmal fi al-lughā* by Abū al-Ḥusain Ahmad ibn Fāris ibn Zakariyā ibn Ḥabīb al-Qazwīnī al-Hamadhānī al-Rāzī, d. 395/1005. *GAL*, vol. 1, p. 135, does not give a work called *Maḥmal*.  
 Assemani does not list such a work.

The remainder of the Arabic works in Raimondi's list are unidentified, namely.

nos. 2, 6, 12, 16, 25, 29, 30, 32, 40.

nos. 1, 7, 8, 13, 18, 34, 36, 37, 38, 42 are Turkish and Persian works. Owing to the scant information given by both Raimondi and Assemani it is difficult to identify and locate them. Even I. Pizzi's catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the Laurenziana (1886) does not clearly correspond to any of Raimondi's entries. Readers should refer to A.M. Piemontese's union catalogue of Persian manuscripts in Italian libraries (1989) for more recent identification and location of Persian manuscripts in the BML that Raimondi may have consulted.<sup>1</sup>

One exception is:

- [8] *Dānistān* by Hājj Ilyās.  
 Lagarde, 1884, p. 32, no date.  
 Assemani, no. 406.

<sup>1</sup> Piemontese, A.M., *Catalogo dei codici persiani conservati nelle Biblioteche d'Italia*, Roma, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, (Indici e Cataloghi, v) (Rome, 1989), especially pp. 37–109.

## Raimondi and the Lead Books of Granada

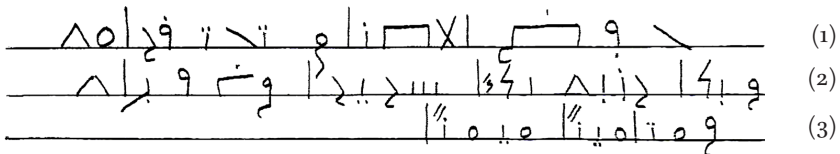
Raimondi's expertise in Arabic and his international fame are attested by a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, containing his parsing of some Arabic for a client in Spain. The single sentence of Arabic is in an ornamental kufic script. As well as interpreting the difficulties of that script and noticing various lacunae Raimondi gave each word of the text a thorough grammatical analysis.

The present purpose of this appendix is to edit those passages that illustrate Raimondi's understanding of Arabic. The passages are particularly interesting as an example of what might be called 'applied *Liber Tasriphi*'.

Incidental to this is the identification of this passage as an extract from one of the Granada Lead Books. Their story has been told on two separate occasions by T.D. Kendrick (1957 and 1960) and, more recently, by Mercedes García Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano (2010).<sup>1</sup> Briefly, these books were Morisco forgeries designed to attract sympathy for the down-trodden remnants of Islamic Spain. The Moriscos were an afflicted and persecuted minority and the surprise discovery of those supposedly ancient tablets was intended to enhance their prestige. The books were actually made from plates of lead with their texts incised on to them in what were claimed to be the 'characters of Solomon'. The two officially appointed interpreters at the Court of Granada were used to translate the books. As they were both Moriscos their impartiality was suspected. In 1609 according to Kendrick (1960, p. 109) the Committee concerned with these books and their interpretation extended their search for competent translators to countries outside Spain.

A letter bound into the same volume as Raimondi's parsing is from a certain Ello Hybar of Granada. It contains a short passage of an angular kufic-type script and requests a translation and grammatical analysis by the 'valiant interpreter' in Rome. The letter is dated 24 January 1609.

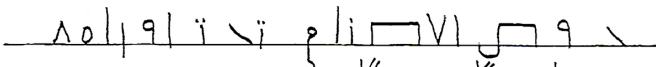
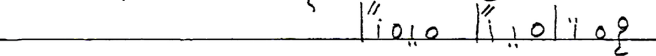
The passage is as follows:-



<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 10–11.

It has been possible to verify that this passage is from one of the Lead Books through comparison with a manuscript in the British Library.

MS Harley 3507 is a copy of part of the text of the Lead Books made by Bartholomaeus à Pectorano in 1644 after the books had been eventually transferred to Rome. Bartholomaeus also made an interlinear translation. Part of the passage sent to Raimondi is identical with two passages in the British Library manuscript.

(f. 24<sup>v</sup>)  (Cf. p.287, 1)  
 (f. 25<sup>r</sup>)  (Cf. p.287, 3)

These words occur in the *Liber historiae annuli prophetae Dei Salomonis* (ff. 18<sup>r</sup>-26<sup>v</sup>).

Raimondi's parsing as edited below is in Saltini XXVI i.e. BNCF, MS II.V.157 (no. 5) (See Appendix 3 for the context). The transliterated Arabic words have been included in square brackets for ease of reference. The original manuscript refers to a numbered *naskh* copy of the original text.

[/khafaða/] Prima dictio, est Verbum temporis praeteriti, numeri singularis, generis masculini, tertiae personae, trium literarum, purum, sanum, servatum, transitivum, coniugationis activae secundum formam Verbi /fa'ala/. Eius significatio est depressit, deiecit, inclinavit. Propria autem significatio, attenditur iuxta Nomen, cui adiungitur, ut hic, quia adiungitur idolis, significabit, depressit.

[/al-aṣnām/] Secunda dictio, est Nomen substantivum, numeri pluralis, generis masculini, casus accusativi. Eius significatio est, idola.

[/taḥt/] Tertia dictio, est adverbium loci, sive situs, et eius significatio est, sub.

[/qadāmihi/] Quarta dictio, est Nomen substantivum, in quo est error orthographiae, incuria forsan, eius, qui verba haec transcripsit, vel etiam ipsius met originalis, numeri enim singularis non est, in eius namque medio est litera Aliph, quae non est de origine eius, nec est numeri dualis, ut oportebat, desunt enim formativae literae numeri dualis, nec etiam numeri pluralis est, tum quia in eius principius esset litera Aliph, formativa pluralis sui, cum etiam, quia incongruum esset si personae humanae uni plures attribuerentur pedes quam duo. Litera He quae in eius fine est, relativum est, eius scilicet, cuius sunt duo pedes, tota igitur eius significatio est, pedibus eius, vel suis.

[/muṭarriḥain/] Quinta dictio est Nomen agentis, sive participium, activum, numeri dualis, generis masculini, concordat cum quarta dictione, pedibus, scilicet, suis. Eius significatio est, reicientibus, sive reiiciendo, si in gerundium resolvatur.

[/wa/] Sexta dictio, sive litera, est coniunctio. Eius significatio est, et.

[/bakā/] Septima dictio est Verbum, praeteriti temporis, numeri singularis, generis masculini, tertiae personae, trium literarum, purum, aegrotans, sive defectivum, intransitivum, coniugationis activae, quo ad formationem, secundum mensuram Verbi /fa'ala/. Eius significatio est, flevit, ploravit.

[/danbahu/] Octava dictio est Nomen substantivum, numeri singularis, generis masculini, habet literam He in ultimo quae est litera relationis. Eius significatio est, peccatum suum. In dictione est error orthographiae cum prima eius litera sit Dal, sine videlicet puncto, quam sane oportebat esse Dhal cum puncto supra se.

[/bukā'an/] Nona dictio, est Nomen substantivum verbale, derivatum a verbo suo bakara [sic]. Eius significatio est fletu, sive flendo, si resolvatur in gerundium.

[/shadīdan/] Decima dictio est Nomen adiectivum, concordans cum suo substantivo, nempe fletu, sive cum gerundio flendo, et habebit tunc significationem adverbii. Eius significationem, si adiungatur substantivo fletu, erit magno, sive vehementi, et si gerundio erit vehementer, sive fortiter.

[/ghufira/] Undecima dictio, est Verbum, praeteriti temporis, numeri singularis, generis masculini, tertiae personae, trium literarum, purum, sanum, servatum, transitivum, coniugationis passivae, secundum formam Verbi /fu'ila/. Eius significatio est, condonatum fuit. Ante se est litera Vau, quae est coniunctio, et.

[/lahu/] Duodecima dictio est Nomen relativum, quod, cum litera lam, respondet Dativo. Eius significatio est, illi, sive ei.

At this point Raimondi had difficulty with the final words. He thought he would need a fresh look at the original in order to give a correct and germane interpretation. However, on the next page he understood their meaning, realising that there were three words, not two.

[/māta/] Prima igitur ex istis tribus, est Verbum praeteriti temporis, numeri singularis, generis masculini, tertiae personae trium literarum, purum, aegrotans secunda litera truncali, quae est Aliph, una ex tribus literis infirmis intransitivum, coniugationis activae quo ad formationem secundum mensuram verbi /qāla/. Eius significatio est, perit seu mortuus est.

[/amīnan/] Altera est Nomen agentis, et etiam patientis, frequentativi, ob cuius frequentatibus, seu pluribus actibus factus est, illius agentis vel patientis veluti habitus quidam secundam formam Nominis /fa'īlun/. Eius significatio hic est Nominis agentis cum habitu non patientis .i. fidelis.

[/muyammanan/] Tertia et ultima dictio, est Nomen adiectivum numeri singularis, generis masculini, concordans cum Nomine aminan. Eius significatio hic est, dexter, foelix, seu dextere, foeliciter (illud scilicet resolvendo in adverbium ut hic oportet).

Raimondi's explanation for mistaking three words for two is given in the draft for a letter of reply to Spain. The Latin is not in Raimondi's hand but the Arabic is inserted by him.

The explanation edited below is in Saltini xxiv i.e. Magl. 111, 76 (no. 1). (See Appendix 3 for the context).

Cum dubitarem ne quis locus esset mancus in scriptura quam mihi interpretandam sumpsi, animadverti ex manuscripto exemplar incuria illius qui transcripsit plura in esse errata in 13 dictione. Quia in ea compentum est quod quae dictiones complicatae sunt in unam, videlicet ٲٲ et ٲٲٲٲ dicens ٲٲٲٲ in dictione ٲٲ adhuc deest litera Aliph inter Mim et Te quae de illius dictionis essentia est, quae dictio alioquin sic scribenda est ٲٲ

Restitutis in hanc emendationem omnibus hisce erratis tunc facilis sit [ ... ] trium dictionum interpretatis erit et nullo negotio, elicitur totius sententiae, germanus et apertus sensus.

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